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**A Searchlight¹ on New Zealand:
What the Visit of an Imperial Battlecruiser Tells
Us about the Country in 1913**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Master of Arts
in
History

at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand

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2019

¹ 'The Searchlight at Work,' *Auckland Star*, 6 May 1913. 5.

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Acknowledgements

Like the 1913 tour of New Zealand conducted by the dominion's namesake, the Royal Navy battlecruiser *HMS New Zealand*, this thesis owes its existence to the contributions and support of many.

The study has been a long time coming, lying dormant for several years following my work on a digital exhibition that followed the daily track of the vessel on her ten-month long world cruise. And, as is the case with many intellectual and creative undertakings, the initial germ of an idea has grown into something quite different from that imagined at its conception, thanks to the range of discussions I have had regarding the story, and the reflections I have enjoyed as a consequence. This thesis is by far the stronger for it.

For introducing me to a story that initially captured my imagination for its lack of visibility in New Zealand's recorded history, I am grateful to my former colleague Rose Young, then Curator History at Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira² and to Commander David Wright, Director of Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy Te Waka Huia O Te Taua Moana o Aotearoa.

For their patience and support over the many nights and weekends when I have retired from family life in order 'to work on my thesis,' I am more than grateful. I could not have kept going without their understanding and encouragement.

I will always be immensely grateful to my supervisor, Dr David Littlewood, for the discussion, insights, and moral support, and to Dr Geoff Watson for his observations and suggestions. Our meetings, always appreciated, have often re-enthused me when the process has started to feel too long and hard.

The study award made available by Massey University Te Kunenga Ki Purehuroa was invaluable in allowing me to spend a week at archives in Wellington. Likewise, I would like to thank the Public Service Association Te Pukenga Here Tikanga Mahi for an award of the Michael Kyriazopoulos Cloudy Day Scholarship which helped me begin my study, and Auckland War Memorial Museum for making research days available to allow me to bring it to an end.

Thanks are due to New Zealand's various archives which do such an important job of safeguarding our archival treasures, several of which were of critical importance in providing a way into the characters and experiences in this historical story. Of particular import has been the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa which provides researchers with the wonderful *Papers Past* resource and which includes the Alexander Turnbull Library, where I found unexpectedly a collection of official correspondence of the Minister of Internal Affairs, F. H.D. Bell, relating to the *New Zealand's* tour, a collection has repaid the examination many times over. Archives New Zealand Te Rua Mahara O Te Kawanatanga, Wellington, has also provided some key material with their holdings

² In relation to the use of te reo throughout the study, a decision was made not to use macrons in the body of the text, following discussion with Dr Monty Soutar.

of official files that are sometimes amazingly rich in their detail. However, smaller archives such as the Auckland Council Archives have offered glimpses into less visible aspects of the tour which adds dimension.

I wish also to thank those who have generously advised me on specifics, including Dr Monty Soutar for his guidance relating to the written expression of te reo and the problematic nature of macron use. As a result of this discussion I have chosen to follow Dr Soutar's lead and to write without macrons. My thanks go also to Michael Wynd at Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, for his generosity in sharing his knowledge of the battlecruiser.

Finally, to those whose thoughts and expertise I have been unable to explicitly acknowledge, your support has mattered in the development of this piece of work. Thank you.

Gail Romano
2019

Contents

		Page No.
Acknowledgements		i
Abbreviations		iv
Table	Official record of visitor numbers, <i>HMS New Zealand</i> , 12 April – 29 June 1913	v
Poem	‘A Daughter of Empire’	vi
Introduction		1
Chapter One	Leaders or pretenders: New Zealand on show with the battlecruiser	12
Chapter Two	Generous action and ministerial muddling: Managing the tour of the decade	32
Chapter Three	Inside the pa: ‘He whare tu kite paenga he kai na te ahi’	59
Chapter Four	Hurrah for the ‘King’s Navee’: Empire citizens in training	89
Chapter Five	Wowers, strife-mongers and mischievous agitators: Dissenting voices in the dominion	109
Conclusions		127
Bibliography		138

Abbreviations

ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
ANZ	Archives New Zealand
ALHC	Auckland Libraries Heritage Collection
<i>DNZB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>
MP	Member of Parliament
<i>NZYOB</i>	<i>New Zealand Official Yearbook</i>
<i>NZPD</i>	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
<i>Te Ara</i>	<i>Te Ara – Encyclopedia of New Zealand</i>

Museums

Auckland War Memorial Museum	Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira
Te Papa	National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
Torpedo Bay Navy Museum	National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy Te Waka Huia O Te Taua Moana O Aotearoa

Official Record of Visitor Numbers
HMS New Zealand
12 April – 29 June 1913

Place visited	Date, 1913	Visitors (recorded onboard)
Wellington	12-23 April	98,170
Napier	25-26 April	16,750
Gisborne	27-28 April	3,210
Auckland	29 April–9 May	94,616
Lyttelton	13-22 May	132,365
Akaroa	24-26 May	2,127
Timaru	29 May	330
Otago Heads	31 May–1 June	3,306
Bluff	3 June	37
Milford Sound	4 June	3
Greymouth	5-6 June	0
Westport	7 June	2
Nelson	8-9 June	7,494
Picton	10 June	7,578
Wellington	29 May	2,577
Wanganui	16 June	415
New Plymouth	17 June	1,484
Russell	19-20 June	1,793
Auckland	21-28 June	3,829
TOTAL onboard visitors		376,086

Figure 1: Onboard visitation numbers recorded on *HMS New Zealand* during New Zealand leg of tour, as recorded by battlecruiser crew.

Sources: Unknown. *Onward H.M.S. New Zealand*, Devonport: Swiss & Co. Naval and Military Printers and Publishers, [1919]. 3, 4; Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' Marischal Murray Bequest, Vol. III, 2012.80.1, various pages. Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy Te Waka Huia O Te Taua Moana o Aotearoa.

‘A Daughter of Empire.’³

'Tis yours to show the world to-day
A might that nevermore shall sleep,
Your steel-clad ships in proud array
Beside our own shall rule the deep.
Wakened at length, our Empire's strength
Shall yet maintain its ancient boast
And overawe the opposing host.

Our burden has been hard to bear,
But you, fulfilled with love and pride,
Stand nobly forth to take your share.
A daughter by her mother's side.
Not word or screech, but very deed
Proclaims the strength of that dear hand
Which binds you to the Motherland!

By that great gift, so freely made,
You put those smaller souls to shame
Whose god is but a huckstering trade
And Empire but an empty name.
You speak and, lo! the world shall know
In Britain's yet high-riding sun
A brighter splendour, new begun.

And at our Council Board your voice
Shall in the coming days be heard.
So shall your mother's heart rejoice
In hearkening to her daughter's word
One flag, one throne, we long have known;
From now one armed might shall be
Unchallenged still on every sea!

Hastings Standard, Supplement, 1 February 1913. 3. Reproduced from the London *Daily Mail*.

³ One of several poems responding to *HMS New Zealand* during the period of the vessel's cruise. Several were published in the press, not only in New Zealand, and the scrapbook believed to be Captain Lionel Halsey's also features hand-written verse titled 'Hands Across the Sea,' and ascribed to 'Jay Tee Harr' (although that reading of the writer's name is not certain). This poem may have been a more general support for the navy, as 'Hands Across the Sea' was a common phrase at that time. See Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

Introduction

‘One would have imagined,’ *NZ Truth* wrote in mid-April 1913,

‘seeing the manner in which the crowds flocked into Wellington last week, that the entire British Fleet, or at least, the Mediterranean Squadron, was expected in the waters of Port Nicholson, instead of one solitary mass of iron and steel and naval armaments ... When one calls to mind the public outcry which ... reverberated from one end of New Zealand to the other, at the colossal assumption of authority to pledge the Dominion's credit by Sir Joseph Ward ... it is safe to assume that but a fraction of the 150,000 people who were assembled ... were not in sympathy with the day's proceedings, but ASSEMBLED OUT OF IDLE CURIOSITY or else to see for themselves the outward and visible sign of an act of crass stupidity.’⁴

The mechanical mass that drew this crowd was *HMS New Zealand*, the battlecruiser presented to the Royal Navy by New Zealand in 1909 within the context of the Anglo-German naval arms race. The vessel's appearance in its donor country marked the start of a ten-week stay, as part of an extended world cruise. The report, possibly the work of socialist editor Robert Hogg,⁵ stood out from the more effusive welcomes published by the mainstream newspapers. For most, the battlecruiser's arrival was big and welcome news, prepared for by the tantalising snippets of the ship's experience in previous ports and enhanced by the praise offered to New Zealand in imperial reporting. The country (and its inhabitants) was portrayed as the epitome of patriotic loyalty and sacrifice, the ally you wanted in your corner when it mattered, and this was a characterisation that New Zealand politicians wanted to promote. At a ceremony in Portsmouth a few days before the cruise began, New Zealand's High

⁴ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *NZ Truth*, 19 April 1913. ⁵ The newspaper nameplate in this same issue bore the legend, ‘POISONING THE PEOPLE,’ *NZ Truth*, 19 April 1913. 4.

⁵ Robert Hogg had worked mostly in the world of the left-leaning press in Australasia since his arrival in New Zealand in 1900. Shortly before he joined *NZ Truth* in 1913, that paper reported his return from Australia after a four-month stint as ‘ninth editor of “The Barrier Truth” within 14 years.’ ‘Ladies, Gentlemen and Others,’ *NZ Truth*, 18 January 1913. 4; Les Cleveland, ‘Hogg, Robert,’ *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)*, published 1996, accessed 8 February 2019. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Te Ara)*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h30/hogg-robert>.

Commissioner in London, Thomas Mackenzie, 'said that he was proud that New Zealand had led the way ... New Zealand was anxious that the Empire's navy should be equal to any challenge, and wanted Britain to feel that she was with her to the extent of her ability.'⁶ About the same time, during a conference in Melbourne, Minister of Finance and of Defence James Allen⁷ had looked ahead to 'a New Zealand fleet ... with all the assurance of inspiration,' statements that 'were published with evidences of editorial satisfaction of the local Press.'

Most historians who have written on the battlecruiser have focused on the fact, circumstances and implications of the gift itself, or on the vessel's First World War profile. Those few references that have been made to the inaugural tour have primarily focused only on the context of patriotism.⁸ A little more attention has been paid to the post-war cruise that the *New Zealand* made in 1919, when the vessel carried Admiral Lord Jellicoe around the dominions and to India, with the 'serious object to co-ordinate the naval policies of the Dominions.'⁹ The varied attitudes to

⁶ 'Dreadnought Gift,' *Auckland Star*, 4 February 1913. 5. The ceremony was the presentation to the battlecruiser of a New Zealand coat-of-arms, gifted by the country's expatriate community in Britain. Mackenzie had been the last Prime Minister of the long-serving Liberal government that was defeated in a no-confidence motion eight months after the 1911 election. Mackenzie's 14-week premiership followed Sir Joseph Ward's voluntary relinquishing of the role in March 1912 in return for support for the Liberals in the face of an earlier no-confidence motion.

⁷ Allen was also Minister of Education, and from 1912 had been president of the Otago branch of the Navy League following a long association with the voluntary naval forces in Otago. For Ian McGibbon, his 'most notable peacetime achievement was, however, the creation of the New Zealand naval forces in 1913.' Ian McGibbon, 'Allen, James', *DNZB*, published 1996, updated March, 2015, accessed 11 February 2019. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a12/allen-james>.

⁸ Recent publications focused solely on the *New Zealand* are: K.F. Wilson, *The Compleat Guide to H.M.S. New Zealand*, Auckland: Quarterdeck, 2017; Denis Fairfax, *The Battlecruiser HMS New Zealand: Our 'Gift Ship'*, Wellington: New Zealand Defence Force, 2013. Aspects of the battlecruiser's biography and experience have been variously treated by Ian McGibbon over several publications: Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000. Multiple references; *The Path to Gallipoli: Defending New Zealand 1840-1915*, Wellington: GP Books, 1991. Multiple references including purchase, relationship to naval policy, war experience, several sentences noting aspects of the tour; *Blue-Water Rationale: The Naval Defence of New Zealand*, Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1981. Multiple references including presentation, deployment, financing, 1919 mission, dismantling. Grant Howard focuses on the legendary piupiu and tiki (discussed in Chapter Three) in *The Navy in New Zealand: An Illustrated History*, London: Janes Publishing Co. Limited, 1982. 30-31; Christopher Pugsley mentions the tour in a paragraph, also with a focus on the 'lucky' piupiu gift, but devotes several pages to the vessel's battle experience in *Scars on The Heart: Two Centuries of New Zealand at War*, Auckland: David Bateman in association with Auckland Museum, 1996. 145-150; James Belich and Steven Loveridge barely mention the tour, but quote the same visitor numbers from *The New Zealand Official Year-Book (NZOYB)*, 1913, although Belich acknowledges McGibbon. James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 2001. 81; Steven Loveridge, *Calls to Arms: New Zealand Society and Commitment to the Great War*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014. 117-118; *NZOYB*, 1913. 939, accessed 12 February 2019.

https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1913/NZOYB_1913.html#idchapter_1_295238; Matthew Wright devotes almost four mostly descriptive pages to the tour, among other references which include the vessel's battle roles. Matthew Wright, *Blue Water Kiwis: New Zealand's Naval Story*, Auckland: Reed Books, 2001. 34-37, 44-54 (and other references); In 1948, T.D. Taylor at least called the 1913 and 1919 tours of the *New Zealand*, the 'Most important events in the Dominion's naval history' although he was confused about the ownership of 'our own warship.' T.D. Taylor, *New Zealand's Naval Story*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1948. 130; The *New Zealand's* genesis and battle experience were briefly mentioned in S.D. Waters, *The Royal New Zealand Navy*, Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-1945 series, Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1956. 5-7; A thesis by Cameron David Bayly covers the circumstances of the battlecruiser's gifting: 'To the Last Shilling and the Last Man: The Presentation of the 1909 Naval Crisis by the New Zealand Press,' Master of Arts Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1999.

⁹ 'Lord Jellicoe's Tour,' *Evening Post*, 28 January 1919. 6. This was effectively the battlecruiser's swansong. In 1920 the vessel became the flagship at Rosyth, the Royal Navy's dockyard in Scotland. 'The Senior Service,' *Press*, 20 July 1921. 11. However, the *New Zealand* was subsequently dismantled following the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty which held signatories to a limit on naval armament. Jellicoe was appointed Governor-General of New Zealand in 1920.

the tour that clearly showed the intellectual and attitudinal texture of 1913 New Zealand was more than one dimensional have hardly featured in the existing historiography, although it is fair to say that even news reports at the time focused on patriotism.¹⁰

The experience of the tour in both imperial and local New Zealand terms, and the insights this offers into the country's social and political landscape in 1913, are the subjects of this thesis. Three key questions provide the framework for investigating the environment that provided the backdrop to the tour and which, in large part via the press, both set people's expectations for encounters with the ship and influenced subsequent narratives. It is instructive first to consider, what did the *New Zealand's* tour suggest about the country's relationships within the empire in 1913? This question offers interesting reflections not only on the imperial mind in 1913 but also on the way New Zealanders perceived themselves and their country, as well as on the attitudes towards New Zealand expressed by representatives of the 'Mother Country' and the sibling dominions. To begin building a view of the dominion's pre-war nature that extends beyond the accepted trope, the thesis asks two questions focused on lived experience. What attitudes did various groups of people adopt towards the visit? What does the visit of the battlecruiser tell us about New Zealand society in 1913? By examining the reactions of four different categories of New Zealanders within the context of their individual 'worlds', those with official responsibilities, Maori,¹¹ children and those with political and/or social sympathies outside the mainstream, it is possible to draw a nuanced picture of who New Zealanders were, what had shaped society as a whole and what influences continued to be felt. In short, the battlecruiser's visit to New Zealand can play a key role in researchers' understanding of what imperialism actually meant within the dominion and how it was translated in everyday experience.

¹⁰ The *Naval and Military Record* of January 15 was a source for a number of contemporaneous press reports such as that of the *Wairarapa Daily Times* and the *Star*. 'The New Zealand,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 1 March 1913. 5; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 11 March 1913. 2. New Zealand's High Commissioner in London, Thomas Mackenzie, also spoke of the power of the tour for 'showing the flag' during the expatriates' opportunity to inspect the vessel on the eve of its tour. 'Our Battleship,' *Evening Post*, 5 February 1913. 7.

¹¹ Although compelling, the Maori discussion is necessarily restricted. Researcher limitations meant reports in te reo were inaccessible, and thus the possible better opportunity to reflect the Maori point of view. Thanks are due to Dr Monty Soutar with whom this dilemma was discussed. He noted that many Maori language newspapers of the time reprinted English-language reports in reo, but offered to check several supplied reports against that possibility. Unfortunately, timing precluded this offer being actioned. This leaves opportunity for more rounded research to be conducted in the future.

For New Zealand, the visit of ‘our Dreadnought’¹² gripped the country. Thousands flocked to view the warship, and her crew was marvellously feted. Internationally, the visit appears to have raised the country’s stock within the empire, achieving the world notice as a ‘player’ which had long been the ambition of key politicians.¹³ Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to this story. Ian McGibbon even suggests that while the 1913 and 1919 visits of *HMS New Zealand* were ‘the most prestigious British [warship] calls’ made to the dominion, they were ‘overshadowed by 1908 and 1925 visits of the American fleet.’¹⁴ Neither the battlecruiser and its cruise nor the contemporary debate over the relative merits of local navies for Australia, Canada and New Zealand even merit discussion in John McLean’s 2010 book on the Royal Navy in the Pacific, beyond a sentence recording the institution of Australia’s navy.¹⁵ While K.F. Wilson devotes a chapter to the tour in his recent book on the *New Zealand*, it is primarily descriptive,¹⁶ as is the chapter in Denis Fairfax’s centenary publication.¹⁷ Superficial mentions aside, there is no study of the way in which the public engaged with the vessel nor an examination of what this interaction meant or showed about life in New Zealand.

The *New Zealand* arrived in a country that was still in the process of settling into itself. The 1909 offer by Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward to the British Government of ‘one first-class battleship of the latest type, and if subsequent events show it to be necessary ... a second warship of the same type,’¹⁸ is lightly touched on in the historiography as a question of loyalty. Cameron Bayly provides a comprehensive analysis of how the dominion’s ‘total loyalty to the Mother Country and the absolute importance of continued naval supremacy to the security of the Empire and the maintenance of an entire way of life’¹⁹ was understood during the period in which the

¹² ‘Arrival of the Battle Cruiser,’ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 14 April 1913. 5.

¹³ For example, R.J. Seddon had aspirations in the Pacific. Seddon was determined ‘to have New Zealand punch above its weight by behaving as a mini-imperial power at the bottom of the Pacific.’ Tom Brooking, *Richard Seddon: King of God’s Own*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2014. 306-309, 311.

¹⁴ McGibbon, *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. 455.

¹⁵ John McLean, *A Mission of Honour: The Royal Navy in the Pacific 1769-1997*, Derby, Wellington: Winter Productions, 2010. 6.

¹⁶ Wilson, *The Compleat Guide*. 63-92.

¹⁷ Fairfax, *The Battlecruiser HMS New Zealand*. 12-25.

¹⁸ ‘Despatches regarding the Imperial Conference and the Dreadnought Offer,’ *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1909 Session 1, A-4. 2.

¹⁹ Bayly, ‘To the Last Shilling and the Last Man.’ 2. It is ironic, but consistent with the apparent contradictions that surround this period, that Belich’s ‘recolonisation’ was occurring just as forces were gathering in the home country to encourage the colonies to take a greater share of responsibility for imperial defence. Commentary in 1926 noted that ‘all the colonies were very late in waking up to the duty of sharing in the general naval defence, taking it for granted for many years that this was the part of Great Britain alone.’ J. I. Hetherington, *New Zealand: Its political connection with Great Britain, Volume II*, Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1927. 70. The Colonial Naval Defence Act (1865) authorised proactive colonial naval

offer was made. Bayly found that the expressed imperialism 'stemmed from a strong appreciation of the limitations and exigencies of New Zealand's domestic and external context.'²⁰ McGibbon has pointed out that, in 1914, 'New Zealanders were conscious ... that defeat for the British Empire might lead to a settlement in which their sovereignty could be compromised or extinguished. In these terms Britain's war was New Zealand's war.'²¹ But how New Zealand saw itself within the Empire was complicated. When the country received dominion status in 1907, 'ferveant imperialism' had reasserted itself in parallel with a growing nationalism. Several versions of this potentially contradictory situation are sketched by James Belich, each of which offers a potentially interesting mirror for New Zealanders' reactions to the battlecruiser.²² David McIntyre has considered the real meaning of dominion-status in relation to independence and what this meant to and within New Zealand.²³ Other analysts taking a new look at the British Empire have been redefining the

activity and also 'the acceptance by the Admiralty of offers of vessels and men from colonial governments.' However, no colony took up the opportunity, instead urging Britain in 1881 to increase external defence of their territories at her own expense. It was not until 1886 that New Zealand began making a direct contribution to naval expenses at twenty thousand pounds a year, rising to one hundred pounds a year only in 1908. The following year Australia decided to develop her own navy. Ibid. 70, 73. Lionel Curtis, co-founder of the Round Table movement for greater colonial engagement and proactivity, made a recruiting visit to New Zealand in 1910 for the purpose of kicking the movement off in this country. He found the dominion largely "content with the present imperial relationship whereby Great Britain assumed the burden of imperial defence," and wrote somewhat derisively that "New Zealand is like a fragment snipped off the southern counties of England ... It is the weakness of New Zealand that she has developed no separate National sense ..." John Kendle, 'The Round Table Movement: Lionel Curtis and the Formation of the New Zealand Groups in 1910,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 1, no.1, October, 1967. 42, 50. However, according to Kendle, no mention appears to have been made of the contribution New Zealand was already making in the form of a 'gifted' battlecruiser. This omission is interesting. However, it is not the only curious contradiction in the story of *HMS New Zealand*. For example, Denis Fairfax asks why the British Admiralty chose to order *New Zealand* and her sister ship *Australia* when by the time the ships were laid down at the Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Company yards at Govan on the Clyde their design was already obsolete, replaced by a larger, heavier warship. Fairfax, *The Battlecruiser HMS New Zealand*. 9,11. He suggests it was economics, or the intention for both ships to be stationed in the Pacific away from the main theatre of potential conflict. Neither is an entirely satisfactory argument.

²⁰ Bayly, 'To the Last Shilling and the Last Man.' 230.

²¹ McGibbon, *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. 173

²² Two of these scenarios, 'loyalist nationalism' which focused on the earning of independence through loyalty, and 'popular nationalism' which was independently driven by New Zealanders and disguised by a smokescreen of patriotic rhetoric, describe conscious and calculated decisions to foreground and support imperial interests, each for different ends. Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. 29. In 1907, English journalist and 'prominent student of imperial organisation' Richard Jebb observed that "colonial nationalism" was altering the imperial relationship' between Britain and what were regarded as her white, self-governing colonies. John Griffiths, *Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities 1880-1939*, Britain and the World series, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. 13-14. Palgrave Connect Online Service. Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart Macintyre suggest this emerging local self-awareness could 'strengthen [New Zealand's] shared identity. Self-interest would be served by rebuilding defence and trade relationships on a new basis of alliance and partnership. Self-respect would flourish with an enhanced appreciation of their common inheritance and loyalty.' Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre, eds., *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Pub., 2007. 1. Jebb would have agreed. At the turn of the century he wrote, '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.' John Griffiths, *Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities*. 13. Several local newspapers, such as the *Auckland Star*, quoted London's *Morning Post* reporting on the King's visit to the battlecruiser prior to its departure from Britain, 'The growth of nationality will give the sentiment of loyalty to the Empire more vigour and more purpose ...' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 6 February 1913. 5.

²³ 'One of the paradoxes of our history is that a title which signified subordination came to mean independence.' W. David McIntyre, 'The Development and Significance of Dominion Status,' Revised version, Speech delivered at the Dominion Status Symposium in Wellington on Dominion Day, 2007, marking the centenary of New Zealand's graduation from colony to dominion. 26 September 2007, accessed 10 February 2019, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/files/documents/DavidMcIntyre-Dominion-Status.pdf>. McIntyre discusses the concepts more fully in his book published the same year. While he mentions the gifting of the battlecruiser, the tour receives a single sentence mention. *Dominion of New Zealand: Statesmen and Status 1907-1945*, Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Internal Affairs, 2007. 50-51.

nature of 'Britishness' and the motives driving changing relationships between the metropole and the colonies.²⁴ John Mitcham considers notions that were core to the empire's sense of itself and longevity, including solidarity and the underlying racial flavour of that oneness, the need to defend that strength and the importance of 'navalism' in safeguarding all that was Britain. Mitcham identifies the social impact of events, discussing the 1913 tour of the *New Zealand* within the context of imperial spectacle and its importance in reinforcing 'the imagination of a shared imperial vision.'²⁵ By the time of Ward's offer to the Royal Navy, New Zealand perceived itself as a national force within the empire as big in aspiration as its sibling colony Australia, and possibly bigger in self-perception and self-confidence, identifying itself as the Britain of the South, specifically 'Better Britain.'²⁶ The vessel's positioning as the first imperial, as opposed to British, warship was therefore significant as further confirmation of the country's leadership profile. The vessel proudly asserted its 'imperial' status, displaying 'a great illuminated crown, the ship's crest, "specially given to us because we are the first of the Imperial ships."²⁷ The crown was also emblazoned on the brass muzzle caps of all the guns.²⁸ 'One special compliment,' some news reports termed the crown.²⁹ However, the distinction denoted by that crown was either not clear or not accepted by all New Zealanders,

²⁴ In considering British Columbia's colonial attitude to the Empire, Adele Perry agrees that apparently conflicting processes and outcomes can exist contemporaneously and all be 'true,' a situation which is highlighted when 'metropolitan and transnational discourses and local histories' are brought together. Adele Perry, 'Whose world was British? Rethinking the 'British world' from an edge of Empire,' in Darian-Smith, *Britishness Abroad*. 148. Indeed, Bill Schwarz has argued that Britishness was 'a symbolic field-force... not a thing, but a set of relations.' Bill Schwarz, "'Shivering in the Noonday Sun": The British World and the Dynamics of "Nativism,"' in Darian-Smith, *Britishness Abroad*. 22. Said drew attention to this globality of empire processes and the hybrid nature of resulting communities, and writing by geographer Doreen Massey and others has sought to understand the identities of modern places not only through the intrinsic characteristics of their location, but also through their relationship to other cities and countries in economic, structural and cultural terms. Even down to sartorial moralities. In a heated discussion in June 1911 over the appropriateness of a Baronetcy being conferred on the Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward in the recent Coronation Honours and questioning whether the gift of a two-million-pound battlecruiser to the Royal Navy was truly 'disinterested', Liberal MP A.R. Barclay was reported as removing his coat before he put his motion of displeasure. 'Titular Distinctions,' *Evening Star*, 29 June 1911. 3. In a subsequent letter of rebuttal to the editor of that newspaper, Mr Barclay clarified the action: 'P.S. I forgot to tell you that the "coat" I took off at the meeting the other night was my overcoat! You might wonder, if you didn't know that. A.R.B.' 'The Premier, the Baronetcy, and the Dreadnought,' *Evening Star*, 3 July 1911. 3. Structural references can be found in Felix Driver and David Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity, Studies in Imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999. 4.

²⁵ John C. Mitcham, *Race and Imperial Defence in the British World, 1870–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. 111. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316481813.

²⁶ In contrast to 'Greater Britain.' Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. 21. Belich argues that early New Zealand 'was in many respects part of a "Tasman world" that it shared with Eastern Australia,' and therefore too small to be considered as having its own historical identity. However, the speed of the country's development in many ways influenced attitudes, at least amongst politicians. By 1885 a 'grandiose' self-perception had become apparent when Minister of Defence, John Ballance 'negated the idea' of providing military support to Britain in its war in the Sudan even though public opinion was largely in favour. Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. 19, 28.

²⁷ 'Our Ship,' *Auckland Star*, 14 April 1913. 6. This crown was a great attraction bringing many New Zealanders out 'during the evening to view the cruiser. She was readily distinguishable in the mirk of mid-harbour. High above the twinkling lights of her ports, and suspended between the two masts, was a crown of fire—the outline of the Imperial crown, splendidly designed in electric lights. It glowed brilliantly in the surrounding blackness like a symbol—the symbol of the Dominion's warm loyalty to King and crown.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Dominion*, 14 April 1913. 6.

²⁸ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Taranaki Herald*, 17 June 1913. 4.

²⁹ 'On the Ship,' *Dominion*, 14 April 1913. 6.

with many continuing to refer to the *New Zealand* as ‘our ship.’ Perhaps it was the collective ‘our’ of the empire, although national ownership seems to be the meaning in many reports.³⁰ But Mitcham suggests this was an outcome that the Admiralty was happy to encourage.³¹ New Zealand’s world at the time of the battlecruiser’s tour was in flux. The tour of the battlecruiser, with its apparent modernity and technological advancements on show,³² was an opportunity to remind the country of the gloriousness and importance of being a member of this family, in a celebratory fashion that would be a respite from the negativity embodied in the dominion’s significant domestic issues. Whether we accept any single analysis of New Zealand’s pro-empire orientation in 1913 as most persuasive, or take the view that the reality

³⁰ Headlines and text in 1913 repeatedly referred to ‘our’ gift / battleship / dreadnought / battle-cruiser / ship. The *Oamaru Mail* was creative with ‘our gift leviathan.’ *Oamaru Mail*, 29 May 1913. 3. The ‘Dunedin Letter’ columnist placed an emphasis on the ownership pronoun in reviewing the visit of ‘the battle-cruiser — “our” gift battleship, if you please ...’ ‘Dunedin Letter,’ *Mt Benget Mail*, 11 June 1913. 1. Several papers reported a version of the ‘good story ... of a citizen who made an unofficial call to the battle-cruiser,’ to see Captain Halsey. When politely refused he replied, “Just tell him ... that one of the owners was out to see how things were getting on.” ‘One of the Owners!’ *Feilding Star*, 7 May 1913. 2. Even the Minister of Customs and Marine, F.M.B. Fisher got it wrong during a visit to Melbourne while the vessel was in port at that city, when he remarked, ‘The Mackenzie and the present Government recognised this aspect when they decided to place our battleship unreservedly at the disposal of the Imperial authorities.’ ‘Mr Fisher’s Mission,’ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 4 April 1913. 2. The possessive ‘our’ has continued to be used from time to time by New Zealand publications. For example: ‘our own warship,’ in Taylor, *New Zealand’s Naval Story*. 130; ‘... we had a ship ...’ and ‘our ship’ was used by the presenter in introducing the television documentary, ‘HMS New Zealand Great War Story.’ TV3 MediaWorks and AC Productions, ‘HMS New Zealand Great War Story,’ Great War Stories series 3, [2016], 4.08. Available on *New Zealand History*, updated 27-May-2016. Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hms-new-zealand-great-war-story>.

³¹ ‘... specific names such as HMS New Zealand ... established a special connection between the colonies and individual ships. By reserving these titles for the navy’s most powerful battleships and cruisers, claimed one governor general, colonials “would take much greater pride and interest in knowing that HMS ‘So and So’ and HMS ‘Something-Else’ were their Ships and a visible tangible object lesson of the Dominion’s part in the Empire’s defence.” Mitcham, *Race and Imperial Defence*. 111.

³² In March 1913, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reported the impending visit in June of the *New Zealand*, ‘the last word in sea fighters.’ ‘Foreign Warships are Coming,’ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 20 March 20, 1913. 1. ‘Splendid’ the battlecruiser may have been, ‘a whopper’ and ‘wholly a modern ship’, but ‘because of that ceaseless evolution in sea-mechanism which makes naval dominance so costly’, many aspects of its were already outdated technology by the time the newspaper printed its admiration. ‘Empire Battleship,’ *Evening Post*, 20 March 1913. 11; ‘The New Zealand,’ *Taranaki Herald*, 10 April 1913. 4. The larger Lion-class battlecruisers were superior, and the first of that class, the *Princess Royal*, had been laid down seven months before *HMS New Zealand*. Nevertheless, the battlecruiser did boast some notable technology. The official time trials off Clyde in the last quarter of 1912 had proved the vessel to be ‘the fastest battleship of her displacement.’ ‘Fastest of Her Class,’ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 October 1912. 5. The ship navigated by means of a gyroscope, or non-magnetic compass, the brainchild of German engineering. This gyro compass was ‘the most reliable steering guide, yet invented, because it has no elements of deviation at all.’ ‘The New Zealand,’ *Taranaki Herald*, 10 April 1913. 4. The *New Zealand* was the first and only British naval vessel in which the gyroscope had been permanently installed, and would test the instrument over the 45,000-mile cruise. ‘Should it prove effective, the compass will be introduced generally into the Navy.’ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *Auckland Star*, 12 March 1913. 6. The guns were apparently an improvement on those of the ship’s predecessors, with a ‘much larger arc of fire... The two pairs of turret guns amidships are practically able to box the compass.’ ‘The New Zealand,’ *Taranaki Herald*, 10 April 1913. 4. With almost every aspect of the guns’ operation managed by hydraulics and electrics ‘there is every reason why it is expected that three rounds a minute could be fired’. ‘Empire Battleship,’ *Evening Post*, 20 March 1913. 11. The *New Zealand* carried both coal and oil so, as a larger vessel, was on the leading edge of fuel experimentation. The *New Zealand*’s oil was used to light its coal boilers, and news reports state the oil ‘can be used in her stokehold as a substitute for coal.’ ‘The Gift Battleship,’ *Manawatu Standard*, 14 February 1913. 4; ‘The Gift Battleship,’ *Taranaki Daily News*, 20 February 1913. 7; ‘A Battleship’s Engine Rooms,’ *Press*, 17 April 1913. 7. Although for some years the Royal Navy had been experimenting with oil fuel for generating steam, apparently in destroyers, by May 1912 the United States navy had already laid down two ships that were to be solely oil-powered. ‘Oil on Warships,’ *Press*, 1 June 1912. 12; ‘Oil-Driven Battleships,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 February 1912. 8. In early 1912 Churchill, who favoured a move to oil power, was nevertheless cognisant of the difficulties in moving the fleet from coal to oil. ‘Oil for the Navy,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1912. 8. By September, however, papers were carrying ‘unofficial’ reports ‘that the battleships to be laid down at Devonport and Portsmouth by Christmas will exclusively use liquid fuel.’ ‘New Battleships,’ *Evening Post*, 18 September 1912. 7. Again, while ‘wireless telegraphy’ was already in use by the Royal Navy, ‘the Admiralty is engaged in a series of long-distance experiments, to which the southward voyage of the *New Zealand* lends itself. Messages are being sent out every two or three hours—mostly in code, but some ... plain language.’ ‘England’s Shores,’ *Auckland Star*, 23 May 1912. 7; ‘News of the Day,’ *Press*, 29 March 1913. 11. The *New Zealand* was equipped with such high-powered equipment that the vessel ‘was never out of wireless track of land.’ ‘At Sea in a Dreadnought,’ *Press*, 14 April 1913. 7.

was likely to be a mix of motives and attitudes, it is clear that New Zealand was conflicted politically, socially and culturally. It is the range of these motives, attitudes and conflicts which the thesis shows can be teased out by the reactions to and impacts of a single event - in the case of the tour, an event which reached into the farthest corners of the dominion.

This study focuses on systematically reviewing a range of primary material relevant to the 1913 visit and critically analysing them to elicit a range of perspectives at the global, national and community level. Several departmental government files pertaining to aspects of the local tour organisation were instructive in understanding the capability, aspirations and management of the visit. However, the most enlightening was the official tour-related correspondence of Minister of Internal Affairs, F.H.D. Bell,³³ who administered the country's experience of the visit. This collection of cables, memoranda and letters displays the nuances and stresses of managing the tour as they occurred. Gaps exist, and in-depth discussion of issues is rare. But the archive is an illuminating snapshot of official relationships, attitudes and processes in relation to an all-consuming event, and an interesting mirror of personalities who were active in shaping New Zealand in 1913. Official published government resources including Hansard provided useful material from the administrative and political point of view, although, as will be discussed later, surprisingly little parliamentary discussion took place.

Newspapers were a crucial resource, as published reports, photographs, opinion pieces, the surveys of regular columnists and citizens' letters were integral to discovering the experiences enjoyed locally by a range of communities around New Zealand and the general response to the opportunities afforded by the visit. Local newspapers also published reports of the battlecruiser's reception in overseas imperial ports, and referenced political debate within the empire's other colonies that related to the gift of the vessel and its implications for inter-colony relations. Secondary commentary on contemporaneous attitudes in Canada and Australia to the British Empire is also available. Newspaper reports also provided limited access to the experiences and attitudes expressed by members of the battlecruiser's crew,

³³ Held at Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Wellington.

although ephemera scrapbooks kept during the tour by the captain and the vessel's chaplain were also available, as was a journal kept by a midshipman.³⁴ The widest range of publications was used as editors differed in the detail that they chose to publish from syndicated reports. The daily metropolitan papers did not always offer the most extensive coverage, and paradoxically the newspapers in smaller centres often seemed willing to print some of the briefest references that came off the wires, whereas these were often ignored by the larger publications. The leader articles in local papers were also useful, as they further indicated the diversity of thought and experience, and, importantly, the depth of engagement with the vessel around New Zealand. Despite the indisputable value in this resource, a consideration in using media for economic, political, social and cultural analysis is an understanding of the loyalties and political leanings of each newspaper. However, the power of oratory and press-generated propaganda was as key to the forming of public opinion then as it is now. According to Andrew Thompson, New Zealanders (and those in other colonies) most commonly experienced empire vicariously through imperial imagery and emotional connection. 'In the first half of the twentieth century, generations of school children encountered the empire through a growing body of publicity and propaganda, among which Empire Day is probably the best known ... [the] hope was to use Empire Day to educate schoolchildren about the importance of the colonies and their responsibilities toward them ... excitement and spectacle ... held the public's attention.'³⁵ Such affective and imaginative experience was critical in reinforcing the bonds of empire. As these newspaper reports therefore played a role not only in recording the events of the period but in shaping public perception and encouraging a heightened atmosphere, attention needed to be paid.

³⁴ These most junior naval officers were expected to keep a journal in which they were to record their daily activities and duties, and to describe anything of interest or importance. These journals 'were regularly checked by their supervising officer and the captain of the ship they were assigned to. The purpose of the journals was to train midshipmen in observation, expression and orderliness, and they were required to record their observations about all matters of interest of importance in the work that was carried out, on their stations, in their fleet, or in their ship, and illustrate them with plans and sketches.' John O'Brian, 'Journals of Midshipmen during the Second World War,' *Untold lives* blog, British Library, 24 November 2016, accessed 31 January 2019. <https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2016/11/journals-of-midshipmen-during-the-second-world-war.html>. The journal of 1913 *HMS New Zealand* midshipman E.B. Coore, held by the Alexander Turnbull Library, shows signatures alongside text and sketches, one of which is that of Captain Halsey. 'The rationale for the keeping of Midshipmen's Journals was explained in the King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions 1913: The log book or journal should contain track charts, as well as plans and sketches of harbours, and all other information likely to be useful in the future in navigating or to His Majesty's Service. He [the midshipman] is to produce the log book or journal whenever required. A journal (form S. 519) is to be kept by each midshipman during the whole time of his service as such, and has to be produced at the examination for the rank of Lieutenant...' Nikki Page & Michael Wynd, 'Midshipmen's journals: Precious papers from a Bygone Age,' *The White Ensign*, Issue 7, Autumn 2009. 18. Torpedo Bay Navy Museum journal. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/white-ensign-magazine/>; 'E.G.B. Coore, fl 1913-1914: Journal,' qMS-0545, ATL. Coore was a New Zealander.

³⁵ Andrew Thompson with Meaghan Kowalski, 'Social Life and Cultural Representation: Empire in the Public Imagination,' in Andrew S. Thompson, ed., *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford History of the British Empire companion series, Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. 268.

The most difficult views to locate were those directly expressed by the ‘man in the street.’ A limited number of personal letters, diaries and photographs held in archives reference the 1913 visit, such as the diary kept by Horowhenua farmer George Leslie Adkins and held by Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.³⁶ However, letters to newspaper editors again provided the fullest indication of general public opinion, while still reflecting the views only of those who were able and motivated to record their thoughts. Material objects associated with the battlecruiser’s visit, many of which were gifts and are held in museums around the country,³⁷ also suggested the general public response, as gifts made to the *New Zealand* and her crew came not only from official sources but also from clubs, societies, professional groups and private individuals. However, a large sector of the ‘ordinary’ New Zealand public has remained silent and thesis conclusions therefore cautiously take as representative those opinions that are discoverable and which appear to be reasonably widely shared.

The thesis begins by reviewing the imperial context of the tour in Chapter One, considering the nature and relativity of imperial citizenship and responses of the sibling dominions to the central questions of collective and individual defence capability. The chapter goes on to examine what the tour suggested about New Zealand’s perceived status within the empire, with particular interest in the country’s relationship with Australia. Chapter Two moves the study into the 1913 New Zealand world by looking at the political and administrative implications and management of what was by any measure a major undertaking, and how the patriotic gaze of New Zealanders translated in the everyday. In Chapter Three the focus narrows to look at the relationship Maori had with the battlecruiser and its men, and how this reflected the experiences and concerns of the tangata whenua. Similarly, Chapter Four considers the special case of New Zealand’s children who enjoyed a particular status in relation to their access to the vessel, and reflects on what this tells us about the way in which children were viewed and treated by the majority of adults. Chapter

³⁶ Diaries of George Leslie Adkin for 1913, Collections, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/5287>.

³⁷ Including Torpedo Bay Navy Museum at Devonport on Auckland’s North Shore, Auckland War Memorial Museum, Te Papa Tongarewa and Canterbury Museum.

Five examines the ways in which the tour coincided with the preoccupations of those on the left of the dominion's political spectrum and other pressure groups.

The findings of this thesis will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how the visit and its reception fit into the historiography of New Zealand's relationship with the British Empire. They will also show that, as a micro study, the 1913 tour provides much material to allow the drawing of a multi-dimensional picture of New Zealanders and New Zealand society prior to the First World War.

Chapter One

Leaders or pretenders: New Zealand on show with the battlecruiser

*'the magnificent gift of a free people to the Power
that gave and guards their freedom should
be an object lesson to us all.'*³⁸

*'an earnest effort on the part of the Dominion which
is endeavouring to show other Colonies of the Empire
that lesson of loyalty, which, in the humdrum
of commerce and other absorbing interests,
is likely to be lost sight of.'*³⁹

*'... the officials in Australia are not learned in the art
of advertising as well as those of the sister colony.'*⁴⁰

In a sense, the *New Zealand's* existence was a natural outcome of the dominion's short history and colonial structures. Imperial values and principles were embedded in the worldview of the country's leaders and many of its citizens. So, it is hardly surprising that this became the dominant narrative in reporting the vessel's 1913 tour, an assessment picked up in the historiography. Mitcham, in particular, discusses at length the empire's character, attitudes and strategies. 'The voyage,' he writes, 'provided the Admiralty an opportunity to advertise this new vessel as a physical manifestation of imperial loyalty.' After all, 'Sea power was central to the cultural definition of Britishness.'⁴¹ Perhaps refreshing, certainly independent, and definitely thought-provoking, the view of the *New Zealand's* arrival in Wellington, according to *Truth*,⁴² suggested that the enduring focus on patriotism as a dominant characterisation of New Zealand obscured the complexity and richness that existed within the dominion in 1913. Likewise, the motivations of undertaking a 45,320-mile⁴³ journey, 'the longest ever undertaken by a British warship,'⁴⁴ were broader than those emphasised. Certainly, the dominion's 'patriotism' might just as easily

³⁸ "New Zealand" Visit,' *Natal Witness*, 8 March 1913. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' Marischal Murray Bequest Vol. III, 2012.80.1, Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy Te Waka Huia O Te Taua Moana o Aotearoa.

³⁹ 'The "New Zealand,"' *Ladysmith Gazette*, 15 March 1913, *ibid*.

⁴⁰ 'Does New Zealand Lead?' *Ashburton Guardian*, 7 February 1913. 5.

⁴¹ Mitcham, *Race and Imperial Defence*. 114, 129.

⁴² See quote, p1.

⁴³ Unknown author, *Onward H.M.S. New Zealand*, Devonport: Swiss & Co. Naval and Military Printers and Publishers, [1919].

⁴⁴ 'Personal Notes,' *Otago Daily Times*, 19 March 1913. 6.

have given the imperial authorities opportunity to cancel the cruise, since the cost of a ten-month tour was enormous⁴⁵ and New Zealand's official attitude continued to be concessionary, including an offer on the eve of departure to delay the visit 'if the time unsuitable.'⁴⁶

The implications of the tour for New Zealand are also worthy of review. With heightened awareness of the situation in Europe, defence issues were high on New Zealanders' minds in 1912⁴⁷ and 1913, both in relation to New Zealand in particular and to the empire in general. But this preoccupation with security was not unique to the dominion. The empire's self-governing colonies were all engaged in debating how best to protect their futures and, at least in relation to their naval footprint, were as competitive as they were collaborative towards the goal of sustaining the British Empire. The tour itself offered the imperial authorities a remarkable opportunity beyond that of keeping faith with New Zealand. The battlecruiser had already been a reference point within the empire for some of the pre-tour defence discussion. The tour provided additional focus. *HMS New Zealand* put Britain's technological and human capability, global relationships and reach, on show. The audience was not only the wider empire, but the world and this exposure extended beyond the vessel to New Zealand. London's *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote, 'The New Zealand goes to greet South Africans, Australians, and Canadians in the name of their New Zealand brethren.'⁴⁸ Waitaki Boys' High School Headmaster F.A. Milner wrote in a lengthy article for the *Oamaru Mail* that 'The gift has incidentally brought to New Zealand the greatest advertisement she has ever had and moreover, has focussed into definite action the flame of patriotic loyalty that fires the outlying Empire ... We are irresistibly drawn in her wake.'⁴⁹ While his latter comment appeared to refer to the romantic appeal for the public of vicariously following the journey, his assessment can also be applied to the dominion's profile within the empire, and internationally.

⁴⁵ 'At full speed 30 tons of coal per hour passes through her furnaces. On the run across from Durban she used 8,000 tons of coal. When she dropped anchor in Melbourne she had just eight tons of coal left ... but her reserve of oil fuel, 630 tons, is yet intact. It will be seen at once that a million and a-half of money is not the only expenditure that a nation puts into its modern battleship. The real cost begins only when you keep them moving, or when they have to shoot, as well as steam.' 'A Battle-Cruiser,' *Auckland Star*, 7 April 1913. 6.

⁴⁶ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 17 March 1913. 9. The previous year the New Zealand government had graciously accepted the Admiralty's reversal on stationing *HMS New Zealand* in the Pacific. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 1 July 1912. 7.

⁴⁷ Despite the assessment of the 1911 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Professor Alfred Freid of Vienna, who said at the beginning of 1912, 'It is clear that we have emerged from the period of external war.' 'Power of the Press,' *Auckland Star*, 15 January 1912. 7.

⁴⁸ Quoted in several New Zealand newspapers. For example, 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 6 February 1913. 5.

⁴⁹ 'Battleship New Zealand,' *Oamaru Mail*, 29 May 1913. 3. Milner formed a personal relationship with Lionel Halsey, and the two corresponded at times over the following years.

This chapter places the tour in context relative to imperial naval concerns and perceived responsibilities, and reviews the national responses of sibling dominions to the question of imperial loyalty.

By the end of 1912, *HMS New Zealand* was being prepared for its maiden cruise. During the ten-month journey the battlecruiser would circumnavigate the globe, visit each of the empire's dominions with special emphasis on New Zealand, and 'show her flag overseas.'⁵⁰ The initial hope that the battlecruiser would become the flagship for a new Pacific fleet based out of the China Station had been denied, and following the cruise the *New Zealand* was destined to join the Royal Navy's North Sea battle squadrons.⁵¹ This decision had been another direct outcome of the ongoing Anglo-German struggle for naval supremacy. In March 1912 Winston Churchill, in his new position as First Lord of the Admiralty, delivered the Naval Estimates for 1912-13.⁵² His speech⁵³ to the British House of Commons, labelled by the *Times* (London) as 'the best exposition of naval policy since 1889,'⁵⁴ acknowledged Germany as the reason for the British naval ship-building programme and invited that country to cooperate with Britain in reducing the 'ruinous' competition. The alternative was for Britain (which already held the advantage in number of vessels and speed of construction) to radically increase her naval preparation so as to remain inviolable.⁵⁵ British newspapers reported the German reception to Churchill's invitation as mixed.⁵⁶ On May 14, following 'furious' debate in the Reichstag, the Novelle, the

⁵⁰ 'Our Dreadnought,' *Manawatu Standard*, 30 December 1912. 5.

⁵¹ 'New Zealand's Gift Ship,' *New Zealand Herald*, 26 April 1912. 4.

⁵² Churchill replaced retiring First Lord Reginald McKenna in October 1911. McKenna had been in the role since 1908. 'The Admiralty,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 24 October 1911. 5. Churchill's appointment was seen in some quarters as acknowledgement by the British Government that defence was becoming a priority. 'Churchill's Opportunity,' *Auckland Star*, 26 October 1911. 5.

⁵³ Text of the speech is in 'Naval Policy Stated,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1912. 9.

⁵⁴ 'The Navy and Germany,' *Dominion*, 21 March 1912. 6. Note that the paper itself has a typographical error, dating the leader 'March 21, 1911.'

⁵⁵ 'The Naval Position,' *Southland Times*, 30 April 1912. 4. The paper noted that, 'In a speech at Glasgow, the First Lord used these significant words: "As naval competition becomes more acute we shall have not only to increase the number of ships we build, but the ratio which our naval strength will have to bear to other great naval powers, so that our margin of superiority will become larger and not smaller, as the strain grows greater. Thus we shall make it clear that other naval powers, instead of overtaking us by additional efforts, will only be more outdistanced in consequence of the measures which we ourselves shall take."' In February the British Secretary of State for War, Lord Haldane, visited Germany in part to attempt bringing Germany and Britain closer together. This visit was initiated by a German businessman and a British banker. 'Great Britain and Germany,' *Marlborough Express*, 14 February 1912. 4.

⁵⁶ Reports suggested that while the Kaiser, the Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg and the German public viewed the invitation sympathetically, the German Admiralty reacted 'with coldness.' The Kaiser was widely promoted as pro-peace, although he is quoted in the 1912 publication *The German Emperor and the Peace of the World* by 1911 Nobel Peace Prize winner Alfred H. Fried, as remarking in a 1905 speech that 'he said he did not wish to dominate the world, though he frankly avowed the "si vis pacem para helium" (if you wish for peace be prepared for war) policy.' 'Pater's Chats with the Boys,' *Otago Witness*, 25 December 1912. 71; 'German and British Navies,' *Oamaru Mail*, 30 April 1912. 6. German naval aspirations were not dissimilar to those of the British. Certainly a statement purportedly prepared for the Naval State Secretary Admiral von Tirpitz in 1912 said, "If the English cannot build us to death because it would be too expensive for them and cannot beat us to death because that would be too expensive for them after the approval of the Novelle," then they would probably change their

Naval Bill⁵⁷ which aimed to strengthen⁵⁸ the German navy, was finally passed with only the Social Democrats opposed.⁵⁹ The British response was rapid.⁶⁰ The following day Churchill told the House of Commons that the conditions had been met for the supplementary naval estimates he had signalled earlier in the month. In a ‘tone ... of confidence and compliment,’⁶¹ he set an expectation regarding the role of the overseas dominions, drawing the picture of a growing ‘overseas naval force’ with ‘the daughter States’ responsible for guarding the boundaries of empire.⁶²

Churchill’s vision found favour in many quarters in Britain⁶³ and overseas. Wellington’s *Evening Post* saw the ‘opportunity’ not only as one of self-interest, but also as a rite of passage for the dominions as they transitioned from dependence to maturity. They should feel proud, the paper said, to take on a share of the defence responsibility and to be judged capable of doing so, rounding the editorial off with an appeal to ‘colonial patriotism’ and ‘manliness.’⁶⁴ The *New Zealand Herald* concurred: ‘The risk is indivisible, the burden common.’⁶⁵ Indeed, nearly a month earlier, Archibald Hurd, an editor of Britain’s *Daily Telegraph* and a ‘leading authority’ on naval matters, had written an uncompromising article arguing the need in similar terms. He praised the ‘standard of patriotism’ set by New Zealand while referring to Australia’s ‘baby navy’ as a lower form of ‘Imperial endeavour as has commended itself to the people of New Zealand.’⁶⁶ Australia, however, generally interpreted Churchill’s words as ‘a complete vindication’ of their policy to develop a

policy towards Germany, “and from the present armed encounter a really friendly relationship of Germany and England would develop.” Matthew S. Seligmann, Frank Nægler and Michael Epkenhas, eds., *The Naval Route to the Abyss: The Anglo-German Naval Race 1895-1914*, London: Routledge, 2015. 285. The Novelle was the German Naval Bill.

⁵⁷ ‘The German Navy,’ *West Coast Times*, 19 February 1912. 2.

⁵⁸ ‘Relations of Powers,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 February 1912. 7.

⁵⁹ ‘Germany And Britain,’ *Manawatu Standard*, 15 May 1912. 4.

⁶⁰ ‘1912 The Reply to Germany,’ *Press*, 17 May 1912. 6.

⁶¹ ‘A Call to the Dominions,’ *Evening Post*, 21 May 1912. 6.

⁶² ‘Needs of British Navy,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 17 May 1912. 7. “It was essential, Mr. Churchill said, that the fleet should be concentrated at a decisive spot in European waters, thus creating a new want and affording new opportunity for the Overseas Dominions. We could, he continued, if the need arose, despatch strong squadrons to aid dominions which might be menaced or attacked, but the main development of the next ten years would be the growth of an effective overseas naval force. They would then, he added, be able to make a true division of labour, the Motherland maintaining the supremacy at a decisive point, while the daughter States guarded and patrolled the rest of the Empire.”

⁶³ For example, Archibald S. Hurd, ‘on the editorial staff of the Daily Telegraph and ... regarded as one of the leading authorities on naval matters,’ applauded Churchill’s ‘plain-speaking.’ “It has been the fashion in Downing Street and at the Admiralty and War Office to treat these growing countries as spoil children to whom the undiluted truth must seldom or never be told.” Hurd’s comments were supported by Gerard Fiennes ‘who talks ships for the Pall Mail.’ ‘It’s Up to Us,’ *Evening Post*, 18 May 1912. 3.

⁶⁴ ‘A Call to the Dominions,’ *Evening Post*, 21 May 1912. 6. ‘Manliness’ was a valued imperial trait (see Chapter Four). In minuting their acknowledgement of the Antarctic tragedy, Auckland City Council placed ‘on record its high appreciation of the British pluck and manly fortitude displayed by Captain Scott and his four colleagues...’ ‘Council Minutes 20 February 1913,’ *Auckland City Council Minute Book, No. 17, 24 August 1911-20 February 1913*. 997.

⁶⁵ ‘The Naval Situation,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 18 May 1912. 6.

⁶⁶ ‘It’s Up to Us,’ *Evening Post*, 18 May 1912. 3.

national navy,⁶⁷ although the Australian *Truth* pointed out the ‘curious’ nature of the expectation that Australia (and Canada) would be key players in patrolling the outer reaches of empire as if ‘each of them [had] just stepped round to the nearest store and ordered full-fledged fleets to be delivered at the latest by Saturday week.’ Australia, the newspaper added, ‘will be ready in 23 years’ while Canada ‘is going over to England to have a talk about increasing her 1s. 1¹/₂d. per head subscription.’⁶⁸

The announcement that New Zealand’s gift battlecruiser would no longer be stationed in the Pacific was made in a *Gazette Extraordinary*⁶⁹ on 21 May 1912.⁷⁰ The agreement between the Admiralty and the New Zealand Government had been reached in early May pending the anticipated passage of the German Novelle. The New Zealand response to what was a disappointing change of commitment was nevertheless steadfast. Despite remarking on the self-sacrifice which was represented by ‘a permanent charge of some £40,000 a year upon the Consolidated Fund,’⁷¹ the *Marlborough Express* acknowledged that an attack on the empire would more likely occur closer to ‘the Motherland’.⁷² Sir Joseph Ward, speaking at Empire Day⁷³ celebrations in Sydney, reiterated the imperialist theme that the goal should be strength and impregnability of empire as a totality. ‘No past Empire,’ he said, ‘had exemplified the family relationship of a mother nation and a galaxy of young nations,’ all of whom had to work together in a unified manner.⁷⁴ However, while New Zealand received another round⁷⁵ of fulsome praise in the British press for its ‘splendid act of sacrifice,’⁷⁶ and New Zealand High Commissioner Sir William Hall-

⁶⁷ ‘Australian Navy Vindicated,’ *Age* (Melbourne), 18 May 1912. 13. For some time, fear had been growing of Japan’s developing naval strength and of that country’s perceived aspirations despite the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, initially signed in 1905 and renewed in 1911 (four years ahead of schedule). ‘Australia and Japan,’ *Scone Advocate* (NSW), 6 February 1912. 4. ‘New Anglo-Japanese Treaty,’ *Press*, 17 July 1911. 6. America’s concern at the possibility they would lose third place as the world’s most powerful navy to Japan did little to allay those fears. ‘The Third Power,’ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 28 February 1912. 5.

⁶⁸ ‘Digs at the Dominions Necessity for Navies,’ *Truth* (Brisbane), 26 May 1912. 4.

⁶⁹ *The Gazette* is the official public record of the British government. A *Gazette Extraordinary* ‘is a special edition deemed to require additional gravitas to reflect the importance of the event, such as declaration of war or the accession of a monarch to the throne.’ ‘About the Gazette,’ *The Gazette*, accessed 16 October 2017, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/about>.

⁷⁰ ‘The Dreadnought,’ *Evening Post*, 21 May 1912. 8. It is interesting to note that the following year the *Times* (London) placed the responsibility for this decision with ‘The shortcomings of Mr Churchill’s predecessor as First Lord.’ ‘Empire’s Sea Defence,’ *Waikato Argus*, 21 January 1913. 3.

⁷¹ ‘Our Dreadnought,’ *Marlborough Express*, 23 May 1912. 4.

⁷² At this time, Japan was perceived to be the biggest menace to New Zealand and Australia in the Pacific. However, the renewal in mid-1911 of the Anglo-Japanese treaty partially allayed these fears although the apparent Japanese ambitions towards the Pacific and even North America were recognised. ‘Britain and Japan,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 17 July 1911. 7; ‘Japan and the Pacific,’ *Press*, 1 February 1912. 6; ‘The Yellow Peril,’ *Lyttelton Times*, 11 March 1912. 8. The occasional unsettling report however continued to appear. Not everyone was convinced by the signed alliance, including Japanese commentators. ‘Notes and Comments,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 March 1912. 6; ‘A Warning. Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Its Effect Limited,’ *Evening Post*, 7 September 1911. 7.

⁷³ 24 May 1912

⁷⁴ ‘Navy of Empire,’ *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1912. 5.

⁷⁵ The first round being the occasion of the original gifting of the battlecruiser in 1909.

⁷⁶ ‘Sharing the Burden,’ *Singleton Argus* (NSW), 23 May 1912. 2.

Jones insisted there was no 'shadow of chagrin' within the country,⁷⁷ the change in station for the battlecruiser was not applauded by all. One 'Home' newspaper declared it was plainly a case of imperial selfishness, the Admiralty not wanting to give up the 'finest [cruiser] afloat.'⁷⁸ Nevertheless, for New Zealand a sweetener in the agreement had made the *New Zealand's* new orders more palatable: the vessel was to visit the dominion in late 1912 for a three-month stay, including Christmas. This was promoted early as an opportunity for New Zealanders to see what their loyalty (and money) had purchased. 'The object of the cruise,' wrote the British journal *Naval and Military Record* in January 1913, 'is primarily to enable the people of New Zealand to inspect their handsome gift to the Empire for service in the main strategical zone.'⁷⁹ In New Zealand, an *Observer* cartoon later depicted the battlecruiser's captain, Lionel Halsey, as 'The Showman' addressing the New Zealand public, calling 'Come aboard ladies & gentlemen & see what you've got for your two millions.'⁸⁰ Indeed, the notion of it being 'a show ship' was not lost on certain members of the press.⁸¹

The theme of imperial unity, in particular the unity of defence, continued to be live in political and public debate,⁸² due in no small part to the Canadian offer of late 1912. Acknowledging the 'changed conditions' that were pulling the imperial navy back to the North Sea, with the result that Canada's coastlines no longer saw the imperial flag at all, Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden announced a new offer of support

⁷⁷ 'Navy of Empire,' *Auckland Star*, 25 May 1912. 5.

⁷⁸ 'Cruiser New Zealand,' *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 24 May 1912. 7. Although ironically, the *Naval and Military Record* was reported as saying that 'the gift of Dreadnoughts from overseas dominions is going to cause a good deal of confusion' because the *New Zealand* was recalled to 'home waters' on the wish of the Admiralty but subsequent declarations suggested 'she was not wanted there.' The argument is itself confusing. 'Gift Dreadnoughts,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 8 March 1913. 4.

⁷⁹ Quoted in 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 11 March 1913. 2.

⁸⁰ 'Dreadnought Week at Auckland – Big Guns and Little Guns, Broadships from Them All,' *Observer*, 10 May 1913. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

⁸¹ 'It is said that the New Zealand is officially "showing the flag" in these waters, but actually the business of Captain Halsey and his officers and men seems to be rather "showing the ship." 'A Vote of Thanks,' *Star*, 15 May 1913. 2.

⁸² South Africa's leaders were discussing their degree of readiness to join with the other overseas dominions in defence of the empire. However, that debate did not define tangible support for the imperial navy. Brigadier General Christian F. Beyers, Commandant General of South Africa's Active Citizen Force (ACF) had visited London in November 1912 and discussed South Africa's efforts to bring 'Boer and Briton' together 'harmoniously', and the administration's preparations for military action. The Union of South Africa was achieved politically in mid-1909 and officially came into being in May 1910. 'The South African Union,' *Auckland Star*, 13 May 1909. 4. The ACF comprised 'Territorial' units as opposed to the Permanent Forces of professional soldiers, the ACF were newly established in South Africa under the 1912 Defence Act, although many of the actual regiments had existed previously as Colonial units. Mark Naude, 'South Africa's Active Citizen Force Uniform, 1913-14,' *Military History Journal* 13 No 5, June 2006, accessed 14 September 2017, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol135mn.html>. The South African Defence [Act] required the male population to be martially prepared, fifty percent through compulsory training and fifty percent through membership of (inspected) rifle clubs and similar associations. 'Pulse of Empire,' *Evening Post*, 6 January 1913. 8. Back in South Africa the leader of the opposition (the pro-British, conservative Unionist Party), Sir Thomas Smartt motivated delegates at the party's annual conference to pass resolutions 'expressing the opinion that the South African naval contribution was inadequate, but not supporting the proposals for the establishment of a South African Navy.' *Ibid*.

for the empire,⁸³ attempting to ensure ‘co-operation with autonomy.’⁸⁴ He noted with diplomacy and prescience that the empire’s ‘general naval supremacy’ was ultimately key to the safety and security of the overseas dominions and that ‘New Zealand’s battleship is ranged in line with the other British battleships in the North Sea, because there New Zealand’s interests may best be guarded by protecting the very heart of the Empire.’ However, Canada would bear the cost of building and outfitting three of the most powerful ships for use of the Royal Navy in return for a permanent seat on the Imperial Defence Committee. This agreement, negotiated by Borden during a recent trip to Britain,⁸⁵ was also contingent upon the return of the ships to Canada when that dominion was ready to set up its own fleet. The ultimate goal was the establishment of a powerful Pacific squadron⁸⁶ that could ‘assert once more the naval strength of the Empire along these coasts.’ The ‘absolute safety of trade routes’ must also be ensured.⁸⁷ He noted, with an oblique reference to Australia, that building ‘a separate great naval organisation’ could take up to half a century leaving them a ‘poor, weak’ player in the meantime.⁸⁸ Effectively, Australia was still on her own among the dominions in pursuing the development of her own navy.

The response around the empire to Borden’s speech was immediate and mixed. New Zealand leader writers devoted many column inches to reviewing the global reactions and to considering the implications for the empire and for New Zealand. The *Marlborough Express* acknowledged the extent of its coverage, telling its readers it need make no apology given the importance of naval defence.⁸⁹ Based on the reporting in New Zealand, Canadians were by no means unanimous in supporting their Prime Minister’s proposal. The French-Canadian press was purportedly opposed to the loss of autonomy that would ensue,⁹⁰ a point alluded to by Borden’s

⁸³ Following the reading of a memorandum on naval policy from the Admiralty which ‘explained that it was necessary to weaken the British overseas fleets in order to cope with German expansion.’ ‘Empire Defence,’ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 December 1912. 5. An *Auckland Star* editorial judged the memorandum ‘the most important document of the kind that has been brought under the notice of a colonial Parliament.’ ‘Canada’s Naval Policy,’ *Auckland Star*, 7 December 1912. 4.

⁸⁴ ‘Empire Defence,’ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 December 1912. 5.

⁸⁵ ‘Canada’s Offer,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 8 January 1913. 5.

⁸⁶ The notion of a Pacific fleet was not new, and neither was the suggestion that the dominions should have a say on the Imperial Defence Council. In delivering the supplementary naval estimates in May 1912 Churchill had ‘urged that the dominions must, with all speed, build up naval forces, which can guard and patrol the outlying empire, while England maintains supremacy at the decisive point.’ Retired Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge and ‘Canadian statesmen’ were also reported earlier in 1912 as favouring inclusive representation at Council level. ‘The Armed Peace,’ *Australasian* (Melbourne), 25 May 1912. 31.

⁸⁷ ‘Empire Defence,’ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 December 1912. 5.

⁸⁸ ‘Canada’s Offer,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 8 January 1913. 5.

⁸⁹ ‘Naval Defence,’ *Marlborough Express*, 9 December 1912. 4.

⁹⁰ ‘Canada and the Navy,’ *Auckland Star*, 9 December 1912. 5.

predecessor, former Liberal Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who ‘alleged that during the last election on hundreds of platforms in Quebec the question: "What do we owe to England?"’ was answered by shouts of “Nothing.”⁹¹ On a different note the *New York Times* reported Western Canadians were disgusted at their country ‘joining in the vortex of militarism.’ Before the end of the year Borden was reported to be reframing the offer’ to incorporate the spirit of Sir Wilfred Laurier’s proposals by making the proposed gift a nucleus of Canada’s navy.⁹² Other reports from North America commented on the increased international power of what was effectively ‘a new form of Imperial federation.’⁹³ Neither was this latter observation lost on Germany. The German press had been contending the British imperial spirit was weakening, so the news from Canada on the heels of tangible offers from India and Malaya⁹⁴ was ‘disagreeable.’⁹⁵ Churchill’s March 1913 statement of the naval estimates further underscored that perception of federation with a new role envisaged for the *New Zealand*, post-tour, and a firm proposal for the now much discussed imperial fleet. ‘The Admiralty proposed to form the Canadian ships, the Malay and the New Zealand into an Imperial squadron, based on Gibraltar.’⁹⁶

In general, British reports emphasised delight and support for the Canadian proposal, although underneath the celebratory tone sounded notes of discomfort and caution.⁹⁷ South African newspapers mostly were inspired by the offer.⁹⁸ Of

⁹¹ ‘Nothing Owed to England,’ *Marlborough Express*, 14 December 1912. 5.

⁹² ‘The Week,’ *Auckland Star*, 21 December 1912. 11; ‘Canada’s Fleet,’ *Auckland Star*, 24 February 1913. 5.

⁹³ ‘American Opinions,’ *Evening Post*, 9 December 1912. 7. In addition to the *World*, the North American newspapers quoted were the *New York Times*, the *Tribune* and *L’Événement* (Quebec).

⁹⁴ In November 1912, Indian princes collaborated to enable an offer of ‘three super-Dreadnoughts and nine armoured cruisers’ to the Royal Navy. Churchill was reportedly sceptical of the possibility. The Federated States of Malaya had also promised a vessel to the imperial navy. ‘The Malay Dreadnought,’ *Press*, 30 January 1913. 7; ‘Helping the Navy,’ *Waikato Times*, 7 December 1912. 4; ‘India’s Gift to Navy,’ *Auckland Star*, 30 November 1912. 5. The offer generated a range of opinions. ‘Empire Defence,’ *Nelson Evening Mail*, 2 December 1912. 5; ‘India’s Gift Warships,’ *Dominion*, 6 December 1912. 5; ‘India’s Dreadnought Offer,’ *Dominion*, 4 December 1912. 7; ‘India’s Princes and the Navy,’ *Southland Times*, 18 January 1913. 5; ‘Great Gift or Tall Talk,’ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 December 1912. 5.

⁹⁵ ‘Feeling in Germany,’ *Evening Post*, 7 December 1912. 7. These offers from southern Asia of funding for new vessels like the *New Zealand* had triggered a ‘remarkable’ suggestion in Germany to shift German focus to air supremacy as a way to ‘eventually destroy the British navy.’ The *National-Zeitung* newspaper (Berlin) suggested a fleet of 100 Zeppelin airships be built instead of any further effort to compete on the sea. ‘Germany’s Reply to Indian Offer,’ *Ashburton Guardian*, 14 December 1912. 5.

⁹⁶ ‘Sea Power,’ *Auckland Star*, 28 March 1913. 5. New vessels had recently been offered to the imperial navy by both the Federated States of Malaya and India’s Princes (as opposed to the Indian Government). ‘The Malay Dreadnought,’ *Press*, 30 January 1913. 7; ‘Helping the Navy,’ *Waikato Times*, 7 December 1912. 4; ‘India’s Dreadnought Offer,’ *Dominion*, 4 December 1912. 7; ‘India’s Princes and the Navy,’ *Southland Times*, 18 January 1913. 5; ‘Great Gift or Tall Talk,’ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 2 December 1912. 5.

⁹⁷ ‘Britain’s *Nation* newspaper advised both Britain and Canada not to rush too soon into the agreement, a similar feeling to that expressed by the *Manchester Guardian* which was worried about the dominions becoming the controlling power ‘behind the Cabinet’s naval and foreign policies.’ English Press Comment,’ *Grey River Argus*, 9 December 1912. 5.

⁹⁸ The Premier Louis Botha acknowledged his country’s uncertainty and delay in stating a position on imperial naval resources, but seemed to be feeling some pressure noting also that he ‘hoped to put South Africa right soon.’ ‘American Opinions,’ *Evening Post*, 9 December 1912. 7; ‘South Africa’s Contribution,’ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 November 1912. 5. Public opinion in South Africa was divided on the best decision for that dominion: continue with a money contribution to the British navy,

particular interest were the respective responses of Australia and New Zealand. Both were perhaps predictable but they certainly offered interesting commentary on the dominant political views in each country. The Australian Prime Minister Andrew Fisher said somewhat enigmatically, 'That's all right, and Australia's all right'⁹⁹ and apparently made little further immediate comment to the press other than suggesting the decision was not inconsistent with Australia's,¹⁰⁰ and remarking favourably on Australian representation on the Imperial Defence Committee.¹⁰¹ The Australian Minister of Defence was more forthcoming. He applauded Canada's offer as supporting Australia's position, 'and seeing that the Dominion acted after consulting the Admiralty it is a commendation of our attitude.'¹⁰² Australia's High Commissioner in London, Sir George Reid, envisioned the North Pacific and North Atlantic patrolled by Canadian fleets while Australian fleets looked after the south seas.¹⁰³ The Agent-General for West Australia, Sir Newton Moore, was more personal saying the development of Australia's own navy was the only way to go and contributions such as *HMS New Zealand* only provided 'something which otherwise the British taxpayer would have provided. New Zealand's contribution did nothing to strengthen the outer Empire.'¹⁰⁴

New Zealand's competitive streak and ambitious orientation seems to have been further sharpened. While Prime Minister Massey declared Canada's offer 'simply splendid,' he remarked that New Zealand's naval policy was not 'so well satisfied,' but that the government would be announcing amendments¹⁰⁵ following Minister of

gift a vessel or begin to build a navy of its own. 'In South Africa,' *Auckland Star*, 9 December 1912. 5. At an alfresco lunch in Cape Town in early March 1913 for the officers of *HMS New Zealand*, South African Minister of Defence General Jan Smuts rationalised the country's apparent indecisiveness. Referring to the Anglo-Boer War and the ongoing tensions between British and Boer settlers he said, 'We have been so much immersed in other and more arduous tasks, ... that we have not been able to turn our attention to this most important subject of naval defence ... But there is no doubt that more and more this subject is coming to the fore. Other things that troubled us in the past have been disposed of ... and as we clear all these difficulties out of our way the coast is becoming clear for our attention to be turned to the question of naval defence.' However, he noted that 'because we happen to be on one of the greatest trade routes in the world' the situation was not so easy for a small country to take control of. '...we shall need in future years to continue to look to the British Government for assistance in protecting this most important trade route. But that is no reason why we should not do our just and honest share in the matter.' 'The Visitors at Groote Constantia,' *Press*, 2 April 1913. 10. However, the South African Minister of Justice was circumspect, warning that sentiment or jealousy were invalid reasons for following suit. 'American Opinions,' *Evening Post*, 9 December 1912. 7.

⁹⁹ 'That's All Right, and Australia's All Right,' *Evening Post*, 7 December 1912. 7.

¹⁰⁰ 'Imperial Defence,' *Brisbane Courier*, 7 Dec 1912. 5.

¹⁰¹ Regarding dominion membership of the Imperial Defence Committee, the *Evening News* was reported in New Zealand as commenting that a disagreement between the Australian Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies had prevented Australia being the first dominion granted representation on the committee, ahead of Canada. They had disagreed on where the representative should reside during the term of membership. This appears to have been the *London Evening News*, rather than the Sydney paper. 'The Imperial Defence Committee,' *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 December 1912. 5.

¹⁰² 'American Opinions,' *Evening Post*, 9 December 1912. 7.

¹⁰³ 'Canada and the Navy,' *Oamaru Mail*, 7 December 1912. 5.

¹⁰⁴ 'Malay States' Gift,' *Dominion*, 12 December 1912. 5.

¹⁰⁵ At a public meeting held in Lawrence on 7 December 1912 during Allen's tour of the country prior to his visit to Britain, Massey outlined New Zealand's existing naval position and said that when Allen returned in 1913 following discussions on

Defence James Allen's imminent trip to Britain where he would seek advice from the imperial authorities.¹⁰⁶ In turn, Allen spoke of his dream 'that India, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada would one day join hands in forming a great imperial Pacific fleet. How near apparently they were already to realisation of such a dream!'¹⁰⁷ New Zealand papers generally repeated similar refrains to the British press.¹⁰⁸ But the *New Zealand Times* stood out, warning of media manipulation and writing 'New Zealand is in danger of being involved in the backwash of jingoism, which has been created by the offer of three battleships by Canada.'¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, Borden's offer ignited a rancorous debate in Canadian politics.¹¹⁰ The stalemate remained unresolved at the end of June 1913 when the *New Zealand* finally left New Zealand for Fiji, Honolulu and Vancouver.¹¹¹

While still necessarily fragmentary, the extensive reportage on these topics manages somehow to draw out the essence of the leadership ethos and expectations in each country, making it possible to venture a characterisation of each of the key players. This exercise highlights intra-empire relationships and ambitions, and throws into relief the real impact that the battlecruiser had on Britain and on New Zealand's fellow dominions. In this distilled scenario, Britain presented as a parent struggling with the recognition that a new style of 'management' was needed to guide and discipline potentially wayward teens which were testing the boundaries¹¹² of

imperial defence the New Zealand Government would be able to declare its naval policy. 'New Zealand's Duty,' *New Zealand Herald*, 7 December 1912. 7. The lack of specifics relevant to government naval policy caused opponents to allege unnecessary secrecy. The *Wairarapa Daily Times* suggested 'Mystery is a device too often resorted to by politicians for the sole purpose of making themselves look important.' 'Mr Allen's Trip Home,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 13 December 1912. 4. Prior to Allen's return to New Zealand in June 1913, enough information regarding his discussions had reached the country to dispel the suggestion of 'local secrecy.' 'Hon. James Allen and Defence Questions,' *Timaru Herald*, 18 April 1913. 6.

¹⁰⁶ 'New Zealand's Position,' *Marlborough Express*, 9 December 1912. 2.

¹⁰⁷ 'Dream and Reality,' *Auckland Star*, 7 December 1912. 5. Allen's dream echoes Ward's 1911 proposal to the Imperial Conference to create an Imperial Parliament of Defence for the purpose of coordinating and harmonising the independent national policies. 'Practically, it would have transformed the self-governing regions of the Empire, ... now distinguished as "the British Dominions," into a vast electorate, of which every 200,000 persons would return a delegate to an Imperial Parliament of Defence.' Ward, however, was 'vigorously heckled' and the scheme was rejected. 'Imperial Parliament of Defence,' *New Zealand Herald*, 29 May 1911. 6; 'Sir Joseph's Sky Rocket,' *Waimate Daily Advertiser*, 29 May 1911. 4; 'Keenly Heckled,' *Dominion*, 17 July 1911. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Positive in general, with some expressing disagreement or, at least, reservation. 'Canada and the Navy,' *Wanganui Herald*, 7 December 1912. 5; 'Naval Policy,' *Star*, 7 December 1912. 5.

¹⁰⁹ 'New Zealand's Danger,' *New Zealand Times*, 9 December 1912. 6.

¹¹⁰ In March 1913 an *Evening Star* leader observed 'it is certain that the sense of high and joyous pride which was experienced throughout the Empire when Mr Borden brought down his proposals has been long since dissipated before the callous recriminations that have marked the progress of the debate.' 'Canada and Defence,' *Evening Star*, 24 March 1913. 4. The development of Canadian naval policy was a complicated issue and one which this thesis, of necessity, can do no more than acknowledge.

¹¹¹ 'The Navy Bill and Party Opinion in Canada,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 6 June 1913. 4; 'Canada's New Proposal,' *Auckland Star*, 7 June 1913. 5; 'Canada and the Navy,' *Dominion*, 12 June 1913. 5; 'Defence Begins at Home,' *Evening Post*, 28 June 1913. 15.

¹¹² In January 1913, the *Times* (London) remarked that 'all the Dominions represented at the last Defence Conference, except Australia, have tacitly departed from the principles then laid down.' 'Empire's Sea Defence,' *Waikato Argus*, 21 January 1913. 3; 'Australia and Canada,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 28 February 1913. 5.

allowable behaviour as they ventured to assert their developing characters, but distracted all the while with matters threatening the stability of the ‘family’.¹¹³ Australia was clearly set on a self-defined role as a major player with independent aspirations and drive, a willingness to test ‘authority’¹¹⁴ and an established sense of the value of its contribution to empire and world affairs.¹¹⁵ Collectively, Australian representatives projected self-confidence that tended towards arrogance, a sense of entitlement with a touch of rebellion, and a tendency to be dismissive of those who disagreed. The official South African attitude often seemed tentative and indecisive, sometimes contradictory, as the country seemed to struggle to define an identity compared to its fellow dominions, keen to assert their own character and independence but was nevertheless concerned to be taken seriously and to contribute meaningfully. Botha’s refusal in February 1913 to support a gift of coal to the *New Zealand* ‘on the ground that the battle cruiser is a British unit, and therefore ought not to receive distinctive treatment, particularly as the Union Government already contributes to the support of the British navy,’¹¹⁶ threw a different light on his earlier comments of putting ‘South Africa right’¹¹⁷ in relation to naval resources. Although similarly conflicted with regard to identity, Canada initially appeared to be gaining clarity.¹¹⁸ Having stepped forward confidently into an awareness of the influence it might be able to wield, the country nevertheless revealed itself to be the most fragile of the sibling dominions and the least apparently able to reconcile the needs of its constituents.¹¹⁹ Lastly, New Zealand appeared as a team player, ambitious but keen to please and anxious to make a mark within the system.¹²⁰ Fiercely loyal,¹²¹ competitive, with the burning desire to get its hand up first, New Zealand showed up

¹¹³ The analogy is not too fanciful given the reference to New Zealand as the ‘Junior Dominion.’ ‘The “Junior Dominion,”’ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 March 1913. 8.

¹¹⁴ ‘Digs at the Dominions Necessity for Navies,’ *Truth (Brisbane)*, 26 May 1912. 4.

¹¹⁵ Australia proudly reported a letter received by the Minister of Internal Affairs, King O’Malley, from ex-President Theodore Roosevelt stating that he ‘could not imagine any American seriously interested in the affairs of his country and the world who would not feel himself fortunate in having a chance to visit that great Commonwealth.’ ‘News of the World,’ *Mataura Ensign*, 6 February 1913. 6.

¹¹⁶ ‘New Zealand’s Cruise,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 21 February 1913. 5.

¹¹⁷ ‘American Opinions,’ *Evening Post*, 9 December 1912. 7.

¹¹⁸ ‘Canada’s Naval Policy,’ *Hastings Standard*, 16 February 1912. 4.

¹¹⁹ ‘A few years ago New Zealand was making the pace for the Imperial family, while Canada was content to play the part of the backward brother. But since the substitution of Mr. Borden for Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the Premier of the big Dominion the positions have been reversed.’ ‘Wanted, a Naval Policy,’ *Evening Post*, 6 November 1912. 6.

¹²⁰ In reporting the King’s inspection of the *New Zealand* prior to her departure on her maiden cruise, the *Pall Mall Gazette* waxed somewhat lyrically, ‘The freewill offering from the most distant Dominion is a sign and symbol of a tether, stronger than death, binding the distant lands of the British Commonwealth.’ ‘Symbol of Tether,’ *Marlborough Express*, 6 February 1913. 7.

¹²¹ Interviewed about the New Zealand naval policy, Massey commented that ‘the Government was Imperialistic and recognised the country as Imperialistic.’ ‘Wanted, a Naval Policy,’ *Evening Post*, 6 November 1912. 6.

in the discussion of the time as the quintessential classroom striver.¹²² In this sense, New Zealand stood apart from its ‘sibling’ dominions, states McIntyre has called ‘the “restless” Dominions’.¹²³ However, this ‘public’ face of the country masked a rather different internal reality. This thesis suggests that the patriotic front that seems to be widely accepted in the historiography was less the story of New Zealand in 1913 than it seemed, despite comments such as those by Allen when he suggested at a British Navy League luncheon in London that ‘New Zealanders are more patriotic than the people of the Motherland themselves.’¹²⁴ In fact, in October that year, when the government presented the naval policy it had earlier promised to deliver, it was clear that ‘patriotism’ did not mean unquestioning acceptance of circumstances, or uncritical compliance. Given the departure by the Imperial authorities from the agreement hatched at the 1909 Imperial Defence Conference, Massey announced steps towards the development of this country’s own naval capability.¹²⁵ The announcement was reported as far away as the United States.¹²⁶ This was very much in the spirit of what Malcolm McKinnon called ‘loyal dissent or loyal opposition,’ a form of independence that embodied a criticism of existing systems in a constructive, progressive manner.¹²⁷

Whatever the opinions and attitudes expressed, the extent and nature of the heightened debate lends credence to the contemporary assessment of the Canadian offer as a ‘conspicuous landmark’ and something ‘momentous.’¹²⁸ The empire was on the cusp of change as the participants recognised a growing flexibility in the connections and the subsequent opportunities for proactive contributions toward shaping the imperial landscape of the future.¹²⁹ As the year rolled over into 1913, the imperial flag on a naval vessel was seen for the final time in Sydney harbour as *HMS Drake*, the last Australian flagship of the imperial navy under the subsidy plan,¹³⁰

¹²² Christopher Pugsley refers to New Zealand slightly differently, as ‘a rowdy adolescent’ wanting a say. Pugsley, *Scars on The Heart*. 62.

¹²³ McIntyre, *Dominion of New Zealand*. 56.

¹²⁴ ‘Magnificent Response,’ *Auckland Star*, 8 February 1913. 5.

¹²⁵ ‘Naval Policy,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 29 October 1913. 8.

¹²⁶ ‘New Zealand to have Navy,’ *Sun* (New York), 29 October, 1913. 5.

¹²⁷ Malcolm McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy: New Zealand in the World Since 1935*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993. 3-4.

¹²⁸ ‘American Opinions,’ *Evening Post*, 9 December 1912. 7.

¹²⁹ The possibility of a subsidiary imperial conference on naval defence in the Pacific was mooted in November 1912, to be held in Vancouver to take advantage of an expected visit by Churchill. Australia and New Zealand were to be invited. ‘Defence of the Pacific,’ *Mataura Ensign*, 4 November 1912. 5. This conference was not held. ‘Australia and Canada,’ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 28 February 1913. 5.

¹³⁰ ‘Naval Changes,’ *Dominion*, 7 January 1913. 5.

returned to Britain.¹³¹ The possibility of Auckland replacing Sydney as the imperial naval base in the south Pacific was still in consideration.¹³² In Canada, it took another six weeks before Borden finally prevailed¹³³ having ‘implored’ the Liberals to see ‘the immense moral effect throughout the world if Canada united in the presentation of Dreadnoughts.’¹³⁴ While Borden was looking to claim moral leadership, that boat had already sailed. The cruise of the *New Zealand* had also been identified, certainly in the minds of the imperial press, with another motive allied to patriotism. As much as the tour was a parade for the benefit of those considered potential threats, or allies, there was also a persuasive goal focused within the empire: that of unified imperial response. The *Lyttelton Times* was quick to relate the objective of ‘showing the flag’ to the concept of the *New Zealand* as a ‘show ship,’ writing soon after the vessel arrived in Wellington, ‘The care with which the New Zealand was fitted up for her ocean trip is in some respects pathetic, for Great Britain very much wants her dominions to look with a Britisher's love upon the Royal Navy.’¹³⁵ London's *Daily Telegraph* called the *New Zealand*, ‘The emblem of a new era’ and articulated the hope that the tour would result in imperial unification, that goal later highlighted by dominion commentators such as the *Lyttelton Times*.

‘Perhaps no sea officer was ever dispatched on an errand of greater significance, and importance ... They are entrusted with the task of exploring the thoughts of our allies, and, it may be, prompting them by their very presence to further sacrifices. If this cruise brings nearer to realisation the ideal (of union is strength), if it helps to cement into one federation the British family of nations, then the people of New Zealand, by their splendid act, will have contributed more to the well-being of humanity than all the Peace Conferences.’¹³⁶

¹³¹ ‘Homeward Bound,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 January 1913. 9; ‘H.M.S. Drake Homeward Bound,’ *Auckland Star*, 8 January 1913. 5.

¹³² ‘Dominion's Naval Base,’ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 22 June 1912. 3; ‘Naval Changes,’ *Dominion*, 7 January 1913. 5.

¹³³ ‘Empire Defence,’ *Southland Times*, 17 February 1913. 5.

¹³⁴ ‘In the Event of War,’ *Mataura Ensign*, 16 January 1913. 6. The *Times* (London) noted that Laurier's amendments to the Conservative's proposed Navy Bill ‘are not unpopular, and are approved by Canadians as a sequel rather than an alternative to Mr Borden's offer of immediate assistance by the gift of three battleships.’ ‘Empire's Sea Defence,’ *Waikato Argus*, 21 January 1913. 3. Laurier's amendment called for the addition of ‘two Canadian fleet units to be manned and maintained by Canada, and ready to go in time of emergency to the aid of Great Britain.’ ‘Naval Defence,’ *Dominion*, 21 January 1913. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, expressed some sympathy for the Liberal viewpoint ‘if the Canadian ships are to be used similarly to H.M.S. New Zealand.’ ‘Home Politics,’ *Timaru Herald*, 22 January 1913.

¹³⁵ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *Lyttelton Times*, 16 April 1913. 9.

¹³⁶ ‘The Empire Ship,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 27 March 1913. 5

Placing the battlecruiser in the role of imperial unifier kept New Zealand's star high by association, although the role and the selfless leadership projected upon New Zealand was not gracefully accepted by all. Further dissenting opinions were reported in both South Africa¹³⁷ and Australia. This, then, is the context within which the *New Zealand* was prepared for and began its cruise to its donor country and it is interesting to see how the intra-empire relationships held and played out over the following months.

HMS New Zealand, whose date of departure had moved progressively backward into 1913, finally left the Royal Navy dockyard at Devonport on 28 January arriving at H.M. Dockyard at Portsmouth two days later.¹³⁸ Pre-cruise inspections by various parties, including 300 expatriate New Zealanders,¹³⁹ (where New Zealand's High Commissioner, the Hon. Thomas Mackenzie and the New Zealand's captain, Lionel Halsey, both emphasised New Zealand's proactivity),¹⁴⁰ and the King's official Ash Wednesday visit, generated further praise¹⁴¹ for New Zealand and its exceptional loyalty. Publicity was heightened by the country's late offer to defer the visit of *HMS New Zealand* if that should be in the best interest of the empire.¹⁴² It all began to prove too much for some, however. A cable from Australia was reported in the New Zealand press as commenting somewhat testily that the colonies 'are simply making provision pro tanto for our own safety. It is an eminently practical thing to do, but that it involved any special display of altruistic spirit (which one might imagine from

¹³⁷ During a hosted luncheon by South Africa's Union Government at the Government Wine Farm at Groote Constantia, General Smuts remarked, 'We pointed the way ... I think South Africa was the first part of the Empire to start this policy ... of presenting an instrument of war to the British Navy. The Good Hope ... was the first ... New Zealand, which is much younger than South Africa, and started the policy much later, is getting all the credit.' 'The Empire and the Navy,' *Cape Times Weekly Edition*, [date unknown], 16. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

¹³⁸ *Log of H.M.S. New Zealand*, 19th November 1912 to 31st December 1913. ADM 53/24109. The National Archives (UK).

¹³⁹ 'Expat' New Zealanders were as thrilled at the battlecruiser as the country's residents and turned out in welcome at ports throughout the cruise. British-based New Zealander 'Mr Pomeroy' presented the ship with its bulldog mascot, Pelorus Jack. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 12 March 1913. 6. The bulldog was 'a particular object for presentations by expatriated New Zealanders wherever the warship has touched, for with, singular unanimity the presentation-makers have struck upon the idea of giving a collar.' 'Pelorus Jack and His Collars,' *Auckland Star*, 25 April 1913. 5. In Melbourne, 200 expatriate New Zealanders visited the vessel. 'New Zealanders on the New Zealand,' *Manawatu Standard*, 4 April 1913. 5. While an appeal to New Zealanders in London to contribute towards a flag for the vessel received no response, they did organise on their own initiative a carved replica of New Zealand's coat-of-arms. 'H.M.S New Zealand,' *Evening Post*, 21 January 1913. 7. McKenzie's reference to Drake as a buccaneer was made during the presentation of this shield. The coat-of-arms was reported to be the work of Mr Rasleigh Pinwall (sic) of Plymouth. 'A Grey Steel Castle,' *New Zealand Times*, 12 April 1913. 12. However, this gentleman did not exist. The work is likely to have been carved by Violet Pinwill, possibly with assistance from her then business partner Edmund H. Sedding. 'Mr Pinwill' was the front for Rashleigh, Pinwill & Co., Ecclesiastical Carvers, a company set up by the three enterprising and talented daughters of the Reverend Edmund Pinwill of Ermington. Helen Wilson, 'The Pinwill Woodcarving Catalogue,' accessed 21 August 2017, <http://www.pinwillwoodcarving.org.uk/>. The production of the battlecruiser's coat-of-arms appears to be an entirely appropriate 'underground' story for a country that also 'disrupts' the status quo.

¹⁴⁰ 'Imperial Defence,' *Waikato Argus*, 5 February 1913. 3.

¹⁴¹ For example, 'The King's Visit,' *Press*, 6 February 1913. 7.

¹⁴² 'Guarding the Empire,' *Mataura Ensign*, 7 February 1913. 5; 'An Offer Applauded,' *Press*, 8 February 1913. 11.

the comments of some sections of the British press) is somewhat difficult to discern.¹⁴³ It seems possible to suggest that the furore that sprang up around apparently spontaneous¹⁴⁴ remarks by James Allen on further resources from New Zealand, and around reports of Australia's less than supportive attitude towards New Zealand's defence policy, was fanned by weariness at the surfeit of praise that had been heaped upon New Zealand fairly regularly since the battlecruiser offer was made in 1909. James Allen, New Zealand's Minister of Finance, visited Britain at the beginning of 1913 to negotiate a new loan for the New Zealand government. However, as Minister of Defence he had also been 'authorised' to discuss naval defence with the intention of strengthening and solidifying this country's naval policy. During a press interview he made two statements that attracted immediate attention. New Zealand, he said, hoped to offer Britain 8000 men as an expeditionary force, whenever and wherever it was needed. In relation to naval defence he also remarked that 'local navies for local purposes were useless,' and Australia, Canada, New Zealand (with South Africa and India thrown in for good measure) should bear the burden of a Pacific fleet. Several days later, at the official celebration with 'London Pakehas' on board the *New Zealand*, he again emphasised that New Zealand would cheerfully do more as necessary to keep the empire safe, men, money or ships.¹⁴⁵ Massey¹⁴⁶ and the Commander of the New Zealand Forces, Major-General Alexander Godley,¹⁴⁷ were quick to address the consternation expressed in New Zealand at the offer of an expeditionary force, both men placing Allen's comments in the context of New Zealand's voluntary contribution to the Anglo-Boer War. A handful of local newspaper editors, in particular the *Evening Post*, pointed out that Allen had said as much in the presence of the Prime Minister and other cabinet colleagues, before he left New Zealand – just that no-one had taken much notice then.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 February 1913. 5. This initial comment came from 'the "*Telegraph*"' which seems likely to mean the British newspaper the *Daily Telegraph*, rather than one of the Australian papers of the same name, although this is not clear.

¹⁴⁴ 'Sea Supremacy,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 5 February 1913. 2.

¹⁴⁵ 'Imperial Defence,' *Waikato Argus*, 5 February 1913. 3.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ 'Volunteers Only,' *Auckland Star*, 6 February 1913. 8.

¹⁴⁸ 'Defence of the Pacific,' *Evening Post*, 4 February 1913. 6; 'An Expeditionary Force,' *Evening Post*, 4 February 1913. 2; 'Misrepresentation,' *Evening Post*, 14 March 1913. 6. The *Otago Daily Times* also disputed the slant that had been placed on his words, due initially to the condensed nature of the cables from Britain. 'The Expeditionary Force,' *Otago Daily Times*, 14 March 1913. 4. Allen was also quick to explain his meaning. 'Force for Overseas,' *New Zealand Herald*, 17 March 1913. 7.

The Australian discomfort that began to surface at this time was less easily allayed. Under the heading 'Links That Bind' and a short report from London's *Pall Mall Gazette* commenting that 'A united defence movement... is unmistakably developing', the *Dominion* newspaper ironically, and perhaps a little mischievously, placed a short item noting Massey's response to the Australian discontent.¹⁴⁹ Predictably a number of local newspapers commented on Australia's 'hurt' in a mocking or disapproving way,¹⁵⁰ but there were also several more balanced assessments¹⁵¹ that acknowledged a kernel of truth in Australia's comments. Certainly, Allen¹⁵² in London praised Australia's sacrifice for the empire, as did a number of British papers,¹⁵³ and even the occasional New Zealand citizen letter writer.¹⁵⁴ In addition to New Zealand's heightened profile in defence matters, a degree of disgruntlement in Australia may have been associated with their own perceived inability to take advantage of opportunities earlier. At the time of the Canadian naval offer, for example, London's *Evening Post* observed that Australia might have enjoyed the first dominion membership of the Imperial Defence Committee but for differences of opinion between Prime Minister Andrew Fisher and the Colonial Secretary Lewis Harcourt.¹⁵⁵ Dissatisfaction in Australia on the lack of fanfare that Australia's new destroyer *HMAS Melbourne* attracted when it departed Britain on its maiden journey 'home' to the Pacific a few days before *HMS New Zealand* were also addressed in an apparently reasonable way by Australia's High Commissioner in London Sir George Reid. Reid pointed out the relative remoteness of the *Melbourne's* departure port, the difficulty of travelling to that location in

¹⁴⁹ Massey remarked that New Zealand had no intention of courting publicity or praise and believed that most New Zealanders felt they had done very little for naval defence. 'Links That Bind,' *Dominion*, 10 February 1913. 5. However, along with the Australian item the column also included other reports suggesting disunity: the ongoing political squabbling in Canada over Borden's naval proposal, and a South African challenge to their own High Commissioner in London for remarks he made on board the *New Zealand* before the vessel sailed, implying it might practically influence South African feeling. 'Links That Bind,' *Dominion*, 10 February 1913. 5; 'South African Policy,' *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 10 February 1913. 5. Sir Richard Solomon's remarks were apparently quickly repudiated by Botha according to the original challenger, C.A. van Niekerk, National Party MP, Boshof. 'South Africa and Navy,' *New Zealand Times*, 13 February 1913. 7. Solomon's observations were borne out, however sensitive some members of the South African administration may have been. For example, 'The Cape Argus points out that New Zealand has given a vessel which might turn a great battle, while South Africa is still deliberating. 'Cruise of the New Zealand,' *Otago Witness*, 5 March 1913. 26.

¹⁵⁰ 'The inference is drawn ... that the officials of Australia are not as well learned in the art of advertising as they are in the sister colony.' 'Defence of the Empire,' *Otago Daily Times*, 8 February 1913. 9. The remarks regarding advertising may have related to the King being 'induced' to inspect the *New Zealand*. 'The King's movements are closely watched, and widely recorded ... and his visit ... naturally enough led to editorial comment ... that this was a gift ... from one of the overseas Dominions.' 'Unpleasant Comparisons,' *Timaru Herald*, 8 February 1913. 8; 'The Week,' *Otago Witness*, 19 February 1913. 47; *Evening Star*, 7 February 1913. 4.

¹⁵¹ 'Australia's Resentment,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*. 8 February. 4; *Press*, 8 February 1913. 10; 'Too Much Praise for New Zealand,' *Marlborough Express*, 7 February 1913. 5.

¹⁵² 'Empire Defence,' *Dominion*, 8 February 1913. 5.

¹⁵³ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Manawatu Standard*, 7 February 1913. 5.

¹⁵⁴ 'The Call of Empire,' *Waikato Argus*, 10 February 1913. 2.

¹⁵⁵ 'Canada's Offer,' *Taranaki Herald*, 7 December 1912. 3.

winter, and the timing clash with the larger vessel's departure, and reminded those with concerns that a 'greater' opportunity was coming, that of farewelling the *New Zealand's* sister ship *HMAS Australia*.¹⁵⁶ However, it is also true that in terms of imperial propaganda value, the smaller vessel was not as promotable.¹⁵⁷

The welcome afforded to *HMS New Zealand* when the vessel reached Melbourne in early April 1913 was still noticeably cool in contrast to the public and official interest that its stopovers in South Africa had generated,¹⁵⁸ which included a short trip on board by 50 members of the South African Parliament.¹⁵⁹ Despite the presence in Port Phillip of 'Practically the whole of the Australian Navy,' and the 'great reception' that was accorded to *HMAS Melbourne* when she arrived the previous week, *HMS New Zealand* slid into the harbour 'almost unnoticed.' No welcome event was staged for the men although the Commonwealth Government held a banquet for the officers.¹⁶⁰ One Melbourne paper predicted the battlecruiser's visit to New Zealand would be 'a somewhat empty source of satisfaction' given the vessel's Atlantic stationing and the paucity of New Zealanders among the crew.¹⁶¹ The restrained, and in some quarters hostile, Australian responses raise several questions which would be worthy of further research. Why was the Australian welcome such a contrast to that given by South Africa, and later in the cruise by Canada¹⁶²? Can it be fully explained by the feeling in some quarters that Australia had been unfairly 'left out in the cold' when acknowledgements for imperial defence support were handed out to

¹⁵⁶ Which subsequently occurred in July 1913 following an inspection by the King on 1 July. 'Commonwealth Warship,' *Star*, 2 July 1913. 7.

¹⁵⁷ '... the *New Zealand* is a battleship, and therefore a more important addition to the Imperial fleet than a cruiser.' 'Unpleasant Comparisons,' *Timaru Herald*, 8 February 1913. 8. A point also reflected in the observation that the King would not opt to visit both a destroyer and a battlecruiser within such a short space of time, implying the *New Zealand* was therefore of greater significance. 'A Contrast,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 13 March 1913. 4. However, the *Timaru Herald's* leader did concede that as *HMAS Melbourne* had an Australian crew, it 'was really a more praiseworthy addition to the defence of the Empire than the unmanned battleship.' This assumes 'unmanned' meant not numbering a majority of New Zealand personnel among the crew.

¹⁵⁸ 'Her officers and crew speak with enthusiasm of their South African reception. It was wonderful. Even *New Zealand* must do something exceptional to beat it. About, 74,000 people visited the battlecruiser at Cape Town, about 60,000 in Durban. Upon one day over 15,000 people were passed in succession through the manholes of the after-turret. On leaving England a *New Zealand* resident presented the ship, with a splendid bulldog, and South African towns presented the dog in turn with two silver collars. Durban gave them a monkey, which, while they coaled yesterday, and grit was abundant, had sole control of the lower-turret.' 'Our Battle Cruiser,' *Dominion*, 9 April 1913. 8. Note the *Christchurch Press* reported 96,000 visitors in South Africa. 'H.M.S. *New Zealand*,' *Press*, 12 April 1913. 12. The tour scrapbook that is believed to have been Captain Halsey's, which includes typewritten lists of daily visitor numbers for each port, lists total visitors for the South African segment of the cruise as 114,230 – Cape Town 53,908, Simon's Town 925, Durban 59,397. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. *New Zealand* 1913,' 2012.80.1.

¹⁵⁹ 'News in Brief,' *Examiner* (Launceston), 7 March 1913. 1. Halsey was moved to note later that many of the legislators were Dutch. 'Naval Policy,' *Argus* (Melbourne), 7 April 1913. 13.

¹⁶⁰ 'H.M.S. *New Zealand*,' *Press*, 12 April 1913. 12. A comparison was noted in some quarters between the *New Zealand's* reception and the 'open-handed hospitality' shown to the American White Fleet in 1908. 'Australian Jealousy,' *Taranaki Daily News*, 8 April 1913. 4.

¹⁶¹ 'Gift Dreadnought,' *Weekly Times* (Melbourne), 5 April 1913. 8.

¹⁶² Halsey described 'the welcome accorded at Vancouver as one of the greatest during the entire tour.' 'H.M.S. *New Zealand*,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 July 1913. 7.

the overseas dominions, particularly given the additional suggestion circulating in some quarters that Australian shoulders would be largely left to carry the burden of defending Australasia?¹⁶³ Was it exacerbated by the perceived slight to Hobart which was denied a visit by the battlecruiser? Although the Tasmanian port was named in the *New Zealand's* original tour schedule,¹⁶⁴ and was confirmed again after the battlecruiser had left Britain,¹⁶⁵ at the end of February the town had been replaced by Melbourne, the temporary Commonwealth capital, at the request of the Australian Governor-General, Lord Denman.¹⁶⁶ In an effort to mollify, the notification included the assurance that the Melbourne stop was 'for coaling only and not for ceremony.'¹⁶⁷ Did that explanation in turn, effectively reducing the importance of the commonwealth to that of a mere coaling station, provide further justification for Australia's lukewarm welcome of the *New Zealand*? The *Lyttelton Times* suggested coaling could have been fulfilled at Hobart or elsewhere, and that the 'unintentional slight' of not allowing the country's own new battlecruiser, *HMAS Australia*, to be 'the first Dreadnought to enter the chief ports of the Commonwealth', may have been an issue.¹⁶⁸

HMS New Zealand catalysed other currents in Australasia. Speaking at the Federal Government's dinner for the battlecruiser's officers on 5 April 1913, Australia's Acting-Minister of Defence, well-known labour organiser William Morris (Billy) Hughes,¹⁶⁹ remarked that relying on 'the brotherhood of man to preserve us,' was as useful as 'a silk umbrella ... against a charge of shrapnel.' Australia and New Zealand would be 'doubly stupid' to not recognise the great danger existing in the world and

¹⁶³ '... the Admiralty intends that Australia shall assume practically the whole responsibility in the South Pacific local defence. This view, he says, is strengthened by the fact that the Auckland naval base is poorly equipped, and that no measures have been taken to prepare it for the powerful navy contemplated for New Zealand waters by the Naval Conferences of 1909 and 1911.' 'Shadow of its Glory,' *Auckland Star*, 4 April 1913. 5.

¹⁶⁴ 'Warship New Zealand,' *Western Mail* (Perth), 3 January 1913. 17.

¹⁶⁵ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Mercury* (Hobart), 8 February 1913. 4. Interestingly, despite apparently fairly wide reportage of the change in schedule at the end of February, there was still a degree of misinformation with at least one small Australian newspaper reporting at the end of March that *HMS New Zealand* was due to visit Hobart after leaving Melbourne. 'New Zealand Due To-Day, Biggest Warship Ever in the Bay,' *Geelong Advertiser* (Victoria), 31 March 1913. 4.

¹⁶⁶ The Governor-General's request was, however, made at the behest of South Australian lawyer and politician Josiah Symons, who also attempted, unsuccessfully, to have Adelaide added to the schedule. 'New Zealand Battleship and a Call at Adelaide,' *Register* (Adelaide), 8 March 1913. 14. At the Melbourne dinner for officers of the *New Zealand* hosted by the Federal Government, the Governor-General subsequently acknowledged Hobart's disappointment, regretting that visits to other Australian ports had not been possible. 'Naval Policy,' *Argus* (Melbourne), 7 April 1913. 13. However, some commentators wondered why adding Melbourne precluded any stopover at Hobart. 'Defence of the Empire,' *Otago Daily Times*, 10 March 1913. 5.

¹⁶⁷ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Press*, 1 March 1913. 11.

¹⁶⁸ 'Unpleasant Comparisons,' *Timaru Herald*, 8 February 1913. 8; 'Notes and Comments,' *Lyttelton Times*, 1 April 1913. 6.

¹⁶⁹ Praised in this country as 'not only the brains of the Labour Party, but most of its life and soul. Nobody else in the party has his skill in debate and with the pen, his power of sarcasm, his gift of humour, and his capacity for putting ideas into shape.' 'Waihi and Sydney,' *Press*, 6 March 1913. 6. Following Fisher's resignation in 1915 Billy Hughes became 7th Prime Minister of Australia.

do something about it. The naval defence actions taken by both countries and shortly (potentially) by the sister dominions 'would surely make for peace, if anything would, in this world.'¹⁷⁰ This was not the first time that *HMS New Zealand* had been associated with what appears to be the paradoxical notion that an instrument of war was simultaneously an instrument of peace. Such characterisation highlighted a deeper tension that existed not only within the empire but also the wider world. During the King's inspection of the *New Zealand* at Portsmouth, Thomas Mackenzie had referred to the vessel's message 'of peace and goodwill'¹⁷¹ contrasting the cruise with those of buccaneers such as 'Drake' and 'Anson,' and imagining the modifying effect on belligerent nations of experiencing firsthand the ire of the 'Daughter States' in defending the 'Mother Country.' *New Zealand Herald* columnist 'Tohunga' (William Lane) elaborated, writing 'Drake and his companions carried upon the seas "a message of peace and goodwill," none the less pregnant with meaning, because it was spoken by the mouths of cannon, and written in fire across many a coast of Spain. The New Zealand battleship carries the same message, with guns ready to talk and men ready to die proclaiming it.'¹⁷² This narrative of threat in the service of peace, while set against the background of escalating militarism in Germany, was effectively a justification for the same behaviour of the British empire. There was pride evident in descriptions of the battlecruiser's destructive power,¹⁷³ while it was praised as a deterrent of attack.¹⁷⁴ This argument seemed entirely practical and reasonable to many people in that period.¹⁷⁵ Such double-speak may have played on the calls for proactive intervention on behalf of peace that were growing throughout the pre-war period. But at the same time, reportage suggests a great deal of cynicism

¹⁷⁰ 'Naval Policy,' *Argus* (Melbourne), 7 April 1913. 13. In New Zealand, some compared Hughes' attitude unflatteringly to 'the dominant element in the ranks of those who profess to voice the views of Labour here,' finding New Zealand leaders of organised labour 'either lacking in patriotism or ... unable to appreciate the peril which lies behind unpreparedness ...' 'Notes of the Day,' *Dominion*, 8 April 1913. 4.

¹⁷¹ Although, depending on the organ, this was reported alternatively as referring to Captain Halsey's character or to his political stance. Compare 'New Zealand's Gift' (*New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1913. 7) with 'H.M.S. New Zealand' (*Nelson Evening Mail*, 5 February 1913. 5).

¹⁷² 'Make as a Buccaneer,' *New Zealand Herald*, Supplement, 8 February 1913. 1.

¹⁷³ 'With her high speed, and her greater range and hitting power, the battle-cruiser ... in the open sea, could wipe out at her leisure the whole of the American battleship fleet which visited Auckland a few years ago'. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Press*, 12 April 1913. 12.

¹⁷⁴ According to Halsey, South Africa's 'magnificent reception' for the vessel was driven by a recognition that through the battlecruiser, New Zealanders were preserving the peace of the world.¹⁷⁴ 'Invasion,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 18 April 1913. 5.

¹⁷⁵ 'A little reflection carried me back to the year of 1862, when I entered the Manukau Harbour in New Zealand's first gunboat, the P.S. Avon, preparing for war. What a contrast with the Dominion's last gunboat, H.M.S. New Zealand in the Auckland Harbour on a mission of peace!' wrote George Ellis of Remuera. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 2 May 1913. 6. Headlines included: 'The Peace of the World. Promoted by New Zealand's Gift,' in, 'Invasion,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 18 April 1913. 5; 'The Wheel of Peace' Battleship New Zealand a Strong Spoke,' *New Zealand Times*, April 1913. 10.

existed regarding the possibility of peace.¹⁷⁶ The Nobel Peace Prize was not awarded in 1912¹⁷⁷ and pragmatists like Billy Hughes were validated.

HMS New Zealand went out into the world during a year which has largely been eclipsed by the events of 1914. Yet the year was very much alive with concerns of empire defence, degrees of participation at the extremities, and the nature and form of intra-imperial relationships. In this context, in terms of propaganda and imperial consolidation, it could be argued that the cruise was a stroke of genius. As a message of positivity and as a morale booster for the wider empire, contemporary reports suggest the tour was successful. As a competitive reminder of participation and unity, the battlecruiser's physical appeal to the populace at each port ensured political leadership received the message anew. As a demonstration of the strength-begets-peace mantra, it is hard to see *HMS New Zealand* as a failure. There were, then, clearly a range of specific benefits to be gained by sending the *New Zealand* on such a long journey. The battlecruiser took British naval capability around the globe, and the reputations of both New Zealand and the empire benefitted. Although the disaffection expressed by individuals in South Africa and Australia was reported in New Zealand, the overall impression remains of a coup for the country in its imperial profile and political relationships. The 1913 cruise was both a regular operational exercise and a massive and impressive diplomatic and public relations exercise, the perceived need for which and the observable reactions to telling us much about the attitudes, relationships and aspirations of the period and of the key players.

¹⁷⁶ Although, not all were cynical: 'The Peace Foundation has not yet made much impression on a busy and rather bellicose world, but it is helping to turn public thought in the right direction.' 'The Peace Foundation,' *Lyttelton Times*, 3 March 1913. 6.

¹⁷⁷ 'Nobel Peace Prize,' *Auckland Star*, 11 December 1912. 5. However, it was awarded in retrospect in 1913 along with that year's award. 'Nobel Peace Prizes,' *New Zealand Herald*, 12 December 1913. 7.

Chapter Two

Generous action and ministerial muddling: Managing the tour of the decade

*"Quite impossible to provide another steamer;
also impossible for me to exceed the limit fixed
for safety of vessels beyond Heads ...
I really cannot help the position."¹⁷⁸*

While 1913 was a year of tension globally, it was also a challenging year for New Zealand domestically. A Melbourne correspondent reported in February 1913 that 'One has only to travel through New Zealand to become aware of the fact that a restful calm pervades the political arena of the Dominion. The conflicting winds, which characterised the latter years of the Ward Administration have died away, and a tranquil atmosphere of sincerity and common sense now exists.'¹⁷⁹ But while outward appearances may have suggested a country that had pulled everything together, turmoil was not far below the surface. The political environment was still raw from the acrimony¹⁸⁰ and upheaval associated with the previous year's drawn out change of government and the repercussions of the explosive industrial activism at Waihi. Yet little appears to have been treated in much depth apart from the Great Strike at the end of the year, and associated labour unrest.¹⁸¹ Even the political upheaval of 1912-13 is touched on only within the context of wider stories. Domestic dissatisfaction and political tensions remained a feature of the New Zealand experience, and this chapter will show that the task of arranging and managing the tour required not only strong project management skills, but also discretion, diplomacy and strength of self. Local, central and imperial authorities jockeyed to stamp their mark on the visit of the battlecruiser, highlighting the potential for the tour to have become a contested site. This competition for a share of the organisation, together with the echo of the events of 1912, and a good showing of what was described as 'colonial character',¹⁸² provided the government with plenty of

¹⁷⁸ 'The New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 28 May 1913. 6.

¹⁷⁹ 'Local and General,' *Dominion*, 26 February 1913. 6.

¹⁸⁰ Although largely absent at the final defeat of the Liberal Party. 'The Reform Victory,' *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 6 July 1912. 4; 'The Ministry Defeated,' *New Zealand Herald*, 8 July 1912. 8.

¹⁸¹ Erik Olssen (1988), and later Melanie Nolan as editor of a collaborative publication (2006). Charles Emmerson (2013) has written on the global experience of 1913, focusing on a selection of world cities, with Melbourne being the closest he gets to New Zealand.

¹⁸² Including a lack of 'discipline and self-control.' 'Labour and Arbitration,' *New Zealand Herald*, 7 September 1911. 6.

challenge. In this sense, the timing of the battlecruiser's visit was both a blessing and a curse. It provided excitement and pleasure for citizens on the one hand, and offered the government an excellent public relations opportunity to prove its domestic largesse and its organisational and administrative capability. On the other, the tour was a distraction from the business of government for what was still very much a novice administration and therefore added a layer of stress that was compounded by the presence of a new Governor.

The tour had been expected since the second quarter of 1912.¹⁸³ Indeed, early suggestions for tour arrangements were being made in the second half of that year by members of the public. A Manurewa farmer proposed supplying the battlecruiser's crew, while in New Zealand waters, 'with butter, beef, mutton, and other articles ... without any claims on the Government other than free transit by rail.' He suggested a system of donation by the dominion's agricultural sector to be called "'battleship butter days" ... My scheme has this advantage: It is free from party politics.'¹⁸⁴ But despite such early indications of public engagement, and the long lead-in time, the New Zealand government got off to a slow start in making official arrangements for *HMS New Zealand's* sojourn in the country. 'Battleship butter days' did not eventuate, and first action on event planning appears to have been initiated by local, non-governmental groups. In mid-1912, the ladies' committee of the Timaru branch of the Navy League proposed the presentation of a white ensign and a Union Jack to the battlecruiser, the flags to be raised by subscription from the women of New Zealand.¹⁸⁵ A request for subscription was promptly sent out via newspapers across the country.¹⁸⁶

The first reported local government interest seems to have been a resolution passed by the Akaroa Borough Council on 29 January 1913 to request a visit to their

¹⁸³ Except, it appears, by the Auckland City Council Finance Committee. In response to an invitation by the Victoria League of Auckland to 'make a suitable presentation to H.M.S. "New Zealand" on her first visit to this port,' the Committee recommended 'that the Council will be prepared to assist in every possible way in such a gift, but as the vessel is not coming to the Dominion it will be glad to learn the League's views.' 'Finance Committee Minutes 25 July 1912,' *Auckland City Council Minute Book, No. 17, 24 August 1911-20 February 1913*. 654. In reply, the Victoria League thanked the Council but said they had 'decided to co-operate with the Navy League as they think they are the right body to move in the matter.' 'Council Minutes 22 August 1912,' *Auckland City Council Minute Book, No. 17, 24 August 1911-20 February 1913*. 682.

¹⁸⁴ 'Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 15 June 1912. 10.

¹⁸⁵ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Western Star*, 5 July 1912. 2.

¹⁸⁶ An example: 'Presentation Fund,' *Ashburton Guardian*, 22 June 1912. 2.

harbour.¹⁸⁷ This was followed just over a week later by the Auckland branch of the Navy League writing to Auckland council to suggest convening a citizen's committee to make entertainment arrangements for the ship's crew, a suggestion subsequently referred to the council's Finance Committee.¹⁸⁸ However the Mayor of Tauranga noted at a council meeting on 10 February¹⁸⁹ that he had laid a request for the port to be included in the vessel's itinerary before Bay of Plenty MP W.D.S. MacDonald during his last visit to the town.¹⁹⁰ So local welcome and entertainment plans had been developing before the government turned its attention to the tour. There appear to be several reasons councils were keen to secure a visit of the vessel or of members of its crew. Certainly, there was the natural desire to be part of a significant national event. Local patriotism and pride in locality were also a motivator, shown by the representative gifts that some councils made to the vessel. These gifts included Manawatu game, Nelson fruit, South Canterbury lamb, and Bluff oysters and muttonbird tree leaves from Southland.¹⁹¹ Importantly, as some councils argued when negotiating a visit, all citizens were paying a share of the cost of the *New Zealand* and for that reason alone deserved the chance to experience some part of the visit firsthand.¹⁹² The opportunity to earn revenue from the tour does not seem to have been a driving force for councils, although they were keen to avoid footing the bill themselves.¹⁹³ Local government demonstrated a proactivity which possibly had

¹⁸⁷ Akaroa's proactivity may have been stimulated by an early report that listed four New Zealand ports in the battlecruiser's itinerary: Lyttelton, Wellington, Auckland, and Akaroa. 'The Ship's Itinerary,' *Ashburton Guardian*, 26 February 1913. 5.

¹⁸⁸ 'Local and General News,' *New Zealand Herald*, 21 February 1913. 6. The invitation is recorded in the Finance Committee Minutes for 6 March 1913. *Auckland City Council Minutes 5 March 1913- 19 March 1914*. 26.

¹⁸⁹ 'Borough Council,' *Bay of Plenty Times*, 14 February 1913. 4.

¹⁹⁰ The meeting to which the Mayor was referring to was possibly a month earlier during a ministerial visit by the Minister for Railways (Hon. W. H. Herries) and the Minister for Public Works (Hon. W. Fraser) in the course of their tour of the new East Coast railway route. 'Ministerial Tour,' *New Zealand Herald*, 10 January 1913. 9.

¹⁹¹ 'The New Zealand,' *Otago Witness*, 18 June 1913. 58; 'Correspondence,' *Colonist*, 12 May 1913. 4; 'Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 29 May 1913. 3; 'Record Number of Visitors,' *Marlborough Express*, 19 May 1913. 5; 'Battleship "New Zealand,"' *Southern Cross*, 17 May 1913. 10. The leaves of *Brachyglottis rotundifolia* (muttonbird scrub, peculiar to coastal areas in the lower South Island and Stewart Island) had been popular as postcard material at the turn of the century. By 1912 the leaves had been banned for posting to 'any address' although the club members appeared not to be aware of this New Zealand Post Office ban. Skye Wishart, 'Dead Letters,' *New Zealand Geographic*, Issue 112, Nov - Dec 2011, accessed 13 September 2017. <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/dead-letters/>

¹⁹² For example, in a lengthy letter to Bell in which he tried a second time to have the battlecruiser's visit to Bluff extended, J.E. Watson, President of the Southland Branch of the Navy League, wrote, 'we are still in hope that ... the government ... will give the people of Invercargill, and Southland, a reasonable chance to avail themselves of the arrangements made by the government to enable them to see the battleship for the cost of which they have all provided their share.' Letter, Watson to Bell, 30 April, 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand, MS-Papers-5210-145,' *Series 3 Sir Francis Henry Dillon Bell - Political correspondence and papers. 1884-1936. Bell family: Papers (MS-Group-0359)*. [Series]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Persistence often seemed to harden Bell's resolve and Watson was unsuccessful, his effort generating a tetchy reply. This is consistent with the observation in his *Te Ara* biography which paints him as 'an improbable politician, being dogmatic and prosaic in style and impatient with questioners; he is said to have been inclined to lose his temper under the rallery of opponents.' W. J. Gardner, 'Bell, Francis Henry Dillon', *DNZB*, published 1993, accessed 11 November 2018. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b16/bell-francis-henry-dillon>.

¹⁹³ Auckland City Council, proposing expenditure of about £1000, appealed 'for donations from the different local bodies in Auckland' (the provincial district), and the *Herald* duly published a list of compliant boards and councils with the value of their donations. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 24 April 1913. 8. Some councils, such as Rotorua, declined to participate on the basis of financial situation, while Onehunga Borough Council contributed despite an apparent overdraft of £1200, a decision that drew the ire of an Onehunga resident. 'Rotorua County Council,' *New Zealand Herald*, 25 April 1913.

as much to do with an interest in securing their local share of the pie as with taking the lead. John Cookson has noted in discussing the nature of local governance in New Zealand during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that ‘The self-interest of localities was incorrigible, uncorrected ... by any firm sense of national priorities ... Local bodies acted for themselves with little accountability to any higher authority.’¹⁹⁴

The inattention of the government to the coming event, and indeed to its perceived significance, did not go unnoticed.¹⁹⁵ An ironic column by a Dunedin correspondent later noted, ‘We suddenly caught the battleship fever very badly. It came from Christchurch. Our Government and our M.P.'s never caught it, and we had to go to outsiders for a lead.’ On 11 March 1913 Massey telegraphed F. Henry Dillon Bell, Minister of Internal Affairs, reminding him time was of the essence and arrangements needed to be made for ‘fitting ceremonies’ reflecting the significance of the tour and the government’s commitment to taking ‘generous action.’¹⁹⁶ The telegram was prompted by a visit Massey had received that morning from Wellington’s Mayor and ‘the local committee ... very anxious to get a lead from government,’¹⁹⁷ although by then Massey had also received other representations.¹⁹⁸ The vessel had already arrived in Durban three days prior and would be in the dominion one month later.

4; ‘Onehunga Borough Council,’ *Auckland Star*, 30 April 1913. 8. Northern councils proved more obstreperous, with one unidentified Borough Council within the *Northern Advocate*’s territory deciding ‘it would be wiser to co-operate with the Bay of Islands County, than with Auckland,’ and the Whangarei County Council expressing the opinion ‘that as the Auckland citizens are going to enjoy themselves they might just as well play the part of hosts without assistance from outsiders.’ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *Northern Advocate*, 15 April 1913. 4; ‘Local and General,’ *Northern Advocate*, 12 April 1913. 5.

¹⁹⁴ John Cookson, ‘How British? Local Government in New Zealand to c.1930,’ *New Zealand Journal of History* 41, no. 2, October 2007. 155-156.

¹⁹⁵ By the end of February noises were being made. ‘... what is immediately wanted, now that the arrival of the battle cruiser in New Zealand waters is but a matter of another month, is for the Government to take promptly the necessary steps to ascertain and advise the people of the Dominion what the official and definite programme of H.M.S. New Zealand is to be.’ *Evening Star*, 28 February 1913. 4.

¹⁹⁶ ‘... the time is now getting short,’ Massey wrote, ‘and arrangements should be put in hand.’ Telegram, Massey to Bell, 11 March 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

¹⁹⁷ This was the Citizen’s Easter Carnival Committee. At the committee meeting on March 4, chaired by the Mayor, the committee secretary is reported as having arranged ‘an interview with the Hon. Mr. Massey relative to a visit from the *HMS New Zealand* during Carnival Week.’ ‘Easter Carnival,’ *Evening Post*, 4 March 1913. 2. The festival was held over a week, 20-25 March, three weeks before the battlecruiser’s eventual arrival, but the vessel’s arrival date was clearly still regarded as uncertain or not widely publicised. ‘Carnival Week Fixtures for Easter,’ *Evening Post*, 20 March 1913. 7; ‘Easter Carnival,’ *New Zealand Times*, 25 March 1913. 11.

¹⁹⁸ From, for example, the Town Clerk of Picton, J. Blizzard, who wrote to the Prime Minister in late February to query an itinerary published in the *Dominion*. Massey replied, ‘I do not know who is responsible for the paragraph ... All I can say is that the Government have not authorised the publication of any itinerary, and, indeed, I feel sure that nothing will be definitely settled in regard to ports of call until the warship is in New Zealand waters. At the proper time I shall be only too pleased to make representations with a view to having Picton and Queen Charlotte Sound included in the programme of ports to be visited.’ ‘Mahakipawa,’ *Pelorus Guardian and Miners’ Advocate*, 11 March 1913. 4. The itinerary was attributed to Mr. Cecil Palmer, secretary of the Wellington Navy League. ‘Local and General,’ *Dominion*, 26 February 1913. 6.

With the pressure of public interest mounting, the government moved swiftly to fill what was starting to be seen as an information gap. While Bell immediately took charge, confusion appeared to exist for several weeks longer as requests for information or for visits continued to be fielded by the Prime Minister¹⁹⁹ and by (Robert) Heaton Rhodes,²⁰⁰ Post-Master General, Minister of Telegraphs and Minister of Tourist and Health Resorts, who was acting Minister of Defence while Allen was in Britain. Even the new Governor, Lord Liverpool, was lobbied in early March by the Secretary of the Wellington branch of the Navy League, Mr Cecil Palmer, who seems also to have attempted a direct appeal to Captain Halsey. These communications caused Bell to note that the secretary had no authority to be contacting the Governor or Captain Halsey, and the Governor to write that no communications should be sent to Halsey except through him. Bell complied with this request but this show of authority and control by Liverpool may have hampered his planning to some degree. Certainly, a cable he sent to Liverpool on 10 April noted that he had 'religiously abstained' from wireless communications with Halsey but was 'anxious' that a later arrival time at Wellington, preferably 2.30pm, be successfully negotiated.²⁰¹ Mr Palmer's proactivity regarding visit planning certainly earned him early prominence in the public mind which initially confused him with a mandated organiser. Palmer clearly also thought himself something of a spokesman, at least in relation to the Wellington stopover, and was happy to take a lead in the absence of obvious official leadership. It is even possible that the Navy League assumed the government might invite them to be active partners in the arrangements. These assumptions seem reasonable given the organisation's strong association with and affinity for naval matters, their subsequent feeling of some degree of ownership for the tour, and the planning already underway at branch level.²⁰² Bell curtailed Palmer's wider involvement on 14 April 1913 when he denied

¹⁹⁹ Including Auckland's Mayor C.J. Parr; James Archer, Town Clerk, Masterton Borough Council; J. R. Reyburn, chairman of the Whangarei Harbour Board; T.H. Steadman, Mayor of Whangarei; F. Mander, MP for Marsden; Captain Gilbert Mair, Rotorua; Francis MacKenzie, editor and proprietor of the *Northern Luminary*, Kawakawa; Percy S.G. Goring, Chair of Maromaku School Committee, Towai; J.C. Thomson, Riverton; J.K. Macfie, Secretary, The Over-Seas Club, Dunedin; A. Bissett, Reform League, Russell branch. The Masterton request that was answered by Massey on 1 April had been sent separately to both Massey and Bell two days previously. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁰⁰ Including W.A. Vetch, MP for Wanganui; J. Robertson, MP for Otaki; J. Vigor-Brown, MP for Napier. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL. Rhodes was also Minister of Public Health, and Minister in Charge of Hospitals and Charitable Aid, Mental Hospitals. See *NZOYB*, 1912.

²⁰¹ 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁰² Palmer had been the source of the vessel's itinerary published by the *Dominion* late in February. The report stated he had 'been advised' of the proposed ports of call, and he went on to expound on programmed entertainments, suggesting 'A ball will probably be tendered the officers ... Mr. Palmer also thinks that there should be a public demonstration, and that something in the nature of a big fireworks display, which all could see, might be arranged for one of the evenings during the

the request for sole Navy League access for a day to the support vessel the government had assigned to accompany the battlecruiser around New Zealand to carry school children out to and around the vessel. The request was to enable 2000 Dunedin children to visit the battlecruiser. 'This should be left to the Education Department,' Bell wrote.

However, within two days of Massey's request to 'give the matter early attention,' Bell was developing an organizational and administrative structure for the tour. He had much to get his hands around. The public, excited by the event, wanted information on who, what, how, where and when, and local bodies were already up and running despite the vacuum. B.M. Wilson, General Manager of the Tourist and Health Resorts Department, was appointed to take charge of arrangements for the battlecruiser's visit on behalf of the government and to liaise with local authorities on their civic arrangements. Wilson was a key man for Bell, doing much of the travelling and taking the bulk of the on-the-spot pressure with regard to access arrangements. Bell secured the use of the government cable ship, *SS Tutanekai*, for whatever use was required of it, principally to accompany the battlecruiser around the country and ferry school children out and around the vessel, as necessary, at each port.²⁰³ The use

battleship's stay in port.'" 'Local and General,' *Dominion*, 26 February 1913. 6. Some newspaper reports also initially bracketed Palmer with Wilson, implying collaboration in organisation. In a report published on 15 March, Palmer received prime billing. 'The official entertainment programme in connection with the approaching visit of the battleship New Zealand is still in course of preparation, but Mr. B. Wilson, of the Tourist Department, and Mr. C. W. Palmer of the Navy League, are busy arranging details. Mr. Palmer informed a reporter yesterday that requests for information regarding the New Zealand's itinerary were still coming in from different Dominion ports. The information is not yet available, but Mr. Palmer hopes that it will be cabled for to-day, so that it may be circulated at the beginning of next week.' The report continued on to mention appeals Palmer had received regarding itinerary, and his discussions with 'the Headmasters' Association ... regarding the arrangements to be made on behalf of school children in connection with the visit of the battlecruiser.' 'Battleship New Zealand,' *Dominion*, 15 March 1913. 7. Bell's generosity towards local planners suggests a degree of cooperation would have existed, although it seems unlikely that Palmer would have been given the nod as official spokesperson, and no evidence of such has yet surfaced in official correspondence.

²⁰³ 'Battleship New Zealand,' *Dominion*, 15 March 1913. 7. An 'anonymous correspondent' to the *Lyttelton Times* asked later in the tour why the government's cable steamer *Tutanekai* was 'shadowing H.M.S. New Zealand all round the dominion when she has urgent work to do, two cables being broken out of the five? ... Things were bad enough when all the cables were right; now they are simply appalling ... No doubt the ... steamer has been doing very useful work in connection with the visit of the battlecruiser, but it would seem that the maintenance of communication between the two islands was at least of equal importance.' 'Notes and Comments,' *Lyttelton Times*, 21 June 1913. 10. This assessment of apparent priorities may not have been entirely fair as news reports in late May do indicate that bad weather in Cook Strait was preventing the vessel from effecting repairs, and *Tutanekai* was finally instructed to 'dismantle her deck cable repairing plant and proceed to Akaroa to act as a tender to H.M.S. New Zealand ... The meteorologist holds out little hope of an early improvement.' 'Cook Strait Cable,' *Grey River Argus*, 23 May 1913. 6. However, the distraction of the *Tutanekai* from the vessel's normal duties is a practical example of the possible negative effect of 'The great danger' that *New Zealand Times* editor Pierce C. Freeth warned against: that 'the visit of the battleship may be utilised to provoke an outbreak of perfervid jingoism under cover of which New Zealand may be involved in liabilities and responsibilities far in excess of her means and requirements.'²⁰³ In a long editorial Freeth wrote, 'Colonial Ministers who visit the Old Country, invariably find themselves in a superheated atmosphere of jingoism in which even the strongest find it hard to maintain their equilibrium. The most subtle influences are brought into play, and the appeal to vanity in the guise of patriotism is so cleverly manipulated that our little statesmen are almost invariably swept clean off their feet. And there is always the additional incentive of personal aggrandisement in the way of honours and titles which plays havoc with the sternest resolutions of the most honourable and disinterested of our public men. Thus, instead of these grave national questions being dealt with in a spirit of calm deliberateness, our leaders are often carried away by extravagant emotions and impulses ... It needs no prophet to foretell that the visit of the battleship New Zealand has been deliberately calculated as likely to provide an opportunity for stirring the populace to such a pitch of fervour

of this vessel did create some initial internal friction between the Post and Telegraph Department and Internal Affairs as to who should foot the bill, Bell perhaps not unreasonably arguing that he should have complete control over her movements if Internal Affairs was to pay all expenses. He offered a compromise, suggesting Massey be in control and charge both departments equally.²⁰⁴ By the time the battlecruiser arrived, Bell had also arranged with Heaton Rhodes for a telephone cable to be run out to the mooring in Wellington Harbour, and for railway fares to be remitted for qualified school children, the cost to be paid by the Education Department.²⁰⁵ James Hislop, Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, was assigned responsibility for overseeing school visits to the vessel. The Minister of Railways also agreed to an offer of holiday excursion fares on specified days for each region, for anyone travelling from those districts to visit the battlecruiser.

Bell gave the green light to local authorities to develop their own programmes for welcoming and entertaining the crew. By the middle of March, a programme for *HMS New Zealand's* arrival and stay in Wellington was being prepared, and negotiations with Auckland Council regarding their proposed programme was underway, both cities scheduled to host the vessel for extended stays. In discussion with Auckland's Mayor, C.J. Parr, the government had agreed to fund two special excursion trains to take contingents of crew to Rotorua on separate days. However, Bell was less accommodating around a request for legislation to validate council expenditure from their general funds on crew entertainments. He agreed to present such legislation but told the Mayor there was no guarantee it would be passed. Effectively, council spending was to be at its own risk.²⁰⁶ But by mid-April, Wilson was telling local authorities that they would be indemnified.²⁰⁷ Legislation was finally enacted retrospectively. The Local Authorities Indemnity Act 1913 was passed on 22 November authorising and validating expenditure associated with the battlecruiser's

that there will be no difficulty in obtaining endorsement for most extravagant schemes of money-spending.' 'National Defences,' *New Zealand Times*, 11 February 1913. 2. Freeth's long editorial was published simultaneously as a letter to the editor of the *Lyttelton Times*. 'The Defence System,' *Lyttelton Times*, 11 February 1913. 3.

²⁰⁴ 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁰⁵ 'Arrangements for Children,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 12 April 1913. 4.

²⁰⁶ Telegrams, Bell, C.J. Parr, 19 March 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL. The Mayor of Gisborne also made the request for legislation to be brought down. Letter, Hislop to Bell, 11 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

²⁰⁷ 'Her Gisborne Visit,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 18 April 1913. 2.

visit, and with the earlier Auckland Exhibition.²⁰⁸ Regardless of possible central funding, local citizen committees in some regions also solicited subscriptions for entertainment programmes for the battlecruiser's men.²⁰⁹

Bell received much correspondence with regard to the local itinerary. The early portion of the itinerary was being finalised by the end of March.²¹⁰ The date of the battlecruiser's arrival in Wellington had recently been moved out from 8 to 12 April, despite representation from Liverpool to retain the earlier date. Liverpool was firm, however, when Halsey cabled at the end of March to give a 10am arrival time in Wellington Harbour, to request two more days in that city to reduce the pressure of coaling, and to request a change in itinerary 'on account of [winter] weather conditions'²¹¹, which would allow the vessel to tour South Island ports before proceeding to the north. The Governor denied all requested changes and added that the vessel should arrive at 2pm, Saturday 12 April being only a half holiday. Interestingly, the denial of Lyttelton was justified on the basis of the Governor's entertainment needs.²¹² There had, in fact, been a widely held belief that Lyttelton was to be the *New Zealand's* destination following Australia.²¹³ Word in official

²⁰⁸ 'All moneys expended or liabilities incurred by any local authority during the financial year ending on the thirty-first day of March nineteen hundred and fourteen, for the purpose of taking part in the reception, welcome, or entertainment of, or in respect of any presentation to, the officers and crew of His Majesty's battleship "New Zealand," or in paying or refunding any travelling or other personal expenses incurred by any member of a local authority in connection with such reception, welcome, or entertainment, shall be deemed to have been lawfully expended and incurred.' Local Authorities Indemnity Act 1913 (4 GEO V 1913 No 21), Clause 3.

²⁰⁹ 'Local and General,' *Hastings Standard*, 9 April 1913. 4.

²¹⁰ Details regarding post-Auckland visits were still awaiting Halsey's ratification once he arrived, and all representations were respectfully deferred with the consistent message that the Government had 'no opinion' and no decisions had been made regarding these visits outside the main centres. It was acknowledged that Gisborne and Napier had been in discussion, however, given their position between Wellington and Auckland. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²¹¹ It is unclear at this stage whether Halsey made this request unprompted based on his own knowledge of New Zealand weather conditions, or whether he had received (probably unofficial) messages highlighting South Island concerns while in Australia. The Lyttelton Harbour Board certainly proposed direct representation to Halsey during their meeting on 2 April. 'The Visit to Lyttelton,' *Press*, 3 April 1913. 7.

²¹² 'Your telegram received stop will you arrange to anchor in Wellington Harbour at 2pm instead of 10am on the 12th in order that yachts may accompany you from Heads to anchorage as Saturday is a half holiday stop I fear quite impossible to alter programme as suggested stop it be absolutely necessary for you to leave Wellington 22nd as all arrangements have been made for your reception at Auckland on 29th and any alteration such as visiting South island before Auckland would prevent me personally from entertaining you and your officers here and upset all the civic arrangements already made stop please acknowledge message ends. Liverpool, Governor.' Note that the time of 2pm was a compromise for Liverpool as he had advocated with Bell for 12.30pm, while Bell wanted *HMS New Zealand* to delay arrival until 2.30pm. Telegram, Liverpool to Bell, 29 March 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

²¹³ As late as 10 April Australian papers were still reporting Lyttelton to be the battlecruiser's next stop following Melbourne: 'Battle Cruiser New Zealand,' *Queensland Times* (Ipswich, Qld.), 10 Apr 1913. 5. References in South Island papers to the port's apparent relegation in favour of Wellington and Auckland began appearing around the start of April: 'Cesar's Wife,' *Press*, 1 April 1913. 6; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 1 April 1913. 3. It seems possible that the understanding that Lyttelton was to be the first port of call arose from an early report listing ports of call on the battlecruiser's itinerary which did put Lyttelton first. 'The Ship's Itinerary,' *Ashburton Guardian*, 26 February 1913. 5. However, this list appears more likely to be an unordered record of the places that were to be included than a thoughtfully prepared programme. In early March, Massey was writing that the government had 'not authorised the publication of any itinerary.' 'Mahakipawa,' *Pelorus Guardian and Miners' Advocate*, 11 March 1913. 4. An expectation had certainly been set, however. On March 1, Lyttelton was specifically named as the first New Zealand port the vessel would enter. 'The New Zealand,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 1 March 1913. 5.

circles that the South Island had apparently been shuffled several stops later seems to have circulated in late March, when the Mayor of Christchurch sent a telegram to Massey asking unsuccessfully for the South Island to be prioritised.²¹⁴ At a Lyttelton Harbour Board meeting to discuss the visit and the changed expectation, Dr H.J.T. Thacker (Liberal MP for Christchurch East, 1914-22) suggested Massey had been 'scared here by some kerosene tins ... the ship is going to Auckland to protect him from the Waihi strikers or something.'²¹⁵ The reference appears to be to a 'stormy' reception in mid-March that greeted Massey's first policy speech to a Christchurch audience since his election²¹⁶ and, although Christchurch was known as something of a hotbed of unrest²¹⁷, suggests the challenging political environment that the new administration faced in some parts of the country. In addition to cabling Massey directly, the Christchurch Mayor, H. E. Holland, also contacted the Governor about Lyttelton's position and Liverpool subsequently telegraphed Bell to check his opinion about the published comments that were suggesting political motives were behind the change in schedule which, Liverpool added, 'have not got a vestige of truth.' Liverpool asked if he should respond acknowledging the 'keen interest' but pointing out 'how difficult it is to meet the wishes of all ports.' Bell's reply was interesting given the evidence that he did try to accommodate requests as much as possible. On 9 April he advised Liverpool 'to ignore the matter. Everything will settle itself quietly as soon as they understand it is no use protesting. I think any attempt to answer them will only lead to reiteration.'²¹⁸ Massey's choice to make his first major speech in Christchurch may have been a strategic move to address political opposition head-on. The meeting was reported up and down the country and much disgust was expressed at the treatment Massey had received, although the man himself appeared unperturbed.²¹⁹ Although regretting that Massey 'had troublesome meeting,' Bell told him 'you like a fight and fighting suits you.'²²⁰ Nevertheless there may be a suggestion of 'just desserts' in Bell's response to the Governor. Liverpool's refusal of

²¹⁴ The Mayor of Christchurch telegraphed the Prime Minister about allowing the battlecruiser to visit the south first because of likely difficult weather. Massey's reply was published to much chagrin. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 1 April 1913. 3.

²¹⁵ 'The Visit to Lyttelton,' *Press*, 3 April 1913. 7.

²¹⁶ 'A Policy Speech,' *Star*, 12 March 1913. 6; 'A Stormy Meeting in Christchurch,' *Auckland Star*, 12 March 1913. 7; 'Mr Massey's Christchurch Meeting,' *Timaru Herald*, 17 March 1913. 2.

²¹⁷ '... the home of cranks' as the *Manawatu Standard* put it. 'Christchurch Cranks,' *Manawatu Standard*, 15 March 1913. 4.

²¹⁸ 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

²¹⁹ Interviewed at the end of the meeting he called it 'a meeting after my own heart,' saying, "'I was immensely pleased ... I feel quite certain that it has done an enormous amount of good. I think the opposition played into my hands every time. They got me more converts than my own speech. I would willingly travel a thousand miles to have another meeting like that.'" "A Meeting After My Own Heart," *Press*, 12 March 1913. 10.

²²⁰ Telegram, Bell to Massey, 12 March 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

Halsey's requests is also the last obvious instance in Bell's archive of the Governor laying down rules without consultation. Although problems resulting from his decisions were yet to manifest, the Christchurch meeting may have taken him by surprise and brought home to him how little he understood New Zealanders and the environment.

The choice that the vessel should spend the first month in the north was to have repercussions for South Island residents at several ports. Severe winter weather caused many to miss a turn to visit, and for some to even glimpse the vessel, causing great dissatisfaction and criticism, although ironically Christchurch was least affected. Halsey acknowledged the problems during the stopover in New Plymouth. 'This is the last place on the West Coast that we are visiting, and we are lucky enough to be able to get ashore for the first time on the West Coast. (Applause.) The only thing I hope is that I shall get on again. (Laughter). Not that I want to leave you, but I don't want to leave my ship.'²²¹ This decision and its aftermath is also interesting given that when community representations to receive a visit from the battlecruiser, or from detachments of 'bluejackets', were denied, Bell and Liverpool most often laid the responsibility for the itinerary at the door of the Admiralty or of Captain Halsey himself. As noted above, however, Halsey had requested a change to the official itinerary to prioritise the South Island given the known issues with winter weather, a request Liverpool had denied. The captain was clearly aware of the repercussions this had for southern communities and he certainly made many apologies over the course of the South Island leg, to disappointed communities, to individuals and to Bell.²²² The northern autumn weather was neither consistently fine nor stable,²²³ and Gisborne and Napier both suffered a restricted visit because of this. However, southern residents seemed to feel their lost chances more keenly, perhaps in part because they had already warned of the impact inclement weather would have in the

²²¹ 'H.M.S New Zealand,' *Stratford Evening Post*, 18 June 1913. 5.

²²² For example, in Dunedin Halsey apologised for calling off the landing of the men and guns for the parade of territorials and navy men organised for the day before the official King's Birthday: '...after getting as far as embarking the guns into the tug, it came on thick and vile and as the barometer is falling like a log I have had to decide against landing. I do with the greatest regret and still more so after what happened at Timaru...' Hand-written note, Halsey to Bell. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL. In Timaru: "'To the Mayor and President of the Navy League, Timaru. —Kindly convey to the citizens of Timaru that all on board H.M.S. New Zealand regret that the weather has prevented us from landing and participating in 'the welcome and hospitality which we fully realise were waiting for us on shore at Timaru. We can but take the will for the deed, and are so glad that some of the children of Timaru were able to come on board at Lyttelton ...' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Lyttelton Times*, 30 May 1913. 7. In Hokitika: "'am so sorry that weather is too unpropitious for the children to come alongside.'" 'Arrival in Greymouth Roadstead Hokitika's Day Spoilt by Boisterous Weather,' *Grey River Argus*, 6 June 1913. 3.

²²³ 'Cruise of the Warship,' *Dominion*, 10 June 1913. 5.

lower half of the country. The political nature of the North and South Islands may have contributed to the sense of disgruntlement and unequal opportunity felt by South Islanders. Reform support was largely concentrated in the North Island, while South Island seats were held largely by Liberals. In addition, Massey's cabinet featured a six: three ministerial split in favour of the North Island.²²⁴ However, dissatisfaction may also have been fuelled in part by the self-promoted belief that the southern communities showed noticeably greater intensity of feeling and commitment to imperialism.²²⁵ The poor omens began on the battlecruiser's journey from Auckland to Christchurch when the *New Zealand* experienced the worst weather of the entire cruise to that point²²⁶ forcing two days' worth of arrangements to be merged, 'as far as possible.'²²⁷ Few residents heard of the postponed delay on the scheduled day of arrival and '6.15 a.m. saw Manchester Street dotted with strenuous persons trotting stationward with cameras, rugs, lunch-baskets and all the other impediments of the inveterate sightseer.'²²⁸ The late arrival²²⁹ in Lyttelton, however, was generally regarded as a minor inconvenience. One gentleman who had arrived from Christchurch on an early train instead decided to walk the seven kilometres from Lyttelton to Sumner beach 'saying that the day should not be wasted.'²³⁰ The vessel's eventual berthing alongside the wharf ensured that any other

²²⁴ Although few political commentators appear to have found this unreasonable in terms of population representation and skills. 'The North Island has six Ministers and the South Island three, a proportion very gratifying; because it approximates to the relative importance of the islands and is the result not of sectional favouritism but of the first assertion of equitable methods in Cabinet appointments.' 'The New Administration,' *New Zealand Herald*, 11 July 1912. 6; 'The Massey Government,' *Otago Daily Times*, 11 July 1912. 6.

²²⁵ It appeared to have been a matter of local honour to claim the highest observable levels of patriotism. Dunedin residents were very vocal in their own favour. 'Here was Dunedin, the most patriotic town in the Dominion, with all her young people absolutely barred from getting on board the battleship. Auckland, Wellington and Lyttelton had H.M.S. New Zealand at their doors. They could lie in bed, open their windows, take a peep at her, then turn over and go to sleep again. If they went for a walk there she was staring them in the face But Dunedin! Patriotic Otago! Where art thou? Nowhere! Absolutely and simply nowhere! We may have the largest number in the Navy League, the Victoria League and the Overseas Club, and we may train our children to salute the quarter deck and uncover when they sing "God Save the King," but see the battlecruiser! Why, my dear sir, we couldn't see it if we each of us bought a forty thousand power magnifying glass.' 'Dunedin Notes,' *Lake Wakatipu Mail*, 27 May 1913. 5. In criticising the government's arrangements regarding the South Island, Dunedin's *Evening Star* more than once claimed a patriotic distinction for their own district, remarking 'there is no city where a larger number of boys and girls, to say nothing of adults, take a keener and more practical interest in Imperial questions.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Evening Star*, 17 May 1913. 6; *Evening Star*, 20 May, 1913. 4. The clipping of the *Evening Star*'s leader article is included in the Bell collection of official correspondence, and the *Press* reported the comments the following day. 'The Government Criticised,' *Press*, 21 May 1913. 11. The *Press* had earlier made the claim on Timaru's behalf: 'Timaru, one of the most patriotic of our smaller towns, is going to present a very fine flag to the ship,' although the Secretary of the Timaru branch of the Navy League had quickly corrected that 'somewhat misleading statement' pointing out the presentation was the result of a national subscription 'so that the whole of the Dominion, so to speak, is making the presentation.' 'A Souvenir of Our Warship's Visit,' *Press*, 19 April 1913. 10; 'Presentation to H.M.S New Zealand,' *Press*, 26 April 1913. 15. Marlborough made its own claim. 'In Marlborough Waters,' *Marlborough Express*, 9 June 1913. 4.

²²⁶ 'She received the full force of the gale some hundreds of miles away, as she came down the coast ...' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 12 May 1913. 2. '... and she would not enter the harbour unless the weather moderated.' 'Visit to Lyttelton Delayed,' *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 13 May 1913. 2. Australian papers reported the conditions more specifically: '... her decks were constantly swept by heavy seas, and ... it was impossible to stand on her decks during the force of the gale.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.), 14 May 1913. 5. see pages

²²⁷ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Taranaki Herald*, 13 May 1913. 2.

²²⁸ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 12 May 1913. 2.

²²⁹ The vessel was actually delayed a full 24 hours.

²³⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 12 May 1913. 2.

incidence of poor weather during her visit had little impact, and even though heavy morning fog in Akaroa a few days later created surreal experiences, it was presented as a blessing in disguise for the work of recoaling.²³¹ However, the south's winter climate began to cause more severe problems on the vessel's subsequent schedule, and blighted the battlecruiser's South Island tour. In Timaru,²³² and in Oamaru²³³ the following day, the battlecruiser's visit was unsuccessful and abandoned too early leaving the locals feeling short-changed and dissatisfied. At Dunedin, the vessel anchored outside the Heads despite much local encouragement to try the harbour depth.²³⁴ Similar stories of hopes dented by inhospitable conditions played out up the West Coast, with large numbers of people including school children turning up only to find 'all hopes of a closer inspection of the ship ... scattered to the winds.'²³⁵

The government received heavy criticism for the situations experienced in Lyttelton, Timaru, Oamaru and Dunedin.²³⁶ Most of these unhappy events were the result of responses to the growing public concern over the impact of weather on opportunities to view the battlecruiser, and were therefore effectively predictable. An underlying issue driving the public's displeasure was the perceived lack of foresight shown by the government and representatives, the last-minute nature of subsequent trouble-shooting, and the restrictions imposed via those cobbled-together arrangements.²³⁷

²³¹ 'The fog did not hamper the work, in fact it prevented a good deal of dust from flying about, and was a blessing in disguise ... The fog blanketed everything, and it was barely possible to see one end of the *New Zealand* from the other ... Some launches set out for the battleship, and missed it altogether.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 27 May 1913. 4.

²³² 'Disappointed,' *Taranaki Herald*, 30 May 1913. 3; 'Off Timaru,' *Timaru Herald*, 29 May 1913. 7. Deteriorating weather saw Timaru's extensive preparations come to naught. Visitors were able only to circle the vessel on a steamer because the 'elements behaved very shabbily' and extremely rough seas forced Halsey to abandon plans to come ashore himself. The battlecruiser finally left Timaru hours earlier than planned.

²³³ In Oamaru the expectant locals saw only a smudge on the horizon, and the sea was deemed too rough to even circle the battlecruiser. All the vessels had disappeared by lunchtime. Wilson, nevertheless arranged for a picnic in the gardens to entertain the children, to be paid for in part by the government. 'The Battleship New Zealand,' *Oamaru Mail*, 30 May 1913. 5; 'Extra Edition. Oamaru's Disappointment,' *Evening Post*, 30 May 1913. 8.

²³⁴ 'Tutanekai Available,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 24 April 1913. 6. Halsey was clear that there was insufficient room in Otago Harbour for the vessel to swing at anchor. 'In order to leave a margin of safety a vessel like the gift battleship would require probably 2000 ft to swing from her anchors in sheltered waters.' *Otago Daily Times*, 30 April 1913. 4. Few managed to get on board the *New Zealand* during her stay off Port Chalmers because of the nature of open sea transfer.

²³⁵ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 6 June 1913. 5; 'Battleship New Zealand,' *New Zealand Times*, 6 June 1913. 7. Headlines told the stories: 'H.M.S. New Zealand. Unpleasant Time on West Coast. Rough Weather Upsets Arrangements,' *West Coast Times*, 7 June 1913. 2. And similarly, at Westport: 'Arrival off Westport. Bad Weather Conditions,' *Marlborough Express*, 7 June 1913. 5. With the bad weather at Westport, Halsey did not give permission to bring the children out on the steamers and children were instead taken by train to the end of the breakwater to see what they could, later being treated to shore-based entertainment in the manner of Oamaru and Greymouth. 'Our Battleship,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 9 June 1913. 5. The *Tutanekai* had not made it to Westport, and this caused extra local annoyance. 'Disappointment at Westport. Committee Pursues the Matter,' *Colonist*, 11 June 1913. 4. However, communications in Bell's official correspondence show that the vessel was trapped in Greymouth Harbour inside the bar, and was unable to venture out because of the severe weather. In the end *Tutanekai* was unable to make it out in time to tender at Nelson and Picton, being instructed to return directly to Wellington. Telegrams, B.M Wilson, H.D. Bell, and the Greymouth telegraph office. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²³⁶ 'The Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 27 May 1913. 8; *Evening Star*, 20 May 1913. 4; 'Dunedin Letter,' *Mt Benger Mail*, 28 May 1913. 1; 'Dunedin Letter,' *Tuapeka Times*, 31 May 1913. 3.

²³⁷ 'It was for the Government to take the initiative. But the Government did nothing. They did not look half an hour ahead. They merely, at the last hour, and in response to suggestions from outside, invited the Sixth Standard boys and girls in the

Bell was already uncomfortable by 13 May, evidenced by a comment he telegraphed to Hislop, who was then on location actively managing all school visits on the battlecruiser. In his message Bell revoked the restrictions that had been put in place for school travel to allow greater flexibility for South Canterbury schools in taking pupils by train to Lyttelton to view the *New Zealand*. However, all subsequent school travellers benefitted as a result.²³⁸ The revised arrangement followed publicity about special arrangements for carrying Dunedin school children up to Christchurch,²³⁹ given the anticipated problems of getting children on board while the ship was anchored off Otago Heads. Bell added, 'I fear great probability that ship may not be tendered off coast if any sea.'²⁴⁰ Yet it was another seven days before he wired Timaru and Oamaru representatives about their local arrangements saying it was 'quite uncertain that any can go onboard. Please publish this telegram.'²⁴¹ During the visit to Lyttelton by Dunedin scholars on 19/20 May 1913, billeting arrangements went awry²⁴² to which the column 'Dunedin Letter', published in provincial Otago papers, responded with a satirical piece that compared the official response with the way in which Seddon might have approached 'the wild scramble through which we have just passed,' calling it the sort of situation where he 'would have been at his best.' The column followed up a few days later with further observations about the Minister for whom everything is 'impossible'.²⁴³ Local authorities and their

primary schools of Dunedin to go to Lyttelton—instead of leaving the choice of who should or should not go to the head masters and parents—and they pointblank said it was “impossible” to take the boys and girls from the secondary schools.... The result was a wild, hurried rush at the last moment, which was only saved from failure by the prompt and ceaseless work of His Worship the Mayor and others. What the Government really did, after much urging, is not likely to be soon forgotten.' *Evening Star*, 20 May 1913. 4.

²³⁸ 'Since [our] last meeting further advice has been received from the Department to the effect that on the occasion all school children will travel free by rail, members of school committees at school excursion rates, and that the general public will be conveyed at holiday excursion rates.' 'Grey Education Board,' *Grey River Argus*, 13 May 1913. 3; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 16 April 1913. 4.

²³⁹ Free rail travel was offered (under prescribed conditions), and Christchurch residents supported efforts by the Department of Defence to billet children overnight. 'The Dunedin Visit,' *Press*, 16 May 1913. 8; 'The Citizens' Young Guests,' *Press*, 19 May 1913. 6; 'How They Will Arrive,' *Press*, 19 May 1913. 8; 'Allocating the Children,' *Press*, 19 May 1913. 8; 'The Dunedin Children,' *Evening Post*, 19 May 1913. 2; '1260 Otago Scholars,' *Evening Star*, 19 May 1913. 5.

²⁴⁰ Hislop telegraphed a request for free rail fares for children and teachers travelling to Lyttelton if they could arrange a special train returning the same day. He noted he had already told small schools south of Ashburton that they must go to Timaru, but there would be at least 1500 students from Timaru, and expected the Waimate and Fairlie communities to also make requests. Tellingly, Bell replied, 'I fear great probability that ship may not be tendered off coast if any sea. Therefore I desire to abandon the limit of distance for school children travelling to Christchurch as far as we are concerned. The question is therefore one for the railways – how far they can carry without duly interfering with first ordinary trains, and secondly adult excursions. Obviously also North Canterbury and south from say Ashburton must have preference in any arrangements.' Telegrams between J. Hislop and H.D. Bell, 13 May 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁴¹ Telegrams, Bell to Secretary, Timaru Battleship Reception Committee, 20 May; Bell to Town Clerk, Oamaru, 20 May. Bell also wired the Secretary of the Otago Education Board stating the permissible carriage numbers and noting 'I doubt if anything like number children desiring go can be carried in finest weather.' Telegram Bell to Park, 24 May. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁴² 'The Dunedin Children,' *Press*, 20 May 1913. 7.

²⁴³ 'Dunedin Letter,' *Mt Bengier Mail*, 28 May 1913. 1; 'Dunedin Letter,' *Tuapeka Times*, 31 May 1913. 3. The government was generally criticised for its late handling of the Dunedin affair. 'The Government Criticised,' *Press*, 21 May 1913. 11; 'Some Dunedin Critics,' *Press*, 22 May 1913. 7. 'Impossible' was a word Bell typically used in denying requests. For example, to the Mayor of Waihi: 'Re your wire to Prime Minister. Regret quite impossible to alter itinerary of ship. Whole time at Auckland

communities were seen by many as saving the day for disappointed visitors with their generous donations of time, refreshments and services to make what were long, arduous days for many travellers fun and special.²⁴⁴ Timetabling for school visits where country schools constrained by travel arrangements had to compete for time and space with those from the port areas who arguably had easier access to the vessel also drew complaint.²⁴⁵ However, considering the numbers moved and catered for²⁴⁶ the arrangements stood up well and Wilson and Hislop in particular appear to have held the visit together. The success of the Dunedin children's visit to Christchurch, however, demonstrated the local goodwill and enterprising nature in both cities and was credited with healing existing regional friction. Dunedin residents were unstinting in their appreciation of Christchurch's generosity and suggested, among other things, raising money for cots for Christchurch Hospital,²⁴⁷ and the Mayor of Christchurch, H. E. Holland, thanked everyone.²⁴⁸ A few days later, at the unveiling in Timaru of a statue to Scottish poet Robert Burns, the Mayor of Dunedin, William Downie Stewart (Reform MP for Dunedin West, 1914-35) remarked 'that in the early days of their history much distrust and jealousy had existed between Otago and Canterbury. Nothing could have done more to put a stop to that feeling of bitterness than the warm and hearty hospitality accorded to the children of Otago citizens by the people of Canterbury.'²⁴⁹ The event is a snapshot of the growing importance of local governmental structure and of proactive collaborative interaction at this level within the country.

Probably the most infamous event of the *New Zealand's* tour occurred at Bluff. The ship's hose on the government steamer *Tutanekai* was turned on the gangway as a last resort crowd control device when adults impatient at having to wait in favour of

already allocated.' Telegram Bell to Mayor, Waihi, 23 April. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁴⁴ As noted above, at Timaru, Oamaru, Greymouth and Westport in particular locals arranged picnics and teas, picture houses were opened for children and local authorities made different arrangements to take the sting out of what might otherwise have been a negative experience.

²⁴⁵ 'The Warship,' *Dominion*, 19 April 1913. 6. The mixing of schedules for country and local schools had also caused trouble for schools from Wanganui and Palmerston North which had earlier travelled to visit the battlecruiser when it was in Wellington.

²⁴⁶ For example, in Napier on 25 April 1913: 'Tutanekai carried over four thousand children Capt. Post & his officers had most strenuous time did not finish till seven o'clock.' Telegram Wilson to Bell, 25 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand, Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁴⁷ 'The Excursion to Christchurch,' *Otago Daily Times*, 22 May 1913. 6; 'Dunedin Schools and H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1913. 4.

²⁴⁸ 'How the Government Have Helped,' *Press*, 19 May 1913. 8.

²⁴⁹ 'Civic Compliments,' *Press*, 24 May 1913. 12.

children 'burst the barriers and rushed the wharf and steamers'.²⁵⁰ With some twelve thousand²⁵¹ people estimated to have arrived at Bluff for a viewing, and the battlecruiser's arrival delayed by poor weather forcing visitors to wait longer than anticipated for their turns, the subsequent disorderliness and disappointment²⁵² is not difficult to understand.²⁵³ But the scenario in some way vindicated the pressure that had been exerted by Southland officials to have the visit to Bluff extended.²⁵⁴ One letter writer vented his spleen in a lengthy communication to the *Southland Times*. Thomas Buxton, grain merchant from Timaru and Liberal MP for Temuka, was seemingly well-known for being outspoken. He took aim at reportage of the visit and the original gifting of the battlecruiser, as well as at what he considered a disregard for those whose effort and money enabled it.

'Your attempt, Sir, to gloss over the bitter disappointment suffered by those who went to the Bluff in not being able to go out to the cruiser falls very flat—only one day granted to the people of Southland to view the purchase of their two millions of money, and nearly the half of that one day cut off by the late arrival of the ship. How did this happen? Did Captain Halsey oversleep himself? And how did it happen that only one day was allowed for Bluff in the original programme? Was it Captain Halsey who had been so lavish with his praises of Sir Joseph Ward for giving the ship to England? Did not Captain Halsey know that he would have to anchor some miles out at sea, making it impossible for more than a few people to visit the ship in one day? Was duty the sole constraining force that drove Captain Halsey into such tight quarters?

²⁵⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' Press, 4 June 1913. 10. While the Press Association reported that 'on the whole the arrangement for handling the crowd worked fairly well,' the leader writer for the *Mataura Ensign* was less generous, referring to 'the chaos which reigned on the wharves.' 'The New Zealand's Visit,' *Mataura Ensign*, 4 June 1913. 4. This opinion was echoed by the *Southland Times* which placed the blame for 'the absence of control ... [on] the refusal of the crowd to obey those in authority, and it was due to this excess of eagerness that large numbers failed to get a close view of the battleship cruiser.' *Southland Times*, 4 June 1913. 5.

²⁵¹ 'The King's Ship,' *Southland Times*, 4 June 1913. 5.

²⁵² 'H.M.S. New Zealand's Visit,' *Southland Times*, 4 June 1913. 4.

²⁵³ B.M. Wilson was less understanding in a cabled report to Bell, calling the arrangements at Bluff 'most unsatisfactory' and referring to the crowd as a 'mob.' He noted, 'to avoid serious trouble Tutanekai had to leave wharf – some of mob were kept back by playing the hose on them – the police and members of the committee had no chance of keeping crowd in check and it is exceedingly fortunate no one was seriously injured.' Telegram Wilson to Bell, 3 June. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-144, ATL.

²⁵⁴ In his second communication to Bell regarding Bluff's visit allocation, Watson had written, 'the congestion on the Invercargill-Bluff line, and at the port itself, will be unprecedented, and may result in serious consequences.' Letter, J.E. Watson to Bell, 30 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand, Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-145, ATL. A photograph showing the crush of people on a steamer's gangplank during the Picton visit gives some indication of the wharf side situation. 'Picton patriots: Visitors to the battleship assembled on the wharf,' Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections (ALHC), AWNS-19130619-1-2. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 June 1913. 1.

It is too grim and sinister a suggestion that Home authorities would arrange the programme and cut off Sir Joseph's Ward's electorate with one day while they were loading him with adulation for the gift of the ship. It is not disappointment which prompts the writing of this letter. I feel a malignant pleasure in what happened at the Bluff yesterday, as it will make the name of the *New Zealand* stink in the noses of the Southland people the same as it has always done in mine.'²⁵⁵

The paper's editor regarded it as necessary to publish a review and rebuttal of this 'clashing of the Buxton cymbals' in the same edition.²⁵⁶ The leader dismissed the letter as 'so much in the nature of a tirade that but little notice may be taken of it. It was necessary, by the way, to delete parts of the letter, because they were flagrantly libellous and malicious.' The paper chided Buxton for not reading reports properly and finished with the cutting remark that 'it is quite obvious that Mr Buxton, with his long experience in command of twenty thousand ton leviathans, is an authority whose opinion must be received with the greatest respect.' However, Buxton was voicing a real feeling that existed, certainly in South Island communities but also in the smaller ports and towns of the North Island such as Masterton.²⁵⁷

Notwithstanding their strong patriotism and the self-effacing attitude that was evident then and is still regarded as so much part of the New Zealand character, many provincial New Zealanders felt dissatisfied at their limited access to *HMS New Zealand*. Local representatives felt no compunction in reminding Bell that 'although the manner in which the gift was made did not meet with general approval, the fact remains that the people of this Dominion have to foot the bill.'²⁵⁸ The cause of the discontent was not only the foreshortening of visits or lack of opportunity

²⁵⁵ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Southland Times*, 6 June 1913. 2.

²⁵⁶ 'A Question of Authority,' *Southland Times*, 6 June 1913. 4.

²⁵⁷ The draft programme for entertaining the *New Zealand's* men during the vessel's stay in Wellington was published by 28 March 1913. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 28 March 1913. 5. The programme included a proposed visit to the Wairarapa on 17 April, but displeasure was expressed at the apparent dismissal of 'the leading centre of the Wairarapa,' Masterton. 'It is surely not proposed,' wrote a local editor, 'that the bluejackets shall be landed at some wayside station and be shown the beauties of the landscape.' 'The Battleship Visit,' *Wairarapa Age*, 3 April 1913. 4. In fact, the Masterton Borough Council had earlier resolved to ask for a detachment of bluejackets to visit the town, although Featherston was ultimately chosen for the bluejacket outing. 'Masterton Matters,' *Evening Post*, 26 March 1913. 8; 'Over the Hill Bluejackets at Featherston,' *Evening Post*, 18 April 1913. 4.

²⁵⁸ A request for the government to 'issue an invitation to the old settlers of this Dominion to view their gift,' made by W.J. Wilshire, Wellington. Letter, Wilshire to Massey, 16 April 1913. J.E. Watson, President of the Invercargill branch of the Navy League, and on behalf of the Bluff Reception Committee, made the same point in arguing for Bell to reconsider the arrangements for the Bluff visit. People should have a reasonable chance 'to see the battle-ship for the cost of which they have provided their share.' Letter, Watson to Bell, [30] April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

attributable to weather conditions. A similar although less threatening incident occurred in Wanganui when the pressure from the crowd on the wharf waiting to go out in *Tutanekai* collapsed the barricade and ‘rushed the enclosure eager to get aboard.’²⁵⁹ New Zealanders were also disappointed by the short time allocated to each port which had lucky enough to receive the battlecruiser, and by the number of requests that were denied.²⁶⁰ The Governor, Ministers and other government officials were well aware of the breadth of those feelings and, perhaps unsurprisingly, a large proportion of Bell’s official visit correspondence over the first two months of the tour was concerned with trouble-shooting. But there are signs by the end of April 1913 that Bell may have felt overwhelmed by the enormity of the situation, whether from the pressure of the work required or the demands that he was unable to meet, but most likely a combination of the two. Official correspondence shows Bell making errors of date, even in mid-April,²⁶¹ delegating questions he would previously answer himself, making knee-jerk decisions, and reversing decisions that had been made public.²⁶² It is hard to avoid the sense that during the period between the battlecruiser leaving Auckland and arriving back in Wellington having completed the South Island leg of the journey things had gained a momentum of their own and were no longer fully under Bell’s control.

Buxton was not alone in suggesting a slight had been paid to Sir Joseph Ward in allocating a single visit day to his electorate. However, while it may have been appropriate to arrange two days at Bluff, there is no evidence to suggest that there was a conscious political motive or message at play in not doing so. Indeed, given Bell’s regular protestation that Imperial authorities were responsible for the tour

²⁵⁹ ‘Local and General,’ *Wanganui Herald*, 17 June 1913. 4.

²⁶⁰ New Plymouth and Bluff requests, both referenced in this chapter, were not the only requests denied. In refusing a request, Bell usually referred to impossibility of altering itinerary, or to the unsuitability of the anchorage, and often referenced Halsey as decision-maker. In refusing a request from Wairoa, between Hasting and Gisborne, Bell wrote, ‘Am really trying to do my best but every place on the coast is asking for visit, not Wairoa only.’ Telegram, Bell to H.M. Campbell, MP for Hastings, 23 April 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-145, ATL.

²⁶¹ For example, on 16 April Bell wired Wilkinson, MP for Eltham, telling him the battlecruiser would ‘arrive New Plymouth 17th May and leave the same day.’ Wilkinson promptly replied, ‘newspapers state June seventeenth ... please advise which date is correct.’ Over the same days, Bell made a similar error in relation to the Nelson stopover. Harry Atmore, MP for Nelson, wrote, ‘you state that New Zealand will visit on May 8th but press association state date as June 8th. Kindly confirm statement.’ Telegrams, Bell, Wilkinson, Atmore, 16-17 April, 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

²⁶² Following pressure later in May regarding the free passage of secondary and technical school students in Dunedin to view the battlecruiser, facility that Bell had previously declined, he simply passed it over to Hislop: ‘Your long telegram of yesterday and your further wire of this morning received. Your action in all cases approved. Please use your own discretion generally.’ Telegrams Hislop, Bell, Downie Stewart, Herries, Massey, Smith. 17-20 May 1913. Telegrams, Bell, Wilkinson, Atmore, 16-17 April, 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

timetable, and Bell's deference of requests to Halsey, the government definitely did not appear to have any say in where and when the vessel went. Bell did actually suggest a revision to the schedule to secure an extra day for both Bluff and for New Plymouth, but Halsey resisted the change.²⁶³ The same cannot be said for a failure to appropriately recognise Ward's role in the vessel's existence. Prior to the *New Zealand's* arrival, a letter to the editor of the pro-Liberal *New Zealand Times* commented ironically on the acknowledgement by the Minister of Marine, F.M.B. Fisher, while the Minister was in Melbourne during the battlecruiser's stop in that city, 'that H.M.S. New Zealand was the gift of the late Government ... But,' wrote the correspondent, 'will he [Massey] give Sir Joseph Ward the credit due to him?'²⁶⁴ Five days later Massey provided an answer during the official luncheon for Halsey and the battlecruiser's officers in Wellington on 18 April 1913. Following the luncheon, the same paper printed a 'regretful censure' when it devoted an editorial to 'the Prime Minister's attitude which was crystallised in the evident, and very regrettable, determination not to give one word of honour to that veteran statesman now absent from New Zealand whose heroic, vivid act of Imperialism and patriotism thrilled the Empire and amazed the world four years ago.'²⁶⁵ The day before, the Mayor of Wellington, D.M. McLaren presented Halsey with an oils portrait of Ward, a gift 'promoted 'by a number of people up and down New Zealand,' (not, notably, by the government).²⁶⁶ Many papers appeared to make no direct comment on Massey's failure to acknowledge Ward during the official luncheon, but they took a more subtle approach by concurrently publishing reviews of Ward's role in the coming of the battlecruiser, and repeating, in various versions, a cable sent to Ward that same day by 'Some Wellington residents.' The cable was pointed: "Dominion's reception battleship enthusiastic; interest created. Your efforts recognised. Critics silenced by Universal voice. Your picture, presented by Mayor, citizens, gratefully accepted by

²⁶³ Telegrams, Bell, Wilson (for Halsey), Massey, 13-14 May 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143. ATL.

²⁶⁴ 'Government and Dreadnought,' *New Zealand Times*, 14 April 1913. 9.

²⁶⁵ '... in proposing the toast of "The Navy" and in his references to the battle-cruiser and her visit, the name of Sir Joseph Ward did not pass Mr Massey's lips.' 'A Pitiful Attitude,' *New Zealand Times*, 19 April 1913. 4. The *Southland Times* concurred, beginning their leader with the words: 'We do not believe in the theory of party government, that every proposal that emanates from the other side should be opposed, or that the manner in which representatives of the other side carry out their public duties should invariably be criticised adversely,' before going on to say, 'There is criticism that is fair, and there is criticism that is obviously and glaringly unjust. We think, for instance, that Mr Massey's critics had all fair-minded people with them when they called the Prime Minister to task for delivering a speech at the most important reception accorded to Captain Halsey in Wellington without even mentioning Sir Joseph Ward's name.' 'Party Criticism,' *Southland Times*, 28 April 1913. 4. Just a week before the official welcome luncheon, *N.Z. Truth* had noted the Prime Minister's recent birthday with the comment, 'And the pity of it is he has not yet reached the age of discretion.' 'Ladies, Gentlemen and Others,' *NZ Truth*, 12 April 1913. 4.

²⁶⁶ 'The Gift Ship Sir Joseph Ward Recognised,' *Evening Post*, 18 April 1913. 3.

Captain. Trust you long spared still further promote best interests Empire Dominion."²⁶⁷ The Mayor of Auckland, during that city's official reception also endeavoured to address Massey's omission and at the least to be even-handed in doing so: 'We rejoice today," he said, "because we see lying in the harbour yonder the actual embodiment of that spirit of love and loyalty which animated the people of the Dominion, three years ago, when Sir Joseph Ward tendered the battleship to the Home Land. (Applause.) All honour to Sir Joseph Ward, whose brain conceived the idea, and equal honour to Mr. Massey and his party who backed up the idea from the first, and whose, public-spirited support made the gift possible. (Loud applause.)'²⁶⁸ Halsey himself addressed the issue in Christchurch on 13 May 1913, whether or not he had done so earlier, remarking during the welcome that 'the Navy had no politics, but he wished to give honour where it was due, and when the ship had been given so spontaneously by the dominion, the Government was presided over by Sir Joseph Ward.'²⁶⁹

The use of the government steamers *Tutanekai* and *Hinemoa* added a further layer of complexity to the already obvious tension surrounding the *New Zealand's* itinerary. Initial published reports had suggested 1000 to 1500 children would be carried by *Tutanekai* on any trip out to the battlecruiser. These figures apparently originated from the ship's captain, Colin Post.²⁷⁰ Downward corrections of these numbers in the name of safety caused annoyance amongst those making local arrangements. Bell made an effort to manage expectations, wiring the mayors of Timaru, Oamaru, and Invercargill and the Secretary of the Otago Education Board in Dunedin on 24 May with the carrying numbers and, as was becoming his wont under pressure, asking for the information to be published.²⁷¹ Local authorities were showing no reticence in pushing their cases with government, and predictably Bell received push-back on the confusing advice from some organisers whose ports fell

²⁶⁷ 'Incidents of the Visit,' *Auckland Star*, 19 April 1913. 5. Note this was a cable, hence the abbreviated sentence.

²⁶⁸ 'The City's Greeting,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1913. 10.

²⁶⁹ 'City's Welcome,' *Star*, 13 May 1913. 3.

²⁷⁰ 'I understand Captain Post has stated that he can carry twelve hundred children outside heads or breakwater. His desire thus to give the greatest assistance in the work of tendering ship is appreciated, but after consultation with Customs and Marine I cannot authorise more than five hundred on *Tutanekai* and four hundred on *Hinemoa* to be carried at one time outside any heads or breakwater. Please instruct Captains Post and Bollons accordingly and yourself see that this limit is not exceeded. The Captains will understand that this does not apply at Picton or Russell.' Telegram Bell to Wilson, 26 May. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁷¹ Telegrams Bell to Park, 24 May; Bell to Mayor of Invercargill, 24 May; Bell to Mayor of Timaru, 24 May; Bell to Mayor of Oamaru, 24 May. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

later in the itinerary. Nelson²⁷² complained this alteration 'greatly hampers local arrangements' although neither of the government steamers was going to make it to Nelson anyway, which would become their primary problem.²⁷³ Bell's communications regarding this issue show considerable stress, likely exacerbated by Nelson MP Harry Atmore's political combativeness and the pressure Bell had been receiving from Nelson. Bell arranged for private charters instead, securing the ferry *S.S. Duchess* from the Wellington Steam Ferry Company to tender at Nelson and Picton, and possibly also the *S.S. Awaroa*, fares payable by government, and also authorised Wilson to charter an Anchor Line vessel for a day, if necessary.²⁷⁴ Likewise, Wanganui officials proved persistent in making their concern known, pushing both Fisher and Bell for life belt regulations to be waived for the visit to cater for the expected large number of children, and, when that proved fruitless, demanding the government supply sufficient belts. Bell declined but he or Fisher apparently asked the question of at least the Union Steamship Company which opened 'communication with Freezing Works on subject.'²⁷⁵ Private steamers were operating at other ports in the tour, in some cases in collaboration with local authorities but none subsidised by government.²⁷⁶ The adult excursion fee of one

²⁷² Nelson officials were particularly persistent in their demands. Telegrams, Bell, Atmore, Maginnity, R. McCallum MP Blenheim. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, 142A, 145, ATL. Again, regarding Canvastown school, and the possibility of landing men and guns: 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁷³ *Tutanekai* was delayed by the weather in Greymouth and could not get out of the harbour so was in the end directed to return straight to Wellington. *Hinemoa* was re-directed to 'urgent lighthouse work.' Telegrams, A.T. Maginnity Chairman, Nelson Education Board, and Bell, 4 June. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-144, ATL. Regarding the revision of *Tutanekai*'s carrying capacity Maginnity wrote, 'our first advice was that boat would carry thousand to fifteen hundred alteration greatly hampers local arrangements.'

²⁷⁴ Telegram Bell to Wilson, 6 June. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-144, ATL. On 9 June Bell arranged with Wellington Steam Ferry Company for the *Duchess* to be at Picton the next day, agreeing to pay fifty pounds for the ferry's use until noon and sixpence per child in the afternoon, requesting the ferry begin carrying no later than 8.30am. Telegrams Bell and H.G.F. Zohrab, 9 June. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-144, ATL.

²⁷⁵ Telegrams Bell, Fisher, T. Baswall Williams (Mayor of Wanganui), W.A. Veitch (United Labour Party MP for Wanganui). 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-144, ATL. The Union Steam Ship Company had a business relationship with the Wanganui Freezing Works which purportedly held life-belts for the use of employees in relation to the transport of frozen product.

²⁷⁶ For example, the Union Steamship Company had arrangements in place in Poverty Bay for the use of their steamers *Tuatea* and *Takapuna* and the trawler *Gosford*. 'The Steamer Arrangements,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 24 April 1913. 3. The Northern SS. Co. ran excursions from Thames to Auckland on 'the favourite steamer *Wakatere*' from Monday April 28 to May 8 at '3s for school children, which it is agreed is a moderate fare, while for adults 10s will be charged.' This arrangement followed an unsuccessful community bid to charter the steamer instead, and so offer lower fares for children and include refreshments. However, the Northern Company did arrange for children travelling from Coromandel on 6, 7, or 8 May to have free transport in Auckland to the battlecruiser via the Devonport Ferry Company. 'Excursion to Auckland,' *Thames Star*, 26 April 1913. 4. In Auckland, while the *Tutanekai* arrived on 28 April to tender trips for school children, the Devonport Ferry Company supported the government steamer, again offering free trips for school children at its own cost, additionally running excursion steamers to meet the battlecruiser on her arrival and escort it into port. The Northern Steam Ship Co. offered a similar welcome experience on the *Taniwha* at 2/- per adult and 'no children.' The Takapuna Tramways and Ferry Co. Ltd offered daily excursions during the *New Zealand's* stay in Auckland at 1 shilling for adult fares. 'Shipping,' *Auckland Star*, 29 April 1913. 4; 'Arrangements Complete,' *New Zealand Herald*, 29 April 1913. 9; 'School Children's Visits,' *Auckland Star*, 30 April 1913. 5; 'Fleet and Children,' *Auckland Star*, 1 May 1913. 5; 'Page 6 Advertisements Column 3,' *Auckland Star*, 28 April 1913. 6; 'Page 4 Advertisements Column 7,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1913. 4 The Devonport Ferry Company also placed its vessels 'at the disposal of Captain Halsey.' 'The New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 1 May 1913. 9.

shilling charged on these steamers was obviously opportunistic exploitation and did cause some protest, one letter writer suggesting that far from the Devonport Ferry Company showing generosity to Auckland's children by carrying them free it was rather a case of Aucklanders being generous to the company.²⁷⁷ The government was nevertheless happy for private operators to involve themselves in providing services for adult visitors to the battlecruiser, and these private companies were assertive in securing their opportunities.²⁷⁸ Some disagreements over itinerary were aired more publicly than others. Ironically, in attempting to soften a refusal to bring the vessel into Whangarei harbour on its way back to Auckland following its stop at Russell, Bell's alternative offer to transport local men to Russell appeared to be misinterpreted by local officials creating more chagrin, and criticism in a local paper.²⁷⁹

The question of railway transport also proved vexatious for the government. Initially announcing that free rail travel to the nearest port would be provided for state primary children over the age of 11 at country schools, providing the round trip could be completed within the same day,²⁸⁰ Bell was bombarded with requests for the same consideration to be given to private and special character schools, secondary pupils, parents and school committees (for supervisory purposes), cadets, Territorials and veterans. The question was also asked regarding the apparent oversight of orphans.²⁸¹ By 16 April 1913, the *New Zealand Times* was reporting that all

²⁷⁷ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 5 May 1913. 8.

²⁷⁸ On 22 May a representative of Stevenson, Stewart & Co., shipping agents, wired the Secretary of Marine that they intended sending two steamers to Akaroa where they traded regularly, and hoped 'you will instruct Tutanekai not carry general public.' Bell had responded to a previous query that *Tutanekai's* first responsibility was to carry school children. 'Government does not wish to compete with private tendering, but if no private vessel available Tutanekai will carry adults after children carried, but adults must not displace children.' Telegrams, Bell and Stevenson, Stewart, 22 May. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL. These Stevenson, Stewart vessels seem likely to have been the *Cygnets* and *John Anderson* which serviced the Akaroa community. 'Page 1 Advertisements Column 1,' *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 19 September 1913. 1. The Northern Steam Ship Company's Charles Ransom was equally forceful, insisting that the government hold to an apparent verbal agreement with Captain Post that the company's steamer *Rarawa* would tender at New Plymouth on June 17 in return for *Tutanekai* carrying both children and adults at Opuia and Russell. This agreement would seem to have allowed the slower steamer *Tutanekai* the time needed to get from New Plymouth to Russell, to coincide with the battlecruiser. Ransom's letter was occasioned by a newspaper report that the *Tutanekai* would carry school children only at Russell. Letter, Ransom to Post, undated. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁷⁹ Correspondence, between Bell, F. Mander (MP for Marsden), Jas. McKinnon (Secretary Whangarei Harbour Board), J.R. Reyburn (Chairman Whangarei Harbour Board), 30 May-13 June, 25-26 June 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-145, ATL. The archive includes the clipping of a 27 June report by the *Northern Mail* on the subsequent meeting of the Whangarei Harbour Board, under the headline, 'Somebody Blundered.' The Chairman suggested, 'Mr Mander had been very much befooled ... They have admitted that they were only trying to put Mr Mander off – that is the gist of the telegram. If the government of the country is to be carried out on these terms what are we to look forward to?'

²⁸⁰ 'Railway Arrangements Conveyance of Children,' *Evening Post*, 11 April 1913. 7; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 11 April 1913. 5. This arrangement was reported around the country.

²⁸¹ 'The Children and the Warship,' *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1913. 4.

restrictions on children's rail travel had been lifted for public schools.²⁸² In a circular issued by the Auckland Education Board, free travel applied to 'school teachers and all school children' while members of school committees were responsible for their own fares. However, free fares for children extended over two days for those travelling the longer distances.²⁸³ Senior cadets travelling in uniform were also to be covered although officers travelling with them would pay their own way. Parents would not be taken on the special school excursion trains.²⁸⁴ Despite that published information, the situation appears to have remained confused. In mid-May Bell himself was still defending free passes only for primary school children on the basis of cost and of being unable to 'go in Sth Island beyond what has already been conceded in North.' However, if he was pressed, he consented to secondary schools sharing the same terms on an individual basis, 'if railways can provide space.'²⁸⁵ The situation regarding veterans and Territorials was also clearly confused²⁸⁶ and public exasperation was evident in headlines such as 'Too Late / Ministerial Muddling' and 'Another bungle ...'²⁸⁷

Bell came under pressure with requests not only from the public and local bodies but also from other members of parliament²⁸⁸, and from promises unguardedly made by

²⁸² 'Young Visitors,' *New Zealand Times*, 16 April 1913. 8.

²⁸³ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Waikato Argus*, 21 April 1913. 2.

²⁸⁴ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Lake Wakatip Mail*, 6 May 1913. 5.

²⁸⁵ It is difficult to get a clear read on the actual policy as statements and decisions seem inconsistent. For example, on 17 May Bell wired Matura Reform MP G.J. Anderson to say, 'I regret that the limit of grant of free passes to primary schools only is absolutely necessary.' Two days later, Bell informed Herries that he had 'Replied to Mayor Dunedin & Sec. Navy League regretting impossible to extend concession to secondary schools.' Yet he recanted almost immediately and in response to a direct challenge from Anderson who had replied that Dunedin High School children were carried free to Christchurch and 'that being case concession for Gore HS children to Bluff she be granted,' Bell wrote on 20 May: "Position is as you state concession was granted Christchurch on urgent representation & will of course apply to case you quote.' A request from the Headmaster of Waitaki Boys High School over the same period was also granted and Hislop was instructed to use his discretion in such cases. Telegrams G.J. Anderson, Bell, Milner, Herries, 17-21 May; Telegrams, Rhodes to Bell, Hislop to Black, Bell to Newman, 13-16 May. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁸⁶ 'The Battleship,' *Manawatu Standard*, 26 April 1913. 6; 'Too Late,' *Manawatu Times*, 26 April 1913. 5. On [13 May], Rhodes forwarded Bell a telegram received from Reform MP for Rangitikei, Edward Newman: 'Seeing that Territorials are being invited to travel free to inspect warship trust you will arrange for same privilege for Veterans wearing war medals.' Hislop followed up with the information that 'by arrangement between Railway and Defence Depts veterans on Certificate of the general secretary for district are carried free by Railway to Important ceremonies in Wellington & Auckland. veterans were carried free to dreadnought. Please see Mr McKelly who will give you full particulars.' The next day Bell responded directly to Newman to say, 'Territorials are not being carried free but Veterans are if members of association & application made by Secy to Railway dept stating Names of Individuals.' Telegrams, Rhodes to Bell, Hislop to Black, Bell to Newman, 13-16 May. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁸⁷ 'The Battleship,' *Manawatu Standard*, 26 April 1913. 6; 'Too Late,' *Manawatu Times*, 26 April 1913. 5.

²⁸⁸ For example, at a 'smoke social' in Milton in honour of the visiting Herries, Reform MP for Clutha Alexander Scott Malcolm 'expressed his entire agreement with those gentlemen who thought the arrangements made were not satisfactory to Otago. He had come across literally hundreds who had expressed their huge disappointment and regret at the fact that the New Zealand was to be in Otago waters for such a very short time, and that 24 hours of that time would be a Sunday. He could assure his hearers that Mr Massey was most anxious to give people an opportunity to see the vessel, but she was not in his hands ... Mr Malcolm concluded by saying he was going to do his best to get the itinerary altered, and he was sure he would have the good offices of Mr Herries in the matter when Mr Herries understood how greatly the Otago people were pained at the slight, undoubtedly unintentional, that had been put upon them in the curtailment of the battleship's visit.' *Otago Daily Times*, 17 April 1913. 6.

them. Public requests directed to other MPs, who may have seemed to be the most likely sources of information, had at first appeared to be a consequence of the government's late start in arranging the tour. However, by May 1913 these alternatively-directed appeals seem increasingly to have been a method of manipulating events to force an outcome that the petitioner wanted but which they had so far been unable to achieve. This is not to say that confusion was not a factor earlier in the tour. But lobbying as a calculated technique is clearly evident in the Bell political archive. According to Cookson, this form of proactive negotiation was perhaps 'the leading feature of the colony's political culture' around the turn of the century. 'Outside statutory requirements much local body business was inaugurated by ratepayers' petitions to local councils. Petitioning became the basic expression of local self-government, and it is not surprising that it also impinged hugely on central government and politics ...'²⁸⁹ As noted earlier, Bell did try to reorganise the schedule in response to the most sustained lobbies from Bluff and New Plymouth, but was unsuccessful in creating change.²⁹⁰ The Prime Minister was as likely a recipient of these manipulative appeals as other MPs.²⁹¹ In communicating with Herries regarding a request early in the tour, Bell rather plaintively wrote, 'I do hope you will adhere to that course my trouble in all these ship arrangements is that after I have

²⁸⁹ Cookson, 'How British?' 143-160.

²⁹⁰ For example, in early May 1913, a number of Mayors in Taranaki cabled Bell to request an extension to the one day allocated for the battlecruiser at New Plymouth, arguing the potential interest suggested 'practically the whole population of Taranaki', or 60,000 people, would turn up. The petitioners included G.W. Browne (Mayor of New Plymouth), W.F. Jenkins (Mayor of Waitara), H. Okey (MP Taranaki), and others. This saturation lobbying followed Bell's earlier refusal of the same request from C.A. Wilkinson (MP for Eltham). Telegrams, Wilkinson to Bell, 30 April 1913; Browne, Jenkins, 7 May 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL. This was followed by requests from A. Gillies, Mayor of Hawera (7 May), G. Young, Mayor of Inglewood (7 May), Thomas Crump, Mayor of Eltham (7 May), W.P. Kirkwood, Mayor of Stratford (7 May), W. Goodland, Chairman Hawera County Council (9 May), W.C. Dudley, Chairman Egmont County Council (10 May), W. Hathaway, Chairman Stratford County Council (10 May), S.J. Kennington, Chairman Clifton County Council (13 May). Bell wrote Browne a lengthy reply on 9 May, unsuccessfully put an itinerary amendment to Halsey on 13 May, and then wrote again to Okey with the unchanged arrangements on 15 May. On 14 May he forwarded the results of his efforts to Massey. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁹¹ For example, regarding the request for the battlecruiser to stop at anchor for a few hours off Whangarei en route from Russell to Auckland 'for the benefit of Children of 13 Schools and parents, to visit the Country's Gift to the mother Country ... (if she cannot) all this District would be cut off from this great privilege,' W.B. White, Chair of the Parua Bay School Committee, unashamedly added a direct appeal to Massey: 'Trusting you will use your great power to further our humble request.' White wrote a second letter on the same day to Fisher, Minister for Marine appealing in the same emotional terms for the Minister to 'use your great influence - in conjunction with Our Premier, & to enable the School Children & Parents to have this great privilege.' Letters, W.B. White to Massey, Fisher, 30 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL. Private and special character schools were not universally included in the free railway travel but lobbying was also used to get a different result. In early May a refusal to fund the trip from Hamilton of 120 Catholic school children was rapidly reversed as 'an exception.' Although the order of events in relation to this are not clear, hints in the correspondence suggest Hamilton MP J.A. Young tried Bell first, then quickly followed up with Massey. Bell initially refused the request, saying 'If we tried carry all private schools free we should block railways and I cannot discriminate. If Catholics pay I will consider later if we should ask Parliament to refund them such payments but I cannot promise.' However, Young forwarded Bell the news that 'Some time ago Secretary Education promised Bishop Cleary that children attending private schools subject govt inspection would be carried same as state children,' and Bell changed his mind, agreeing to carry the children 'on the same terms as Public school children!' Telegrams between Bell, Massey and Young, [5/6] May 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

seen Halsey & decided the applicants appeal to another member who does not know that they have come to headquarters first.’²⁹² When Massey appeared to make promises out of turn, Bell had no compunction in qualifying the Prime Minister’s reply to better manage expectations.²⁹³ The pressure Bell was feeling was also evident when he reciprocated praise he had received from C. J. Parr, Auckland’s Mayor, adding his appreciation for ‘the skill and tact (and, let me add, patience) you personally exercised throughout.’²⁹⁴

Regarding local arrangements that did not involve the government’s largesse or issues of health and safety, Bell took a hands-off approach, again a practical form of management that government wished to encourage.²⁹⁵ This included issues such as Wanganui’s previously discussed desire to dispense with lifebelt requirements for children in order to increase the numbers that might be taken out to view the vessel close up. Despite an invitation to speak at Auckland Harbour Board’s port-side welcome for Halsey, Bell wrote, ‘I trust Board will excuse us from speaking there as we prefer that both Board and city in each place should exclusively receive in their own territory and if Government [members] takes (sic) any part official or unofficial that position is affected.’²⁹⁶ Neither, for obvious political reasons, did he wish to become involved in regional disputes regarding those local arrangements. Irrespective of conclusions based on observation that may have been drawn by the press or by individuals with an agenda, Bell could not overtly favour one council or one region, or one organisation over another and risk accusations of favouritism. Neither did the government have the available resources to manage visit arrangements more directly around the country nor, perhaps, sufficient political goodwill to appear to be more heavy-handed and interventionist in local arrangements than was necessary. However, Dunedin’s published intention to celebrate the King’s birthday a day earlier than the rest of the country did trigger a

²⁹² Telegram Bell to Herries, 23 April 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁹³ Telegram, Massey to Bell re query from and response to Mayor of Westport, J. Colvin; Telegram, Bell to Colvin. 23-24 April 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

²⁹⁴ Letters, C.J. Parr to H.D. Bell 13 May, Bell to Parr 19 May. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

²⁹⁵ ‘The desire was that local bodies, efficient and empowered, would operate as much as possible on their own. The reality was that their routine business increasingly burdened the bureaucracy; though, directed as it was into ‘Internal Affairs’, the ministry of the miscellaneous, perhaps the thought was that something of the fiction could be preserved.’ Cookson, ‘How British?’ 156.

²⁹⁶ Telegram, Bell to Secretary Harbour Board Auckland, 8 April 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142A, ATL.

negative response from Bell, the Governor and from Halsey. To take advantage of the *New Zealand's* last day off the Otago Heads being June 2, and a proposed parade in the city on that day by the ship's men, a plan was mooted to bring forward the celebration of the royal birthday and roll the Territorial parades into the same day. Collapsing two parades into one, it was argued, would make it easier for workers and employers and ensure a bigger turnout for the event.²⁹⁷ It is not clear whether the Dunedin City Council was in support of the proposal - they may have been preoccupied with the recent change of Mayor in the municipal elections,²⁹⁸ although Bell suggested it was the Mayor's doing. But by the time local defence columnist 'Sentry' articulated the confusion over an understanding in Dunedin that 'the King's Birthday holiday is to be generally observed on June 2' while at the same time defence 'headquarters have issued instructions that all troops shall parade on the King's Birthday, June 3, when a Royal salute will be fired,'²⁹⁹ the government had taken steps to make it clear that there was no official sanction for the birthday observance to be held on Monday 2 June. Whether Bell would have noticed the suggestion to move the birthday observance and responded without prompting is difficult to say. The initial proposals, while published,³⁰⁰ may have been lost in the huge amount of background 'noise' being generated around the visit, or Bell's discrimination may simply have been sufficiently dulled by the minutiae with which he was dealing that the potential significance of the suggestion did not immediately register. First attention to the arrangement was drawn by Liverpool³⁰¹, to which Halsey responded with a vehement refusal to substitute 'June 2nd for celebration of the recognised day,'³⁰² with support from Liverpool, Massey and Bell. Although

²⁹⁷ The original idea appears to have originated with the Otago Employers' Association which was reported on May 2 to be 'approaching the Trades and Labor Council'. *Evening Star*, 2 May 1913. 4. A letter writer to the editor of the *Otago Daily Times* picked up and supported the suggestion a few days later. 'Correspondence Condensed,' *Otago Daily Times*, 13 May 1913. 7.

²⁹⁸ On 30 April, W. Downie-Stewart was elected to replace the outgoing John Wilson.

²⁹⁹ 'The Defence Forces,' *Otago Daily Times*, 23 May 1913.

³⁰⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Evening Star*, 15 May 1913. 6; 'The Defence Forces,' *Otago Daily Times*, 16 May 1913. 8. The suggestion may have been influenced, in part, by a reported but apparently unrelated suggestion from the Employer's Association to move the celebration to Monday June 2, perhaps with business productivity issues in mind. 'The Trades and Labor Council will meet on Thursday evening, when they will consider the letter from the Employers' Association suggesting that the King's Birthday, which falls this year on Tuesday, June 3, should be celebrated on the preceding day.' *Evening Star*, 13 May 1913. 4.

³⁰¹ Liverpool noted that the suggestion arose from Halsey's intention to land men on 2 June and asking whether the Captain could not wait overnight at Otago Heads and 'have an early parade' on 3 June. Telegram, Liverpool to Bell, 17 May, 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

³⁰² 'I had no idea,' Halsey wrote, 'that the Dunedin people proposed to make June 2nd a substitute for June 3rd - a fatal thing if it had in any way come off, and I think it would be far better any how to cancel our march through the town as in any case it would detract from the solemnity and dignity of whatever was done on June 3rd. It is so important that the King's birthday should be kept up - and I shall make a point of expressing my deep regret at not being able to be there on that day.' Notes, telegrams, Liverpool, Halsey and Bell, 17-19 May, 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

Halsey wrote to Bell that he had subsequently informed the Town Clerk in Dunedin that he would be unable to land men on 2 June, southern papers continued to report that '300 men' from the *New Zealand* would march through the city on 2 June and the 'King's Birthday parade of garrison troops,' including the Royal Salute, went ahead. When General Godley wrote to the Governor in support of moving the official celebrations, however, the four men reluctantly capitulated, and celebrations ran on two consecutive days in Dunedin. In the end, however, weather prevented the naval contingent from landing so the parade on 2 June went ahead without them.³⁰³ All in all, the King's Birthday in Dunedin proved an unsatisfying experience for many.³⁰⁴

Throughout, decision-making continued to reflect the government's late start in material preparation for the visit. The plan to mint commemorative medals to mark the tour for the men onboard *HMS New Zealand*, and for selected New Zealanders, was arranged on the basis of expedience. Because there was insufficient time from when the idea was proposed to follow the mandated government procurement process of tendering, W.R. Bock of Wellington was 'entrusted with the work.' But enquiries from other New Zealand silversmiths and medallists followed shortly thereafter, including from A. Kohn (Auckland) and B. Moller (Dunedin)³⁰⁵ A total of 850³⁰⁶ silver medals were struck at a total cost of £240, with an additional pair in gold later in the year for the King and Queen, the dies being retained by the government.

Overall, however, it is important to remember that, as flawed as they may have been, the arrangements made for the battlecruiser's visit still allowed most of the country's population to view the vessel. The *New Zealand's* own record of visitors who actually set foot aboard represented nearly 34%³⁰⁷ of New Zealanders, the total population estimated to number 1,115,069 at the end of 1912.³⁰⁸ However, factoring in those who

³⁰³ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 3 June 1913. 7; 'The Warship's Departure,' *Otago Daily Times*, 3 June 1913. 6; 'Winter Show Week,' *Otago Daily Times*, 2 June 1913. 8.

³⁰⁴ On Tuesday 3 June the Post Office was closed, and general holiday activities went ahead such as the opening of the Otago Grand Winter Show and Exhibition, picture shows, bazaars, and horse races. 'Winter Show Week,' *Otago Daily Times*, 2 June 1913. 8.

³⁰⁵ Letters, Moller, Bell 19, 23 May 1913. Telegrams, Kohn, Bell, 5, 7 June 1913. 'Visiting Men-of-War – HMS "New Zealand" (Ship) – Souvenirs – Medals for crew.' R14992043-ACGO-8333-IA1/2279-108/10, Archives New Zealand (ANZ).

³⁰⁶ 804 required for the officers (52) and men (751) in addition to himself.

³⁰⁷ See Figure 1, v.

³⁰⁸ NZOYB, 1913, accessed 19 February 2019.

https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1913/NZOYB_1913.html#idsect2_1_22093,

were unable to board but still travelled to a vantage point to view the vessel either from a harbour tour or from onshore, produces a far higher percentage. In Wanganui, for example, while the official ship record was 415 visitors, local reports published assessments of 'not less than 15,000,' visitors in the single day.³⁰⁹ Given the large and similar numbers of people around the country who turned out to see the vessel, what we know about the difficulty of boarding visitors in the roadstead (most ports of call), and the similarly small numbers counted on the battlecruiser in many of these smaller centres, it is not hard to see the *New Zealand's* official count doubling. An amazing result in any terms.

The official experiences of organising the New Zealand leg of the battlecruiser's tour begins to suggest a counter-narrative to that of a generally united and homogeneously patriotic nation. It is not hard to conclude that Bell's role of conducting the tour was a difficult one. Aside from the expected local politicking and self-interest, controversy related to the national political situation also leaked into the visit. However, it is fair to say that the visit of *HMS New Zealand* was relatively unmarred. The potential existed for a much higher level of disagreement and complaint had it not been for Bell's general attitude which for the most part remained collaborative and reasonable, if not always conciliatory. It is also remarkable that arrangements were made as well and as comprehensively as they were given the short period of time available to enact them and the lack of adequate reflection and discussion prior to decision-making. The Bell political archive shows organisation and a speed³¹⁰ and frequency of communication that would hold up well against experience today.

³⁰⁹ The *Wanganui Chronicle* reports nearly 3000 carried out into the roadstead to view the vessel up close, with over 28 bar crossings, while the *Wanganui Herald* estimated the 15,000 carried via rail and road. 'Local and General,' *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 June 1913. 4; 'Local and General,' *Wanganui Herald*, 17 June 1913. 4.

³¹⁰ Despite comments such as that from J.A. Young, MP Hamilton: 'I wired you yesterday morning but received no reply.' Telegram, Young to Bell, 6 May 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

Chapter Three

Inside the pa: ‘He whare tu kite paenga he kai na te ahi’³¹¹

*‘We welcome you to these islands ...
You have come here from the far
end of the earth ...’³¹²*

‘Welcome, ye defenders of the fort! It is expressed by a proverb in Maori: “The house that stands without the fort is food for fire.”³¹³ This whakatauki, included in an illuminated address³¹⁴ presented to Captain Halsey by Rangipouri Marumaru and Hoeroa Marumaru, representatives of Ngati Apa³¹⁵ of Rangitikei, suggests much about the Maori sense of relationship to and place within the British Empire. Presented in Maori with the English printed beneath, the address articulated themes that were commonly repeated in the mihi of other Maori visitors to the *New Zealand* or in those of Maori hosts in onshore ceremonies.³¹⁶ The account of Maori

³¹¹ Maori whakatauki, ‘A house that stands alone is food for fire.’

³¹² Liberal Southern Maori MP Taare (Charles Rere) Parata addressing Captain Halsey in Wellington. ‘Maori Greetings,’ *New Zealand Times*, 22 April 1913. 4.

³¹³ The ‘fort’ is the Maori pa. The address was translated in the press thus:

‘To Captain Halsey, officers and crew of H.M.S. New Zealand. —Welcome! Welcome! Welcome! Brave ones, sons of the great god of war, Tutengauaghau [Tūmatauenga]. You have crossed the great ocean to these islands, Aotearoa (North Island) and Te Waipounamu (South Island). Greetings to you who have arrived here from their Majesties King George V. and Queen Mary, Royal family, and the subjects of Great Britain. Welcome! Welcome! Welcome to you who have brought the treasure to Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu. Welcome with power, welcome with thy exaltation, welcome with thy awe-inspiring presence, welcome thou canoe of war, the sentry that is forever wakeful upon the mighty deep and upholder of the British mana. Let us view the offspring, or fruit of the seed cast upon the waters by our Matua (father), Sir Joseph Ward. The act of such a statesman proved to be the moving spirit of closer relations between the Dominions and the Motherland, who holds the power of protection and peace over her Dominions, which make her stand to-day pre-eminent among nations. Welcome, ye defenders of the fort! It is expressed by a proverb in Maori: “The house that stands without the fort is food for fire.” We are much pleased and highly gratified at your visit, the object of which is to enable the people of the Dominion to view their magnificent gift to the Empire. As sons of the land we feel on this occasion we have a duty to perform in welcoming you to our shores, although we are not befittingly doing it. We hope your mission will further the bonds of Empire and inspire young and old to do their duty to their King, country and people, and also link the bonds of brotherhood that have existed between the two races of this Dominion since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. We wish you, sir, your officers and crew, a safe return and may God protect you all in the many great undertakings which have been entrusted to your skill and ability. We will ever cherish fond memories of you all, and look upon this occasion as a new era in the glorious history of the Empire. May success attend you all whenever you are called upon to defend the flag. In conclusion we hope you may all live long to see the fruits of this great day and enjoy the many honours conferred upon you all by His Majesty the King and his subjects. (Signed) Wirihana Hunia, Uru Te Angina, H. Marumaru, R. Marumaru.’

‘Maori Greetings,’ *New Zealand Times*, 22 April 1913. 4.

³¹⁴ Effectively a speech in manuscript form, presented as a scroll or framed piece, and an important element of celebrations during the mid to late 19th, and early 20th centuries. The messages of appreciation and esteem were often full of superlative and very ornate, the decorations having specific relevance to the subject of the address. ‘A token of our regard and esteem; Illuminated manuscripts from the Sir George Grey Special Collection.’ Auckland Libraries, accessed 20 July 2017. <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/illuminatedaddresses/introduction.htm>. The drivers behind the Maori adoption of this very European practice would be interesting to investigate further.

³¹⁵ Hoeroa Taraua Utiku Marumaru (1890–1952) was a prominent figure in the Anglican Church and in the National Party, where he was Maori vice-president between 1945–48, as well as in 1952. He was born in Parewanui, and educated at Te Aute College. Note the contemporary press record presents the iwi name as ‘Ngatiapo’.

³¹⁶ What was reported appears largely to have been the waioha tuarua, take and whakamutunga, the final segments of a full mihi which, respectively, acknowledge the tangata whenua (speaking once again to the living following an acknowledgement of those departed), a reference to the reason for the gathering, and the conclusion which may often include a whakatauki.

engagement with the vessel has survived in the public arena in a reduced form, as the story of 'protective' gifts bestowed upon the ship's captain and later used to apparent effect during the Battle of Jutland. This story, discussed in more detail later in this chapter, is the main mention of the Maori relationship to be found in the historiography. While inaccurate, it has become mythic, though Ian McGibbon,³¹⁷ the Torpedo Bay Navy Museum³¹⁸ and more recently, K.F. Wilson³¹⁹ have all attempted clarifications. However, a deeper narrative exists that highlights the social and political astuteness and aspirations of Maori, throwing them into relief against the contrasting attitudes of British and pakeha participants. A report that remarked on Maori 'cheerfulness' at the inclement conditions that coincided with the battlecruiser's arrival discussed the 'strange belief' that the weather was 'a good omen for the "big canoe,"' and is notable in that it serves to frame the Maori situation in 1913 New Zealand.³²⁰ The pakeha public, as much as it is reasonable to generalise prevalent opinions and attitudes from newspaper reportage, were conflicted in the way they regarded and interacted with tangata whenua. On the one hand was a certain amount of respect (at its most extreme illustrated by a claim to kinship),³²¹ indicated by the serious treatment of Maori leadership and the reasonably neutral reporting of culture and events. On the other was a willingness to characterise Maori individuals and maoritanga in entertaining terms. Pakeha efforts to embrace maoritanga through imitation or adoption of certain cultural aspects fell somewhere between these extremes. In general terms, Keith Sinclair has discussed utilisation of Maori culture in pakeha nationalism.³²² In relation to the battlecruiser, the crew's adoption of the haka provides an example that Wilson references, but without critical review.³²³ This chapter focuses on Maori engagement with the battlecruiser and the reflections offered by these exchanges. For Maori, the tour represented the

³¹⁷ McGibbon, *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. 357.

³¹⁸ 'HMS New Zealand Piupiu,' Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/hms-new-zealand-piupiu-2/>.

³¹⁹ Wilson, *The Compleat Guide*. 138-140

³²⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 15 April 1913. 8.

³²¹ The theory of common ancestry via the racial classification of the 'Aryan Maori' was pervasive and influential. Belich has suggested this myth 'laundered Māori culture into a form suitable for adoption, providing New Zealand with an instant culture – a romantic prehistory, distinctive symbols and a landscape already encrusted with stories and names,' and created a number of ironies in Maori / pakeha relationships during the late 19th century and early twentieth centuries. James Belich, 'European ideas about Māori - The Aryan Māori and other stereotypes', published 5 May 2011, accessed 17 February 2019. *Te Ara*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/european-ideas-about-maori/page-5>.

³²² Keith Sinclair, *The Native Born: The Origins of New Zealand Nationalism*, Massey Memorial Lecture 1986, [Palmerston North]: Massey University, 1986. 10.

³²³ Wilson, *The Compleat Guide*. 83-4.

opportunity to emphasise their sovereignty and their participation as equal partners within the empire.

In the majority of their welcomes, Maori orators emphasised the support that Maori felt for the King and empire and commonly expressed their appreciation of ‘our Matua (father) Sir Joseph Ward’³²⁴ and his actions in enabling the gift of the battlecruiser. The gift was praised on two levels, as a bonding agent and as a tool of defence. In Auckland, an address that was signed, among others, by Hohepa Mataitaua, and Haunui Tawhiao Potatau Te Wherowhero³²⁵ welcomed the

"waka nui" (great canoe), which was given by New Zealand in the name of both pakeha and Maori “in order to support the British Empire and defend both races from their enemies.” The address concludes: “The arrival of our battleship on these shores will be a memory and everlasting remembrance to us and our generations to come. All the male and female chiefs of the inhabitants of both races of New Zealand, together with children who have assembled here, now welcome you all with gladness in their hearts. The whole source of our peace is the Treaty of Waitangi and the strength of the British navy. Let both live and be strong. Welcome! Welcome! May God bless all of us, pakeha and Maori.”³²⁶

During a visit to the vessel on 21 April, Liberal Southern Maori MP Taare (Charles Rere) Parata said, ‘The Dominion’s gift of this battleship will unite more strongly the bonds of affection and brotherhood by which we, the different races of our Empire, are so happily bound.’ Te Heuheu Tukino,³²⁷ chief of Taupo said ‘the Maoris whom he (the speaker) represented ... were unanimous that [the presentation of the vessel] ... was in the proper direction and in the interests of the Empire. Therefore they were doubly pleased to see the New Zealand in this harbour, and they were proud of the gift. He ventured to say that every one of the Maoris appreciated Sir Joseph Ward’s action. He hoped that the battleship and the men would uphold the honour of the

³²⁴ ‘Maori Greetings,’ *New Zealand Times*, 22 April 1913. 4.

³²⁵ Haunui Tawhiao was a son of King Tawhiao, the second Maori King, and grand-uncle of King Koroki, the fifth Maori King.

³²⁶ ‘Maori Greetings,’ *Auckland Star*, 2 May 1913. 2.

³²⁷ Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino V, the fifth paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa. In September 1887, his father Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino IV offered Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu ‘in partnership to the Crown so that Ngati Tuwharetoa would never lose their association with them.’ Steven Oliver, ‘Te Heuheu Tukino IV, Horonuku,’ *DNZB*, published 1993, updated June, 2018, accessed 18 November 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t19/te-heuheu-tukino-iv-horonuku>.

British Navy.' Hira Parata Te Kahakura of Waikanae, chief of Ngati Toa, Ngati Awa, and Raukawa, repeated the messages of loyalty to the throne, appreciation of Ward and the cementing nature of the *New Zealand*, adding the hope that 'she would be strong to guard off hostile invaders from these shores so that the descendants of those people who gave this battleship would be safe from their foes.'³²⁸ To a party of bluejackets who visited Levin on 16 April, Te Kereihi Roera of Ngati Raukawa offered 'our most cordial welcome to you who will be our guardian in this Dominion'.³²⁹

The welcome proffered to the battlecruiser visitors was warm and genuine but, again in keeping with the tradition and spirit of *whaikorero*, Maori leaders did not shy from stating their position and expectations. They were careful also to establish their standing in terms the visitors would understand and that would not be lost on the local officials, and to emphasise the longevity of their relationship with the British. The day following the bluejackets' jaunt to Levin, a party of chiefs³³⁰ including Rere Nikitini reciprocated the visit. Nikitini clearly articulated the Maori relationship to the battlecruiser: 'This ship bears the name of our islands. It was presented on behalf of the people to His Majesty by our Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward. We, the Maori people entirely concurred in the gift, and we realise that some part of its cost has come direct from the land of our ancestors.'³³¹ The sentiments expressed by Tukino, Te Kahakura and Nikitini contextualise the *whakatauki* used in the Rangitikei address, and they are worth exploring. These leaders appeared to suggest a reciprocal relationship between Maori (as distinct from New Zealand) and the empire. The vessel represented a concrete and active contribution towards maintaining and safeguarding, in spatial, emotional, and political terms, the perimeter of the empire. By virtue of the gift, and Britain's acceptance, New Zealand, and Maori, could now comfortably count itself a 'paid up' member of that empire and expect the benefits of protection implied by that membership. Indeed, the responsibility of protection was

³²⁸ 'Maori Greetings,' *New Zealand Times*, 22 April 1913. 4. "'You behold in us, Captain Halsey, ... the sons and descendants of those great chiefs who extended the hand of friendship to the Europeans, and gave them lands wherein to settle in New Zealand.'" Also present, Heni Terei established her credentials as 'chieftainess of the Ngatiraukawa, Otaki ... a grandchild of Tamehana Te Rauparaha, who visited England some years ago, and was presented to the late Queen Victoria.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 22 April 1913. 8.

³²⁹ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 17 April 1913. 8.

³³⁰ 'Kipa Roera, Kereihi Roera, and Miss Ngahira Roera, Miss Amo Tamihana te Hoia, Rere Nikitini, Mr. and Mrs. Patuwaka Tauwhere, Te Kawe te Hatete, Piripi Hopo Henare, and many others.' 'Maori Chiefs Visit Warship,' *Evening Post*, 18 April 1913. 8.

³³¹ 'Maori Chiefs Visit Warship,' *Evening Post*, 18 April 1913. 8.

specified in the Treaty of Waitangi.³³² The respective positions were emphasised by Nikitini's reference to 'the land of our ancestors' which could be interpreted as a reminder of the government's acquisition and sale of Maori lands, an ongoing political issue. However, the whakatauki might be seen to have done double duty, serving also to reference the place of Maori within the dominion and, by extension, the empire. Purakau Maika, editor of Maori language newspapers in the Wairarapa³³³ wrote a letter of welcome which he requested be published in the *Dominion*. The letter quoted the same whakatauki, but cleverly placed a different interpretation upon it: 'We welcome the visitor of ancient days,' he wrote. 'You were brought to our midst right from the very upper edge of the horizon³³⁴; and to-day you have fulfilled our wishes. We have your ship anchoring in one of the seaports of Aotearoa. In former days the pakeha stood "outside the pa." A house which stands outside the pa is weak, but a house which stands inside is (pa-tu-wata-wata) a strong fortified place.'³³⁵ What did Maika mean? His message appeared to be a subtle but specific reminder for all readers that the British travelled a long distance to New Zealand, then and now. Welcomed as guests, the British were nevertheless outsiders in the land. Sending the battlecruiser for such an extended visit might imply a closer, more collaborative bond was being signalled, a wish expressed by many Maori and pakeha alike. The Marumaru version of the whakatauki took a macro view of New Zealand's position within the empire, while Maika's version focused on the micro, the pakeha within New Zealand. But, despite the perspective, both interpretations of the whakatauki could be seen to achieve a similar outcome: an explicit reminder that Maori, as tangata whenua, and pakeha, the tangata tiriti, were co-inhabitants and should be operating in equal partnership. The Maori-language version of the Treaty of Waitangi accorded Maori rangatiratanga, or sovereignty, and this special

³³² Article the Third, the Treaty of Waitangi. A recent Maori translation is:
'The Third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.'

The official English version is:
'Article the third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.'

John Wilson, 'Nation and government - The origins of nationhood,' *Te Ara*, updated 16 September 2016, accessed 1 December 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/document/4216/the-three-articles-of-the-treaty-of-waitangi>.

³³³ Maika was proprietor and editor of *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* from 1906 to 1913 when the paper folded in the face of competition from the more recent *Te Mareikura* of which Maika was director along with James Carroll, the Juries brothers and Iraia Te Waihouiti. *Te Mareikura* also folded in 1913.

³³⁴ A concise reminder the British/pakeha were not of the land, geographically or culturally.

³³⁵ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Dominion*, 1 May 1913. 4.

relationship needed to be honoured.³³⁶ In their expressions of welcome, Rangipouri Marumaru, Hoeroa Marumaru, Rere Nikitini and Purakau Maika did more than envision a shared future. They, and other leaders, also reminded their audiences of Maori sovereignty and of the expectations that rightly attended that fact. Neither were they alone in this.

Maika's interpretation of the whakatauki, with the suggestion that it was pakeha who needed to be brought within the protective circle, is particularly interesting. It implied a confidence in the perceived Maori situation, and in the benefits that contemporary Maori believed could accrue to the British world from their more active acceptance and participation. The widespread desire shown by Maori to engage with the *New Zealand* and to reiterate their relationship with the Crown was, in fact, a statement of survival. At the turn of the century they had been regarded as a dying race, and the belief lingered. In reporting the 1911 census results, the *New Zealand Times* commented, "There is distinct hope for the Maori race in the latest census returns ... the figures may be taken to indicate beyond doubt that the native race has taken a new hold upon life. Until recently it was the fashion to regard the Maoris as a dying race."³³⁷ The purported (and paternalistic) 'new hold on life' could have been read in the spirited welcomes described in this chapter. Maori showed that 'survival' was not the long game. They intended to play an active role in New Zealand's future. What that future looked like though was still not agreed by all Maori. Historian Michael King wrote that, 'For the first half of the twentieth century the Maori population remained located largely where it had been in the late nineteenth century. This meant that in effect there were two New Zealands, one Maori and one Pakeha.' He remarked that the effective insulation made race relations 'less a noticeable aspect of day-to-day life.'³³⁸ Richard Hill concurred that 'Until the middle of the twentieth century, Maori were mostly rural dwellers leading lives quite different and separate from the majority of those New Zealanders of European descent who are generally called pakeha,'³³⁹ and that this was largely by

³³⁶ Richard S. Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004. 93.

³³⁷ 'The total Maori population ... is 49,350, an increase of 1617 for the five years that have elapsed since the previous census.' 'The Maori Population,' *New Zealand Times*, 24 August 1911. 6.

³³⁸ Michael King, *Maori: A Photographic & Social History*, Revised edition, Auckland: Raupo, 1996. 195.

³³⁹ Richard S. Hill, *Maori and the State: Crown-Maori Relations in New Zealand Aotearoa, 1950-2000*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009. ix.

Maori design. Ben Schrader notes also that although few may have lived in cities, Maori did engage with city life for both business and pleasure, and ‘felt comfortable claiming some city public space as their own.’³⁴⁰ Despite social interaction, and the ‘relentless pressures of colonial policies’ particularly aimed at assimilation and acculturation, Maori were actively engaged in using the opportunities provided in this way to enhance as well as to preserve their own culture. “‘Collaboration’ as a strategy’ had quickly been seen as doing little to advance, if not actively undermine, rangatiratanga.³⁴¹ Importantly, in Hill’s assessment, ‘Maori never accepted that Crown sovereignty precluded the possibility of running their own affairs in their own ways.’³⁴² By the time of the battlecruiser’s visit in 1913, the Young Maori Party had been influencing the official Maori-pakeha relationship for nearly two decades, although known by this name only since 1907. Developing out of Te Aute College in Hawke’s Bay, with James Carroll ‘the older politician who was in effect the father of the Young Maori movement’ behind them, James Belich called the party ‘the most important engagement movement.’³⁴³ Its most influential leaders were in parliament in 1913: Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) as Liberal MPs, and Maui Pomare,³⁴⁴ aligned with Reform and appointed member of the Executive Council ‘representing the native race.’³⁴⁵ Carroll had been the first Maori to win a general rather than a Maori seat,³⁴⁶ and served as Acting Prime Minister twice in the later years of the Liberal government.³⁴⁷ This generation of leaders was able to walk in both worlds and supported integration, to a point. Belich believes that Maori land sales figures suggest Carroll worked ‘under the table’ to slow the process while

³⁴⁰ Ben Schrader, *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities 1840-1920*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016. 202-4.

³⁴¹ Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy*. 93.

³⁴² Hill, *Maori and the State*. x.

³⁴³ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. 200.

³⁴⁴ The first Maori doctor, later to become Minister of Health.

³⁴⁵ ‘In the Council,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 11 July 1912. 8.

³⁴⁶ Waipapua (1893-1908), followed by Gisborne (1908-1919).

³⁴⁷ Maori had significant political engagement with the Liberal government over the latter’s 21 years in office, although not all positive from a Maori perspective. This included the Stout-Ngata land use investigations of 1907-8, and Maori Councils. Hill, *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy*. 81-3, 53-61. Tom Brooking argues for Seddon’s interest in reforming the colonial attitudes to Maori land and other issues, although Seddon’s sensitivity appeared patchy. When he took over the Native Affairs portfolio in 1893, although politically motivated, it ‘signalled a remarkable change in his thinking’ and indicated a high priority to be placed on Maori affairs. He met with Maori up and down the country, usually accompanied by Carroll, and worked actively for change in certain areas. Among other things he drove the Urewera District Native Reserve Act (1896) for local Tuhoe self-governance, which ultimately was not implemented by the Crown. Brooking, *Richard Seddon*, 210-213. Ward followed up 12 years later with a visit to Rua Kenana who accepted the ‘argument that there could be no separate Maori government.’ Judith Binney, ‘Rua Kenana Hepetipa’, *DNZB*, published 1996, accessed 25 November 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r32/rua-kenana-hepetipa>.

‘rhetorically accepting the official policy of land sale and assimilation ... Carroll had to be in the Pakeha car to apply the brakes ... The best remembered saying of this alleged assimilationist was “Hold fast to your Maoritanga” ... Pomare was probably more genuinely assimilationist than either Carroll or Ngata were, but ... his main expression of this, the advocacy of new attitudes to health and hygiene, had previously been as novel to Pakeha as it was to Maori.’³⁴⁸

Apirana Ngata was reported to hold ‘that the destiny of the Maori is ultimate amalgamation with the European population.’³⁴⁹ But it is interesting to review these attitudes, together with Maika’s statements, through the lens of Giselle Byrnes’ 2007 controversial assessment of nationalism, wherein she framed biculturalism as ‘a flawed notion. It has been described as a colonial construct because it posits Maori in a (junior) position with the Crown and assumes that the cultural and political constituencies of Maori and Pakeha are homogeneous.’³⁵⁰ While this is a current view, it is nevertheless consistent with the evidence of many pakeha attitudes in the contemporary sources and which are surveyed in this chapter. Maika’s interpretation of the whakatauki ‘He whare tu kite paenga he kai na te ahi’ did not suggest he was speaking from, or even felt he was speaking from, a junior position, but some pakeha continued to interpret such demonstrated confidence by Maori as the undesirable consequence of pakeha attention and flattery.³⁵¹

Whether or not Maika was aware of the concept, the recently expressed notion of Britishness as ‘a multi-ethnic identity forged across the British Isles’ was in sympathy with the vision he and other Maori held of their legitimate otherness, and has some relevance to the way in which Maori engaged the empire’s representatives. This ‘new’ view of British history ‘was a powerful motivating ideology capable, within racially defined limits, of joining people together across the settler world,’³⁵² although there does seem to be an inherent contradiction in this statement where ‘multi-ethnic’ and

³⁴⁸ Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 200.

³⁴⁹ ‘The Maori Population,’ *New Zealand Times*, 24 August 1911. 6.

³⁵⁰ Giselle Byrnes, ‘Rethinking National Identity in New Zealand’s history.’ Speech delivered at the Dominion Status Symposium in Wellington on Dominion Day, 2007, marking the centenary of New Zealand’s graduation from colony to dominion, 26 September 2007, accessed 23 May 2018, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/files/documents/giselle-byrnes-national-identity.pdf>.

³⁵¹ ‘The Maori Problem,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 29 June 1909. 7; ‘Pakeha and Maori,’ *Dominion*, 23 April 1908. 6.

³⁵² Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. 33.

‘racially defined limits’ sit uneasily together. If Britishness was as much ideological and ‘imaginary’ as it was geo-political, and if it was truly open to a ‘plurality of identities and interconnectedness’ with shared traditions and values, chief among them loyalty to the Crown,³⁵³ then Maori leaders had been astute in recognising early that building the social capital of their people in terms of this British world would be advantageous. In considering the relationship of the dominions to the metropole, as demonstrated in the major conflicts in which the wider British world came to support the ‘Mother Country,’ Magee and Thompson question the degree to which the perceived unity of the empire was real.³⁵⁴ It is a question that can equally be applied to the vision of multi-ethnic. The refusal of the British government to sanction Maori enlistment for the Anglo-Boer War on the grounds it was a ‘white man’s’³⁵⁵ conflict, despite demonstrated willingness in the dominion from Maori and government alike, and the uneasiness of Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, was paternalistic at best.³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, by 1913 Maori leadership had made strong progress in developing their expertise within the political structure and social networks that would facilitate better access to the information, skills, resources and capital they knew would better equip their people to hold their place within the world in which they found themselves. Seddon had earlier argued on the Maori behalf citing the equality and rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi, not the first time he had done so.³⁵⁷ There remained, however, an apparent refusal to admit Maori to the navy. Wanganui Maori presented Halsey with an illuminated address which included the ‘intention ... to send representatives from our youths to learn under the supervision of the Admiralty, the art of sea war-fare, and we trust that through your assistance we shall be able, to have the honour of your instruction to enable our youths to work hand in hand with our white brethren in upholding the mana and sovereignty of the British Crown.’ Halsey replied he would be glad for Maori to serve in the navy.³⁵⁸ However, by the time this exchange took place, an enquiry of the same kind had already been officially discussed and appeared to have

³⁵³ Magee and Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation*. 34.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 34.

³⁵⁵ Despite a current notion that Maori were of Aryan Caucasian origin, discussed later in this chapter.

³⁵⁶ ‘Maori and the war,’ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 19-May-2016, accessed 8 January 2018.

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/new-zealand-in-the-south-african-boer-war/maori>.

³⁵⁷ In relation to federation with Australia: ‘The Hons. A.J. Cadman and R. Seddon.’ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 May 1891. 5.

³⁵⁸ ‘The Maori Address,’ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 June 1913. 5.

been discouraged. Nothing had changed since 1911.³⁵⁹ On 13 May 1913 Massey wrote to the Acting Minister of Defence, the Hon. Heaton Rhodes, seeking information on whether 'Natives of New Zealand' could enter the navy. Massey had been approached by Bishop Lloyd Crossley of Auckland who, inspired by the battlecruiser's visit, suggested that 'young Maoris, like the scholars at St Stephen's ... should be encouraged ... and stated that in the case of the West Indies natives were allowed to enter the Fleet.' Although the intermediary communications do not appear to be available, a memorandum to Rhodes dated 30 May on behalf of the General Officer Commanding the New Zealand Forces noted, 'the Hon. Prime Minister has been placed in possession of confidential correspondence from His Excellency on this matter.' The detail of that correspondence is not included. However, the exchange is filed with a well-supported application for naval service made by a young Maori man, Thomas Timaru Benson, in 1908. The cover sheet dated 3 February 1908 'Points out Benson being a Maori was not accepted as a candidate for the Navy.'³⁶⁰

Maori representation in official local welcomes around the country was specifically invited, but the managed and peripheral nature of the participation suggests the limited way in which Maori roles in the dominion were still regarded. Press commentary also highlighted the mixed attitudes that existed towards Maori at all levels of society. Although clear exceptions existed, in general the reported evidence suggests many saw Maori matters as accessory or addendum rather than integral to the proceedings. Where welcome committee discussions discussed Maori participation, they focused on cultural displays such as poi and haka,³⁶¹ and reports show no indication Maori was requested to take a prominent role in proceedings. During his 'fine speech' at 'a complimentary luncheon' held for Halsey and officers of the battlecruiser in the Wellington Town Hall on 18 April, Massey acknowledged his spokespersonship 'not only as the representative of the European people, but also of

³⁵⁹ 'There is some sort of provision at present for New Zealanders of British extraction enlisting in the Navy if they wish to, but the Maori race, although pre-eminently a people of maritime traditions and although living in New Zealand on terms of social equality with the whites are under the same restrictions as regards enlisting as the Kroomen of West Africa ... men of black or coloured races are sometimes entered in the Royal Navy for temporary and local service only, on stations abroad where they are employed for work in the sun. Such men, provided they are British subjects, are not altogether debarred from entry for general service, but no such entry can take place without the special sanction of the Admiralty. Men of colour as a rule are not now eligible for pension.' 'Maoris and the Navy,' *Evening Post*, 10 November 1911.

³⁶⁰ 'From: Sir W.J. Steward, Member of Parliament Waimate Date: 23 January 1908 Subject: Application from Thomas Timaru Benson for Enrolment in the Permanent Force, points out Benson being a Maori was not accepted as a candidate for the Navy,' R24751854-AAYS-8636-AD1/516/ad-D1908/266, ANZ.

³⁶¹ For example, at Napier where the reports effectively included Maori participation on the same level as 'Maypole and Morris dancers from Havelock.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Hastings Standard*, 11 April 1913. 3; 'The Battle Cruiser,' *Hastings Standard*, 12 April 1913. 5.

our Maori brothers, who I am, glad to see are with us this afternoon.’³⁶² Maui Pomare MP had been invited to the event but did not attend having forwarded his apologies on the morning of the luncheon.³⁶³ No other Maori name is evident in the lists of invitees,³⁶⁴ although without specific knowledge of the whakapapa of each of these ‘upwards of 500 [men] ... representative of the official, commercial, and professional men of the city, and of the province of Wellington,’ it is not possible to be definitive about how many other Maori numbered among the official guests. There was nevertheless a Maori contingent present which was described in the news report, despite Massey’s tone-setting, as ‘An interesting, and picturesque party at the lunch...’³⁶⁵ This two-sided reportage is evident throughout the tour of the *New Zealand*. The accounts of Maori welcomes, visits and gifting that appear to be more factual statements of what took place showed evidence of local respect on both sides, in contrast to those that featured patronising language and choice of detail which often emphasised the entertainment value of Maori participation. While it is possible to discern a degree of pride in the distinctive New Zealand flavour of events the sailors would enjoy in the country, this was tempered by a tendency within the general public to view the cultural differences as something of a curiosity. At the same time, despite the Britishness of the country, Maori culture and traditions were useful in defining a national difference. Sinclair noted that as ‘The early New Zealand nationalists had almost nothing that could be regarded as Pakeha cultural items ... they tried to plunder parts of Maori culture, an attempt scarcely paralleled in the other British settlements.’³⁶⁶ Certainly, in addition to performance and the visual arts, literature was already appropriating Maori culture and traditions in the name of a developing national voice: ‘legends ... such as that of Hinemoa and Tutanekai, were regarded as New Zealand, not just Maori stories ... Innumerable poems were written poeticising Maori traditions.’³⁶⁷ Among the many presentations that New Zealanders made to the vessel were parting gifts from the Auckland Club: “trucks” for the

³⁶² ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 1913. 8.

³⁶³ ‘Visit of H.M.S. “New Zealand” (ship) – Luncheons,’ R3485898-ACGO-8394-IA71/2-1913/1661, ANZ.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁵ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 1913. 8. Those seated at the top table were the only invitees named at the head of article: ‘The Prime Minister (the Hon W. F. Massey) presided, and seated with him were Captain Halsey, Commander Grace, Engineer-Commander Turner, Lieutenant North, and Chaplain Scott, of H.M.S. New Zealand; Lieutenant Dennistoun of H.M.S. Pyramus; Sir Robert Stout (Chief-Justice), Sir Joshua Williams, Mr. Justice Edwards, Mr. Justice Denniston, Mr. Justice Chapman, Mr. Justice Cooper, the Hon H.D. Bell (Minister for Internal Affairs), the Hon A.L. Herdman (Minister for Justice), and the Hon W. Fraser (Minister for Public Works), Colonel Herd, Bishop Sprott, Mr. D. McLaren (Mayor of Wellington), and Mr. R. Fletcher (Chairman of the Wellington Harbour Board).’

³⁶⁶ Sinclair, *The Native Born*, 10.

³⁶⁷ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart. New Zealand’s Search for National Identity*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd, 1986. 49-50.

pinnacles — little idealised Maori heads cast in brass and gun-metal, which are to be fitted to the tops of the staffs on which the pinnace pennants fly,' and 'silver lettering, intended for the wheel, [which] read "Ake Ake, Ake; Kia Kaha" : ("For ever, for ever, for ever, fight on").' The bulldog mascot Pelorus Jack was not forgotten and to complement the silver collars he had received in South Africa was gifted his own hei tiki by the boy scouts of Wellington.³⁶⁸ The first *HMS New Zealand* (1904, renamed *HMS Zealandia* in 1911) had also displayed a number of features that referenced Maori culture.³⁶⁹

In describing the vessel's arrival in Wellington on 12 April, the *Dominion* wrote that a 'welcome to New Zealand would not be complete if the Maoris did not take part in it, and this fact has not been forgotten...'³⁷⁰ This statement could be interpreted as consistent with the observable tendency discussed above for pakeha New Zealanders to view Maori and Maori culture as national symbols. A public debate in 1908 over the 'advisability' of planning a Maori welcome for America's Great White Fleet showed mixed feelings among Maori to the proposal of a large Maori programme in welcome. Maori enthusiasts included King Mahuta, while opposing views included the observation that 'the Maori has something more to think of at the present time than lending himself to show purposes ... the Maori is now busily engaged trying to solve the more serious problems affecting his own welfare and the betterment of his people.' The *Dominion* agreed with these 'opinions expressed by a leading Auckland Maori upon the proposal to make use of the Natives as a kind of decorative appendage of the festivities to be held in honour of the visit of the American fleet ... [The] public ... is never allowed to forget for twenty-four hours that this country is "Maoriland."³⁷¹ In preparation for the arrival of the *New Zealand*, Ngati Awa 'chief Daniel Mana Love³⁷² had brought the iwi's own launch over from Marlborough to take part in the marine procession that would accompany the battlecruiser down the harbour to its anchorage. In the event, the iwi representatives were invited aboard

³⁶⁸ 'Dominion Scouts,' *Dominion*, 21 June 1913. 14. A photograph of Pelorus Jack wearing the tiki attached to one of his silver collars appeared in an *Auckland Weekly News* montage on 1 May, 1913. 'The Cruise of H.M.S. New Zealand: The battle - cruiser leaves Wellington on her voyage up the coast to Auckland,' ALHC, AWNS-19130501-5-1. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1913. 5.

³⁶⁹ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Press*, 18 May 1905. 9; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Clutha Leader*, 1 April 1904. 7.

³⁷⁰ Editorial opinion. 'The Battleship,' *Dominion*, 12 April 1913. 7.

³⁷¹ 'Pakeha and Maori,' *Dominion*, 23 April 1908. 6; 'The American Fleet,' *Auckland Star*, 18 April 1908. 7.

³⁷² Taniora (Daniel) Te Mana Love (1859 - 1937), grandson of the whaler Captain John Agar Love and Mere Rure Te Hikanui, a woman of rank of Taranaki. Angela Ballara, 'Love, Ripeka Wharawhara,' *DNZB*, published 1996, updated April, 2000, accessed 15 May 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3114/love-ripeka-wharawhara>.

the official government steamer carrying MPs, and from there delivered a traditional greeting to the *New Zealand*. There were likely practical reasons for absorbing the iwi into the government's retinue, including perhaps the privileging of the steamer in the welcome procession. Nevertheless, the effect was to frame the Maori welcome within a pakeha context. The *Dominion* published the text of the Ngati Awa greeting.³⁷³ Two days later the same paper followed up with a summary of the *New Zealand's* arrival where the report called the Maori welcome 'a quaint performance.'³⁷⁴ The lively two-sentence description of the same scene offered by the *Evening Post* (Wellington) animated the spectacle but also seemed poised between factual reporting and caricature.³⁷⁵ A similar conflict is evident in the description of a visit to the battlecruiser in Auckland 'led by courtly old Hamiora Mangakahia.'³⁷⁶ In analysing language use, however, care needs to be taken not to automatically impose today's value judgements on word choice that was in common, and not necessarily pejorative, use a hundred years ago and thus draw inaccurate conclusions. For example, in an article describing the farewell from Te Kuiti of Mr E.C. Falwasser on

³⁷³ 'The Battleship,' *Dominion*, 12 April 1913. 7.

"Toia mai Te waka!
 "Ki te moenga Te waka!
 "Ki te urunga Te waka!
 "Ki to takotoranga,
 "i takoto ai Te waka!"
 The following is a translation:—
 "Bring hither, The canoe!
 "To its bed, The canoe!
 "To its landing place, The canoe!
 "To its resting place where it is
 "to lie. The canoe!"

Another very ancient chant, which will probably be heard in the Maori welcome to-day, is as follows: —

"Haere mai! Haere mai!
 "E te manuhiri, Tu-a-rangi,
 "Na taku potiki koo i tiki atu,
 "Ki te taha patu o te Rangi,
 "Kukume mai ai,
 "Haere mai! Haere mai!"
 The translation reads: —
 "Welcome to you, welcome to you,
 "My guest, Tu-a-rangi (Chief of Heaven),
 "Sent to me by my grandson,
 "From the very side-walls of Heaven,
 "And just arrived at my abode,
 "Welcome, welcome."

The latter verse is inscribed upon the monument to Captain Cook, which was unveiled at Ship Cove on February 11. On the occasion of the unveiling ceremony, the verse was rendered into English by Mr. Love at the request of the Countess of Liverpool.

Note that despite the above inscription on the monument to Cook, public references to the memorial development suggest no significant Maori participation in the process.

³⁷⁴ 'Escorting Her In,' *Dominion*, 14 April 1913. 6.

³⁷⁵ 'The Hinemoa drew abreast of the giant, and Maoris sprang to the bow of the Government steamer, and gave a haka. The wild melody, the stamping, the gestures, and tonguings obviously interested the British sailors.' 'Scene at the Heads,' *Evening Post*, 12 April 1913. 5.

³⁷⁶ 'A Maori Welcome,' *Auckland Star*, 7 May 1913. 5. Mangakahia was the first elected premier of the Great Council (the lower or elected house) of Te Kotahitanga, the Maori Parliament. Angela Ballara, 'Mangakahia, Hamiora,' *DNZB*, published 1993, accessed 9 December 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2m29/mangakahia-hamiora>.

his departure to Auckland, context indicates that references which today would be looked on askance were intended in an entirely respectful manner.³⁷⁷ This is not to say that the article does not reflect paternalism. However, Mr Falwasser was evidently held in great esteem and there was widespread goodwill toward Maori community members. Genuine respect also appeared evident in a letter to the editor of the *Hastings Standard* under the nom-de-plume 'Pakeha.' The writer took the Napier reception committee to task for an 'unsolicited affront' to Maori following a query to Bell by the committee asking "whether Captain Halsey would object to Maoris taking part in the official welcome." The chairman ... and his committee seem to forget that the Maori is our fellow citizen living under one King and one flag, and bearing his share of the gift to the Motherland.' The committee subsequently accepted that the use of the word "object" was perhaps unfortunate' and regretted any implication of a slight.³⁷⁸

The ambiguity and contrasting attitudes that are so evident in the public record may reflect a struggle to marry conflicting ideas, in a similar way to the opposed yet curiously complementary strands of nationalism considered in the Introduction. On the one hand, the stirrings of a 'modern' consciousness were melded with the political and sentimental adherence to the original settler goals of an equal and classless society. On the other, was an underlying and persistent worldview that, both in New Zealand and the wider empire, still tolerated and, in some instances welcomed, philosophies such as eugenics. This struggle saw the co-existence in 1913 not only of the common imperial characterisation of indigenous people as

³⁷⁷ 'Valedictory Social,' *King Country Chronicle*, 19 April 1913. 5.

'A representative gathering of Te Kuiti town and district residents gathered at the Town Hall on Thursday evening to bid farewell to Mr E. C. Falwasser, on the occasion of that gentleman's departure to take up his residence in Auckland. The chair was occupied by his Worship the Mayor (Mr E. H. Hardy), and the majority of the members of the council were also present. The Waitomo County Council was represented by Mr A. Scholes, county chairman, and Mr W. Johnston; the Te Kuiti Chamber of Commerce by Mr Mostyn Jones, chairman; the Awakino district by Messrs J. Old and L. Jacobs and the Maori residents by Messrs Eketone, H. Hetet, and Ormsby. Apologies were received from a large number of friends who were unable to be present. In proposing the toast of the evening the chairman paid a tribute to Mr Falwasser as a public man and a private citizen, and referred to him as one who had "left his footprint on the sands of time in Te Kuiti ... Messrs G. P. Finlay, L. Jacob, J. B. Young, E. Martin, and D. Sullivan also spoke in a eulogistic vein of the guest, while Mr H. Hetet, on behalf of the Maori race, paid a tribute to the qualities of Mr Falwasser, and expressed pleasure that one of their number should have been so honoured ... Other toasts honoured were: — ... "The Maori Race," Mr J. B. Young—Messrs Pepene Eketone, R. Ormsby, H. Hetet, A. Ormsby, and A. Eketone ... A fine haka was performed by the natives led by Pepene Eketone and H. Hetet.'

³⁷⁸ 'The Battle Cruiser,' *Hastings Standard*, 16 April 1913. 5; 'The Battle Cruiser,' *Hastings Standard*, 17 April 1913. 5.

primitives,³⁷⁹ but also the view that Maori were more advanced ‘natives,’³⁸⁰ intelligent, perceptive, rational and strategic, who were able to successfully assimilate into British society, making them, in a sense, suitable partners in developing the young country. Maori ability to engage economically³⁸¹ and politically and to gain prominent positions in the public service provided evidence for this position, which nevertheless came still from an assumption and attitude of British superiority.³⁸² Some Maori who had themselves been successful within the British cultural framework, such as Sir James Carroll, appeared to support assimilation,³⁸³ although as previously discussed, Carroll was not necessarily advocating abandonment of Maoritanga. A further concurrent theory promoted Maori as genetic cousins of ‘the white races of today’ with common Aryan/Caucasian ancestry,³⁸⁴ although by 1913 the idea had already been largely dismissed, including by its

³⁷⁹ A surprisingly overt and extreme example from 1913 comes from ‘Tohunga,’ (William Lane, soon to be the *New Zealand Herald*’s editor) in a column that clearly places Maori in the ‘savage’ category and does not seem at all satirical. ‘Tohunga’ even distinguished ‘the savage’ from ‘the barbarian’ who he evidently saw as higher up the civilisation ladder. Among Maori ‘Tohunga’ saw no evidence of bonding or of social concern for others. ‘The Maori frequently dies when he sickens because in the savage society whose traditions and customs are still strong in him there is no place for any who are a burden to their fellows. Throughout savagedom, in true heathendom, the weaklings are pitilessly cast out ...’ Lane was a ‘reformed’ socialist. ‘Lying Down to Die,’ *New Zealand Herald*, Supplement, 16 August 1913. 1.

³⁸⁰ For example, Mr. J. H. Kirby, ‘recently of the “Rotorua Times”’ wrote to the *Wanganui Chronicle* about Maori music groups in Rotorua. ‘Of late, a Maori orchestra has been formed, and the results are astonishing. When one observes at rehearsal that the conductor has so little need to criticise and correct in time and tune, it is borne in upon one that the Maori people must have inherited this faculty of harmony, this instinctive correctness of time and tune, from ancestors of a high degree of civilisation. And in this connection, let me refer to the extraordinary and delightful correctness and elegance with which the Maori guides speak English. All that we associate with culture and good breeding, in the enunciation and pronunciation of English— and of which there is such a plentiful lack among even those pakehas who claim to rank as “educated” persons—is to be found among the guides whose cultivated tones often make the tourists’ jargon sound coarse by contrast.’ ‘Training of the Maori,’ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 12 June 1913. 3. The interpreter for the Minister of Native Affairs, the Hon. W. Herries during his visit to Arowhenua Pa, Canterbury, is described thus: ‘... there is strength about this Balneavis, who is a living compliment to the wonderful assimilative powers of his race—the race that in one short generation has evidenced its ability to grasp the best and the highest of Western civilisation. Mr Balneavis is obviously a man capable of filling any office with a grace and an ability that no Pakeha could excel.’ ‘Kia Ora!’ *Temuka Leader*, 6 May 1913. 4. The man in question was Henare Te Raumoia Huatahi Balneavis. Ranginui J. Walker, ‘Balneavis, Henare Te Raumoia Huatahi,’ *DNZB*, published 1998, accessed 3 February 2019. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4b4/balneavis-henare-te-raumoia-huatahi>.

³⁸¹ Examples include mutton-birding and the protest at the substitution of allegedly inferior Tasmanian product. *Evening Star*, 4 June 1913. 4.

³⁸² An example of this appears in a published piece by a Canterbury College graduate, ‘A Tinline Scholar,’ who mused about the postgraduate icons of his day, among them Apirana Ngata, ‘the best loved student of his day. His great mental gifts were abundantly evident in his work, and his contemporaries confidently prophesied that he would be a leader of his race. It was a disappointment to find him going back into the midst of his people, but from time to time came cheering reports of the Young Maori movement, into which he had thrown himself with the utmost enthusiasm; and at length, of course, he came back into civilisation to take a prominent place in the Parliament of the Dominion.’ ‘Twenty Years After,’ *Press*, 8 November 1913. 7.

³⁸³ For example, during a visit to Omahu in Hawkes Bay, Carroll appealed ‘to the Natives to uplift themselves ... they would have to be born again and fight out a new destiny that would be created in the union and assimilation of the two races.’ ‘Sir James Carroll’s Work,’ *Hastings Standard*, 25 May 1912. 5. Ngata was reported to ‘[hold] that the destiny of the Maori is ultimate amalgamation with the European population.’ ‘The Maori Population,’ *New Zealand Times*, 24 August 1911. 6.

³⁸⁴ ‘Original Home of the Maoris,’ *Woodville Examiner*, 9 June 1913. 2. Dr Alfred Kingcome Newman drew popular attention to the idea with his book, *Who are the Maoris?* (1912), in which he claimed the Maoris were ‘an Aryan-Mongolic people but dominantly Caucasian,’ from India. In his opinion he had proved that, ‘the Maori is an Aryan ... the descendant of a pastoral people, afterwards warlike and migratory ... his language has preserved, in an almost inconceivable purity, the speech of his Aryan forefathers, and compared with which the Greek and Latin tongues are mere corruptions ... his language has embalmed the memory of animals, implements, etc., the actual sight of which has been lost to the Maori for centuries.’ ‘Who Are the Maoris?’ *Otago Daily Times*, 26 June 1913. 11.

proposer.³⁸⁵ This did not prevent legislation³⁸⁶ being passed during Reform's first parliamentary session as government, allowing the governor to declare 'a suitable Maori ... a "European"' for purposes of the Native Land Act (1909), and in this way give 'the educated and responsible Maori his first chance to become a modern and enfranchised New Zealander.'³⁸⁷ The *Auckland Weekly News* published a cartoon depicting Herries applying whitewash to a traditionally-garbed Maori warrior.³⁸⁸ In his recent survey of Maori representation in New Zealand's cartoon history, Paul Diamond notes that the whitewash could be interpreted as a temporary condition, and/or as a layer of cover over 'something unpleasant.'³⁸⁹ Vestiges and variants of the theory of shared origins were embraced by some Maori. Sir James Carroll lectured on the Celtic race and 'said he liked to think that there was a common origin from which the Maori and Celtic races had sprung, and in support of the idea, said that the two peoples were similar in many respects.'³⁹⁰ The multiple and conflicting characterisations of Maori show up not only through events associated with the *New Zealand's* tour but also in other aspects of local life. The new high-powered wireless telegraph station that was being built at Awarua in Bluff at the time of the visit sent its first test communication to its companion station at Awanui in the north, in May 1913.³⁹¹ Its message, 'Congratulations from south to the north,' was transmitted in

³⁸⁵ Proposed by Edward Tregear in his book *The Aryan Maori* (1885), seemingly inspired by the Aryan theory of Professor Max Müller which was eventually debunked. 'Science up to Date,' *Evening Star*, 15 March 1913. 12. Tregear's theory was criticised at the time and he later also recanted it. 'Letters to the Editor,' *Otago Daily Times*, 30 June 1913. 3. In 1913, *Truth* took to task a recent review of Tregear's later publication, *The Maori Race (1904)*. While acknowledging their unbounded admiration for Tregear 'as a friend of Labor and the working class generally, ... surely we can hardly be expected to subvert our reason as we read the following and accept it as Gospel: — Undoubtedly the greatest and most informative work yet written around the native people of this country is "The Maori Race," by Edward Tregear.' The review finishes by noting, 'A common mark of [the many Maori-focused] publications is their note of enthusiasm, and their quantity is as varied as their quality, which ranges from simplicity itself through various stages of the interesting and useful, to culminate in the astoundingly eccentric "Maori Lore," of Izett, and the more recent and vastly imaginative, if not impossible, "Who are the Maoris?" by Dr. Newman, M.P.' 'The Maori Race,' *NZ Truth*, 6 September 1913. 3. The review that prompted *Truth's* article was written under the pseudonym 'H.E.H'. 'Rapid Reviews,' *Maoriland Worker*, 4 July 1913. 7.

³⁸⁶ Native Land Amendment Act 1912 (3 GEO V 1912 No 34).

³⁸⁷ 'The Maori as a Citizen,' *New Zealand Herald*, 12 October 1912. 7. Native Land Amendment Act 1912 (3 GEO V 1912 No 34), Section 17: 'The Governor may, by Order in Council, on the recommendation of the Court declare any Native to be a European.' In June 1913, the *Free Lance* reported on four Maori women who had taken advantage of the legislation, becoming 'Europeans "just the same as te Pakeha."' 'All Sorts of People,' *Free Lance*, 7 June 1913. 4. It could be argued, however, that the process did not offer equal footing, as the individual did not forfeit 'any of his legal rights as a Maori.' 'The Maori as "European,"' *New Zealand Herald*, 12 October 1912. 6.

³⁸⁸ Trevor Lloyd, 'The New Pakeha: The Government applies the whitewash brush,' ALHC, AWNS-19121017-12-3. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 October 1912. 12.

³⁸⁹ Diamond also notes that the cartoonist, Trevor Lloyd, more typically depicted Maori characters in European dress but does not venture an opinion on why Lloyd did not do so in this instance. However, he does say that as most pakeha had little contact with Maori in this period, such 'cultural products' had great influence. In this context, showing the Maori recipient in traditional garb exaggerates the extreme (and perhaps ridiculous) nature of the government's action. Paul Diamond, *Savaged to Suit: Maori and Cartooning in New Zealand*, Wellington: New Zealand Cartoon Archive, 2018. 35-36.

³⁹⁰ 'The Celtic Race,' *New Zealand Herald*. 7 January 1913. 5. Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) was still lecturing on this theme in the mid-1930s. 'Origins of Maori,' *Auckland Star*, 20 March 1935. 5.

³⁹¹ 'Wireless Telegraphy,' *New Zealand Times*, 24 May 1913. 6. Awanui near Kaitaia had been built several months earlier, the first high-powered station in the country. 'Wireless,' *Dominion*, 10 January 1913. 3. With Awarua, and a third low-power station operating at Tinakori in Wellington, New Zealand telecommunications capabilities were regarded as state-of-the-art.

Maori, 'appropriately enough' according to the *Southland Times* (Invercargill)³⁹² and the *Evening Star* (Dunedin)³⁹³. Neither of these southern newspapers felt it necessary to say why the use of te reo should be appropriate, but neither did they publish the message in the original Maori. Certainly, no other paper replicated the message in Maori, but a survey of coverage suggests that neither was the phrase 'appropriately enough' retained by other papers that published the same report. In relation, then, to the whakatauki 'He whare tu kite paenga he kai na te ahi,' the overriding question has to be, what actually defined the 'pa' or 'fort' in 1913? Was it the Maori world, the British world or the New Zealand world, and who was truly inside it?

Despite Massey's reference to 'our Maori brothers,'³⁹⁴ the understanding gap was wide. A sour taste surrounded the battlecruiser's first visit to Auckland when Parr, in consultation with Halsey, allotted only 30 minutes for a visit of significant rangatira. The chiefs did not keep the appointment as they felt the time was insufficient for the gravity of the occasion. Both parties subsequently publicised their disappointment, the Mayor to invited guests at the luncheon for the men in the Town Hall on 2 May,³⁹⁵ and Henare Kaihau³⁹⁶ and the Maori delegation directly to the newspaper. The chiefs 'felt that we should not be able to do ourselves justice if hurried. The Maori chiefs think that they and their address of welcome, together with their presents to Captain Halsey, are not considered of much importance by the councillors and the Mayor of the city of Auckland.'³⁹⁷ Parr said he had understood from the Town Clerk that the appointed time was 'perfectly' satisfactory. 'Instead, however, ... not one Maori went on board, but at 9.45 Mr Kaihau rang up to say that the arrangements did not suit at all. The Mayor accordingly said he could do no more than he had done.'³⁹⁸ It seems evident that no deliberate slight was intended by either the Maori delegation or by Halsey and Parr. The difficulty appears to have arisen from the difference in cultural values. Behaviour arising from those values, while 'perfectly' understandable and acceptable to the party behaving in that way,

³⁹² 'Awarua Wireless Station,' *Southland Times*, 24 May 1913. 6.

³⁹³ *Evening Star*, 24 May 1913. 6.

³⁹⁴ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 1913. 8.

³⁹⁵ 'The New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 3 May 1913. 10.

³⁹⁶ Kaihau was a politician and MP for Western Maori 1896-1911.

³⁹⁷ 'Disappointed Maoris,' *New Zealand Herald*, 2 May 1913. 8.

³⁹⁸ 'Maori Muddle,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 3 May 1913. 7.

may neither have been fully understood in context nor accepted by the other.³⁹⁹ The avenue of complaint chosen by each of the protagonists is interesting in that Parr explained himself to an audience of peers in a context that would seem inappropriate for such detail, while the Maori delegation went straight to a public forum in an apparently astute move. As the *Herald* was a morning paper and the Maori comment was published the same morning as the official luncheon, it seems likely that Parr's comments were defensive. They were certainly in line with a sentiment held by some pakeha that 'the Maori is a very difficult animal to control.'⁴⁰⁰ That view was demonstrated in an *Observer* cartoon which chose to emphasise the Maori attitude while ignoring Parr's.⁴⁰¹

That Maori perceived the vessel's visit as important⁴⁰² is underscored by the valuable nature of the many gifts⁴⁰³ presented to individual officers and to the battlecruiser itself, and by the wish of different iwi to distinguish their gifts from those of others.⁴⁰⁴ The Auckland delegation intended to present 'a Maori battle axe, formerly used in war, and Maori mats as presents to Captain Halsey. Such presents have been greatly esteemed by Governors of New Zealand and by other people of high ranks, and great value is set upon them by our race.'⁴⁰⁵ Also in Auckland, Mere Paora, daughter of the late Ngati Whatua chief Paora Tuhaere, and Tikipo Tawaewae, Ngati Whatua, together presented the captain with six mats and a piece of greenstone named 'Ngarangipukohu' that weighed 170lb or more.⁴⁰⁶ The gift of this stone caused a dispute over ownership rights, and the stone was left in Auckland in the Mayor's possession pending the decision of a legal suit, a challenge which was finally

³⁹⁹ As continues to be the case today, lack of cultural understanding was a major stumbling block in Maori-pakeha relations, regardless of intention. In 1910, Kaihau was one of several politicians accused of corruption by the MP for Stratford, John Hine. In Kaihau's defence, Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) told Parliament, 'it was a difficult thing for a Maori member to understand the workings of the European mind. The Maori had his own system of ethics, which was as strict and high, as he had opportunity, as that of any Anglo-Saxon. There was no law on the Statute Book which condemned what Mr Kaihau had done. He had transgressed a system of European ethics.' 'Statement by Mr. Massey,' *Dominion*, 1 December 1910. 6.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Our Letter Box,' *Bay of Plenty Times*, 6 January 1913. 2.

⁴⁰¹ 'Dreadnought Week at Auckland – Big Guns and Little Guns, Broad-sides from Them All,' *Observer*, 10 May 1913, page obscured. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

⁴⁰² For example, Native Land Court sittings in Thames were suspended for a week because Maori participants 'could not postpone their visit to the battleship, as it was one of great importance from their point of view.' 'Local and General News,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1913. 8.

⁴⁰³ Wilson has attempted a list of the Maori visitors and their gifts. Wilson, *The Compleat Guide*. 116-119.

⁴⁰⁴ 'Maoris and the Battleship,' *Press*, 23 May 1913. 8. 'Two beautifully worked mats were then presented to Captain Halsey by Mrs Erihana, and it was explained to the recipient that these mats were tokens of the love and the friendship of the donors. "It is a small token," said Te Matapura Erihana, "but it is our custom, and we are sincere in making this presentation to you and the grandson of our late Majesty, Queen Victoria." 'Visitors Receive a Hearty Welcome,' *Otago Witness*, 4 June 1913. 33.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Disappointed Maoris,' *New Zealand Herald*, 2 May 1913. 8.

⁴⁰⁶ 'Presents from Maoris,' *New Zealand Herald*, 9 May 1913. 8.

denied in January 1915.⁴⁰⁷ However, other valuable gifts were also proffered, without drama.⁴⁰⁸ A photograph of Halsey's cabin taken while the vessel was in Wellington shows a piupiu and several cloaks draped over furniture, including korowai (tasselled cloaks) and what appears to be one of the 'two kiwi mat robes' (kahu kiwi) that Parata presented to Halsey on behalf of Mana Himiona.⁴⁰⁹ Among the gifts presented by Maori around the country were a hei tiki and a piupiu that the captain promised he would wear during engagements, a promise that was honoured and which crew members reportedly came to expect. The ship escaped all action⁴¹⁰ largely unscathed and became known as 'the lucky ship,' which fed a longstanding story that the hei tiki and piupiu came with three prophecies: the ship would see action three times and be damaged once but all the crew would survive if the Captain wore the gifted items to protect the vessel. The source of the gift has been the subject of research and the story of the prophecies has become a dominant trope in relation to *HMS New*

⁴⁰⁷ 'Maoris at Law,' *New Zealand Herald*, 28 November 1914. 5; 'Maori Greenstone Case,' *Auckland Star*, 1 December 1914. 6; 'Local and General News,' *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1914; 'Historic Greenstone,' *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January 1915. 7.

⁴⁰⁸ For example, the ship's Lieutenant Jones was presented with a piupiu in Levin and gifts from rangatira of the Wellington province included 'a Maori battleaxe, two kiwi mat robes, a greenstone tangiwai pendant (literally cry water —i.e., a tear drop), two korowai mats, and one floor mat. On behalf of the chief Mana Himiona, Mr Parata presented Captain Halsey with a pui pui [sic] (loincloth worn by a Maori warrior), and to Earl of Carlisle, as from himself, a beautiful greenstone pendant (koko tangiwai), an historic heirloom of the Parata family. H.R.H. Prince George of Battenberg was presented by Mr Parata with a very fine "tangiwai" (greenstone pendant), and by the chief Te Heu Heu Trekino [sic] with a handsome Native mat and greenstone ornament (kawakawa rewa). The Earl of Carlisle also received, at the hands of Mr Harry Parata, a handsome pale blue kahurangi ("mantle of heaven").' 'Cruise of the New Zealand,' *Otago Witness*, 23 April 1913. 30. Note 'Te Heu Heu Trekino' appears to be a typo and almost certainly refers to Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino V, the fifth paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa whose biography can be found in Te Ara. Ken Te Huingarau Gartner, 'Te Heuheu Tukino V, Tureiti', *DNZB*, published 1996, accessed 11 January 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t13/te-heuheu-tukino-v-tureiti>.

⁴⁰⁹ 'H.M.S. New Zealand in Dominion waters: Some snapshots on board our gift Dreadought (sic) at Wellington. 1. Captain Halsey's cabin, showing Maori mats presented by chiefs,' ALHC, AWNS-19130501-4-1. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1913. 4. A second photograph in the montage in which the cabin appears shows the group of about 25 rangatira who visited the battlecruiser in Wellington Harbour on 21 April 1913, including Taare Rakatauhake (Charles Rere) Parata MP, 'Major Tunuiarangi, the Wairarapa chief of the Ngatikahungunu, who commanded the Maori Company of the New Zealand contingent at the Diamond Jubilee celebration in London,' Te Heuheu Tukino, Hira (Harry) Parata, Waikanae, 'chief of the Ngatiawa, Ngatitao, and Raukawa tribes, and Heni Terei, chieftainess of the Ngatiraukawa, Otaki,' a grandchild of Tamehana Te Rauparaha; 'A Maori Welcome,' *Press*, 22 April 1913. 7. Note Mana Himiona was Ngai Tahu chief Mana Himiona Te Ataotu.

⁴¹⁰ Heligoland Bight (28 August 1914), Battle of Dogger Bank (24 January 1915), Battle of Jutland (31 May 1916). The battlecruiser was hit once at Jutland but sustained only minor damage to a turret and no casualties. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Waikato Times*, 2 September 1915. 5. The Torpedo Bay Navy Museum in Devonport, Auckland counts a piece of the damaged turret among its collection.

Zealand.⁴¹¹ The Torpedo Bay Navy Museum⁴¹² holds the piupiu that is purportedly the blessed item, and the tiki is part of the collection at Canterbury Museum. The piupiu that is seen in the photograph of the captain's cabin appears to be different to that held in the navy museum, but newspaper reports show several piupiu and greenstone pieces were presented during the ship's tour to Halsey and other officers. Several sources for the piupiu have been suggested. Ian McGibbon believed it was 'probably' that gifted by Te Heuheu Tukino, and that the prediction myth grew following the gifting.⁴¹³ Midshipman H.B. Anderson (a New Zealander) wrote in his memoirs that the 'Maori mat' came from Rotorua, given to Halsey by the chief of 'the Arawa tribe' who told 'him that in battle, it should be worn, when he would ensure the inviolability of his ship from enemy action.'⁴¹⁴ Anderson did not say that he witnessed this event making it just as likely that he was repeating the popular story. Neither is the likely chief identified, although Mita Taupopoki has been named.⁴¹⁵ Wilson asserts that it was Rere Nikitini's gift and comments that were the origin of the story. The public record of Nikitini's speech is certainly persuasive: 'As to these garments,' Nikitini reportedly said, 'let them be as sails for your ship, carrying you to

⁴¹¹ The injunctions to wear the items in battle, and the predictions of protection were certainly published contemporaneously in relation to Jutland. 'H.M.S New Zealand,' *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 11 August 1916. 5. Following Dogger Bank Halsey had written, non-specifically, 'I had my Maori costume and the tiki with me, and they certainly brought luck all right.' 'The New Zealand in Action,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 15 March 1915. 6. However, a New Zealand serviceman writing home following a visit to *HMS New Zealand* in October 2016 and whose letter was subsequently published, wrote: 'When in New Zealand Captain Halsey was presented with a Maori mat and tiki by one of the Maori chiefs, who told him that if he wore these when fighting his ship would pull through safely. She has a new captain now, but on each occasion when they have gone into action—at Heligoland, Dogger Bank, and Jutland—the captain has always donned his mat and tiki! And they all have a lot of faith in these things now. It sounds absurd, but, nevertheless, quite true.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Feilding Star*, 6 March 1917. 1. The account was therefore abroad very early on and it is difficult to put a good story down. Parts of the story have been repeated over the years including in the navy volume of the series, *The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–1945*, in published pieces by New Zealand museums and most recently in a television piece that has been attached to New Zealand History online. S.D. Waters, *The Royal New Zealand Navy*. 543; 'HMS New Zealand: 'A Grim and Formidable Fighting Machine,' Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, accessed 3 February 2019. <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1049>; Torpedo Bay Navy Museum refers to the prophecy on the object description page online, (also suggesting the piupiu may have come from 'Te Arawa or Ngai Tahu'), but a commentary page elaborates on the piupiu's provenance, and notes the dominant story is 'not substantiated by evidence ...' 'HMS New Zealand Piupiu, Torpedo Bay Navy Museum National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/hms-new-zealand-piupiu/>. 'HMS New Zealand Piupiu,' Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/hms-new-zealand-piupiu-2/>; 'Hei Tiki: HMS New Zealand,' Canterbury Museum, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://canterbury100.org.nz/explore/objects/hei-tiki-hms-new-zealand>; TV3 MediaWorks and AC Productions, 'HMS New Zealand Great War Story,' Great War Stories series 3, [2016], 4.08. Available on *New Zealand History*, updated 27-May-2016. Ministry for Culture and Heritage, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/hms-new-zealand-great-war-story>.

⁴¹² Michael Wynd, 'HMS New Zealand's Piupiu,' Navy Museum Historical Research series. December, 2012. Torpedo Bay Navy Museum; Letter (transcript), Captain Lionel Halsey to Mr Jordan, 17 February 1939. Held in the museum's object information file for piupiu, 2007.1.1. Torpedo Bay Navy Museum. Kurt Bayer, 'Flax piupiu that bought luck in Battle of Jutland goes on display,' *NZ Herald* online, 23 May 2016, accessed 15 April 2018. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11643417

⁴¹³ McGibbon (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*. 357. Many years later Halsey did write about the piupiu and its gifting, and McGibbon's reference utilises that material. The Torpedo Bay Navy Museum also suggests Te Heuheu as possible source, although the reference acknowledges that 'no source given for this information and no other reference to this chief (Te Heuheu Tukino V, c.1865-1921) in relation to the piupiu can be found.' 'HMS New Zealand Piupiu,' Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/hms-new-zealand-piupiu-2/>.

⁴¹⁴ Anderson, *The Day's Run*. 148.

⁴¹⁵ 'HMS New Zealand Piupiu,' Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/hms-new-zealand-piupiu-2/>.

distant shores, and even to the presence of war if that should happen. Let them be a further inspiration to you at that awful day— if the day comes — when our ship should clear for action.⁴¹⁶ Halsey's comment that the gift was made by a visitor to the ship would support this interpretation.⁴¹⁷ If the prophecies were indeed made, a record made at the time of the utterance has not yet come to light. The tiki may have come from a different source, its connection with the prophecies therefore unclear.⁴¹⁸ Unfortunately, so much of this story is hearsay, and the different reporting choices made by newspapers adds to the difficulty in unravelling the provenance of items.⁴¹⁹ Language variations do not help, with piupiu, mat and waist mat apparently used interchangeably.⁴²⁰

Individually, Bell's attitude to Maori requests is difficult to interpret. The Bell archive of official correspondence related to the *New Zealand's* visit contains few direct written exchanges with members of the Maori community, or with others making requests on Maori behalf. In almost all cases, such as the request by Aupouri representatives for a stopover at or near Parengarenga Harbour to banquet the vessel on its 'way home',⁴²¹ requests were refused. However, this in itself is not indicative of any particular attitude, as Bell refused most requests he received for visits by or to the battlecruiser. These requests were numerous as discussed in Chapter Two, and no amount of goodwill would enable him to satisfy all of them. To his credit he does appear to have tried to be consistent, although one or two of his responses suggested he tried harder for those who requests were couched in a polite, more understanding fashion. Minister of Native Affairs William Herries refused a request he received from Te Arawa via the Governor to provide a special rail carriage free of charge for a group of Arawa wishing to travel from Rotorua to Auckland to visit the battlecruiser, replying there would be no problem with the carriage 'if sufficient members of Arawa

⁴¹⁶ Wilson, *The Compleat Guide*. 138-40; 'War Dress for Halsey,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 22 April 1913. 7; 'Maori Chiefs Visit Warship,' *Evening Post*, 18 April 1913. 8. Nikitini had also presented Lt. Jones with a piupiu two days earlier during the bluejackets' trip to Levin. 'Day in the Country,' *Evening Post*, 16 April 1913. 3.

⁴¹⁷ 'HMS New Zealand Piupiu,' Torpedo Bay Navy Museum, accessed 3 February 2019. <http://navymuseum.co.nz/hms-new-zealand-piupiu-2/>.

⁴¹⁸ A tiki identified as the 'charmed' object was gifted by C. J. Sloman, manager of the Crown Brewery in Christchurch. Marguerite Hill, 'The taonga of HMS New Zealand,' *New Zealand WW100*, 7 April 2016, last updated 8 June 2016, accessed 3 March 2019. <https://ww100.govt.nz/the-taonga-of-hms-new-zealand>.

⁴¹⁹ Newspapers understandably omitted different pieces of repeated reports to suit their own needs, and terminology used in reports may reflect lack of familiarity with certain items, or the result of careless recording.

⁴²⁰ For example, at least one wartime report refers to the 'lucky apparel' as a waist mat. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Kaipara and Waitemata Echo*, 1 November 1917. 3.

⁴²¹ Telegrams, Paratene Kapa, Matu Kapa, Keepa Horo, Matiu Tupuni, Murupaenga Rewiri to W.H. Herries, 26 May 1913; H.D. Bell to Paratene Kapa and others, 11 June 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-145, ATL.

tribe are travelling ... but they will be granted same concessions as are being granted to Europeans viz excursion rates.' Bell's reply indicated simply a degree of political exhaustion dealing with requests and not one that distinguished between Maori and European.⁴²² However, an earlier exchange with Liverpool, also in regard to Maori requests for free travel from Rotorua, carried a different message. Bell wrote, "The Maoris from all parts are making similar requests and, generally, it is not desirable in their own interest to accede.' His meaning was not laid out, although Liverpool's response referred to not 'creating any jealousy by singling out any particular lot of Maoris for distinction,' and this may have embraced Bell's concern.⁴²³ However, it also seems likely to reflect the 'concern' commonly held by pakeha influencers of the time that Maori were susceptible to vice, including alcohol, and to illness when in a pakeha urban environment. The number of refusals the Minister of Internal Affairs issued caused him to be referred to dismissively by one columnist as 'an impossible man,'⁴²⁴ although in some cases, also as previously discussed, Bell's initial refusal was reversed. For example, on the basis that 'the train services are already fully occupied in arranging other trips'⁴²⁵ he denied a request by the Headmaster of Turakina Maori Girls School for free rail passage to Wellington. Certainly, there was pressure for school services. The special school train from Wanganui on 16 April 'comprised 15 carriages, contained 1100 children and adults' by the time it left Turakina station.⁴²⁶ Although pupils from Turakina School were on that train, there were none from Turakina Maori Girls School. However, it is clear they were not the only school to miss out. Edward Newman, MP for Rangitikei managed to negotiate a second special service for the following day that catered for a number of schools including Whangaehu,⁴²⁷ Marton and Turakina Maori Girls Schools.⁴²⁸ Twenty Maori

⁴²² Bell thanked him noting 'I do hope you will adhere to that course. My trouble in all these ship arrangements is that after I have seen Halsey and decided, the applicants appeal to another minister who does not know that they have come to headquarters first.' Telegrams, W.H. Herries to H.D. Bell, 22 April 1913; Bell to Herries, 22 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-143, ATL.

⁴²³ Telegrams H.D. Bell to Liverpool, 17 April 1913; Liverpool to Bell, 18 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL. This exchange was during the Governor's visit to Rotorua as part of his settling in period when he travelled to meet people in various parts of the country. In Rotorua, the Governor was also presented with handsome gifts including 'a beautifully carved canoe, about 6ft. in length.' 'Governor and the Maoris,' *Marlborough Express*, 22 April 1913. 5.

⁴²⁴ 'Dunedin Letter,' *Tuapeka Times*, 31 May 1913. 3.

⁴²⁵ Telegram, H.D. Bell to A.G. Hamilton, 14 April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL. Founded in Turakina in 1905, this school moved to Marton in 1927, but closed in 2016. In March 2018 the premises were sold to Rangitikei iwi Ngati Apa.

⁴²⁶ 'The H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Wanganui Herald*, Second Edition, 16 April 1913. 7.

⁴²⁷ 'Late Locals,' *Wanganui Herald*, 17 April 1913. 7.

⁴²⁸ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Rangitikei Advocate and Manawatu Argus*, 17 April 1913. 5.

girls got to see over the battlecruiser and afterwards 'were entertained at Godber's for dinner.'⁴²⁹

At least three visits featured significant Maori interaction: those to Levin, Rotorua and Russell. As part of the first visit to Auckland,⁴³⁰ two three-day excursions to Rotorua were organised for parties from the *New Zealand* who 'had heard much about the wonders of Rotorua, and [were] ... looking forward with eager expectation of the visit.'⁴³¹ The first suggestion of providing entertainment at Rotorua appears to have come from Gilbert Mair who proposed a Maori gathering in that location and requested government funding. Bell refused the opportunity as 'too expensive' but said the Maoris could meet sailors there if they liked.⁴³² The first party of 18 officers and 118 men travelled down on Sunday 4 May, the second on Wednesday 7 May. The men were 'taken on the round trip, via Tarawera and Rotomahana.'⁴³³ In the evening they [were] ... entertained by the Maoris at Ohinemutu.'⁴³⁴ The concert by 'the Rotorua Choir Entertainers' was preceded by customary formalities, during which Te Kiwi Amohau,⁴³⁵ Te Arawa, welcomed the visitors with sophisticated humour which conceded nothing to their imperial status. Regrettably his dignity was not honoured by the reporter's description of the effect of a sailor's accordion, which purportedly 'roused the Maori performers to a high pitch, and they improvised dances in a most remarkable manner.'⁴³⁶ Amohau's oration was translated by the Reverend F.A.

⁴²⁹ 'To-Day's Dinner,' *Dominion*, 18 April 1913. 2.

⁴³⁰ The success was such that two further trips were organised during the battlecruiser's second visit to Auckland, the last stop of the New Zealand leg of the tour, for crew who had earlier missed out. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 24 June 1913. 5.

⁴³¹ 'The Party for Rotorua,' *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1913. 8.

⁴³² Mair telegraphed Massey on 31 March 1913 before the battlecruiser arrived, suggesting he could muster 'some 500' Maoris at an estimated cost of £50-100 for refreshments. Memorandum, W.F. Massey to H.D. Bell, 31 March 1913; Telegrams, J.W. Black to H.D. Bell, [3] April 1913; H.D. Bell to J.W. Black, [4] April 1913; F.D. Thomson to J.W. Black [4] April 1913. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

⁴³³ Guides named in the reports were Robert Ingle (Waimangu) and 'Guide Warbrick' at Tarawera. The latter may have been Alfred Patchett Warbrick who is known to have worked in the area following the Tarawera eruption. His brother Joseph, a representative Maori rugby player, died at Waimangu, where he also guided when the geyser erupted unexpectedly in 1903. 'The Hot Lakes Guides 1853-1910.' *Kete Rotorua: Rotorua Biographies*, accessed 11 March 2018. http://rotorua.kete.net.nz/rotorua_biographies/topics/show/609-the-hot-lakes-guides-1853-1910. Joseph's death was mentioned to the visitors by Ingle. 'Amid Thermal Wonders,' *New Zealand Herald*, 6 May 1913. 8.

⁴³⁴ 'The Party for Rotorua,' *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1913. 8. The evening was described in two lines in a second article: 'The natives sang Maori songs, danced hakas, and thus contributed to an entertainment which was probably unique to most of the visitors.' 'Amid Thermal Wonders,' *New Zealand Herald*, 6 May 1913. 8.

⁴³⁵ Prominent Arawa leader Te Kiwi Henare Mete Amohau, a descendant of Te Amohau who declined the opportunity to be Maori King in the 1850s. See Rahui Papa and Paul Meredith, 'Kingitanga – the Maori King movement - Origins of the Kingitanga,' *Te Ara*, 20 June 2012, accessed 11 March 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kingitanga-the-maori-king-movement/page-1>.

⁴³⁶ 'Characteristic Welcome,' *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1913. 8. Kiwi Amohau's korero: "We regret we have not been able to see the battleship ourselves, but our sorrow has been compensated for by the fact of your presence amongst us to-day. Although we have not been able to see the handsome battleship, to-night we have the privilege of seeing the handsome men from the battleship. (Laughter and applause.) Why do you come in such small numbers? We would like to have done honour to all the men of the battleship, and if their absence is accounted for by the fact that they had to stop at home to look after the battleship, why did you not bring the battleship with you? Is it not because the battleship was too heavy to haul? Now listen to

Bennett.⁴³⁷ Both men were politically astute and capable in Maori and pakeha environments and worked to strengthen Maori and pakeha awareness and acceptance of each other.⁴³⁸ The second party from the battlecruiser enjoyed a similar experience. Once again, the irony of Amohau's self-deprecating humour appears to have been lost in the re-telling.⁴³⁹ However, Commander Grace,⁴⁴⁰ officer in charge of the second touring party and second-in-command of the *New Zealand*, appeared to demonstrate empathy and a genuine desire to acknowledge his hosts culture and the place of Te Arawa within the dominion and the empire.⁴⁴¹ During his reply to the welcome he matched Amohau's humour, presenting 'a handsomely framed, coloured picture of the warship New Zealand' with the words, "Now, my officer, who came to you a few days ago, has told me that you all wish that the great waka taua could come to you. Tenei te waka taua!" (This is the war canoe!).⁴⁴²

this." Here followed in dramatic style the Maori incantation, entitled, "Te Unu o Te Arawa," the incantation used in hauling the war canoe Arawa into the ocean after its completion in the bush. The speaker went on, "If you had invoked our aid we could have recited that incantation over the battleship, and she would have glided right down into Lake Rotorua."

⁴³⁷ Later to become New Zealand's first Maori Bishop, the Reverend Frederick Augustus Bennett was at this time superintendent of the Maori mission in Rotorua.

⁴³⁸ Bennett was active in church music, encouraged Maori cultural performance and groups and was instrumental in developing pakeha appreciation of Maori music talent more generally. 'Rotorua Maori Choir,' *Evening Post*, 15 July 1908. 8; 'Maori Choir,' *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 1 September 1915. 5. Amohau's daughter Merekotia (Mere) began a celebrated musical career under Bennett's tutelage. Kanohimohoao Winiata, 'Amohau, Merekotia', *DNZB*, published 1998, accessed 15 March 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4a11/amohau-merekotia>. Prior to his death in 1927, Amohau prepared te ohaki, a traditional farewell speech or last words, subsequently published in the Maori language newspaper *Te Toa Takitini*. In this speech he exhorted his people to remember who they were but to work with the pakeha for the good of everyone. The reo original, 'Ōhāki of Henare Mete Te Amohau,' is published with translation in *Te Ara*. Rawinia Higgins, 'Tangihanga – death customs - Traditional preparations for tangihanga', *Te Ara*, published 5 May 2011, accessed 19 May 2018. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/zoomify/28779/ohaki-of-henare-mete-te-amohau>. A contemporary, more colloquial translation was published as 'Death of Te Kiwi Amohau.' *Waiapu Church Gazette*, 2 May 1927. 15.

⁴³⁹ 'After referring to the battleship as a link that bound New Zealand with the Old Country he said, "The first war canoe that came to New Zealand was brought by physical force. That canoe was the Arawa. Another big war canoe has come to New Zealand. It was not brought by physical strength, but through the ingenuity of the white man's brains. Your heads," he said to the visitors, "are filled with brains but ours are made for hanging hats on." (Laughter.) It needed wisdom, skill, and resource in bringing the battleship all the way to this country.' 'Among the Maoris,' *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1913. 8.

⁴⁴⁰ Henry Edgar Grace, son of English cricketer W. G. Grace. Commander Grace rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral and became Chief of the Submarine Service in September 1927.

⁴⁴¹ 'Among the Maoris,' *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1913. 8. 'Commander Grace, who has evidently been studying the Maori language to good purpose, replied in a happy speech. After first of all thanking the Rev. F. A. Bennett and Mr. Hill for their kind words of welcome, he turned to the Maoris assembled on the stage and said: "Nga Rangatira and the people of the Arawa tribe. We of the great waka taua (war canoe) New Zealand, are very pleased to have this opportunity of meeting you. We thank you for your hospitality, and for the kapai entertainment you have given us to-night. This is only in keeping with your ancient traditions of the Arawa race, for you of the Arawa tribe, have always been most friendly with the pakeha. You and the pakeha have always been one. You all know of Kapene Kuki (Captain Cook). The spirit that brought him and other pakehas to Te ika a Maui was the same spirit that brought your ancestors Tama-te-Kapua and Ngatoro-i-Rangi and their crew to Maketu, in the Bay of Plenty, in the canoe Arawa. Our great King came on board our waka taua and stood in front of the emblem of New Zealand. This emblem is a large carving showing a shield, on one side of which is Britannia, and on the other side is a rangatira holding his taiaha in his hand. Above the shield is a Union Jack, similar to that presented to you on the occasion of the visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen (at that time the Duke and Duchess of York). The King wished us success in our voyage as his envoy to his Dominions. We come to you of the Arawa tribe, bearing his appreciation of your loyalty ... Now, my officer, who came to you a few days ago, has told me that you all wish that the great waka taua could come to you. Tenei te waka taua!" (This is the war canoe!) exclaimed Commander Grace as he held up a handsomely framed, coloured picture of the warship New Zealand. Loud applause greeted the announcement. "This is the tohu Aroha" (loving gift), the commander went on, "from the crew of the warship New Zealand. Tena Koutou (salutations to you all)! Ake! ake! ake! Kia Kaha (we will fight on for ever and for ever)!" Here followed a scene of great enthusiasm. One stalwart Maori held the picture on his head while the others gave vent to their feelings by a vigorous haka, which was followed by prolonged applause from the large audience present in the Assembly Hall.'

⁴⁴² In Wellington, Grace had joined a photograph of Ngati Awa visitors taken on board the battlecruiser, 'with a piupiu, or mat, thrown over his shoulder in Maori style.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand.' *Stratford Evening Post*, 21 April 1913. 8. It is not possible to

This is the first time we see reported a truly original connection between men from the battlecruiser and Maori, although a similar connection appeared to have been made during the Levin visit on 16 April, by around 250 men under the command of Lieutenant Edward R. Jones.⁴⁴³ At the conclusion of the day's activities⁴⁴⁴ Jones spontaneously offered to reciprocate the hospitality inviting the Maori leaders to visit the battlecruiser the following day, which they did as discussed earlier in this chapter. The connection that was evident in the Levin and Rotorua interactions appears to have been more than a mere demonstration of good manners. Perhaps it was based on a sailor's sense of camaraderie for others who possessed considerable practical marine skills, and a military man's respect for those perceived as fellow warriors. Maori athletic prowess was admired and Maori rugby had enjoyed support and success since before turn of the century.⁴⁴⁵ When a dispute over funds stranded a Maori League team in Sydney in 1908, British and Australian peers raised funds to get them home.⁴⁴⁶ Maori won sporting contests against the men of the battlecruiser at Levin⁴⁴⁷ and in other centres, and this could only have added to beliefs regarding Maori racial standing. Perhaps, also, there was a genuine spiritual response to the sentiments and power of the traditional cultural expressions. It is difficult to tell how representative the sensibilities demonstrated by these officers were of battlecruiser culture and of the crew as a group. The evidence is conflicting. Maori as a people were not unfamiliar to the crew of the battlecruiser, but the expectations of most were likely influenced by the limited references to the culture that appeared on the ship. Besides the rangatira who appeared on the country's coat-of-arms which adorned the bridge, the ship's bell hung from a ring held between the teeth of a cast

be definite about motivation for actions such as this, but the effort Grace made to learn language and the structures of oratory do suggest a degree of sincerity.

⁴⁴³ It was, in fact, Jones who was the officer-in-charge of the first Rotorua expedition, referenced by Grace. During that trip Jones 'said he was sorry that the Maoris had not been able to come to Auckland to see the ship. If it was possible for them to come to Auckland in June, when the ship returned again, he could assure them they would be given a real good time, and everything of interest on the ship would be shown to them.' 'Characteristic Welcome,' *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1913. 8. Jones was the seventh-ranked officer on the *New Zealand* in terms of seniority and in the immediate post-war period Jones went on to Captain *HMS Caesar*, followed by *HMS Capetown*. 'List of officers in order of their Seniority.' 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

⁴⁴⁴ The day included not only a traditional welcome by the Ngati Raukawa, but also contests against Maori rugby and tug-of-war teams (both sporting events won by the Maoris). 'The Maori Address,' *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 16 April 1913. 3; 'New Zealand's Battleship,' *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 16 April 1913. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ The first tour of Britain (1888-9) by a New Zealand Native Football Representatives team (which included five pakeha), while marked by instances of being 'a trifle "rough,"' nevertheless earned Maori sportsmen imperial notice. A complimentary poem was republished in several New Zealand papers. "'Punch's" Welcome to the Maori Football Team,' *Lyttelton Times*, 4 December 1888. 3. Dr Maui Pomare MP promoted Maori athletic prowess in the *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 14 February 1912. 2.

⁴⁴⁶ 'Maori Footballers,' *Waikato Argus*, 4 August 1908. 3; 'The Maori Footballers,' *Waikato Argus*, 12 August 1908. 3.

⁴⁴⁷ Rugby and tug-of-war. 'New Zealand's Battleship,' *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 16 April 1913. 2.

Maori head. This bell had been designed for the first *HMS New Zealand* and gifted to the present vessel upon its naming.⁴⁴⁸ On their return from Rotorua the sailors were reportedly 'Thoroughly delighted with the trip [and] ... were loud in their enthusiasm regarding the boiling springs, the geysers, terraces, and lakes. "The Maoris are fine people," remarked one bluejacket. "They gave us a great welcome, and many of us were lucky enough to receive from them some souvenirs" ... The sailors said they were looking forward to seeing the Rotorua Maoris in Auckland in June, when the battleship is to be in this port again.' However, 'in first class mock-Maori,' one sailor also explained that the reason for bringing back 'Great bunches of pampas grass' was to 'maka te haka on board.'⁴⁴⁹ The later report of a road trip made by bluejackets to Ashburton had the day-trippers 'in sailor Maori "maka te haka" with jolly freedom, and practised war-cries that should astonish their London friends when they get home.'⁴⁵⁰ This suggests that the desire of some sailors to learn the haka may have had more to do with the novelty and spectacle of the tradition as an addition to their entertainment repertoire, although that is hardly surprising given that the cultural experience was a novelty for them.⁴⁵¹ It is also important to remember that the view of Maori back in Britain was necessarily removed and romanticised. Prior to the arrival of the American Fleet the *New Zealand Herald* remarked that 'We are inclined to regard the Maori race as one of the local curiosities ... To the visitor from abroad we talk chiefly of Rotorua and the quaint customs and accomplishments of the natives.'⁴⁵² Halsey himself may have had motives more in line with his expressed desire to be thought of as part of New Zealand.⁴⁵³ Given the 'Britishness' of the dominion,⁴⁵⁴ embracing Maori culture during the tour may have taken the ship's

⁴⁴⁸ The bell design was possibly chosen by Lady Ranfurly, wife of the then-Governor of New Zealand. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Press*, 18 May 1905. 9. The bell and its hanger are currently held in the collection of the Torpedo Bay Navy Museum.

⁴⁴⁹ 'Characteristic Welcome,' *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1913. 8.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Bluejackets on Tour,' *Press*, 15 May 1913. 7.

⁴⁵¹ The crew had an active entertainment group called the 'Stunt Party.' Activities included a cross-dressing musical troupe and dramatic pieces such as a two-act 'comic opera' written by a naval instructor especially for production on board *HMS New Zealand*, a 'Sketch to per performed by anyone with sufficient courage.' 'Our gift dreadnaught (sic, legitimate alternative) cruises up the East Coast: The visit of H.M.S. New Zealand to Napier,' ALHC, AWNS-19130501-13-2. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1913. 13; 'The men of H.M.S. New Zealand enjoy themselves in Wellington: Some snapshots at Newtown Park and elsewhere,' ALHC, AWNS-19130424-4-1. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 April 1913. 4; T.H. Matthews R.N., *Alarms and Excursions: A 'Peace' of Nonsense*, Dunfermilne: Journal Printing Works, date unknown, Torpedo Bay Navy Museum. This work featured a Maori character, a 'fierce' chief named Kiwa.

⁴⁵² 'Pakeha and Maori,' *Dominion*, 23 April 1908. 6. 'For years our orators, our tourists, our responsible Ministers, have poured out upon the Maori a flood of adulation ... Distinguished visitors from afar, to whom the Maori is a plaything, repeat the dose ad nauseum.' 'The Maori Problem,' *New Zealand Herald*, 29 June 1909. 7.

⁴⁵³ During his reply to the welcome speeches given in the Auckland Town Hall on 29 April he finished by saying, 'we ask, and we feel you will. grant us this: that manning your ship as we do, we are not strangers, because no person in the Empire is ever a stranger to you. I am sure you will allow us to be New Zealanders.' 'The City's Greeting,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1913. 10.

⁴⁵⁴ 'We have British blood in our veins.' J.H. Gunson, Chairman of the Harbour Board, to Halsey. 'The Poet (sic) Reception,' *New Zealand Herald*, 30 April 1913. 10.

identification with its donor country to a different level and strengthened the crew's attachment emotionally. At some point following the visit to this country, a Maori visage was painted on the vessel's superstructure, and was certainly there when New Zealand's official war correspondent Captain Malcolm Ross visited the ship sometime after the Battle of Jutland in 1916.⁴⁵⁵ The painted face would suggest such an attachment.⁴⁵⁶ Certainly, Halsey allowed the men to practise the haka every night on board and requested training. Parata arranged a Maori tutor, Poananga of The Public Trust Office, to travel with the vessel for several days to help them with their learning.⁴⁵⁷ The haka party's enthusiasm was also rewarded by the gift of a set of piupiu by their Maori hosts in Russell.⁴⁵⁸ So Maori themselves were not opposed to the seamen's active efforts to engage, although this does not presume that they were comfortable with all the expressions that engagement took. A 'comic opera' written by a naval instructor especially for production on board *HMS New Zealand* features a character named Kiwa, described as a fierce Maori chief. The chief's role is less than respectful⁴⁵⁹ and is clearly played for laughs. Humour is always difficult to gauge, more so across time, but certainly in today's terms the Kiwa character would be unacceptable.

It is possible that Grace and Jones were 'outliers' and their response to their Maori hosts was more a function of their respective personalities, a genuine empathy and interest in others and of their real leadership qualities. Jones certainly appears to have possessed strong relationship skills and was reported as being popular with the

⁴⁵⁵ 'On her foretop, too, there is painted the tattooed head of a Maori chief. This is the mascot of the ship, and to this her sailors attribute her good luck. At the time of my visit she was being repainted, but the head of the chieftain was not touched. "If it is painted out you can bet your life it will soon be painted in again," said her commander.' Ross does not mention the piupiu and tiki. 'A Gift Ship,' *Colonist*, 29 December 1916. 2.

⁴⁵⁶ Apart from the 'lucky' tiki and piupiu discussed earlier, the vessel was also recorded as sailing 'for Jutland flying the White Ensign, a Union Jack presented by New Zealand women, and a Maori emblem in the forward turret. This came practically unscathed through the action, although the New Zealand herself bore plenty of marks of the action.' 'New Zealand's Share in the Big Battle,' *Auckland Star*, 9 June 1916. 5. Republishing a report in the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh).

⁴⁵⁷ 'Learning the Haka,' *Colonist*, 30 June 1913. 3. The offer and acceptance, and the request for a leave of absence for Poananga are in the Bell correspondence archives. 'Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,' Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-145, ATL.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Learning the Haka,' *Colonist*, 30 June 1913. 3. The visit to Russell had been marred by dreadful weather. In preparation for a large role in the official proceedings, Maoris had 'turned out in large numbers and were sleeping under boatsheds and anywhere at all,' but heavy rain drenched all. The programme included 'a run to the historic parts of the bay, including Waitangi, a Maori reception in Matauhi followed by a mimic war dance and a Maori feast and a football match, Maori v. battleship team.' 'A Dismal Outlook,' *Northern Advocate*, 19 June 1913. 5. In the event, Halsey decided to stay in the Bay of Islands for another day which allowed the Maori welcome and other plans to go forward. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 20 June 1913. 9. In June 1914, the crew's keen connection with their donor dominion was again represented by the performance in Russia of 'a haka, danced by 20 of the crew of the New Zealand, was a decided novelty to the Russians, and had to be repeated. There were many inquiries as to Maori customs and the meaning of the names 'Cook,' 'Tasman,' and 'Ao-te-aroa,' inscribed on the turrets.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand in Russia,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 10 September 1914. 5.

⁴⁵⁹ Of the indigenous person as ape variety. Matthews, *Alarms and Excursions*.

men.⁴⁶⁰ Despite the suggestion that Halsey had strong empathy for Maori culture, he did not appear to display the warmth and heart of his two sub-ordinates. In part, this is understandable from the perspective of his status and responsibilities as Captain. As the King's representative his expressions of appreciation were formal, impersonal and repetitive.⁴⁶¹ But Halsey occasionally demonstrated a social awkwardness which the formulaic and studied responses may generally have masked. For example, at Russell he was caught by surprise when he was kissed by a young Maori woman. 'He looked for an avenue of escape, but found it impossible, and met his fate bravely. It was some moments before Captain Halsey recovered from the unexpected attack...'⁴⁶²

It is interesting that despite the significance of the visit to Russell, the most widely reported event, and the most press attention paid to women's interaction with the battlecruiser, was the "kissing ambush" of Sub-Lieutenant H.R.H. Prince George of Battenberg and Captain Halsey. The initial report of this scene was published up and down the country. The Maori sense of humour and their amusement at the discomfited sailors seems clearly evident today but the overlay of the colonial attitude to indigenous woman in the newspaper reports romanticises and emphasises the physicality: 'One pretty Maori girl threw her arms round the Prince's neck ... the soft brown arms went, round his neck, and the triumph of the damsel was complete.'⁴⁶³ The old notions of the 'dusky maiden'⁴⁶⁴ and the 'maidens of heroic race'⁴⁶⁵ appeared still to be engrained in the pakeha mindset in 1913, even in describing children. A short report on the visit of children from Rapaki pa described

⁴⁶⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Dominion*, 1 May 1913. 4.

⁴⁶¹ One of the longer reported versions was the response Halsey gave in Port Chalmers where he was addressed 'on behalf of the remnants of the Ngatitahu and Ngatimamoe tribes residing with[in] the province of Otago' by Te Matapura Erihana. Halsey replied, "I wish, on behalf of my officers and men, to thank you, the Maori people, very much indeed for the handsome address and for the words contained in it. As regards the great gift given to the Empire by the people of this dominion, people of the British race, and people of the Maori race. I wish to say that the presentation of the ship has made those who may be our enemies— though I hope they are not —think of the position of things. (Cheers.) Why? Because they now realise that they have not only Great Britain to think about but Greater Britain as well. (Cheers.) In presenting this battleship New Zealand has done a great deal in the cause of peace, because if we want peace we must prepare for war. New Zealand has given the other dominions a lead which they have been quick to follow, and she deserves credit for all she has done. (Cheers.) I thank the people of Port Chalmers for the reception they have given us; and I again thank the Maori people for their address and also for those handsome mats. Long may they remain on board our ship. (Cheers.) I know well what the Treaty of Waitangi did for the Empire. It brought to the Crown the Maori people, who, I am sure, are as loyal as any people who have ever become attached to the Empire." 'Visitors Receive A Hearty Welcome,' *Otago Witness*, 4 June 1913. 33.

⁴⁶² 'Officers Embraced by Maoris,' *Press*, 23 June 1913. 8.

⁴⁶³ 'Prince's Ordeal,' *Star*, 21 June 1913. 5; '... a young and pretty native girl ...' 'Officers Embraced by Maoris,' *Press*, 23 June 1913. 8; '... a bevy of brown sylphs...' 'Pars About People,' *Observer*, 28 June 1913. 4. The objectification of indigenous women was a dominant feature of British depictions of their interactions with colonised cultures.

⁴⁶⁴ 'A Fond Farewell,' *Auckland Star*, 21 June 1913. 5.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Hera Stirling Monro (sic),' *Otago Witness*, 8 January 1913. 77.

the ‘Fascinating Maori Girls’ combing ‘out their long, luxuriant masses of hair, while others talked and laughed, and occasionally broke into song when the pretty dark-eyed girl at the piano played some music that appealed to them.’⁴⁶⁶ An article ostensibly focused on Maori girls education spent the first 550 of 960 words (57%) extolling the physical qualities and character of advocate, Hera Stirling Munro. Hera Munro was a mature educated Christian woman who had worked in the Salvation Army and as an Anglican missionary, but the opening paragraph described her proportions, movement, eyes and voice and noted her personal inheritance from her ‘half-caste’ lineage.⁴⁶⁷ In sharp contrast to such a view was the visibility of Maori women on the ‘serious’ side of welcomes for the battlecruiser and its crew. Kuia and other women of rank took an active part in ceremonies and spoke on their own merits. This included Heni Terei⁴⁶⁸ in Wellington, Mere Paora in Auckland, and ‘Mrs Rickus’⁴⁶⁹ in Timaru. While in Gisborne, ‘On behalf of Sir James and Lady Carroll and the East Coast tribes, Miss Pare Keiha (niece of Lady Carroll) and Miss Teria Moana Pere (grand-daughter of Mr Wi Pere) presented gifts and an ‘accompanying address.’⁴⁷⁰ The woman’s speech that was recorded in most detail appears to have been that of ‘an old Maori woman, Mrs. Heke,’ in Russell. Her messages echoed those of other Maori leaders around the country, but she specifically invited Halsey and company to visit three named places in the local area and extended her welcome ‘on behalf of the Maori women of four tribes, the Ngapuhi, Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, Ngatiwatua.’⁴⁷¹ In general, pakeha woman did not feature in similar occasions other than in a passive or supporting role, or as representatives of a special-interest or even pressure group, such as the collaborative submissions made by temperance groups in Auckland, discussed later in Chapter Five. In fact, pakeha women were specifically assigned supporting roles. A memo from Bell invited selected MPs ‘and lady’ to join the party going out to Wellington Heads in the government steamer *Tutanekai* on 12

⁴⁶⁶ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand.’ *Star*, 16 May 1913. 4.

⁴⁶⁷ ‘Hera Stirling Monro (sic),’ *Otago Witness*, 8 January 1913. 77. This article was written by journalist Wilhemina Sherriff Bain who herself had been active in the National Council of Women of New Zealand (NCW), an organisation for which she had been an elected representative internationally.

⁴⁶⁸ Ngati Raukawa, Otaki, ‘a grandchild of Tamehana te Rauparaha, who visited England some years ago and was presented to the late Queen Victoria.’ ‘Cruise of the New Zealand,’ *Otago Witness*, 23 April 1913. 30.

⁴⁶⁹ Mrs Rickus, who ‘made her welcome on behalf of the Maori women,’ was possibly Hana Pohio Rickus of Temuka, four of whose sons appear to have served during the First World War. Rickus brothers records in ‘SCROLL STORIES’ online, South Canterbury Museum and ‘Cenotaph Online,’ Auckland War Memorial Museum.

⁴⁷⁰ ‘Aboard the Warship,’ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 28 April 1913. 3.

⁴⁷¹ ‘Come to the spot where the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the great white queen and the Maori chiefs of New Zealand, making us all one, said Mrs Heke. ‘Come and see Rangitaua, where the gospel of peace was first preached to us. Come and see Maiki, where warriors of both our tribes and pakeha and Maori breathed their last.’ ‘H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 21 June 1913.8.

April to meet the battlecruiser, after which luncheon would be served. However, a second undated telegraph includes an amendment asking the recipients ‘to limit the number of ladies who will accompany you because of the limited accommodation at lunch.’⁴⁷² ‘No ladies’ were to be present for the Auckland welcome on the wharf but Mrs Bell, Mrs Parr, and the Bell daughters, were to enjoy a “civic reception” and afternoon tea before greeting the Captain in the [Town Hall].⁴⁷³ Likewise, after refusing a visit of the battlecruiser to Whangarei Bell attempted to mollify Reyburn and Mander with the offer of a special run up to Russell from Whangarei in the *Hinemoa* - for ‘males’ which he later qualified with the explanation there is no ‘convenient arrangement for ladies during the day.’⁴⁷⁴

As a case study of Maori interaction with the British world as it stood prior to the First World War, the visit of *HMS New Zealand* suggests several conclusions. Maori clearly appreciated the battlecruiser on its own merits as a vessel, as an example of the technology of power, and as a statement of the empire’s self-confidence and commitment to its own survival. They also recognised and made good use of the opportunity, in an internationally visible context, to re-establish with an imperial representative, their historical rights as tangata whenua and their expectations of equal partnership. Divergent pakeha attitudes to the Maori as people, to their culture and to their status as imperial citizens were clearly demonstrated at official and public levels, and by the media organs, although there appears to have been no comment, at least in the public record, on the direct political statements being made by Maori leadership in their addresses of welcome. The response of the British crew was in many ways more generous and embracing of their Maori co-hosts, although the form of that engagement while common to the era did not place Maori on the same social level.

⁴⁷² Telegrams, H.D. Bell to various, 9 April plus undated 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

⁴⁷³ Telegrams, H.D. Bell, C.J. Parr, Mrs North (wife of Lt. North, *HMS New Zealand*), [28] April, 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-142, ATL.

⁴⁷⁴ Memo, H.D. Bell to Chairman, Whangarei Harbour Board (J.R. Reyburn), 12 June, 1913. ‘Telegrams, papers, correspondence re visit of HMS New Zealand,’ Bell Papers, MS-Papers-5210-145, ATL.

Chapter Four

Hurrah for the 'King's Navee': Empire citizens in training

*'Small girls brought autograph books ... Small boys asked all kinds of questions ... "Bet your life," said one Youngster, "she's a bit of orlright."'*⁴⁷⁵

The *New Zealand Herald's* editorial on 3 May 1913 was a lesson on the importance of the 'historical and political truths [that] can be, and should be, impressed upon every New Zealand child.' The opportunity to tread the 'hospitable decks' would, it was asserted, underscore the educational value of the battlecruiser's visit, the experience embedding the importance of the empire's naval supremacy in the minds of 'the scholars of our public schools.'⁴⁷⁶ This chapter examines the position of children in 1913 New Zealand and the ways in which the visit of the battlecruiser echoed and reinforced the life lessons to which they had been exposed. The leader run by the *New Zealand Herald* on 3 May, probably written by William Lane, enthusiastically reinforced the official *raison d'être* for the promotion of children's visits to the vessel. It was unremarkable in that position except that chief leader-writer Lane, who was due to become editor of the *Herald* in October,⁴⁷⁷ was a converted imperialist. His editorials, and additional columns written under the pseudonym 'Tohunga,' reflected a conservative ardour⁴⁷⁸ that bemused some readers and amused others given an earlier equally passionate commitment to socialism.⁴⁷⁹ 'Our possession of the Dominion would be short,' he wrote on 3 May, 'were it not for the great Imperial battleships of which the gift Dreadnought is a type ... only by understanding our debt to the British Navy and our duty to the Empire can [our children] become intelligent

⁴⁷⁵ 'H.M.S. New Zealand.' *Star*, 20 May 1913. 3.

⁴⁷⁶ 'The Dreadnought and the Schools,' *New Zealand Herald*, 3 May 1913. 6.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Personalía,' *New Zealand Times*, 10 October 1913. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ A characteristic style that the *Observer* called 'the strange knack that can make the expression of reactionary opinions interesting.' 'Pars About People,' *Observer*, 25 October 1913, 4.

⁴⁷⁹ In 1893, Lane led a group of idealistic Australians to Paraguay to found 'a New Australia with ... happier conditions under South American skies ... socialism is practical,' Lane told an interviewer in the middle of that year. 'Our gospel has been sufficiently long preached, and we are going to live it.' 'New Australia,' *Timaru Herald*, 7 July 1893. 4. By May 1894 the colony was breaking up, a reverend visitor reporting 'a complete absence of liberty ... Mr Lane's idea was that people should be forced to obey.' 'An Independent Report,' *Otago Witness*, 21 June 1894. 34. Interestingly, there appeared to be scant interest when the rehabilitated Lane was appointed *Herald* editor in late 1913, despite some commentators remembering the episode. See, 'A Socialist Experiment,' *Wairarapa Age*, 11 October 1913. 4; 'Where Socialism Failed,' *Evening Post*, 29 July 1913. 8.

and loyal citizens of a Dominion which owes not merely its freedom and its liberties but its very existence to the Navy and to the Mother Country.’⁴⁸⁰ To his readers, Lane’s theme would have been neither surprising nor seen as overblown. Progress and security through empire, and gratitude and debt to the power of the Royal Navy, was a common refrain throughout the dominion, as previous chapters have discussed. Likewise, the perceived importance of children understanding and identifying with those tenets was not a challenging concept.

The prevalent view of the empire’s children for most of the first half of the twentieth century was ‘as social capital.’⁴⁸¹ Social capital is an intangible concept of which there are a number of interpretations depending on the viewpoint from which it is defined: economic, financial or sociological. However, the basic premise relates to the social networking and group identification that any person attains, and the conditioning and world views associated with that. In the context of the empire’s children, the concept implies the child as an ‘empty vessel’ whose future value to society can be determined by early conditioning in behaviours and attitudes deemed desirable by whoever has access to that child during their development.⁴⁸² In this sense the child is seen less as an individual than as an asset to be utilised. Erik Olssen has noted that since the end of the 19th century in New Zealand ‘the concept of child welfare as a function of the state crystallised’ as authorities began to recognise children as a social asset.⁴⁸³ A definition of ‘children’ is not necessarily straightforward. Officially, the legal requirement to attend school until the age of 14⁴⁸⁴ as specified in the Education Act (1877) could be considered to define the upper boundary of childhood. The Education Amendment Act (1910) was much more generous in definition: “Child” means a boy or girl over six years and under twenty-one years of age, or, in the absence of positive evidence as to age, being in the opinion of the Minister

⁴⁸⁰ ‘The Dreadnought and the Schools,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 3 May 1913. 6.

⁴⁸¹ Helen A. Dollery. “‘Making Happy, Healthy, Helpful Citizens’: The New Zealand Scouting and Guiding Movements as Promulgators of Active Citizenship, c.1908-1980,” PhD Thesis, Massey University, 2012. 11. A variety of sources that consider the notion of social capital exist, including a discussion publication in the OECD Insights series: Brian Keeley, ed., *Human Capital: How what you know shapes your life*, OECD Publishing, 2007. Several theorists are associated with the social capital concept including Robert D. Putnam, Malkin Research Professor of Public Policy at Harvard University (2018), French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), and James Coleman (1926–95).

⁴⁸² A teaching and learning belief dating from the advent of organised schools, which held that a child’s mind was incapable of innate ideas and needed to be filled by appropriate external instruction in order for that child to become a productive citizen. The theory is akin to ‘the blank slate’ concept proposed by English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) in his important and influential 1689 work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

⁴⁸³ Erik Olssen, ‘Towards a New Society,’ in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Second Edition, ed. Geoffrey W. Rice Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992. 265-6.

⁴⁸⁴ ‘... every child not less than seven nor more than thirteen years of age...’ Education Act 1877 (41 Victoriae 1877 No 21). Clause 89.

apparently between six and twenty-one years of age.⁴⁸⁵ However, public opinion and attitudes may have recognised this stage of life more practically given the number of variables that influence individual development. One 18-year old's letter in 1911 noted she was 'no longer a child of barely 16,'⁴⁸⁶ while a published opinion piece from the *Guardian* several years earlier had 'Childhood ends and youth begins not only by the development of the mind and body, which must always be a more or less obscure change, but also by the entry into new circumstances, duties, and responsibilities, which is visible to all ... whatever be the age at which it is made...' The article, focusing on Confirmation, went on to suggest that 'a boy at a public school need not be presented as soon as a labourer's son, who leaves school at 13 or 11 to go to work ... a labourer's daughter should be presented at any suitable time between leaving school and going out to service.'⁴⁸⁷ This chapter focuses primarily, although not exclusively, on the experiences of schoolchildren between 6 and 14, as children of this age had the greatest opportunities to visit the vessel as part of organised school trips.

Changes in the British monarchy over the early years of the twentieth century, combined with growing international tensions and competitive national positioning, triggered high levels of anxiety and strategic reflection, and seemed to accelerate a perception in official quarters of the central importance of children in the longevity of the empire. The 'far-flung' colonies certainly did not underestimate this, an awareness which was being praised as early as 1900.⁴⁸⁸ In 1911, following a visit to Britain, Jack Murray, Premier of Victoria, had remarked with perceptible smugness that 'the great problem of Britain's immediate future was the training of the child life. I go away,' he said, 'wondering what is to become of the boys and girls of the community. Their education, mentally and physically, is an imperative need which impressed itself on my mind.'⁴⁸⁹ He had no need to add, 'compared to what we do in Victoria,' as the thought was clear to everyone. Certainly in New Zealand, attention was paid to all aspects of training a well-rounded imperial citizen. Indeed, in 1911 it was proudly reported as proof of young New Zealand's loyalty that applications for

⁴⁸⁵ Education Amendment Act 1910 (1 GEO V 1910 No 70). Clause 11.

⁴⁸⁶ 'Girl's Advice to Mother,' *New Zealand Herald*, 1 July 1911. 16.

⁴⁸⁷ 'The World's Press,' *New Zealand Herald*, 14 June 1905. 11.

⁴⁸⁸ 'Patriotism in New Zealand,' *Pelorus Guardian and Miners' Advocate*, 9 January 1900. 3.

⁴⁸⁹ 'England's Child Life,' *Western Star*, 3 November 1911. 4.

coronation medals commemorating the accession of King George V to the throne had exceeded the 22,000 available for school distribution.⁴⁹⁰ The hearts, minds and bodies of children became the subject of much debate, and legislation attempted to strengthen the support for a child's development in a variety of areas as 'consensus emerged that neither the physical nor the moral welfare of children could be left to the street.'⁴⁹¹ In fact, the dominions were doing so well at this by 1913 that British Admiral Lord Charles Beresford chastised the British nation on Empire Day that year for 'flabby sentimentality' and failing to fully understand 'what Imperialism meant,' whereas the overseas dominions 'were always teaching their children the meaning of Imperialism.' Beresford was only echoing those like Lord Meath who had devoted considerable time and effort evangelising the issue,⁴⁹² but the comments were repeated by New Zealand's High Commissioner in London, Thomas Mackenzie, during the official pre-tour visits to *HMS New Zealand* and were duly reported in New Zealand papers.

Captain Lionel Halsey left no doubt that children were a favoured target for visits to the *New Zealand* and he took seriously the position of role model afforded him by his media treatment as Boer War hero,⁴⁹³ the youngest Royal Navy captain, and spokesman for the empire.⁴⁹⁴ Speaking at the official welcome in Lyttelton later in the visit, Halsey told his audience, 'It was most important that the children should realise what the ship is, what the might of Empire is, and he hoped that those on

⁴⁹⁰ 'Young New Zealand's Loyalty,' *Star*, 24 June 1911. 6.

⁴⁹¹ Olssen, 'Towards a New Society.' 266.

⁴⁹² Lord Meath, 'originator' of the Empire Day movement. 'Empire Day,' *Timaru Herald*, 7 March 1910. 5; 'Empire Day,' *Press*, 16 April 1912. 6.

⁴⁹³ Halsey claimed he was 'only a simple sailor,' but headlines such as 'Captain Halsey. In Beleguered Ladysmith. How he Kept the Boers at Bay,' ensured he enjoyed a heightened profile in New Zealand. 'Captain Halsey,' *Auckland Star*, 17 April 1913. 2; 'Captain Halsey's Reply,' *Press*, 2 April 1913. 10. The Siege of Ladysmith refers to four months from 2 November 1899 to 27 February 1900 when the British holding the riverside, inland town of Ladysmith in northern Natal, were besieged by the Boers. While there was British acknowledgement that 'from a military point of view, it is indefensible, except by a large garrison ... the garrison was able to hold it with a force of 9000 men ... due to apathy and want of discipline among the enemy, to the naval guns, and to the skilful disposition of our troops.' 'Story of the Siege of Ladysmith,' *New Zealand Herald*, 3 March 1900. 13. The guns were naval guns from *HMS Terrible* and *HMS Powerful*. It was reported that 'the safety of the town largely depends on the ability of the naval gunners to keep down the enemy's fire. There are only four of these naval weapons,' then-Lieutenant Halsey 'in charge' of one of these, 'the 4.7 gun in the Princess Victoria battery of the Code Hill redoubt.' A review of the situation in *Scientific American* in December that year suggested that there were six naval guns, and 'while it is too much to say that they "saved Ladysmith," there is no question that they served very materially to keep down the fire of the Boer siege guns.' 'The Mistake of the War,' *Auckland Star*, 8 November 1899. 4; 'Dreadnought Day,' *Taranaki Daily News*, 17 June 1913. 4; 'The Naval Guns at Ladysmith,' *Scientific American* 81, no. 25, December 16, 1899. 388.

⁴⁹⁴ 'It would have been difficult for the Admiralty to have entrusted the New Zealand's flag showing cruise to better hands than those of Captain Halsey, who is well qualified to act as this country's representative in bringing to the notice of the people overseas the supreme importance of naval strength, as exemplified in the noble ship which he is taking "on tour."' 'The New Zealand,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 1 March 1913. 5. Halsey was 42, 'in other words, in the prime of life,' and holding 'The distinction of being the youngest officer of his rank in the British Navy.' This was not something that *NZ Truth*, in a wonderfully ironic article on the arrival of 'the Dreadnought (which isn't a Dreadnought),' thought New Zealanders should be boasting about. 'Dreadnought Day,' *Taranaki Daily News*, 17 June 1913. 4; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *NZ Truth*, 19 April 1913. 5.

board would be able to help the children to realise that. They would receive their impressions of the ship at an age when their memories would retain them, and they would look back upon their visit as a red-letter day in their lives.’⁴⁹⁵ A similar message was repeated in various ways by different commentators throughout the tour.⁴⁹⁶ Shortly after the vessel’s arrival in Wellington, a special letter⁴⁹⁷ from Halsey to ‘you children’ was published in the *School Journal* and subsequently picked up in all the major dailies. Halsey’s letter to children was short and plain; the message uncompromising. Invoking their fathers and mothers, the captain told the nation’s children that their contribution to the empire’s strength, glory and longevity was within their personal control, and that they were individually responsible for developing their character and dedication in the service of the collective:

‘... very little is required of you. It is only this: — First always remember that your first duty to your King and Country is allegiance and loyalty. Second, refrain from doing any act which you know is not straight and right. Third, by every act of your life endeavour to uphold that great heritage which your ancestors fought for and died for and won—namely honour ... every one of you who does not lead a straight, clean life, and who does not do his or her duty in life to the utmost possible is helping to endanger our grand Empire and to tarnish its honour.’⁴⁹⁸

The appearance of Halsey’s letter in the *Journal* was particularly illustrative. The *School Journal*, first published in 1907⁴⁹⁹ the year New Zealand became a dominion, was conceived as a tool to deliver a standard curriculum to every school-aged child. By 1913, most New Zealand children of primary school age were attending school more or less regularly.⁵⁰⁰ The national syllabus introduced in 1904 included lessons

⁴⁹⁵ ‘A Ringing Speech,’ *Press*, 14 May 1913. 10.

⁴⁹⁶ For example, following children’s day in Lyttelton the local public learned that the crew ‘were doing more than merely adding to the pleasure of an enjoyable holiday ... they were in reality carrying out a high imperial mission.’ ‘A Vote of Thanks,’ *Star*, 15 May 1913. 2.

⁴⁹⁷ Specific addresses to children by heroic or otherwise celebrated figures (mostly men) was not uncommon in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1936, even the new King Edward VIII also spoke directly to children in a speech reported in the *School Journal*. Stuart R. Miller, ‘Identifying with Empire: *The N.Z. School Journal* from 1907 to 1940,’ MA Thesis, Massey University, 2013. 22.

⁴⁹⁸ ‘Captain Halsey and the Children,’ *Colonist*, 14 June 1913. 3. A hand-written version of this letter on *HMS New Zealand* letterhead is glued into the tour scrapbook believed to have belonged to Halsey. In Scrapbook, ‘Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,’ 2012.80.1.

⁴⁹⁹ Significantly, the inaugural issue was published on Empire Day. Miller, ‘Identifying with Empire.’ 13.

⁵⁰⁰ The Education Amendment Act (1910) required ‘every child between the ages of seven and fourteen years (with certain exemptions) to attend a public school whenever it is open.’ The ‘Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Minister of Education’ (1912) reported that 48 more public primary schools (all levels) were open at the end of 1912 (2214) compared to the year

on 'good' habits, duty, service and loyalty, among other attributes deemed important to imperial citizenship, and these lessons were reinforced whenever occasion permitted. For example, at the traditional end-of-year school picnic, the practice of delivering pupils with an edifying lecture before prize distribution and dismissal for the summer was as popular then as it is now. In December 1911, the Principal of the boys' home at Otekaike, North Otago, prepared the children at the annual school breakup for 'The fresh rule for 1912 ... Local patriotism, the meaning of which he thoroughly explained, telling them the time would come when they would have a voice in the Empire.'⁵⁰¹ The *Journal's* role was to support the curriculum by promoting such values and behaviours through articles on British endeavour and achievement, and thus to foster civic pride and engagement and patriotic feeling.⁵⁰² If community is rooted in the mechanics of identity perceived by the participants, and 'Cultural identity is the software of large human groups - it is what makes them self-aware groups,'⁵⁰³ the *Journal* played an important role in this process, pre-war, for New Zealand's children. With language⁵⁰⁴ and story the publication pulled children into the empire's thrall, addressing them as knowing, complicit and fully credentialed members of a glorious imperial team. These ideas are central to Benedict Anderson's often quoted concept of 'imagined community' which holds that perception of some shared characteristic, which may be mythic, is the key component in defining community. Imagine, he suggested, 'a sociological organism ... [of] steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity.'⁵⁰⁵ Child letter writer 'COSY' recognised 'the great excitement of the visit of the new warship that caused such stir in New Zealand, and, of course, everybody, even many living away in the far back-blocks, came to see the great boat. Everybody was Warship mad, or in love with it.'⁵⁰⁶ The boundaries of and bonds within the imagined community are clarified and

before (2166), and attendance percentage of the national roll was 88.9, despite distance and transport difficulties for many children: 'higher than that in some of the more closely settled English-speaking countries.' 'EDUCATION: PRIMARY EDUCATION.' *AJHR*, 1913 Session I, E-02. 2, 5, 6.

⁵⁰¹ The boy's home was the Special School for Boys of Feeble Mind. It appears that the 'Otekaike School' for which the function celebrated the end-of-year was in fact the 'boy's home.' However, as the newspaper report is a little unclear, it is possible that the boy's home principal was guesting at the local general school. 1911's rules, 'set before them at their last picnic,' had apparently been 'Keep your temper, Keep your promise, and keep(sic) your wicket up.' 'School Vacations,' *Oamaru Mail*, 30 December 1911. 2; 'EDUCATION: SPECIAL SCHOOLS, AND INFANT LIFE PROTECTION.' *AJHR*, 1910 Session I, E-04. 3.

⁵⁰² Miller, 'Identifying with Empire.' 3. 'From its first publication until the early thirties, an average of about thirty per cent of the space of the *Journal* was devoted to imperial, military and other 'patriotic' topics.' (D.R. Jenkins). E.P. Malone, 'The New Zealand School Journal and The Imperial Ideology,' *The New Zealand Journal of History* 7, no. 1, April 1973. 14.

⁵⁰³ James Belich and Lydia Wevers, *Understanding New Zealand Cultural Identities*, Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 2008. 3.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 24.

⁵⁰⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, London & New York: Verso, 1991. 26.

⁵⁰⁶ 'Letters from the Little Folk,' *Otago Witness*, 10 September 1913. 67.

strengthened as interactions such as these increase with members and non-members of that group.⁵⁰⁷ That Anderson's categorisation implies an emotional component is important,⁵⁰⁸ and the impact was real. 'Like all loyal Britishers, I was very sorry to see the last of the New Zealand,' a child correspondent wrote to the 'Dot's Little Folk' column published weekly in the *Otago Witness*.⁵⁰⁹ The visit of *HMS New Zealand* was thus a largely unparalleled opportunity for creating a powerful shared memory of patriotic experience and the result of loyal imperial service anchored in both the physical and the intangible.

Two weeks after the Captain's letter was published, he delivered an embellished version to an estimated 6000⁵¹⁰ primary school children in the Auckland Town Hall. The event was pulled together at short notice by the 'local branch of the New Zealand Educational Institute' who were reportedly 'so impressed' by Halsey's oratory that they wished for 'the older pupils of the primary schools ... an opportunity of being addressed on the subject of Imperialism by so able and direct a speaker on the matter.'⁵¹¹ Halsey did not disappoint. He anchored his address with the Union Jack describing its meaning as "'union," and "union" meant "strength" ... the three crosses of St. George, St. Patrick, and St. Andrew, meaning respectively husbandman, nobleman, and true manliness.' Connecting with the brave and proud examples of Cook's landfall in New Zealand, New Zealand's role in the South African war, and the recent tragedy of Scott's Antarctica expedition, Halsey emphasised again for the children that 'they could only [contribute as much to the Empire as their parents had] by living the lives that their King expected them to live.'⁵¹² This included 'every man and boy' removing their headwear when the National Anthem was played out of respect for the King and to 'show that he is a patriotic Britisher.'⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁷ Benedict, Anderson, 'Imagined Communities' in *The Origins of Nationalism*, 48-60 (editor and publication details unknown), accessed 5 December 2018. <https://www2.bc.edu/marian-simion/th406/readings/0420anderson.pdf>. Note this does not appear to be the publication, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (2012), edited by Caspar Hirschi.

⁵⁰⁸ Although emotional connections to and perceptions of community, even if unconscious, are also part of what can make communities difficult to define.

⁵⁰⁹ Correspondent 'LADY IDA'. 'Letters from the Little Folk,' *Otago Witness*, 6 August 1913. 67.

⁵¹⁰ 'Captain Halsey's Advice to Scholars,' *Thames Star*, 8 May 1913. 5. Other reports halve this number. 'Patriotism,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 8 May 1913. 7.

⁵¹¹ 'The School Gathering,' *Auckland Star*, 6 May 1913. 5.

⁵¹² 'Patriotism,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 8 May 1913. 7.

⁵¹³ *Waikato Argus*, 9 May 1913. 2. This comment by 'the genial sailor' was referenced again later in the year in relation to an event where hats remained on heads during the National Anthem. 'It does not appear,' commented the reporter, 'that everything - even respect - is being taught in the schools.' 'Lake Wakatip Mail,' *Lake Wakatip Mail*, 16 December 1913. 2.

Like the State, churches had also long recognised the value of children’s agency in shaping social attitudes, sentiments and behaviours and had not been reticent in harnessing the energy and particular certainty of children in the service of adult goals. Religious leaders in New Zealand understood that childhood was the best time to teach desired values and behaviours, and so were invested in developing the character of their young followers who would be the foundation of the future church. In April 1913, during remarks delivered at the annual meeting of the Te Wai Pounamu Association, which administered the Ohoka School for Maori Girls, Anglican Bishop Churchill Julius clearly articulated the principle. ‘The only hope for the Maori,’ he said, ‘was to get hold of the young people ... if they were going to exercise a strong and lasting influence on the race, they must get hold of the children and train the children up in fear of the Lord, and give them a sound and wholesome education.’⁵¹⁴ All denominations had active programmes of enrolling and activating child ‘missionary regiments,’ in which both boys and girls participated. New Zealand had 257 Christian Endeavour and similar societies by 1907 each devoted to recruiting missionary volunteers.⁵¹⁵ A debate on the desirability of teaching the Bible in schools was live in 1913⁵¹⁶ and as divisive as it arguably continues to be 100 years later.⁵¹⁷ The drive of the churches to develop a sense of missionary awareness and responsibility amongst children that would ‘last a lifetime’⁵¹⁸ ran parallel to the State’s focus on embedding prescribed concepts of patriotism and duty in its youthful citizens. The secular and religious quests for children’s minds and allegiance simultaneously competed against and supported each other, twin pillars of empire. In a sense it could be said that the battlecruiser embodied both. Ceremonial occasions from Empire Day⁵¹⁹ to end-of-year school picnics,⁵²⁰ together with the recreational and

⁵¹⁴ ‘Helping the Maori,’ *Press*, 30 April 1913. 11. Although specifically referencing Maori children, this sentiment was also applied to Pakeha children. In a public address at the end of 1912 Henry Hill, inspector of schools for the Hawke’s Bay Education Board, opposed Bible teaching during the school hours set aside for secular education, noting the Education Department was already doing a good job of providing ‘guides in bringing [children] up in a high moral life,’ via, specifically, the *School Journal*. Quoting a passage from a recent volume he said, ‘such matter was likely to influence children for good without making them feel as though they were different from each other.’ ‘Bible in Schools,’ *Hastings Standard*, 21 December 1912. 5

⁵¹⁵ Hugh Morrison, “‘Little Vessels’ or ‘Little Soldiers:’ New Zealand Protestant Children, Foreign Missions, Religious Pedagogy and Empire, c.1880s-1930s,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 3, June 2011. 307.

⁵¹⁶ ‘Bible in Schools,’ *Hastings Standard*, 21 December 1912. 5; ‘Bishop Crossley,’ *Stratford Evening Post*, 13 May 1913. 5. The Bishop of Auckland was not the only cleric to advocate for religious instruction in the schoolroom. In addition, newspaper correspondence carried much public contribution to the debate, for example: ‘Letters to the Editor,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 5 April 1913. 9

⁵¹⁷ Tina Carlson, ‘The curious case of religious education in New Zealand schools,’ *The SpinOff*, 4 April 2017, accessed 8 October 2017. <https://thespinoff.co.nz/parenting/04-04-2017/the-curious-case-of-religious-education-in-new-zealand-schools/>.

⁵¹⁸ Morrison, “‘Little Vessels’ or ‘Little Soldiers.’” 303-321. 309.

⁵¹⁹ For example, Empire Day 1905: ‘Empire Day,’ *Evening Star*, 24 May 1905. 4.

⁵²⁰ ‘School Vacations,’ *Oamaru Mail*, 30 December 1911. 2.

denominational reading matter available to the children, further reinforced the ideas they absorbed from their immediate environments and daily experiences.

Contributions by children themselves to the popular newspaper children's pages and the editorial responses to those letters repeated the moral and practical themes of service and duty, particularly the ideals of manliness and masculinity.⁵²¹ While the vessel itself was overtly symbolic of imperial strength, the crew also could be seen to embody the concept of 'muscular Christianity', which was effectively *masculine* Christianity linking manliness and healthy physical activity to faith.⁵²² 'True manliness' featured in Halsey's speeches to children. Regarding faith, services were held on board every Sunday for the different denominations represented among the men, and guest clerics preached sermons on board when opportunity permitted.⁵²³ The *New Zealand's* chaplain, the Rev. J. Henry Scott, sixth in the order of seniority⁵²⁴ on the vessel, also appeared to be involved in managing sporting fixtures as part of his pastoral care role. At least one published communication was signed as 'hon. Sec. Association Football.'⁵²⁵

Halsey appeared to focus his direct engagements with the nation's children on civil loyalty. However, he did touch on faith indirectly in his Auckland speech to school children, and more specifically, albeit briefly, in a subsequent speech in Wellington in June 1913 to 'Nearly five thousand persons, the majority school children.'⁵²⁶ In both speeches he referenced the patron saints of the British Isles, and in Auckland he 'quoted from Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome"' in honouring the deceased Antarctic explorers. 'How can a man fare better than by facing fearful odds, For the

⁵²¹ When 'Dot's Little Folk' correspondent 'BROWN EYES' wrote in March 1913 that it was sad 'Captain Scott and his men meeting their deaths as they did,' 'Dot' replied 'not altogether sad ... it was too great and splendid to be entirely sad. Don't you feel proud of him? I do.' In reply to 'HAPPY JIM's' similar comment in the same column, 'Dot' was even more specific, writing 'each member of the expedition must be ... very proud of him and his companions for the splendid example of how a man may die.' 'Dot's Little Folk,' *Otago Witness*, 26 March 1913. 69.

⁵²² Note that for many people muscular Christianity did not embody overt militarism. Peter Thomson of Nelson who supported his son's failure to register for compulsory military training in 1911, quoted scripture on more than one occasion in publicly expressing his opposition to the requirements of the Defence Act (1909). 'A Prosecution at Nelson,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 15 July 1911. 5; 'Compulsory Military Training,' *Colonist*, 25 July 1911. 3; 'Correspondence,' *Colonist*, August 1911. 4.

⁵²³ For example, the Bishop of Nelson on Sunday 8 June 1913. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 9 June 1913. 5. The crew nicknamed the vessel's three funnels 'Faith, Hope and Charity,' with the largest being 'Charity.' 'Our Ship,' *Auckland Star*, 14 April 1913. 6. While this was 'a whimsical jest,' it was also evidence of the role of faith in the imperial story. The names were faithfully repeated without irony in essays children submitted for the essay competitions related to the battleship. For example, A. Harkness, Nelson (12 years), Sabina Hayman, South Canterbury (Standard V), Ethel Ross, Alexandra. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 24 June 1913. 2; 'Essay Competition,' *Oamaru Mail*, 27 June 1913. 7; 'Prize Essay,' *Alexandra Herald and Central Otago Gazette*, 9 July 1913. 5.

⁵²⁴ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Lyttelton Times*, 12 May 1913. 7.

⁵²⁵ 'The Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 29 April 1913. 4.

⁵²⁶ 'Flag of Empire,' *New Zealand Times*, 14 June 1913. 7.

ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods?’⁵²⁷ However, Halsey concluded the meeting in Wellington by quoting the battlecruiser’s mottos, one of which was “‘Fear God; Honor (sic) the King.” If they feared God always, and honoured the King always, all would go well with the great Empire to which they belonged.’⁵²⁸ The occasion of this latter speech by Halsey was the presentation of a Union Jack from Wellington School in Shropshire, England, to the schools of Wellington, New Zealand. Flags were certainly a symbol of imperial solidarity. It was not uncommon practice for imperial ties to be emphasised through gifts from a group in one nation to that of another and flags were favourite exchanges. ‘The idea of exchanging flags between children in remote parts of the Empire was one of which he heartily approved,’ Halsey said. ‘For the children of New Zealand had to remember New Zealand was just as much a part of the Empire as the Motherland was.’ This meeting, which ‘was more in the nature of a patriotic demonstration, and as such was a distinct success,’ was not unique. In 1912, the Chief Scout, Lieut.-Gen. Baden Powell, had also presented a flag from British children to New Zealand counterparts.⁵²⁹

Importantly, what becomes evident in the discussion is that the desired core messages of State and the Church were so entangled, and their delivery so comprehensive, that Halsey’s young audience in 1913 was certainly as familiar as their parents with the themes with which they were presented during the *New Zealand’s* visit. If not at home, children had been taught these messages through their lessons at school and Sunday School,⁵³⁰ and through child-focused opportunities and activities such as those provided in the Boy Scouts, School Cadets,⁵³¹ the Victoria League and Girls Peace Scouts for girls, and the non-discriminatory Navy League. The Victoria League in particular promoted intra-empire connections and New Zealand administrators were keen to embrace other opportunities that reinforced for children their individual place and responsibility

⁵²⁷ ‘Patriotism,’ *Poverty Bay Herald*, 8 May 1913. 7.

⁵²⁸ ‘Flag of Empire,’ *New Zealand Times*, 14 June 1913. 7.

⁵²⁹ ‘Big Scout Rally,’ *Dominion*, 31 May 1912. 3; ‘A Token of Brotherhood: The Chief Scout Presenting Wellington Boy Scouts with a Flag from the Scouts of Wellington, England,’ *Auckland Weekly News*, Supplement, 6 June 1912. 4.

⁵³⁰ Where ‘imperial sentiments’ were entwined with ‘Sunday School pedagogy and missionary rhetoric.’ Morrison, “‘Little Vessels” or “Little Soldiers.”” 305.

⁵³¹ While there are many minor reports of cadet successes, public appearances and awards, the letter from Col. G. C. B. Wolfe, O.C. Auckland Military District in May 1912 is indicative of the tenor of the cadet movement. Following a parade in Auckland of cadets and boy scouts for inspection by the Chief Scout, Lieut.-Gen. Baden-Powell during his visit to New Zealand, the Colonel wrote of his pleasure in the conduct of the junior scouts commanded by Maj. J. Robb. ‘Let them realise,’ he wrote, ‘that they are coming forward as the first fruits of the Empire for defence.’ ‘The Australian Navy,’ *Auckland Star*, 1 June 1912. 4. The parade was reported in a number of dailies. ‘Chief Scout’s Visit,’ *New Zealand Herald*, V21 May 1912. 4.

within the wider system of empire while encouraging the feeling of inclusion in a supranational 'family.' 'Magister,' who 'conducted' 'Our Public Schools Column' in the *Otago Daily Times*, strongly promoted civics teaching and could not 'understand how boys and girls can be trained to become good citizens and patriots without a knowledge of local and Empire history.'⁵³² A year earlier in a column devoted to encouraging 'children to undertake duties connected with citizenship and patriotism,' and to raising support for public-spirited activities and organisations including the Navy League, Magister wrote compellingly on the need for the empire to retain supremacy of the seas, telling children, 'The time is probably near at hand when our supremacy is to be challenged, and we shall have to strip to the buff to maintain it. Please help your teachers to start a branch in your school. The subscription is only 1s a year for each boy and girl. You can practise enough self-denial to raise that, can't you?'⁵³³ While some individuals agitated for more history teaching and better 'education in the rudiments of military formation and evolution,' there was more than enough evidence that children received plenty of opportunity to develop the holy trinity of imperialist training: citizenship, empire and patriotism.

HMS New Zealand toured at a time when the characteristics, potential and responsibility of race was a hot topic, with the first local branch of the Eugenics Society starting up in Dunedin in 1910⁵³⁴ followed by Wellington less than a year later. The importance to the empire's continuity of children's physical capability was not overlooked, and physical activity underscored the intellectual teaching in many organisations focused on child participation and development, such as scouting and the Navy League. However, while the importance of proper physical preparation was acknowledged, and the Navy League, for example, encouraged participation by both girls and boys, physical activity in these organisations was unlikely to have been equivalent for both genders. Although the Society for the Protection of Women and Children was working 'to prevent many of the future generation from becoming

⁵³² 'Our Public Schools Column,' *Otago Daily Times*, 27 March 1913. 2.

⁵³³ 'Civics and Patriotism for Children,' *Otago Daily Times*, 29 February 1912. 5.

⁵³⁴ 'The Coming Race,' *Otago Daily Times*, 23 August 1910. 4. The 'science' of physiology underscored contemporary physiology assertions that children were more humanoid than adults. Indeed, in 1910 respected southern educator 'Magister' reported a lecture that summarised a physiological argument that children were more distinctively human than adults and that more needed to be done to mould a truly noble character in the young. 'The Man of the Year Million,' *Tuapeka Times*, 28 February 1894. 5; 'Sentiment and Human Life,' *Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser*, 10 June 1919. 4; 'Our Public Schools Column,' *Otago Witness*, 5 January 1910. 85.

undersized weeds,⁵³⁵ the socially prescribed roles for boys and girls were clear and non-negotiable – and very different. By the end of 1912, as a result of a Royal Commission⁵³⁶ into state education in the dominion, changes in physical education were occurring and ‘compulsory military training as organised in the junior cadets’ was to be replaced by a new scheme of ‘scientific exercises in physical drill’ for all boys and girls in the primary schools. Under the new programme of physical training boys and girls would receive the same regimen up to the age of twelve, but older boys would continue to receive training with a military flavour ‘with a view to their subsequent entrance into the senior cadets,’ whereas older girls would be taught ‘with a view to imbuing them with an appreciation of the value of home life and of impressing them with the special importance of their future lives.’⁵³⁷ The *School Journal* had celebrated Queen Victoria’s personal traits, including ‘true womanly feeling and sympathy,’⁵³⁸ the lack of domestic skills in girls’ education was lamented by the *New Zealand Herald*,⁵³⁹ a comment that ‘all girls should be servants’ was heard at a school prize giving in Wanganui,⁵⁴⁰ and on the day the battlecruiser arrived in the dominion ‘Tohunga’ was editorialising on ‘woman’s true citizenship: to be worked for and cared for while she mothers children.’⁵⁴¹ The gendered nature of the empire was definitely masculine and girls and women had a responsibility to ensure that continued. Within this context, however, it is interesting to note that boys were not prioritised as visitors to the battlecruiser, despite the obvious gender favouritism shown by some adults.⁵⁴²

⁵³⁵ ‘Care of the Babies,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 3 May 1911. 11.

⁵³⁶ ‘Education Commission Appointed,’ *Evening Post*, 27 May 1912. 8. The Commission’s summarised report was widely published: ‘Education Commission’s Report,’ *Manawatu Standard*, 6 August 1912. 2.

⁵³⁷ For boys this meant ‘in addition to the compulsory physical training, to do little squad and company drill (not exceeding half an hour per week of school time), practise shooting with air rifles, varied by lessons in flag-signalling, knotting and splicing, finding the points of the compass, and other similar exercises.’ Training for girls would include, ‘once a week special exercises, including abdominal exercises and balance movements, and breathing exercises in the supine position. Instruction is recommended in elementary physiology... and in personal hygiene, special attention being paid to care of the teeth and the mouth, cleanliness, importance of good habits in eating and drinking, and the value of fresh air and cleanliness in the home. A modified first aid and home nursing course ... and the principles of plain cooking ... with special regard to the price of goods used, to the utilising of cold meat and vegetables, and other means of avoiding waste. Where possible, housewifery should be taught in a hostel or a flat set apart for the purpose. Encouragement will be given to school excursions for the purpose of Nature study and other form of original observation.’ ‘Physical Drill in Public Schools,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 5 November 1912. 5.

⁵³⁸ Miller, ‘Identifying with Empire: *The N.Z. School Journal* from 1907 to 1940.’ 14.

⁵³⁹ ‘Local and General News,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 July 1912. 6. In 1911, Otago University introduced a three-year B.Sc. degree in Home Science and Domestic Arts owing to these concerns. ‘University Council,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 28 February 1911. 3.

⁵⁴⁰ ‘Prize Distributions,’ *Manawatu Standard*, 20 December 1912. 5.

⁵⁴¹ ‘Woman as a Citizen,’ *New Zealand Herald*, 12 April 1913. 15.

⁵⁴² Some educators, for example, referred to opportunities for boys, although whether this was calculated or simply a convenient method of speaking it is not possible to conclude without further research. For example: ‘Country Children and H.M.S. New Zealand,’ *Auckland Star*, 17 April 1913. 6.

Despite Halsey's Auckland comments regarding hats, on formal occasions the country's children could behave as expected and for this they received plenty of positive reinforcement. The performance of Auckland's Junior Cadets at the 1912 parade in honour of Chief Scout Lieut.-Gen. Baden-Powell had caused the heart of the O.C. Auckland Military District to 'bound with pride at the spectacle.'⁵⁴³ In the same way, the Dunedin school children who travelled to Christchurch to see the battlecruiser in Lyttelton⁵⁴⁴ received much official praise for their comportment and behaviour. James Hislop, the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, remarked that the marching of the boys and girls to and from the battlecruiser 'compared favourably with anything he had seen on this or on the other side of the world. The military training of the teachers was also evidenced by the fact that he had not observed one boy who had forgotten to salute the King as he stepped on board the ship.'⁵⁴⁵ A child newspaper correspondent wrote how the ship's 'coming to New Zealand has caused a spirit of patriotism to permeate the heart of the people,'⁵⁴⁶ and the winning entries in the numerous essay competitions⁵⁴⁷ would have gladdened the hearts of any imperialist. Prizes in the *Oamaru Mail's* essay competition were awarded on the basis not only of the account of the battlecruiser's visit, but also for 'an intelligent appreciation of the events which led up to the offer by the Dominion' and a demonstration of 'that patriotic feeling and devotion to the-Empire which ought to animate all British subjects.'⁵⁴⁸

By the time Halsey addressed the school gathering in the Auckland Town Hall, Auckland's children had already had their own special day on the battlecruiser. Children's Days were scheduled at most ports.⁵⁴⁹ Halsey believed that children could

⁵⁴³ Col. G. C. B. Wolfe. 'The Australian Navy,' *Auckland Star*, 1 June 1912. 4.

⁵⁴⁴ As *HMS New Zealand* was not able to enter Otago Harbour, three trainloads of children were taken north to give them an opportunity to go on board. During the battlecruiser's visit to Otago the vessel anchored outside the Heads so the boatloads of visitors would have close up views only of her exterior.

⁵⁴⁵ 'A Happy Day,' *Evening Star*, 20 May 1913. 4. Mr James Hislop, the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, was the Government official with oversight for the organisation of the school visits to the vessel. Also reported offering similar praise was Mr James Dineen, Truant Officer for the Wellington Education district, and Mr Ben M. Wilson, the General Manager of the Tourist Department who accompanied the battlecruiser throughout her tour of the dominion.

⁵⁴⁶ 'Dot's Little Folk' correspondent, 'WINNETOU.' 'Science Notes,' *Otago Witness*, 11 June 1913. 76.

⁵⁴⁷ Branches of the Navy League, schools, community improvement organisations and local newspapers ran essay competitions, but it is interesting to note that the published record suggests such interest was concentrated in the South Island? Examples: The Invercargill Competitions Society, 'An Essay Competition,' *Southland Times*, 5 June 1913. 5; Addington School Committee, 'School Committees,' *Press*, 17 June 1913. 5. The *Oamaru Mail* published the winning essays in its competitions, two boys and two girls in its primary schools' competition and a senior and junior boy in its Waitaki Boys High School competition. 'Essay Competition,' *Oamaru Mail*, 27 June 1913. 7; 'Essay Competition,' *Oamaru Mail*, 17 June 1913. 1.

⁵⁴⁸ 'Essay Competition,' *Oamaru Mail*, 27 June 1913. 7.

⁵⁴⁹ The first children's day was held in South Africa, when 'twenty thousand children, white and coloured,' went on board. Newspaper clipping unattributed and undated. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

be better catered for and saw and learned more without adults in the way.⁵⁵⁰ During these days the only adults allowed on board (except by express invitation) were those charged with the management of young charges, although these limitations did not go completely unchallenged.⁵⁵¹ But the VIP consideration of children was not restricted to Children's Days. In addition to those dedicated days, Captain Halsey's 'very liberal programme' of visitation to the ship throughout the *New Zealand's* cruise opened the ship to children every morning that was practicable (except, for example, on the day before the vessel sailed), while adults were restricted to the afternoons.⁵⁵² The Bluff incident discussed in Chapter Two, and the experience of South Canterbury children during their visit to the battlecruiser in Lyttelton vindicated his position. The experience for those on the South Canterbury journey, as 'selfish' adults on the Lyttelton wharf refused to allow the children to go first and pushed in amongst them creating 'an unholy muddle' that was remarked upon by ship's officer and reporter alike,⁵⁵³ testimony to Halsey's conviction that mixing adults with children was not always conducive to the latter's well-being, educationally or physically.

For most children, the battlecruiser was the first tangible link to the intellectual concept of 'Empire' they had seen, other than flags and in rare instances perhaps, the Governor. The battlecruiser's perceived power rang true to the image that had been built for them of England 'as "mistress of the seas" [with] ambition ... to have a navy equal in strength to any other two combined Powers in the universe,'⁵⁵⁴ and was concrete evidence of 'our earnestness in the Imperial cause.'⁵⁵⁵ But all cliché and florid expression aside, we cannot underestimate the power of the vessel itself to imprint on the children who were lucky enough to visit her: in this sense Halsey and

⁵⁵⁰ 'A Ringing Speech.' *Press*, 14 May 1913. 10.

⁵⁵¹ For example: 'Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Waikato Argus*, 25 March 1913. 2.

⁵⁵² 'Visiting the Battleship,' *Auckland Star*, 30 April 1913. 5.

⁵⁵³ 'There were far more adults than children on the wharves ... The crowd broke the marching children's ranks, and in a few minutes a dense mass of children and adults, irretrievably mixed up, thronged the wharf. The officer in charge for the day became angry, and harangued the adults upon their selfishness, and made sundry other comments that scarcely helped matters along. The adults ... resolutely refused to obey the officer's command to leave the wharf. Eventually the officer, deeming discretion the better part of valour apparently, left the scene of operations, and Mr Hislop, in charge of the gangway, wisely allowed adults and children to scramble up. By this time the Committeemen and teachers had quite lost sight of their scholars, and the children from the various schools and the adults wandered about the battleship more or less happily and aimlessly. Owing to the large crowd aboard, instruction on any useful lines was more or less impossible, and only a few little batches here and there received any information of the sort most useful.' 'New Zealand's New Zealand,' *Temuka Leader*, 22 May 1913. 4.

⁵⁵⁴ Clara Grey, Oamaru North, essay competition prize winner. 'Essay Competition,' *Oamaru Mail*, 27 June 1913. 7.

⁵⁵⁵ John Howard Parr, Form VI., Waitaki Boys' High School. Senior Boys essay competition prize winner. 'Essay Competition,' *Oamaru Mail*, 17 June 1913. 1.

others were right in claiming the experience would be something children would remember for the rest of their lives.⁵⁵⁶ Those who have no experience but their imagination are vulnerable to the air of romance that inevitably surrounds tales of heroes, exploration and adventure, survival and life at sea: ‘There is a fascination about battleships that the youthful mind cannot escape.’⁵⁵⁷ Warships had visited New Zealand ports before, and juvenile members of the Navy League always enjoyed arranged visits.⁵⁵⁸ But in *HMS New Zealand*, children who were brought up on messages of British imperial might, and the mystique of the navy in the service of the ‘greatest empire’, were presented with the material of an everlasting boys’ own adventure: loyal comrades on the edge of danger, a prince among them, and led by a real-life hero, in ‘the biggest warship that has ever entered Australasian waters,’ in fact the first imperial vessel and the dominion’s own at that, complete with big guns. A columnist writing about his visit under the pseudonym ‘Wi’ wrote, ‘My eye rested on one of the big guns, across which some youngsters were straddled.’⁵⁵⁹ A photograph printed in the *Auckland Weekly News* showed such a child,⁵⁶⁰ while another captured a group of children climbing into one of the twelve-inch gun turrets.⁵⁶¹ In the barbette⁵⁶² a sailor explained the guns. ‘His business was to teach the young idea [sic] how to shoot ... All of this information was absorbed greedily by small boys and small girls, for that was exactly what they wanted to know.’⁵⁶³ Another noted that ‘Jack Tar, left to his own devices, was not backward in his historic privilege of yarn spinning. Thus, one little batch of girls were informed that the cutlasses were frequently in bloodthirsty use.’⁵⁶⁴

However, while children were clearly able to learn and repeat the lessons with which their environment bombarded them, there must be a question over how much they

⁵⁵⁶ Sixteen-year old essay competition winner John Howard Parr showed his attention to the reportage by borrowing Halsey’s phrase, claiming the ‘joy of welcoming our first material contribution to Britannia’s bulwarks’ as ‘the “red letter” day of our Imperial connections.’ ‘Essay Competition,’ *Oamaru Mail*, 17 June 1913. 1.

⁵⁵⁷ ‘Children’s Day,’ *Star*, 15 May 1913. 4. Indeed, in 1911, the *New Zealand Times* published a quote from Sir Charles Warren GCMG, KCB, FRS, retired British soldier, Commissioner of the Metropolitan police, and supporter of the Boy Scout movement: ‘In spite of the softness of our present elementary school system, in spite of the efforts of societies which go in for softness in education, in spite of the influence of our clubs in which the principal feature is a billiard-table, the yearning and desire for a life of adventure is strongly embedded in our youth.’ ‘Thoughts of Thinkers,’ *New Zealand Times*, 10 July 1912. 6.

⁵⁵⁸ For example, to *HMS Drake*, flagship of the Australasian Station, in late 1912. ‘HMS Drake at Wellington - visited by juvenile members of the Navy League,’ ALHC, NZG-19121211-18-2. Taken from the *New Zealand Graphic*, 11 December 1912. 18.

⁵⁵⁹ ‘The King’s Navee,’ *Dominion*, 16 April 1913. 7.

⁵⁶⁰ ‘The visit of H.M.S. New Zealand to the capital city: Some snapshots from Wellington,’ ALHC, AWNS-19130501-3-1. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1913. 3.

⁵⁶¹ ‘The Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand to Auckland: Some of the closing scenes,’ ALHC, AWNS-19130515-3-1. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 May 1913. 3.

⁵⁶² Armoured housing at the base of a gun turret.

⁵⁶³ ‘Children’s Day,’ *Star*, 15 May 1913. 4.

⁵⁶⁴ ‘New Zealand’s New Zealand,’ *Temuka Leader*, 22 May 1913. 4.

actually understood. The available resources suggest that children responded to the diet of planned and incidental imperial education in much the same way as children today to any programme of instruction. That is to say, in varying ways and degrees of seriousness. For most, their enduring memory of the 'red-letter day' would perhaps be cemented as much by more childlike concerns as by patriotic emotion and wonder. Trips, picnics and sightseeing with plenty of treats were established methods of engaging children. In 1877 during a visit to Wellington, Bishop John Selwyn of the Melanesian Mission treated local Anglican children to a day's cruise on the mission ship *Southern Cross*, with 'an unlimited supply of buns, ginger-beer etc.'⁵⁶⁵ An outing with a bit of fun and excitement and a chance to break out appealed to children then as much as it does today.⁵⁶⁶ In 1913 what New Zealand's children really longed for was the opportunity referred to in the *New Zealand Herald's* leader of 3 May: the chance to get their feet (and hands) on the battlecruiser itself. At least one local reporter understood that for all the political teaching which children 'could discuss more or less glibly in [their] arch ignorance,' what mattered was the 'gorgeous and unlimited fun of the thing.' In a lively, entertaining and perceptive piece the reporter describes Auckland's Children's Day from the perspective of 'Tommy' and 'his good many sisters.'

'... the warship represented a day out of school, novelty, and sixpence to spend in blackjacks, ice cream, and a drink of something sweet and sticky to the palate and vivid of hue. So "Hurrah" for the warship, Imperialism, and patriotic fervour, whatever they might stand for, now, to-morrow, and forever, but chief and firstly, now. For the day and Tommy's spirits were gloriously in unison: he had ridden down in a tramcar marked "Special," and there was the ship awaiting his young pleasure to riot over her.'⁵⁶⁷

The report noted it would not be possible to predict how the visit would be processed and what the educational outcome would be 'unless you be another Tommy,' but

⁵⁶⁵ 'The Mission Vessel and the Sunday Schools,' *Evening Post*, March 1877. 2. Quoted also in Morrison, "'Little vessels" or "little soldiers."' 308.

⁵⁶⁶ Even adults were not immune to such pleasures. A teacher on the South Canterbury children's train trip to Lyttelton was surprised on the journey dancing for her pupils' entertainment while wearing one of the boys' caps. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Lyttelton Times*, 20 May 1913. 7.

⁵⁶⁷ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 5 May 1913. 7.

nevertheless presented a realistic snapshot of children's preoccupations⁵⁶⁸ and opportunistic behaviour, astutely recorded the different levels of seriousness shown by the girls, many of whom came equipped with notebooks and collected a 'fearsome collection of facts.' The examiner of the essays submitted to the Temuka branch of the Navy League noted wryly that 'many of the candidates had refreshed their memories and got up full particulars from the School Journal' which made marking difficult, although he also remarked that while 'the boys noticed most details ... the girls were "superior in language and style."' ⁵⁶⁹ But a sense of humour remained, and the publishing of 'some howlers' from essays showed that what children understand is not necessarily what was intended.⁵⁷⁰ That many girls were winners of the various essay competitions is interesting in view of their perceived role in New Zealand society. But several newspaper reports had remarked on the engagement and enthusiasm shown by girls.

'The little girl has as keen an imagination, and is as staunch a patriot as the little boy, and she finds her own peculiar joys in wandering upstairs and downstairs about a warship. Yesterday the girls who went aboard the New Zealand seemed even more anxious than the boys, if that were possible, to see everything that was to be seen, and to learn all about everything. They, as well as the boys, felt the lure of "the beauty and mystery of the ships and the magic of the sea."' ⁵⁷¹

The first and second prize winners of one competition were both girls.⁵⁷²

Interestingly, of the three winners of the essay competition to describe the Otago

⁵⁶⁸ For the children this was all a distraction from the important realities of their lives: 'the serious problems of life, like football, the marble season, the home-work nightmare, and his impending hostilities with Johnny Smith ... [Tommy] had two ambitions fixed in his facile head as with his company he boarded the ferry steamer. He wanted hugely to see "Pelorus Jack," likewise the monkey, which privately-acquired information assured him was on board ... it was Tommy's day out, and he meant to make the most of it. He swarmed everywhere that was swarmable, gaily and irresponsibly. If there was a wheel to turn, and there are many, he turned it, surreptitiously until he discovered that the official eye looked on indulgently ... Tommy left most of the technical inquiries to his sister.' *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁹ 'Prize Essay Competition,' *Temuka Leader*, 28 June 1913. 3.

⁵⁷⁰ Examples include: 'The "New Zealand" was built on the Clyde by a large number of New Zealanders who were then at Home. She was presented by the people of England to the Imperial Government of New Zealand ... The New Zealand is 800 yards long, 400 yards wide, and has armour plate 12 feet thick. She cost £20,000. She has four propellers and an udder ... Captain Lionel Halsey is captain of H.M.S. New Zealand, but as he lives by himself in his own apartments the responsibility falls to Commander Grace. Everything on board of her shines like the sun; we then sang Britannia rules the waves.' 'A Dreadnought Essay,' *Taranaki Herald*, 30 July 1913. 7.

⁵⁷¹ 'Children's Day,' *Star*, 15 May 1913. 4.

⁵⁷² Ethel Ross and May Flannery. 'Prize Essay,' *Alexandra Herald and Central Otago Gazette*, 9 July 1913. 5.

children's trip to Lyttelton, the most detail about the vessel was written by a girl – and one third of that was a description of the operation of the 12-inch guns.⁵⁷³

Around 380,000 people boarded the *New Zealand* during the vessel's tour of the country in 1913, based on the battlecruiser's own records (see Official Record of Visitor Numbers, vi) and it has been suggested half-as-many again viewed it from spectator boats or from the shore. This figure seems conservative based on reported numbers at each port of call.⁵⁷⁴ Whatever the actual figures, to have something around 65% of the population turn out is an impressive proportion for a country of just over 1 million souls. There are no figures to suggest what percentage of those who engaged with the ship were children, but published schedules of school visits indicate that most children around the country experienced the *New Zealand* in some way. Given the adult agenda for children's learning and understanding in relation to that experience, a further question regarding the impact of the battlecruiser's visit on children must be the long-term effect. Superficially, most children's comments that are available, primarily through the children's pages of local newspapers, are simple statements of fact that they visited (or did not) and whether they enjoyed the 'trip.'⁵⁷⁵ Few offer more than a sentence or two, and almost all longer comments are descriptive. The scope of this study has necessarily precluded serious effort to look for evidence of the visit's ongoing influence on the choices made by these children as they grew up. However, the request made while the *New Zealand* was still in the country by Bishop Crossley in Auckland on behalf of Maori boys from St Stephen's, and discussed in Chapter Three, offers a glimpse.⁵⁷⁶ Crossley's query may not have resulted from questions he had been asked directly by St Stephen's boys, but it is not too great a stretch to imagine that the battlecruiser

⁵⁷³ 'The School Excursion to Christchurch Prize Essay,' *Otago Witness*, 4 June 1913. 35.

⁵⁷⁴ In Wanganui, for example, on 16 June, the vessel recorded 415 visitors arriving on board in inclement weather. But the railway and local trams carried thousands more to Castlecliff. 'Altogether 40 trains ran between Wanganui and Castlecliff, drawing 181 carriage-loads ... A liberal estimate of the people carried ... has been set down at 7200 ... The municipal-owned tramway service ... worked at full pressure, it being estimated that FIVE THOUSAND TRAM PASSENGERS used the cars to Castlecliff during the day.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Wanganui Herald*, 17 June 1913. 5. The following day in New Plymouth, 1484 individuals set foot on the deck. However, thousands arrived in the hope of experiencing the vessel, or at least viewing it. According to published reports, 'The beach near the harbour was black with people,' and public transport carried around 13000 people to the pier and surrounds. 'Mr. C. F. Day, stationmaster at New Plymouth ... said he estimated that 10,000 persons were carried between New Plymouth station and the Breakwater on the 41 trains which plied between those points. Of this number he estimated that 7000 came in from the country districts, and that 3000 were local people.' 'A Memorable Day,' *Taranaki Herald*, 18 June 1913. 3.

⁵⁷⁵ For example: 'I went up to see H.M.S. New Zealand, and was by no means disappointed with it. It was beautiful inside, but not so outside. I think I have seen everything, as I explored it front the top right down into the stokehold, and everywhere it was spotlessly clean.' 'Science Notes,' *Otago Witness*, 18 June 1913. 74.

⁵⁷⁶ Crossley enquired whether 'young Maoris, like the scholars at St Stephen's' could 'enter the Fleet.'

inspired dreams of joining the imperial navy for any New Zealand boy. One correspondent to the 'Dot's Little Folk' column, who wrote under the pseudonym, 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' commented in July 1917: 'I have three brothers at the front, and am going to try to get away myself. I have already been fined for enlisting under age; but better luck next time.'⁵⁷⁷ However, it is impossible to suggest any connections between the comment, the nom-de-plume and the battlecruiser's visit.

It is important to note, however, that not all children accepted the imperial message uncritically. For example, Zena Norton wrote to the *Maoriland Worker* in 1911 when she was about 16 years old, submitting a school essay in which she disputed the Union Jack's association with freedom and championed the Red Flag.⁵⁷⁸ Neither did New Zealand's youths unanimously favour compulsory military training, despite those who failed to register for senior cadet and territorial service under the Defence Act (1909) being fined and/or jailed. At least one of these young rebels, Peter Thomson of Nelson, with the support of his father left the country following his punishment to avoid further issues for lack of compliance with the Act.⁵⁷⁹ Peter Thomson, Snr engaged in a public debate through the letter columns of the Nelson newspapers in July and August 1911 over the question of compulsory military training. In specific relation to the battlecruiser, the limited resources that include unsolicited comments from children suggest not all were positive, although most negativity seemed associated with experiences resulting from bad weather and inadequate time.⁵⁸⁰

The battlecruiser's visit to New Zealand was powerfully evocative for the dominion's children who were being raised in an environment saturated with imperial messages of service and sacrifice. Although it is unlikely to have been a driving motivation for

⁵⁷⁷ 'Dot's Little Folk,' *Otago Witness*, 25 July 1917. 54. This writer is presumably a boy. However, an earlier correspondent, who had written under this nom-de-plume since 1913, was a girl who would have been 17 at the time of this letter based on an earlier reference. 'Dot's Little Folk,' *Otago Witness*, 31 March 1915. 73. 'Dot' generally did not permit two correspondents to use the same pseudonym so it seems possible that the first writer was no longer a member of the 'Little Folk.' That is speculation as I have not yet located any acknowledgements of either an ending or a beginning. However, the 1913-16 'H.M.S. NEW ZEALAND' lived in Awarua / Greenhills (Invercargill environs), and the 1917 correspondent in Momona (Dunedin). Writers did move around, but as Awarua to Momona is quite a distance (although not impossible) and as reference does not appear to have been made to a household move, the suggestion of a different writer seems more likely.

⁵⁷⁸ Zena Norton attended Waihi School and the essay competition had been organised by the school's headmaster during the period of industrial unrest. 'In Our Opinion,' *Maoriland Worker*, 28 July 1911. 11; 'The Union Jack,' *Maoriland Worker*, 28 July 1911. 13; 'To Zena Norton,' *Maoriland Worker*, 11 August 1911. 7.

⁵⁷⁹ 'A Prosecution at Nelson,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 15 July 1911. 5; 'Fined £5,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 22 July 1911. 1; 'Father Abets His Son to Defy the Law,' *Grey River Argus*, 4 August 1911. 2.

⁵⁸⁰ For example, in writing to 'Dot's Little Folk' 'BUTTERCUP' said, 'about a dozen of the local school children made the trip; but most of them were disappointed, as they spent all their time waiting to get aboard the steamers, and failed in the end to see the battleship.' 'Dot's Little Folk,' *Otago Witness*, 13 August 1913. 67.

the cruise, it is one of the strongest indicators of the tenor of the times that the ship's captain, local government authorities, educators, newspapermen and other opinion makers all agreed on the importance of getting children to the *New Zealand*. There can be no doubt that despite clear gender differentiation in roles, the country's children were encouraged to absorb an expectation of duty, loyalty and service to God, to the King (and empire), to the country and to parents, in that order.

Chapter Five

Wowers, strife-mongers and mischievous agitators: Dissenting voices in the dominion

*'... the approach of the battleship ...
has been the signal for much oiling of knees.'*⁵⁸¹

*'According to our local papers we are
all intensely excited about it ...'*⁵⁸²

A parable of peace published in the *Free Lance's* 1913 Christmas Annual sketched a new world in which the only violent confrontations involved the 'Peace Leaguers ... shying missiles' at those who expressed an alternative view, and 'New Zealand's only battleship, the *Jimallen*, lay rusting in Wellington harbour.'

'... in the year 1921 ... The New Zealand Defence Department was in "very reduced" circumstances ... In the previous year, the Webb⁵⁸³ Government (Hon. J. Payne, Minister of Defence) had repealed the Defence Act, disbanded the Territorials and cadets, outlawed the Boy Scout movement, given the Permanent Artillery a year's holiday, and brought down the Headquarters Staff to ... Major-General [Godley], Major "Jacky" [Hughes], and a lady stenographer-typist ... Peace – gentle, meek and dove-eyed peace – had since brooded over the Dominion.'⁵⁸⁴

But there was a sting in the tail. Those 'minions of capitalism' who had long warned that peace could only be secured and maintained through military superiority were right. When Christmas Day dawned, New Zealand had been invaded and was in thrall to a Germany which had 'adopted the unheard-of policy' of attacking in a time of peace. Alas, Halsey, the *New Zealand* and the British fleet were too far away to help. The story-teller was Auckland poet, journalist, sometime editor,⁵⁸⁵ and

⁵⁸¹ 'Heard and Said,' *Maoriland Worker*, 18 April 1913. 8.

⁵⁸² Tom Bloodworth in 'Auckland Chronicles,' *Maoriland Worker*, 16 May 1913. 2.

⁵⁸³ Patrick (Paddy) Webb, president of the United Federation of Labour.

⁵⁸⁴ 'An Anti-Military Christmas: How Wellington Enjoyed "Peace on Earth,"' *Free Lance*, 27 December 1913, Supplement. 32.

⁵⁸⁵ Of the *New Zealand Times*, the *Observer*, and the *Ashburton Guardian*. *West Coast Times*, 14 January 1907. 2; 'Pars about People,' *Observer*, 23 August 1913. 4; 'The Guardian,' *Ashburton Guardian*, 10 July 1911. 3.

Armageddonist⁵⁸⁶ John Liddell Kelly.⁵⁸⁷ Kelly had been a widely published poet since the late nineteenth century, although interest may have hit a publishing peak with his doomsday writings through 1913. Despite appearing to support the rights of labour⁵⁸⁸ he was nevertheless intolerant of anti-militarist sentiments, possibly influenced by his concept of how the world was likely to end. In Kelly's 1913 tale of misplaced trust, the crusade responsible for the unwise change in the collective worldview and the subsequent gutting of the country's defence structure had been successfully effected by 'the Anti-Militarists,'⁵⁸⁹ with the help of prohibitionists, 'other extremists' and the women's vote. The story, however, was not a complete fiction. It neatly encapsulated the defence-related conflicts, utopian goals, and fears that had been expressed over the previous twelve months by those on both sides of the storm that characterised the dominion's political environment in 1913. This year might almost be seen as a watershed for the political left, and Kelly's story, while absurd, highlighted the military preoccupations of those factions at the more extreme left of the political spectrum. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect protest to have been marshalled against the presence of the *New Zealand*. And there was dissent. Just not much of it, and not initiated so obviously by those people that Kelly's story suggested would be vociferously protesting the presence of the battlecruiser.

Political dissent regarding the *New Zealand* in 1912 and 1913 appears largely to have been defined along Liberal/Reform party lines. This thesis has already referenced the fundamental disagreement between these parties regarding the 1909 gifting of the

⁵⁸⁶ 'The Churches,' *Lyttelton Times*, 2 November 1912. 5. Kelly published complicated calculations to prove his thesis: 'If the interpretation of the "times" be correct, we are living in the midst of the 30 years of disquiet that are to be the prelude to the end. As it was in the days before the Flood, so it is now.' 'The Time of the End,' *New Zealand Times*, 28 June 1913. 9. Shortly after Christmas 1913 he concluded 'that Sir Ian Hamilton missed the one obvious and all-sufficient reason for the rush to arms, not only here but all the world over, viz., a knowledge that the terrific battle of Armageddon is due to arrive before the advent of the millennium age. The date of that tremendous world conflict, as nearly as can be ascertained from a study of prophecy and chronology, is about the year 1928, A.D., or just fourteen years from now.' 'Sir Ian Hamilton and the Millennium,' *New Zealand Times*, 19 May 1914. 6. Kelly belonged to the Order of the Star in the East. Founded in 1911 in India and dissolved in the late 1920s, the Order (originally named Order of the Rising Sun), existed to prepare the world for the imminent advent of a great spiritual teacher.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Mr J. L. Kelly, formerly of Auckland, has been writing to a West Coast paper to show that they have mixed him up with some other member of "the Kelly gang." But the West Coast bangs John L. over the head after this cold-blooded style: "Who is the J. Liddell Kelly who writes erotic and tommyrotic verses from this country to the Sydney Bulletin?"' 'What the Papers Say,' *Observer*, 23 April 1898. 4.

⁵⁸⁸ 'The Wisdom of the Poor Man,' *New Zealand Herald*, 17 May 1913, Supplement. 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Led by P. J. O'Regan, Robert (Bob) Semple 'the "Red Fed." Organizer', Robert Hogg 'the Socialist' and "Tailor" Bedford. W.S. Bedford, Wellington tailor and 'small businessman' elected to the executive of the Trades and Labour Council in March 1913, and a candidate for the Wellington Council on the full Labour ticket headed by ex-MP David McLaren, who was duly elected Mayor.

battlecruiser. In 1912 the unorthodox⁵⁹⁰ manner in which the offer was made to the Imperial Government, effectively leaving the New Zealand Parliament no other option than to ratify the offer without satisfaction or unification, remained a sore point for many opposition MPs. During the two parliamentary confidence debates that took place in the first half of 1912, the gift of the vessel was revisited on several occasions as one of the sticks with which to beat the Liberal government. Massey was blunt in calling it 'perhaps the worst instance [he] could imagine' of government arrogance.⁵⁹¹ He agreed with Ward's assertion that 'not one of [the Opposition] voted against it,' but emphasised this was only once the motion was amended from one of approval to one of confirmation.⁵⁹²

Based on Hansard, the Labour MPs largely stayed clear of the debate. During the Address in Reply debate in February 1912, Ward said he included the Labour members in the Liberal stable, noting that he regarded Liberal and Labour as 'the natural allies.'⁵⁹³ Three of the labour-aligned members⁵⁹⁴ apparently saw no reason to disabuse this notion or to add their positions to the battlecruiser gifting argument, at least not that was officially recorded. The notable exception was the voluble John Payne, Labour MP for Grey Lynn, who, despite declaring himself pleased with the gift, accused Ward of autocracy with respect to the Dreadnought saying, 'Such an action would not have been done by the Czar of Russia.'⁵⁹⁵ He still voted in support of the Liberal government in the ensuing no-confidence vote. Independent MPs were also vocal, perhaps feeling less constrained by party politics. Independent Liberal

⁵⁹⁰ 'There can be no question that the honourable gentleman did utilize means which he ought not to have used to rouse the country – not Parliament itself, for he ignored Parliament – with regard to the Dreadnought offer ... Why did not the honourable gentlemen call Parliament together and ask whether Parliament was willing that a Dreadnought should be given? That would have been the honourable thing to do.' J. Allen, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, vol. 157. 82-3.

⁵⁹¹ 'Possibly,' Massey said, there are people 'who think that patriotism covers a multitude of sins. I am one of those who consider that the gift of the Dreadnought would have been just as patriotic, or more so, if Parliament had been ... consulted and had made the gift to the Imperial Government, because then it would have been the gift of the people through their representatives - it would not have been the gift of one man, as has been stated by some of the papers in England.' W.F. Massey, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 57.

⁵⁹² Allen pushed the point home. 'We could not have voted against [it] without breaking faith with the Mother Country. Was any man here going to repudiate the definite offer made to the Mother Country?' J. Allen, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 83.

⁵⁹³ J. Ward, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 77.

⁵⁹⁴ Alfred Hindmarsh, Wellington South, leader of the parliamentary Labour Party, John Robertson, Otaki, and Bill Veitch who was Independent Labour MP for Wanganui. The Labour Party men in the House represented the moderate Labour movement, opposed to militant labourism. The party was one 'with a sense of its responsibilities,' more in touch with 'the ordinary person, who makes up about 99 per cent of the population,' according to 'That vigorously-written Auckland publication, "The Voice of Labour"— "the only Labour paper in New Zealand," to quote from its own title-page ...' *West Coast Times*, 4 March 1913. 2.

⁵⁹⁵ J. Payne, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 166.

Leonard Isitt,⁵⁹⁶ along with Harry Atmore,⁵⁹⁷ both rebuked Ward and the government for the Premier's 'impulsiveness [that] led him to do the right thing in the wrong way.'⁵⁹⁸ Isitt was scathing but even-handed in his

'legitimate criticism. The Opposition has condemned very, very strongly the gift of a Dreadnought, as to the manner of it. I go further than they do. I condemn both the gift and the manner of it. I notice, too, that the Opposition are intensely indignant over the autocracy manifested by the Prime Minister in giving that Dreadnought provisionally before he called the House together. Has it never struck any members of the Opposition that there are some people in the country who think the action of the House equally autocratic in giving that vast sum of money away without consulting the country?'⁵⁹⁹

Upon Reform's accession to the government in July 1912, *HMS New Zealand* as a parliamentary combative tool might reasonably have disappeared from debate for the remainder of the session, and this appears largely to have been the case. Other than a long speech by Ward on 16 October during the Defence Amendment Bill debate, when he explained his position on New Zealand's naval aspirations vis-à-vis Britain at the time of the battlecruiser's gifting,⁶⁰⁰ the discussions moved on to passing references to the vessel in relation to ongoing naval expenditure, government borrowing, and an artwork. Curiously, the coming visit did not feature in parliamentary debates as recorded in Hansard.⁶⁰¹ The new government had plenty of local issues to focus on, including ongoing industrial unrest and the issues surrounding labour, and the fallout surrounding the Defence Act and the military training scheme,⁶⁰² and the extended parliamentary season reflected their intention to get down to business.⁶⁰³ The variety of issues to get to grips with, and the

⁵⁹⁶ MP for Christchurch North, Methodist Minister, prohibitionist and 'perhaps the greatest orator in New Zealand.' Allan K. Davidson, 'Isitt, Leonard Monk,' *DNZB*, published 1996, accessed 22 June 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/312/isitt-leonard-monk>. Not to be confused with the biography also in *Te Ara* for Isitt's son of the same name, written by David M. Crooks and first published in *Te Ara* in 2000.

⁵⁹⁷ Independent, Nelson.

⁵⁹⁸ H. Atmore, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 314.

⁵⁹⁹ L. Isitt, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 191.

⁶⁰⁰ J. Ward, *NZPD*, vol. 161. 267.

⁶⁰¹ Other than Timaru's intention to present a flag, and one question regarding itinerary for the forthcoming visit. J. Craigie, *NZPD*, vol. 158. 149; A.R. Guinness, *NZPD*, vol. 158. 628.

⁶⁰² Other issues of significance were government financing, land acquisition and closer settlement, and the freehold / leasehold debate.

⁶⁰³ Although requesting a short adjournment to orient themselves with the tasks of governance, within four weeks of taking office the Massey ministry nevertheless delivered their first budget. '... not a member of the Ministry had had any previous departmental experience, and Ministers had to deal with large arrears of work-left over by their predecessors. Yet by sticking

concentration of the government's focus on those issues may, in some way, explain the sudden, late recognition in March 1913 that the vessel's arrival was imminent.

Even post-visit, parliamentary dissent in relation to the vessel and its role in New Zealand's defence programme was notable by its absence. During his opening speech for the 1913 session, before the battlecruiser even left the country, the Governor covered off the visit in a single sentence.⁶⁰⁴ Liverpool's curt reference to *HMS New Zealand* did evoke protest during the Address-In-Reply debate. 'What less could you say?' said George Witty, Liberal MP for Riccarton. He sketched the hypocrisy of Reform in speaking out against the gift and then 'tumbling over one another to get to the officers and crew,' while at the same time brazenly refusing to acknowledge Ward or his electorate.⁶⁰⁵ Liberal MP for Avon, G.W. Russell, was the most incensed about what he regarded as the dismissal of 'an event without parallel in the history of our country ... With less notice than is given to the visit of the Canadian Curator of Fisheries ... with a curtness that is both insulting and unpatriotic.'⁶⁰⁶ What Russell achieved with his speech was to revive the rancorous debate regarding the gift of the *New Zealand*, with an emphasis on the government's perceived self-serving behaviour and lack of patriotism. These discussions were not focused on the battlecruiser itself and seemed more about fulfilling the Opposition role of harrying the government - the participants, again, were Liberal and Reform men,⁶⁰⁷ with the exception once more of Payne, who took the opportunity to upbraid Massey.⁶⁰⁸ The other Labour men, Hindmarsh, Robertson and Veitch were conspicuously silent, or

closely to their offices, working often to the small hours of the morning, they have not only got a firm grasp of the public business, but they have brought down so quickly as to constitute a record the financial proposals for the year, and a full statement of their policy for the future.' 'The Reform Budget,' *Press*, 7 August 1912. 8. A *Colonist* leader suggested the new government legitimately could have 'claimed the indulgence of Parliament for a considerably longer period than it did.' 'The Government's Policy,' *Colonist*, 2 August 1912. 4.

⁶⁰⁴ 'The arrival of H.M.S. "New Zealand" was appropriately celebrated, and every possible opportunity was afforded the citizens and school children to visit the ship during her stay in New Zealand waters.' Lord Liverpool, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 5.

⁶⁰⁵ G. Witty, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 176.

⁶⁰⁶ G.W. Russell, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 95-6.

⁶⁰⁷ Several Liberal-oriented newspapers commented along similar lines. Several MPs used the debate to address more substantive issues. Ironically, the longest post-visit speeches that began with a protest about the disrespect shown to the vessel by Liverpool's speech in fact perpetuated the very neglect they purported to protest. They appeared to use the battlecruiser only as a means to introduce what were clearly personal interests. Legislative councillors Charles Mills and John Anstey both took similar advantage. Mills, suggesting 'the ship was the forerunner of what may mean to the world a new naval Power some day (sic),' addressed, in lengthy fashion, Halsey's favouring of Picton as New Zealand's new naval base in preference to Auckland. This was referenced again later by Liberal MP Richard McCallum (Wairau). Anstey proposed the House consider the new 'aerial destroyers' as much more cost-effective for a small country than building dreadnoughts. C. Mills, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 131-2; R. McCallum, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 512; J. Anstey, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 138.

⁶⁰⁸ 'This matter has already been dealt with by this House, but I do not think it can be dealt with too often. What a spectacle we had when the Dreadnought was here when laudation was in the air - when everybody was praised for having been so patriotic! At a dinner at which the premier was present, and on an occasion on which we can look ordinarily to the premier being able to step beyond the bounds of ordinary party chicanery ... [he] did not have the common honesty to utter one word in regard to the party which presented the Dreadnought to the Old Land. He took all the praise; and in order to get into power he had done all the damage he could in respect to the matter of giving the Dreadnought.' J. Payne, *NZPD*, vol. 162. 261-2.

at least do not appear in the record. It is possible that Payne's belligerence on the subject of the battlecruiser was driven in part by an effort to uphold his self-claimed stance as a man of principle and to regain some mana, following the lambasting he received from critics on both sides of the House in 1912 when he purportedly broke a commitment to vote with Reform on the first no-confidence motion.⁶⁰⁹ In the manner of most who represent minority interests, there may also have been an element of talking loudly to be noticed, as for the independent MPs Isitt and Atmore. The silence from the Labour MPs continued during the ten weeks the *New Zealand* was in the country. Other than Bill Veitch, during this time the Labour MPs do not feature in the public record in relation to the vessel, and Veitch was certainly not protesting the vessel's presence.⁶¹⁰ He advocated for the children of his electorate to get fair opportunity to visit the battlecruiser⁶¹¹ and was himself one of the few who managed to get on board at Castlecliff, where he was photographed sharing 'a good joke' with Halsey.⁶¹²

Outside of the Labour moderates in Parliament, dissent aimed directly at the *New Zealand* also appeared minimal. The political left strongly protested the introduction

⁶⁰⁹ Although the 1911 election returned the Liberal government, Reform had not opposed them in every electorate which meant the result was open to interpretation. According to pro-Reform daily the *Dominion*, it was still 'made plain that the country desired the death of the "Liberal" Government. Forty members were returned by European constituencies with an express command to assist in turning the "Liberals" out—the 47 Reform representatives and Messrs. Veitch, Robertson, and Payne.' 'What the Nation Demands,' *Dominion*, 14 February 1912. 4. Robertson and Veitch both publicly stated they would vote against the Liberal government in the no-confidence motion Massey was to move at the conclusion of his opening speech tabled at the first parliamentary session following the election, although that was not to imply they supported Reform on the current platform. Payne 'declined to make any announcement regarding the position he would take.' 'The Order of Business,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 February 1912. 6; 'Members Who Will Turn the Motion,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 15 February 1912. 6. Members of Payne's electorate expressed concern he would not honour 'his platform pledges.' 'Member for Grey Lynn,' *Auckland Star*, 20 February 1912. 7; 'Squaring the Circle,' *Evening Post*, 20 February 1912. 6; 'Mr. Payne's Pledge,' *Dominion*, 23 February 1912. 5. Payne ultimately voted for the status quo despite declaring he had indeed pledged to support Reform 'no longer ago than Friday week.' 'Mr. Payne Declares Himself,' *Dominion*, 23 February 1912. 6; J. Payne, *NZPD*, vol. 157. 157. The question of an alleged bribe created a furor. 'Mr. Payne's Vote,' *New Zealand Herald*, 24 February 1912. 8. The incident generated a plethora of press disgust with headlines such as 'The Degradation of Parliament' (*Press*, 24 February 1912. 8), 'Dirty Linen' (*Southland Times*, 24 February 1912. 6), 'Political Scandal' (*Thames Star*, 24 February 1912. 2) and 'Demoralised Politics' (*Hawera & Normanby Star*, 24 February 1912. 4), although the *Evening Post* suggested that rather than Payne's reversal, it was Massey's indiscretion in reading the letter suggesting bribery that 'changed the prospect of his party for the no-confidence division,' calling it 'a salutary lesson on the riskiness of touching allegation stock.' Massey subsequently apologised for 'making a grave error.' 'Playing with Fire,' *Evening Post*, 24 February 1912. 4; 'Unreserved Withdrawal,' *Auckland Star*, 27 February 1912. 5. Payne nevertheless received much criticism outside the House, for example: "Even A Worm Will Turn," *Northern Advocate*, 26 February 1912. 5; 'Payne and Penalties,' *Woodville Examiner*, 26 February 1912. 2.

⁶¹⁰ Neither was Veitch opposed, in principle, to the military training. According to the *Wanganui Chronicle*, Veitch 'stepped into Parliament from off the footplate of a locomotive. As a worker he has been in touch with workers all his life; and, speaking with a full sense of the responsibility attaching to his words, ... declared that he "had no time for the man who refused to train for the defence of his country," and intimated his intention of standing loyally by a system which made the necessary training possible on democratic lines.' 'Mr Veitch and Military Training,' *Wanganui Chronicle*, 25 March 1913. 4. During a House debate on a proposed amendment to the Defence Act, Veitch said, 'If the country was worth living in it was worth defending, and every man in the community should take his part in that defending if the necessity came. It was utter nonsense to say that all the labour organizations in the country were opposed to compulsory military training.' A. Veitch, *NZPD*, vol. 160. 183.

⁶¹¹ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 April 1913. 7; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Wanganui Herald*, 14 May 1913. 6.

⁶¹² 'The dreadnaught (sic, legitimate alternative) in southern ports: H.M.S. New Zealand at Wellington and Wanganui.' ALHC, AWNS-19130626-2-4. Taken from the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 June 1913. 2.

of compulsory military training via the Defence Act (1909)⁶¹³, and the role of ‘militarism’ in rising global tensions. A meeting of Otago women in February 1913 had pledged ‘to do all in its power to secure the repeal of the Defence Act,’ calling imperialism ‘the laying of conquered country to conquered country, the domination of the weak by the strong and the extension of the "far-flung battle line."'” The proposer of that motion ‘maintained that New Zealand stood for commonwealth rather than Imperialism.’⁶¹⁴ These wider topics were debated during the January 1913 conference of trade unions,⁶¹⁵ which was attended by representatives of the moderate and radical labour⁶¹⁶ movements, including industrial and political factions, and the Socialist Party stated their position in the party manifesto published subsequent to the conference.⁶¹⁷ The conference was asked at least twice to pass a motion condemning the Defence Act and militaristic policies⁶¹⁸ but that collective action does not appear to have been taken.⁶¹⁹ Before and after the conference, many members of left-aligned organisations freely expressed those opinions and/or risked freedom or earnings in tangible forms of protest. For example, a few weeks after the conference Bob Semple was fined £4 for refusing to provide the age of his son when required under the Defence Act.⁶²⁰ The vessel was specifically referenced by Christchurch ‘moderate’ Labour man, E. F. Shadbolt. In a letter to the editor of the *Press* Shadbolt wrote, ‘Your correspondent asks why the Labour Party opposes the present Defence Act. In the first place it is neither modern nor efficient. A warship like the New Zealand could stand out to sea and reduce all our cities and tin-pot forts to scrap-iron and ashes. Against an attack of this kind, of what use would our

⁶¹³ Amended 1910 (no.21), 1912 (no.20)

⁶¹⁴ ‘Women and Defence,’ *Star*, 21 February 1913. 4.

⁶¹⁵ The conference sought to unify the labour movement.

⁶¹⁶ The difference between these two factions was defined by attitude and approach, ‘revolutionary or wisely evolutionary,’ as the freehold-supportive *Timaru Herald* styled the difference. The moderates were those who wished to work within the arbitration system to resolve disputes, and who positioned themselves as anti-monopoly rather than anti-employer. These trade unions supported the United Labour parliamentary party with the goal of achieving labour progress through political ‘supremacy.’ Radical Labour was embodied in the Federation of Labour, which favoured forcing change through ‘the harsher methods of industrial intimidation, backed by "solidarity," and, in the last resort, by the grim warfare of combined and sympathetic strikes, which has been described as "war without the Geneva Convention."'” ‘Labour in Conference,’ *Timaru Herald*, 12 April 1912. 4; ‘Socialists All,’ *Timaru Herald*, 30 January 1913. 6. Following the second Unity Congress in July 1913, a ‘representative meeting’ of United Labour Party delegates agreed to ‘the continued existence of the party as a rallying ground for the great sane, constitutional, non-revolutionary majority of the workers of New Zealand.’ ‘United Labour Party,’ *Dominion*, 11 July 1913. 3. In an interview, Veitch provided context, voicing disapproval of the Federation’s lack of compromise and dissatisfaction with their majority control of the conference and ‘failure of the Conference to realise ... essential lines of policy for the workers ... "The people of New Zealand are faced today with two great evils - Conservatism on the one hand and Anarchy on the other - and no political party can retain confidence or win it unless it definitely dissociates itself from both extreme elements."'” ‘Labour Ideals,’ *Wanganui Herald*, 14 July 1913. 7.

⁶¹⁷ ‘Manifesto of the N.Z. Socialist Party,’ *Maoriland Worker*, 28 February 1913. 3.

⁶¹⁸ Once by Charles Mackie, secretary of the National Peace Council and regular correspondent to the daily press in all centres, who ‘asked for conference to give a distinct expression of opinion that unless the Act was repealed trouble would be sure to follow.’ ‘Conference of Trade Unions,’ *Maoriland Worker*, 7 February 1913. 2.

⁶¹⁹ ‘Conference of Trade Unions,’ *Maoriland Worker*, 21 February 1913. 8.

⁶²⁰ ‘For King and Country,’ *Otago Daily Times*, 25 February 1913. 8; ‘The Defence Act,’ *Lyttelton Times*, 4 March 1913. 3.

Territorial forces be? The workers have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Territorial force is not intended for the defence of New Zealand ...'⁶²¹

The battlecruiser's visit provided what might seem a perfect canvas on which to focus these defence-related protests, but the opportunity seems to have been taken up by relatively few. A long column in the *Maoriland Worker* by 'Ballot Box' just prior to the vessel's arrival, which railed against the *New Zealand* and the human cost that would be paid by the labouring classes, is a rare example.⁶²² E.J. Howard, President of the New Zealand Socialist Party, was a prolific but reasonably measured newspaper letter writer in support of his organisation's causes. On more than one occasion he referred to the *New Zealand*, but never in the form of a direct attack. His concerns related to the actions of government that enabled the vessel. In defending previous statements that the majority of the people opposed the Defence Act, he described a post-card 'issued in thousands' prior to the last general election that contrasted the man who gave the vessel and those 'who will have to spend the next fifteen years in paying for it,' and asked the presumably rhetorical question, who issued the postcard?⁶²³ Again, in a letter published on the day the battlecruiser arrived in the dominion, Howard declared his support for the Fresh Air Fund for British children, contrasting the benefits of the battlecruiser against the benefits of childhood experience: 'Wave the flags, shout for the Empire, and let the laddies starve! What we have we will hold!'⁶²⁴ A month later, tongue firmly in cheek, he wrote he was 'with the Christians when they advocate giving England another

⁶²¹ 'Correspondence,' *Press*, 16 April 1913. 7. Shadbolt was secretary of the North Canterbury Labour Representation Committee and a frequent contributor to public discussion on a range of issues, including, in March 1913, a vigorous debate of facts vis-à-vis State control of liquor. He claimed to represent 'the ideas of the great majority of people of moderate views and modern ideas,' in his letters on defence and on temperance. 'Defence,' *Lyttelton Times*, February 1913. 4; 'State Control,' *Lyttelton Times*, 11 March 1913. 3. In defending the committee, he wrote, 'This officious, noisy organisation of busy-bodies, and irresponsible nobodies (quoted from your correspondent) represents the largest body of men in Christchurch. On this committee are men who have the confidence of thousands of Christchurch electors.' 'Parent of an Amokura Boy,' *Press*, 7 April 1913. 5. Shadbolt stood unsuccessfully on the Social Democrat ticket for a place on the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board in the 1913 local body elections. 'United Labour Party,' *Lyttelton Times*, 19 April 1913. 16; 'Yesterday's Polls,' *Lyttelton Times*, 1 May 1913. 7.

⁶²² 'The Coming of the Dreadnought,' *Maoriland Worker*, 11 April 1913. 8.

⁶²³ Wright & Carman Ltd, [Postcard], 'The man who gave the Dreadnought, 1911, PUBL-0220-1, ATL. A protest against the presentation of *H.M.S. New Zealand*.

⁶²⁴ 'Who robbed them of their heritage?' Howard asked. 'Fresh Air Fund,' *Lyttelton Times*, 12 April 1913. 4. The Fresh Air Fund is a charity that began in New York in 1877 to provide children of impoverished families living in urban environments the opportunity to enjoy summer experiences in the country. The organization still exists today in the United States. The Fresh Air Fund, 'Our History and Mission,' accessed 26 September 2018. <http://www.freshair.org/history-and-mission>. First reference in New Zealand newspapers appears to have been in 1884 through brief articles, including the report of a young London girl frightened by the novel experience of seeing a tree, and a short story published in southern papers. 'Philanthropy In New York,' *Colonist*, 11 March 1884. 2; 'Local & General News,' *Feilding Star*, 5 January 1884. 2; 'Gales and Sketches. Dot,' *Cromwell Argus*, 12 June 1883. 6. In 1909, an apparent appeal from English newspaper magnate Cyril Arthur Pearson invited New Zealand support. 'The Fresh Air Fund,' *Otago Daily Times*, 1 May 1909. 9; 'The Fresh Air Fund,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 23 January 1912. 4.

Dreadnought costing two million sovereigns! Some of these Social Democrats would be sending two million Home for the fresh air fund if they got into power!’⁶²⁵ Mostly his message seemed to be a variation on the theme that the vessel was an example of the things the government would continue to be able to do ‘if the people do not stir themselves.’⁶²⁶ This opinion was echoed by Harry Scott Bennett⁶²⁷ in an address to a Passive Resisters’ Union meeting in Christchurch early in April: ‘The microbe that brought about the gift of the Dreadnought was the same microbe that bit the Prime Minister when he introduced the Defence Act. It was the microbe of Imperialism...’⁶²⁸

Given that the Defence Act, its consequences, and New Zealand's naval defence policy were matters of wide concern, it is interesting that the vessel and its associations should have been so ignored by those who freely aired their opposition in other forums. It seems possible that the restraint displayed by the political left in using the presence of the Dreadnought to underline their concerns arose in part from a recognition that protesting the battlecruiser itself was unproductive. The fact of the vessel could not be undone, whereas local legislation and intentions for the future were capable of being influenced. The issue of divided labour and the concept of ‘co-operative commonwealth’ set forth in the manifesto of the New Zealand Socialist Party was in discussion during this period.⁶²⁹ The pro and anti-arbitration schism sapped drive and energy from developing a strategy that would more positively benefit all workers. The leadership was also alert, if not sympathetic, to the general mood of the nation with respect of the *New Zealand*, and likely aware that active protest against the battlecruiser might risk alienating the public, including existing supporters. At the very least they may have feared that seemingly impotent protests

⁶²⁵ ‘Labour and Christian Conduct,’ *Press*, 17 May 1913. 14.

⁶²⁶ ‘Defence and Finance,’ *Lyttelton Times*, 26 February 1913. 7. At a resister's meeting later in the year Howard emphasised the power of public pressure saying ‘the Ward Administration had been swept out of office for passing the Defence Act and giving the Dreadnought, the Massey Government would be swept out at the end of its term for its administration of the [Defence] Act. The Fisher Government in Australia had fallen by the introduction of conscription, and the same thing would follow in New Zealand.’ ‘Anti-militarism,’ *Star*, 16 June 1913. 1.

⁶²⁷ Australian socialist Henry Gilbert Scott Bennett who, by 1913 following a career as a radical and a political organiser, was focused on unifying the union movement and was a co-founder of the Social Democratic Party. Erik Olssen, ‘Bennett, Henry Gilbert Scott,’ *DNZB*, published 1996, accessed 27 September 2018. *Te Ara*, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3b30/bennett-henry-gilbert-scott>.

⁶²⁸ ‘The Defence Act,’ *Star*, 7 April 1913. 1.

⁶²⁹ ‘Manifesto,’ *Maoriland Worker*, 2 August 1912. 11; ‘Give Us Unity,’ *Maoriland Worker*, 3 January 1913. 6. The co-operative commonwealth had been in the public mind for many years, seemingly first mentioned in 1886 by the *Otago Daily Times* which published an advertisement referring to an unnamed publication, but seemingly likely to be the 1885 book, ‘*The Co-operative Commonwealth: An Exposition of Modern Socialism*’ by Laurence Gronlund. *Otago Daily Times*, 19 May 1886. 2.

would cause the dissenters to be dismissed as 'wild, shrieking' rabble rousers.'⁶³⁰ Certainly, a Peace Day rally held in Christchurch by the National Peace Council⁶³¹ on 18 May attracted about two hundred and fifty participants, 'mostly socialists' said the *Maoriland Worker*, while '19,000 Christians went down to Port to see an infernal machine called a Dreadnought.'⁶³² The public preference was clear.

The National Peace Council certainly tried to encourage active protest. The most targeted and specific demonstration against the vessel and what it stood for was that of the Dunedin United Furniture Trade Union, which responded to an apparent call from the Peace Council by passing a resolution requesting workers and their families to boycott the battlecruiser.⁶³³ This resolution generated a small amount of press comment and public debate, both neutral and negative,⁶³⁴ and then appears to have disappeared from the public discussion, although a published letter or two from individuals pleaded for similar action.⁶³⁵ The effectiveness or otherwise of the Dunedin resolution does not appear to have been commented on. Auckland wharfies took work-to-rule action during the battlecruiser's final visit to the city in June, but their goal was to protest the way in which they were being managed by the ship's officers, and 'to notify the naval men that they were free and independent citizens.'⁶³⁶ Certainly not all trade unions were so responsive to the Peace Council's call. For example, tramways workers, whose union was one of the more moderate, went

⁶³⁰ 'Disturbed Patriots,' *Otago Daily Times*, 12 April 1913. 8.

⁶³¹ The National Peace Council had strong connections with the Socialist Party. When James Allen suggested during an interview in London that New Zealand would provide an expeditionary force as required, the New Zealand 'Labour Party' promptly despatched a cable to Scottish socialist and labour pacifist, Keir Hardie. Hardie published the wire, which was subsequently traced to the Christchurch Peace Society offices, and the purported authors Professor W. T. Mills (United Labour Party) and Bob Semple. Allen was in London primarily on a fact-finding mission in his role as a new Minister of Finance. 'Imperial Defence,' *Auckland Star*, 1 February 1913. 4; 'A "Labour Party" Cable,' *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1913. 8; 'An Expeditionary Force,' *New Zealand Herald*, 7 February 1913. 8.

⁶³² 'Christchurch Jottings,' *Maoriland Worker*, 30 May 1913. 6.

⁶³³ 'That the members of this union refrain from participating in the forthcoming jingoistic celebrations to be tendered to the visiting human slaughtering machine. H.M. battle cruiser "New Zealand", and also prevent their children and induce relatives and friends to do the same, as a protest against the spurious Patriotism, degrading militarism, the frivolous mad race of armaments at the sad expense of social reform, but in the interests of armament builders and contractors, and, lastly, international war and the awful carnage of the armies of innocent workers who participate, all of which are detrimental to the best interests of the workers.' 'Cruise of the New Zealand' *Otago Daily Times*, 12 April 1913. 10.

⁶³⁴ 'Disturbed Patriots,' *Otago Daily Times*, 12 April 1913. 8; 'The Gift Battleship,' *Evening Star*, 12 April 1913. 11; 'The Visit of H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 15 April 1913. 6.

⁶³⁵ For example, Gore local and 'leading citizen' J.A. Forbes wrote an earnest 'appeal to parents who sincerely desire to see peace, harmony and love prevail over the earth to refrain from visiting or viewing the vessel and to discourage their children from doing so.' 'Correspondence,' *Mataura Ensign*, 26 May 1913. 6. Forbes had previously been president of the Gore League of Service and continued to speak at these meetings on temperance, peace and related subjects. He was involved in setting up an Invercargill branch of the Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Animals. *Mataura Ensign*, 7 June 1913. 5. Following the debacle of the vessel's visit to Bluff the 'local correspondent' for that newspaper wrote that 'It is probable that Mr Forbes and the few he declared he spoke for (I trust they were very few) thought it the act of a far-seeing Providence that the waves were rough and such numbers of people were disappointed at not seeing more of the battleship. I think it surprising that a thinking man like Mr Forbes should take such a view ...' 'District News,' *Mataura Ensign*, 11 June 1913. 5.

⁶³⁶ 'The Fretful Porcupine,' *Observer*, 5 July 1913. 16.

aboard the vessel in Wellington, although it is not possible to say whether the visiting men were members of the union.⁶³⁷ But in general the peace movement appears scarcely to have concerned itself with the battlecruiser. Although Charles Mackie, Secretary of the National Peace Council, was reported addressing a public gathering on the subject where he called the vessel a 'white elephant', this seemed a rare occurrence. 'If our happiness and our stability depend upon that Dreadnought at Lyttelton,' he said, 'then I say you are a miserable crowd.'⁶³⁸ The previous day, Halsey had remarked that 'The presentation of the ship had caused a tremendous stir in Europe, and it had been the starting of other activities among overseas people, all leading to that end they all desired – peace.'⁶³⁹

While the Labour and peace movements were avoiding the question of the visiting battlecruiser, there were other groups registering their disagreement, if not with the existence of the battlecruiser, at least with aspects of the tour arrangements and with the messages thus being sent to the wider community. Clerics of several denominations protested Sunday visits, but not the presence of the battlecruiser per se. In general, the official attitude of the dominion's religious sector towards government defence decisions appears to have been support, or, at least, forbearance, although individual differences of opinion were as evident amongst the clergy of most denominations as amongst the public as a whole. Clearly, whatever stance 'the Church' took would encourage the ire of some. A Gore citizen wrote it 'is useless appealing to the clergy in this matter, for they have as a body thrown themselves completely into the hands of the military people, and by their conduct seem to set at naught the very first principles of Christianity.'⁶⁴⁰ A letter published in the *Dominion* following Peace Day had made the same point, asking 'where are the churches in their attitude to the Defence Act? What lead are they giving the people? Is the pulpit leading the pew, or does the pew silence the pulpit?'⁶⁴¹ Evidence that public relations was an overt consideration of at least some of the nation's clergy is clearly suggested by a press report on the Methodist Conference held in February 1913. Strong opinion on both sides was expressed during a lengthy debate on

⁶³⁷ '... as many men employed in the traffic department of the city tramways as could be spared ... About 250 men.' 'H.M.S. New Zealand Great Rush of Visitors,' *Evening Post*, 21 April 1913. 2.

⁶³⁸ 'Peace Day Celebration,' *Press*, 19 May 1913. 8.

⁶³⁹ 'The Big Battleship,' *Greymouth Evening Star*, 19 May 1913. 2.

⁶⁴⁰ J.A. Forbes, referred to in footnote 635 above. *Mataura Ensign*, 26 May 1913. 6.

⁶⁴¹ 'The Churches and the Defence Act,' *Dominion*, 19 May 1913. 3.

compulsory military training triggered by a motion that the conference register its 'emphatic protest'. But while an accompanying motion supporting international arbitration over 'warlike' responses to disputes between nations was passed without dissent, the move to issue collective condemnation of Defence Act consequences was initially defeated 70-55. When delegates applauded the result, 'the president interjected: "Excuse me, that is nothing to clap over."' Immediate representations on the community's interpretation of that result saw the motion re-put, and carried unanimously.⁶⁴² It is interesting that the potential public relations fallout should have been stated so openly. The perceived 'role' of the church in the community as moral and ethical guardian, and the maintenance of that position, was certainly clouded by self-interest. But there was no such ambiguity over recreational visiting of the *New Zealand* on Sundays. In Gisborne and Dunedin, where the vessel's visiting schedule had been questioned, local ministers registered discontent at public visitation being enabled on the Sabbath. In Gisborne's case there was no choice. Only one day had been allocated to Gisborne and although Bell apologised for not noticing the allocated day was Sunday, and said he would try to have the date changed,⁶⁴³ no change subsequently occurred. Representatives of the local denominations⁶⁴⁴ lodged a mild protest at the Sunday decision citing imposition on workers, hurt feelings and violated consciences, although a citizen promptly replied 'humbly ... That our spiritual guides have missed one of those grand opportunities that come only once in a lifetime,' and suggested flipping the thinking to ask the battlecruiser's chaplain to hold a special Sunday School to give Gisborne's children (and adults) 'an opportunity of hearing the truth from his lips.'⁶⁴⁵ The argument offered by the letter writer included the 'built for peace' cliché.

In Dunedin the debate over Sunday visits was hotter. To their congregations on Sunday 1 June 1913, and to their peers in the monthly meeting of the Dunedin Presbytery⁶⁴⁶ that followed, Presbyterians in the southern city loudly condemned the

⁶⁴² 'War & Preparation,' *Evening Post*, 14 February 1913. 3.

⁶⁴³ 'The Battleship's Visit,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 8 April 1913. 6.

⁶⁴⁴ The Reverends L. Dawson and F.W. Chatterton (both of the Anglican Holy Trinity Church), H.T. Rawnsley (Patutahi Church of England), T. Keith Ewen (Baptist Tabernacle), W. Grant (St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, and subsequently killed on Gallipoli), H.T. Blair (Matawhero Presbyterian Church), J.A. Lahore (Brick Street Methodist Church), and Adjutant T.A.J. Marshall (Salvation Army Citadel). 'The Battleship's Visit,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 22 April 1913. 3.

⁶⁴⁵ 'Built for Peace,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 24 April 1913. 4.

⁶⁴⁶ The *Otago Daily Times* reported the motion passed at this meeting in a perfunctory manner: 'The Rev. A. Whyte made a short statement respecting chaplaincy work on H.M.S. *New Zealand*.' 'The Dunedin Presbytery,' *Evening Star*, 3 June 1913. 7. While not untrue, the Rev. Whyte proposed a motion with rather more specifics, which was subsequently carried: 'Rev. A.

city council for 'contributing still further to the desecration of the Lord's Day, and doing violence to the religious convictions of many of Dunedin's most devoted citizens.'⁶⁴⁷ The council, along with (at least) Mornington Council,⁶⁴⁸ had run trams from 8.30-10.00am and then from 12.30pm for the afternoon⁶⁴⁹ to support Dunedin citizens in their quests to view the battlecruiser. Ironically, the small advertisement that announced the Sunday morning schedule represented the late capitulation of council to the general public opinion. Although queries had been made earlier about Sunday trams, and trains for country folk, arguing 'a broad-minded patriotic, educational point of view ... [and] ... a special occasion,' along with the reasonable rationale that many 'by the very nature of their occupation, are unable to get off any other day but Sunday,'⁶⁵⁰ the Dunedin City Council Tramways Committee voted not to run the trams.⁶⁵¹ The *Evening Star* printed a blistering editorial the day after that decision.

'It will be stated in justification of the City Council's absurd decision ... that they were influenced solely by mercenary motives; that, in a word, it would not pay to run an extra two hours' service. Most people would prefer the better motive which ... is alleged to have been the one that moved the Council to ignominiously fail to rise to a great occasion.... our unco guid⁶⁵² City Fathers, in deciding not to run the cars on Sunday morning, have broken faith with the public, which is quite as serious a matter as extending the present system of Sunday tram services.'⁶⁵³

A few days later, and perhaps with tongue in cheek, a letter writer asked⁶⁵⁴ for the financial details of the morning's tram service so the public could see whether the service had been worth it.

Whyte moved: "That the Presbytery, while joining with the civil authorities and the general public in rejoicing in the visit to this harbor of H.M.S. New Zealand, and acknowledging particularly the satisfaction they have felt in receiving to the worship of the sanctuary those of their own communion who are serving aboard, regret that many people of this community have made the presence of the warship an occasion of Sunday excursions, whereby the sanctities of the Lord's Day, historically preserved in these regions, have been not a little violated and many men, for the mere pleasure of others, have been forced to labor." 'Local and General,' *Dunstan Times*, 9 June 1913. 4.

⁶⁴⁷ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 2 June 1913. 3; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 2 June 1913. 6; 'The King's Ship,' *Evening Star*, 2 June 1913. 3.

⁶⁴⁸ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 31 May 1913. 11.

⁶⁴⁹ 'Page 15 Advertisements Column 6,' *Otago Daily Times*, 31 May 1913. 15.

⁶⁵⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Evening Star*, 28 May 1913. 6.

⁶⁵¹ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Evening Star*, 29 May 1913. 7.

⁶⁵² A Scottish phrase meaning 'rigidly righteous'.

⁶⁵³ *Evening Star*, 29 May 1913. 4.

⁶⁵⁴ 'Sunday Morning Trams,' *Otago Daily Times*, 6 June 1913. 6.

The debate was further briefly fuelled by reports that the Anglican Primate of New Zealand, Bishop Samuel Tarratt Nevill, had been among the 'more than 2500'⁶⁵⁵ who visited the battlecruiser on the Sunday. 'Naughty, Naughty Primate' ran the headline in the *Freelance*⁶⁵⁶ in a short article that the *Evening Star* apparently enjoyed so much that they repeated it, acknowledging the originating paper.⁶⁵⁷ Perhaps in part as a comment on the more muted debate that had earlier occurred in the northern town, a member of the public in Gisborne responded to the reports of the Primate's perceived indiscretion with a reflection on the impact that examples have for children.⁶⁵⁸ However, the facts of the cleric's Sunday are less controversial. Nevill had dined with Halsey and his officers onboard the *New Zealand* on Saturday, after which he had stayed overnight so he might more comfortably conduct 'divine service on the main deck' at 10.30am. 'All hands that could be spared from duty attended, making a congregation of perhaps 700 ... The Rev. J. Henry Scott, the ship's chaplain, read the prayers, and the Primate preached a forcible sermon from Isaiah xi., 7: "Of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end."⁶⁵⁹ Neither was Nevill the only clergyman to participate in Sunday services on board the battlecruiser. On 8 June, the Bishop of Nelson preached the sermon, to no apparent public outcry despite a day's notice of the invitation the Bishop had received. Nelson, in fact, ran trains for day-trippers from 7am, and the WCTU entertained 200 of the crew in the Council Chambers in the afternoon.⁶⁶⁰ However, in general the country's clergy certainly felt strongly enough about the perceived erosion of faith observation to propose establishing branches of the Lord's Day Alliance in New Zealand, with an Auckland branch instituted on 21 May 1913. The goal of the Alliance was to promote 'better religious observance' of Sundays.⁶⁶¹ Reports make no reference to the battlecruiser's tour as an influence on either the proposal or its timing. In Auckland also, a proactive protest against the management of the battlecruiser's visit was staged by Auckland temperance groups⁶⁶². These bodies joined forces to

⁶⁵⁵ 'Late Telegrams,' *Dunstan Times*, 2 June 1913. 4.

⁶⁵⁶ 'Dunedin's Doleful Day,' *Free Lance*, 7 June 1913.6.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Dunedin's Doleful Day,' *Evening Star*, 9 June 1913. 8.

⁶⁵⁸ 'Battleships at Dunedin,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 10 June 1913. 4.

⁶⁵⁹ 'The King's Ship,' *Evening Star*, 2 June 1913. 3.

⁶⁶⁰ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 9 June 1913. 5; 'Due To-Morrow,' *Nelson Evening Mail*, 7 June 1913. 5.

⁶⁶¹ 'Neglect of the Sabbath,' *New Zealand Herald*, 22 May 1913. 8; 'Sabbath Observance,' *Auckland Star*, 22 May 1913. 4.

⁶⁶² The No-License League, the Prohibition League, the Total Abstinence Society, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 18 April 1913. 6.

request Council to omit alcoholic refreshment from the official functions for the *New Zealand's* crew, and to ask the city's residents to refrain from offering such refreshments. The deputation quoted the recent talks given by Admiral King-Hall⁶⁶³ and invoked 'efficiency' and 'the good repute of the uniform.' Parr declined to support either appeal saying, 'We should take the sailorman as he is,' adding 'I prefer ... to adopt the language of Captain Halsey himself, by intimating ... that it is not hospitality to offer liquor in excess.'⁶⁶⁴ Although a letter to the Mayor from the delegation's spokesperson, H.E. Pacey,⁶⁶⁵ was subsequently published, public response generally seems to have been muted, the scant comment apparently all in support of Parr's stance.⁶⁶⁶

A last, more gentle and light-hearted protest targeted Halsey, although the lack of imagination shown by various education boards around the country might have made them an equal object of the ridicule. At issue was the Captain's farewell gesture to the country's school children, a gift of small souvenir mugs featuring 'on one side a representation of the King and Queen, and on the other side, under a crown, the words H.M.S. New Zealand,'⁶⁶⁷ so 'that the visit of the battleship shall be a lasting memory.'⁶⁶⁸ However, there were only a few mugs available relative to the number of school children who visited the battlecruiser, let alone the total school population. The mugs were apportioned to the educational districts, and the wags came out in force to comment on the conundrum faced by education boards. Struggling with the distribution issue and questions of equity some boards, such as Taranaki with 70 mugs for 90-odd schools, 'evaded the responsibility by allocating it to the inspectors,'⁶⁶⁹ or to 'the executive of the Head Masters' Association' as in the case of Wellington with 115 cups for 170 schools,⁶⁷⁰ or to other individuals. *NZ Truth's* 'Critic' calculated each school in North Canterbury would 'be entitled to about half a mug, and each child ... [to] something like one five-hundredth of a mug, which is, to

⁶⁶³ He was in Australasia for the departure of the Australian Squadron's last Royal Navy flagship, *HMS Drake*. 'Admiral's Last Visit,' *New Zealand Herald*, 28 November 1912. 8.

⁶⁶⁴ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Auckland Star*, 18 April 1913. 6.

⁶⁶⁵ 'Visit to Auckland,' *New Zealand Herald*, 22 April 1913. 8; 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 19 April 1913. 8.

Pacey was treasurer of the Auckland Methodist Mission's benevolent fund in 1912, and his wife chaired the finance committee of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) at the time of the battlecruiser's visit.

⁶⁶⁶ 'Hospitality to the Warship Men,' *New Zealand Herald*, 21 April 1913. 4; 'The Temperance Fad,' *Woodville Examiner*, 21 April 1913. 2; 'Treating Jack Tar to a Teetotal Turnout,' *Observer*, 3 May 1913. 13. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

⁶⁶⁷ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *New Zealand Herald*, 24 July 1913. 8.

⁶⁶⁸ *Southland Times*, 2 August 1913. 5.

⁶⁶⁹ "'Harsh Treatment,'" *Taranaki Herald*, 28 August 1913. 2.

⁶⁷⁰ 'Battleship Cups for Schools,' *Wanganui Chronicle*, 30 July 1913. 7

say the least of it, a mug of a gift.’⁶⁷¹ A member of the South Canterbury Education Board purportedly ‘glanced at the specimen of crockery before him, and said “Germany.” That ended the discussion.’⁶⁷² Boards discussed distribution by ballot, or allocation for annual, winnable ‘class awards,’ and framed mementos for the schools that sent children to the battlecruiser. The most practical suggestion was made by the North Canterbury Education Board which proposed: ‘In view of the fact that the Kaikoura school children had no opportunity of visiting H.M.S. New Zealand, each child in standard II in the Kaikoura County schools would receive a souvenir mug.’⁶⁷³ But the most creative proposal came from the Wanganui Education Board which decided to ‘stock the infants’ department in the Central Infants’ School, and to present one to every school which has a museum.’⁶⁷⁴ When the Timaru Main School Committee learned they had been allocated a mug but needed to collect it, being ‘too fragile’ to post, they enjoyed ‘a little merriment’ when a member ‘proposed that the cadets be called out and that a ceremony be arranged in honour of the event.’⁶⁷⁵ While the humour in the situation was clear, it nevertheless embodied a serious comment on the nature of gifting and expressed a restrained sense of insult at the inadequacy of the gesture. As a coda, the mugs belittled the grandness and importance of New Zealand’s imperial gift. The syndicated ‘Dunedin Letter’ columnist noted the royal custom of leaving gifts behind when on tour and concluded that given the feting and royal treatment enjoyed by Halsey and crew in the dominion it was therefore only fitting that ‘His Majesty’s man of war ... not ... be backward in reciprocating, and the gallant officers did themselves proud.’⁶⁷⁶ When it was reported at the end of August 1913 that Halsey had ‘expressed to the High Commissioner his great appreciation of the widespread kindness which he received from all sections of the community in the dominion. He states that he cannot adequately acknowledge all that has been done to make his visit so successful. He is highly delighted with New Zealand and all that he saw there,’⁶⁷⁷ the *Observer* responded, ‘Also thanks for the mugs, Lionel!’⁶⁷⁸ ‘There are few things out of which one cannot draw an inner meaning,’ wrote the *Maoriland Worker*. ‘Thus the private

⁶⁷¹ ‘The Critic,’ *NZ Truth*, 2 August 1913. 1.

⁶⁷² *Evening Star*, 23 July 1913. 4.

⁶⁷³ ‘Education Board,’ *Press*, 25 September 1913. 4.

⁶⁷⁴ ‘Wanganui Education Board,’ *Wanganui Herald*, 17 July 1913. 8.

⁶⁷⁵ ‘Town & Country,’ *Timaru Herald*, 26 September 1913. 6.

⁶⁷⁶ ‘Dunedin Letter,’ *Tuapeka Times*, 2 August 1913. 3.

⁶⁷⁷ ‘London Personal Notes,’ *Southland Times*, 30 August 1913. 5.

⁶⁷⁸ ‘They Say,’ *Observer*, 30 August 1913. 7.

opinion of Captain Halsey, of H.M.S. New Zealand, regarding the people of New Zealand may be learned from the fact that he has presented two or three hundred mugs to the schools. MUGS! MUGS!’⁶⁷⁹ The *Observer* suggested Halsey's distinctions needed to ‘include a reference to his "one mug one hundred kid" heroism,’ and noted that since he was at time of publication being well hosted in Vancouver, ‘It is feared that he may give a mug to every five hundred young Canadians.’⁶⁸⁰ The farcical nature of the gift of ‘Halsey’s mugs’ was perhaps heightened in the lower North Island by what seems to have been an unfortunate coincidence of timing. While boards and committees were ‘sitting round these little mugs in a perfectly hopeless condition of semi-imbecility, trying to decide how to bring joy’⁶⁸¹ to the children of their district, the Marton branch of the Overseas Club was organised in distributing four gross (576) of memorial cups for Empire Day 1913 they had ordered from Britain, to primer and standard one children in Marton.⁶⁸² But, wrote ‘149’ in an ode to Halsey and his gift, ‘If he'd shut right up when he steamed away, We'd have had not a single harsh word to say.’⁶⁸³

The battlecruiser's visit attracted some protest but not necessarily of the kind and at the level that might have been expected. Arguably those aligned to the left had most cause to debate the vessel, based on the nature of their societal concerns. However, for different pressure groups, the tour became a platform for airing their issues and agendas, while the vessel's status as a warship became somewhat secondary. The notable exception was the peace lobby and its sympathisers, for whom the presence of the vessel referenced the defence debates that were animating some segments of the community. For those with more conservative views, the concepts of warships and peace appeared to offer no contradiction. In general, the perceived significance of the battlecruiser’s visit, and the high degree of public interest, instead provided certain groups with an audience they might hitherto have lacked. Promoters of the temperance and religious observance arguments both fall within this category, and both certainly found ways to raise their profile. Ultimately, however, it seems fair to say that the lack of protests of any real substance against the battlecruiser reflect the general mood of the visit. The *New Zealand* seemed to stand apart from the local

⁶⁷⁹ ‘News and Views,’ *Maoriland Worker*, 15 August 1913. 1.

⁶⁸⁰ ‘Pars About People,’ *Observer*, 2 August 1913. 4; ‘They Say,’ *Observer*, 2 August 1913. 7

⁶⁸¹ ‘Pars About People,’ *Observer*, 2 August 1913. 4.

⁶⁸² ‘Overseas Club,’ *Rangitikei Advocate and Manawatu Argus*, 29 August 1913. 2.

⁶⁸³ ‘Halsey's Mug,’ *Observer*, 2 August 1913. 18.

controversies. As a whole the country was on a high, exhilarated by its own sense of consequence and seduced by the international praise their generosity had engendered. In this context it is easy to understand how a simple, perhaps unthinking, gift of mugs might have sparked the most protest. Thus, it is appropriate to give the last word to press poet, '149':

"If Captain Halsey should ever return,
We hope he will not our presents spurn.
And when we invite him to banquet snug,
Will he please not forget to bring his own mug!"⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

Conclusions

*'Argument must proceed necessarily upon the recognition ... that with nations as with men absolute singleness of motive is rarely found ... Bronze is copper and bronze is tin. Nothing is gained, but much is lost, by ignoring duplexity of characteristic.'*⁶⁸⁵

H.M.S. New Zealand sailed out of Auckland Harbour on 28 June 1913, bound for Suva. Auckland's Mayor, C.J. Parr, invited the public to see the ship off and to give 'our good friends of the New Zealand a farewell ... three parting cheers ... for Auld Lang Syne...' In his valedictory he said, 'There can be no doubt that the visit has been a complete success from an Imperial point of view. Our loyalty to the Empire has been stimulated afresh, and it would be difficult to estimate the good effects upon the impressionable minds of the thousands of children and young people who have visited the ship.'⁶⁸⁶ Parr's summary of the visit neatly encapsulates the story that has continued to be told in relation to the battlecruiser's 1913 tour: New Zealand burned bright with patriotism and the vessel's presence both acknowledged and cemented this. However, this thesis has shown that the focus on imperial fervour is a one-dimensional story that obscures the richness and complexity of the social and political landscape, and has shown the tour teased out undercurrents that tell much about the nature of society in the lead up to the First World War. The tour had benefits for New Zealand, but also demonstrates the agency at work in the country and how imperialism was experienced by New Zealanders.

The initial publicised motivation for sending the vessel was to provide New Zealanders with an opportunity to inspect their generous 'patriotic' gift. This was a matter of courtesy as well as a public relations exercise, given that the gift resulted in a financial sacrifice for the dominion. People certainly felt an emotional attachment to the vessel, and it is clear that a certain proportion did see it as 'our' ship. The gifting was almost incidental. On the one hand, the ship carried the dominion's name. However, people also identified with it from a pecuniary point of view: what the country paid for was, by definition, theirs. This included Maori, some of whom

⁶⁸⁵ A.T. Mahan, 'The Great Illusion,' *The North American Review* 195, no. 676 (March 1912). 324. JSTOR.

⁶⁸⁶ 'The City's Leave-Taking,' *New Zealand Herald*, 26 June 1913. 8.

believed that government sales of their land had contributed to the vessel's funding. Because the *New Zealand* was named a vessel in the 'Imperial Fleet', in the largest sense it was still the dominion's as a participating member of the British Empire.

However, when first mooted, newspapers were also quick to comment on the tour as a sop to atone for the reversal of the plan which would have placed the *New Zealand* as the flagship⁶⁸⁷ of a Royal Navy fleet to the Pacific, based at the China Station. While New Zealand loyally upheld the change of plan in 1912 which saw the vessel assigned back to British waters, some contemporary commentators saw the tour as an easy bone being tossed to the country to uphold New Zealand's mana within the empire. From an imperial point of view, it was tactical to ensure the country's patriotism was not blighted by a perception that New Zealand's gesture of loyalty and its territorial concerns with regard to the Pacific were being dismissed as minor in the context of the whole. But further extending the vessel's inaugural cruise to include the other dominions, together with a selection of countries outside the empire in which Britain had a strategic or economic interest, achieved several additional goals. The strategy was a timely and clever way to raise New Zealand's profile globally while simultaneously reinforcing imperial ties, and through this to strengthen New Zealanders' trust in their own country's political structure and in the decision-making of their elected representatives. Symbolism can be powerful in its ability to bolster belief. During the tour, Maori leaders were astute in verbalising the distinction between being insiders or outsiders. Which side a person or a group was on, mattered. In a sense, the extended tour suggested that *HMS New Zealand* represented the boundaries of 'within' or 'without' in the context of the world's political fragility in 1913. It was a single ship, not even the latest model, and on its own no deterrent to any concerted threat. However, it was representative of the Anglosphere, and testimony to the strength of that unity and the tour offered the added advantage of 'showing the flag' within the empire to encourage greater support and commitment. The inclusion of ports outside the empire reflected existing economic and financial interests, demonstrated reach and technical prowess, and flattered those countries by the British attention. But, strategically, the potential

⁶⁸⁷ Agreed at the Imperial Defence Conference of 1909 – 'Naval Defence. (Statement by the Prime Minister, Hon. W. F. Massey.' *AJHR*, 1913 Session I, H-19a.

interest of other states also emphasised to the empire at large that there was value in being members of the institution.

During the tour through the dominions, imperial patriotism was certainly an overt theme in the public relations. In a post-tour report to the Admiralty, Captain Halsey described New Zealand as displaying loyalty and patriotism of such intensity that he was confident it would not be exceeded anywhere.⁶⁸⁸ Speeches, official presentations, newspaper reporting, children's letters and essays in New Zealand, all underscored this fact. New Zealand regions were competitive in their level of patriotism, with the southern regions unselfconsciously claiming top honours on several occasions during the tour. However, in a collective sense, the kind of patriotism was not the questioning and boundary-testing kind of Australia and Canada. While New Zealand had its own aspirations of being a player and making its mark, nevertheless these ambitions were premised on remaining a loyal member of the empire. In 1909 Ward was characterised in some quarters as a 'competent State coach driver,' using a whip to wake up 'the old lady' and prod her into needful action.⁶⁸⁹ However, in 1913, at the imperial level, the competitive spark was evident in the responses of South Africa, Australia and Canada to the tour, and also in the articulated importance of the battlecruiser's role in consolidating the support of the dominions and colonial states, and in the surrounding publicity - all of which ascribed New Zealand a central role in the empire.

Touring the battlecruiser more widely offered opportunity to propagandise the empire by practically demonstrating its ability to evolve to meet the needs of a changing world. The technological achievement embodied by the vessel was one aspect of this. The choice of Halsey as Captain was another. It is certainly interesting to view his appointment as strategic, and as a means of solidifying for younger citizens a sense of ownership, hope and reassurance. Undoubtedly a gifted seaman, Halsey embodied tradition, bravery and youthful competence. He had been profiled

⁶⁸⁸ 'On leaving New Zealand I wish to say how greatly I am struck by the intense loyalty and patriotism that is displayed all over the Dominion, and I am quite positive that this cannot be exceeded anywhere.' Captain Lionel Halsey to Secretary of the Admiralty, 1 July 1913. 'Correspondence Relating to the Cruise of H.M.S. "New Zealand" on the Occasion of her Visit to New Zealand, 1913. Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.' 'HM Ship – HMS New Zealand (ship) – General,' R21464096-AAYT-8490-N1/92-6/9, ANZ.

⁶⁸⁹ Note this item does say 'State.' The capitalisation suggests this is what was meant, rather than it being a type-setting error for 'stage.' 'The Naval Agreement,' *Tuapeka Times*, 4 September 1909. 2.

by the press as a Boer War naval hero, a prodigal Royal Navy captain with an admiral's flag in his future, and spokesman for the empire. Presenting him to New Zealand as the face of the empire, in charge of a technologically advanced vessel bearing the dominion's name and numbering New Zealanders among the crew,⁶⁹⁰ was a powerful symbol for the continued liveliness and relevance of the empire. 'Captain Halsey,' Parr told the *New Zealand Herald*, 'has been voted all round the right man in the right place.'⁶⁹¹ In a sense Halsey's command reinforced both the youth and vitality of the dominion and embodied the forward vision of the Motherland, denying any sense that the empire was calcifying and a structure of the past. The response of the officers and crew to their Maori hosts might also be viewed through this lens.

What looks remarkable from this distance is the relative speed with which the tour seemed to disappear from the country's public memory. In many years, a tour that mobilised potentially 60% of the nation would rate inclusion in any review of significant events. But the tour did not rank for many editors in their annual reflections despite its huge success and despite many commentators leading off with (and even focusing on) the imperial and international landscape. The *Manawatu Evening Standard*, for example, spent the first 73 percent of its review on such factors.⁶⁹² Other reflections remained fiercely local, such as that of the *Bay of Plenty Times*, which after a scant paragraph discussing New Zealand experiences jumped straight into Bay of Plenty issues.⁶⁹³ In terms of New Zealand's year, while the small-pox epidemic in the north island and the Auckland Exhibition at the end of the year gained honourable mentions, most local audits placed the 'virulent' industrial unrest as the most significant local event for 1913. *HMS New Zealand* when mentioned seldom rated more than a sentence or two. As noted in Chapter Five, even Lord Liverpool made only passing reference to the tour during his opening speech to Parliament on 27 June 1913 – two days before the vessel even left the country. The *New Zealand Times* was a notable exception, effusive in its annual retrospective and

⁶⁹⁰ The number of crewmen who had been born in New Zealand is hard to ascertain definitively. Although 40-50 New Zealanders were reported to be on board, those named in newspaper reports amounted to a handful, and lists of the full crew are not available to my knowledge. In addition, as was typical of merchant as well as navy vessels, crew members were readily substituted on and off.

⁶⁹¹ 'The City's Leave-Taking,' *New Zealand Herald*, 26 June 1913. 8.

⁶⁹² 'The Passing Year,' *Manawatu [Evening] Standard*, 31 December 1913. 4.

⁶⁹³ 'A Review,' *Bay of Plenty Times*, 31 December 1913. 4.

again three days later, following the *Times* of London's ranking of the tour as 'The most striking Imperial event.'⁶⁹⁴

However, this thesis has been less interested in the event for its own sake and more on its value as a lens through which to view the state of the dominion in 1913, and its relationship to the empire. The independent thinkers at the *Wairarapa Daily Times* side-stepped the tradition of an annual review and refused to be drawn into listing key events for the year. In their opinion, events themselves mattered less than the characteristics and trends that could be observed in those events and which ultimately were far more interesting and illuminating.⁶⁹⁵ The battlecruiser's visit certainly highlighted a number of social 'tendencies' in the New Zealand of 1913 and while some of these have been well dealt with in the historiography, several offer different insights into the political and social landscape.

It is clear that the political environment at the time was highly divided and less than comfortable, owing to the circumstances in which Reform had come to power and subsequent industrial unrest. Massey's definitive call for generous action in relation to the battlecruiser's visit, and Bell's solid efforts to set up a framework that would support as much official recognition, entertainment for the crew and public visitation as possible, suggest they recognised the need to make sure the tour reflected well on the Reform Government. On record when in opposition as being less than supportive of Ward's initial offer of the vessel, and battered by the difficult and divisive Waihi miner's strike of the previous year, the inexperienced Reform administration saw an opportunity in 1913 to reclaim some ground. Although such a tour would absorb many government resources, it nevertheless held the potential to generate favourable publicity and much public goodwill, while at the same time perhaps offering distraction from the negative politics. The time frame was unfortunately short, with only a month before the vessel arrived at Wellington, so it was to Bell's immense credit that, despite mistakes, 'muddlement' and inevitable dissatisfactions, he still managed to administrate so well what overall could legitimately be called the imperial tour of the decade. That New Zealand was highly politicised at all levels of

⁶⁹⁴ '1913—A Retrospect,' *New Zealand Times*, 31 December 1913. 4; 'Tour of the Gift-Ship,' *New Zealand Times*, 3 January 1914. 4; 'Review of 1913,' *New Zealand Times*, 3 January 1914. 5. The reference by the *Times* echoed that made in February 1913 by the *Daily Mail* (London) when it called the King's inspection of the vessel two days prior to its departure from Portsmouth, 'a deep, historic significance.' 'New Zealand's Gift,' *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1913. 7.

⁶⁹⁵ '1913. The Past Year,' *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 31 December 1913. 4.

society did not make it easy. The culture of lobbying employed by local authorities, citizen's committees, and individuals acting in official and unofficial capacities, informed or not, made for sustained pressure, and the Liberal opposition offered consistent criticism.

The majority of the population expressed patriotic sentiments, with varying degrees of strength and of understanding, and appear to have been supportive of the tour. However, the public relations mechanisms of the time were in full swing and it is interesting to reflect on the degree to which that common support suggests active thought, understanding and choice, or simply the apathy that is associated with conformity and a trust in the knowledge, skills and judgement of the opinion-makers to make the right decisions. Some groups, while supporting the tour in principle, at least publicly, definitely used the opportunity to advance their own agendas. Churchmen opposed public visits to the ship on Sundays on account of the implied disrespect to the divine nature of the day,⁶⁹⁶ using the public's enthusiasm to emphasise their equal duty to the Lord's Day. This rigidity perhaps worked against them in the districts where the only day allocated to the stop was a Sunday, such as in Gisborne, or when Sunday was one of only two or three days scheduled for the battlecruiser's visit. The public was not deterred on those days, although it is impossible to know how many visitors did opt to forego the battlecruiser in deference to church.⁶⁹⁷ In collaboration with other like-minded groups, the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Auckland attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the Mayor to remove alcoholic drinks from the menu of the official luncheon given in honour of the battlecruiser's crew, but in other ports, for example in Nelson,⁶⁹⁸ they used a different tactic for imparting their message by becoming hosts of a tee-total event.

While some dissent in relation to the battlecruiser's visit was expressed by groups whose agendas did not seriously threaten the basic fabric of New Zealand society, and who were perhaps taking the opportunity to be heard, the political left was different. As a unified bloc, the organisations that aligned themselves under this umbrella had the potential to create structural change in the dominion. Among those

⁶⁹⁶ 'The Battleship's Visit,' *Poverty Bay Herald*, 22 April 1913. 3. 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Otago Daily Times*, 2 June 1913. 6.

⁶⁹⁷ Although in some areas, visitation on Sunday morning may have been minimal, in part undoubtedly as the battlecruiser company attended their own services. 'Visit of Battleship "New Zealand,"' *Waimate Daily Advertiser*, 25 April 1913. 1.

⁶⁹⁸ 'Tea Meeting Last Night,' *Colonist*, 18 June 1913. 10.

left-aligned influencers classifying themselves as moderates, MP Andrew Veitch stood out for his engagement with the tour, and for his efforts to ensure positive benefit for those in his electorate. But the extreme political left was unequivocally opposed, with at least one union specifically instructing its members to boycott the visit. However, although particularly active in 1913, with labour and industrial unrest at the heart of that activity and opposition to compulsory military training vehemently demonstrated by the radical elements, the left did not turn their combined attention to the battlecruiser. The industrial strike action had indicated their power and capability when organised, so they might have successfully disrupted the tour had they chosen to do so. The National Peace Council were perhaps the most vociferous, but there seems to be no evidence of significant systematised, physical protest, something which may speak to their ongoing peripheral status.

Maori interaction with the vessel demonstrated iwi willingness to take equal part in the imperial world and to stake their claim to the benefits accruing to such partnership. Maori leaders were cognisant of the political opportunities provided by the British and local audience on the tour and did not shy from articulating their aspirations and expectations within the context of manakitanga. Evidence shows, however, that the Maori-pakeha interface was problematic in the manner of the colonial attitude to indigenous populations, both in direct relation to the tour and in everyday life. Maori appeared to tolerate the clumsy attempts by the vessel's men to engage culturally, but if that was actually so the reasons, and the authentic responses, are regrettably invisible to this researcher. The haka party's efforts, however, were supported by Liberal Southern Maori MP Taare (Charles Rere) Parata who arranged for an onboard tutor, and by the gift of piupiu from iwi in Russell. Despite this, Maori appreciation of the vessel on its own terms was apparent. Social engineering in the interests of empire was apparent in the management of the *New Zealand's* visit. The focus on children was no accident. At official gatherings Halsey emphasised the importance of children's access and understanding, and this theme was repeated up and down the country by politicians, officials and duly reported in the press. The context was also highlighted, the empire representing progress and security, New Zealand owing 'not merely its freedom and its liberties but its very existence to the Navy and to the Mother Country.'⁶⁹⁹ The government

⁶⁹⁹ 'The Dreadnought and the Schools,' *New Zealand Herald*, 3 May 1913. 6.

reinforced the Captain's prioritisation with free rail and steamer passage for state school children and appointed an official to the tour with responsibility for the schools' visiting programme and its smooth running. Local communities supported the initiative by keeping child visitors fed and by offering overnight billets for those from country schools. Adults up and down the country appeared to be complicit in prioritising children – except perhaps when it interfered with their own access to the battlecruiser, as demonstrated in Lyttelton and Bluff.

Using the vessel as a tool in the active courting of children to strengthen the empire's future reinforces the notion of a subliminal message of continuance. Halsey's speeches and actions suggest this was a key purpose for the *New Zealand's* tour. It seems unlikely that this focus on children was on his own initiative. It is a matter of record that the strategic importance of children was discussed by decision makers, opinion leaders and publicly-minded citizens in the general context of imperial longevity outside the context of the tour. As a tangible expression of empire, and a means to inscribe on children's minds the imperial meanings of power, defence, loyalty and service there could hardly have been a better choice than the battlecruiser. For most New Zealand children, the concept of empire was intellectual, a set of abstract ideas of which few had any tangible real-life experience. But the stories with which they were familiar of British heroes, exploration and the sea were more concrete, and visiting the vessel in person bought these stories to life. 'They were Imperialists— of course they were, and it was great fun. Had you asked them why or what an Imperialist was they could not have answered— the present business of Imperialism was too pressing. The question even would have caused surprise — surely you ought to know yourself ... It was so plain what it meant— singing songs about the Navy of England, cheering, waving flags— a matter for delight, not for argument!'⁷⁰⁰ Whether or not this reporter deeply considered the tactical brilliance of prioritising children on the tour, and despite the intended irony, the piece nevertheless demonstrated the excitement that must have been palpable and the visceral nature of the experience that many children had enjoyed. Targeting children with the battlecruiser was a masterstroke bordering on genius: the empire had them hooked. It is further ironic, therefore, that the gifting of mugs to schools, the final act of the tour and the opportunity to reinforce children's memory of imperial grandeur,

⁷⁰⁰ 'On the Duchess Little Imperialists Young New Zealand's Welcome,' *Evening Post*, 14 April 1913. 3.

was so weak as to be characterised in the local press as impotent and treated with biting humour.

The romanticism aspect is not a throwaway idea. The tour offered the opportunity to build on the positive relationships with the navy that were held by the wider empire, and no less in New Zealand, and in some ways to exploit the romanticism of the sailor and the navy: during the tour Halsey and Sub-lieutenant Prince George of Battenberg were more marketed than the sailors who were New Zealanders, and people then were no more immune to celebrity than they are today. Apparently, the dominion's women were very keen to meet the Sub-lieutenant,⁷⁰¹ and reporters on board with children noted little girls specially 'were intensely interested in "the Prince" and expressed a keen desire to see him. Failing this, the pet monkey was in great demand.'⁷⁰² But in Timaru it was remarked 'the thousands who had come to town to see the captain and the commander and the prince were rather disconsolate, and had to be content with gazing, seaward.'⁷⁰³ Some Maori also further demonstrated their loyalty to the British royal family through requests to bestow gifts upon the prince personally. The authorities must have been well aware of the tangibility and potential power of the vessel and its personnel not only to children, but also to adults who otherwise had little direct reference for the concept of empire.

It is clear that socially, much was happening in the farthest dominion. Far from being homogeneous New Zealand society was still struggling to find its own representative character. Kipling concluded in 1892 following 18 days in the country that New Zealand was still playing at a game that was not inherently its own. In 1913 this was still largely true.⁷⁰⁴ But different stories were struggling to emerge. Research into the tour reveals this country to be a complex, multifaceted nation with many undercurrents which played out alongside each other in ways which ultimately created the identity Kipling was seeking. The possibilities offered by this research are

⁷⁰¹ A cartoon from the *Observer* glued into the scrapbook that is believed to be Halsey's illustrates the Sub-lieutenant's popularity. The scrapbook also concludes several related news clippings which, unfortunately, are unattributed. 'Rush for the Prince,' *Observer*, 17 May 1913. 12. In Scrapbook, 'Tour of H.M.S. New Zealand 1913,' 2012.80.1.

⁷⁰² 'Children's Day,' *Star*, 15 May 1913. 4.

⁷⁰³ 'H.M.S. New Zealand,' *Star*, 30 May 1913. 1.

⁷⁰⁴ In the short story 'One Lady at Wairakei,' Kipling's story-self, the narrator 'I,' remarked on the country's 'Folly to play at party government when the whole population is less than half the German army ... it is absurd ... if you can run the place with three men and a boy, to start Upper Houses and Lower Houses, and pay a few hundred men to help spend borrowed money?' The story is a plea for New Zealanders to find themselves and tell their own stories, shape their own truths. "They are busy to-day," his character is told. "It is no easy work to weave the souls of men into their surroundings ... But in time the men will be of the land, and write of the land and the life of the land as they have seen it and as they know it. Then the people will know themselves, and wonder at their own lives." 'One Lady at Wairakei,' *New Zealand Herald*, Supplement, 30 January 1892. 1.

not exhausted. The scope of the study has precluded wider investigation of some promising leads, which suggest interesting and fruitful opportunities for researchers. The lack of apparent interest in the battlecruiser by organisations on the left of the political spectrum is one example, as is a deeper investigation of Maori responses to the *New Zealand* and the public response, and potentially to the early twentieth century displays of imperial naval power, particularly from the Maori point of view. The perceived Australian response to *HMS New Zealand* in comparison with that of other dominions, and the consequences of that response is a question which might reward further research. Importantly, two rich research threads looking ahead from 1913 would add value to our understanding of what imperial feeling and loyalty meant in practical terms for New Zealanders, both going into the 1914 war and following that experience. Did the battlecruiser's tour have any lasting effect on New Zealand's collective psyche? This is especially interesting from the point of view of the children and young adults who were the target of the public relations campaign which the vessel more-or-less represented. Lastly, related to this is the scenario of the post-war visit in 1919 when the *New Zealand* made what was her farewell, touring with Lord Jellicoe⁷⁰⁵ on a mission to 'advise the overseas Dominions upon their measures for defence and general war organisation.'⁷⁰⁶ A comparison of the 1913 tour with the country's 1919 reaction to the 'gallant men' and the vessel which 'over and over again ... has repaid her cost'⁷⁰⁷ in the battles in the North Sea, would make interesting research.

The multiplicity of ways in which *HMS New Zealand* was written about, and the variety of symbolic readings that were projected upon it, shows that the vessel itself was one of those rare things: an inanimate machine which gained significance beyond its functional purpose for what it represents to large numbers of people, individually and collectively. The vessel's reception on tour expressed the success with which its story was spun into the significance of the empire. For a short time the battlecruiser became a focus for the projected hopes, dreams, imaginings and expectations of imperial citizens, not only in New Zealand. It was simultaneously symbolic of empire, anti-empire, pride, audacity, friendship, enmity, paternalism,

⁷⁰⁵ Admiral of the Fleet, and former First Sea Lord, Jellicoe was appointed Governor-General of New Zealand in 1920, replacing Liverpool in September of that year.

⁷⁰⁶ 'Lord Jellicoe's Tour,' *Evening Post*, 28 January 1919. 6.

⁷⁰⁷ 'Editorial Notes,' *Star*, 9 June 1916. 4.

independent nationhood and ambition. It was discussed as peace-keeper, war-maker, technological wonder and a statement of national presence on the world stage, all rolled into one. Within the donor country, *HMS New Zealand* was also something of a national cultural phenomenon. The charged and complex environment that is implied by this remarkably diverse set of views makes clear that below the outward face of imperial patriotism the dominion's people were far less homogeneous than they have been portrayed.

Today, for most, 1913 means the Great Strike at the end of the year, and a country looking nervously ahead to the possibility of a European war. The Auckland exhibition at the same time is also a marker. But, as is always the case, there was much more going on. While big concepts are useful as general summaries there is value in exposing the scaffold on which these terms are balanced to better understand their meaning in practice. The battlecruiser's tour offers a rewarding and intriguing case study of New Zealand's position in imperial terms, of the tenor of New Zealand society and of the preoccupations, expectations and interpretations of the widest range of individuals and community groups.

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