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Distance and Proximity in Service to the Empire: Ulster and New Zealand between the Wars

Keith Jeffery

This essay uses the concepts of ‘distance’ and ‘proximity’ to investigate and assess perceptions of community, nation and empire in inter-war New Zealand and Ulster (as well as Ireland and Northern Ireland) within a British imperial context, and explores the extent to which service of the empire (for example in the First World War) promoted both notions of imperial unity and local autonomy. It focuses on how these perceptions were articulated in the inter-war years during visits to Northern Ireland by three New Zealand premiers – Massey, Forbes and Coates – and to New Zealand by the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Lord Craigavon. It discusses the significant ways in which distance from their ‘home base’ and proximity to expatriate communities (in Craigavon’s case) and Irish unionists and nationalists (in the case of the New Zealand premiers) inflected public statements during their visits. By examining these inter-war visits and investigating the rhetoric used and the cultural demonstrations associated with them, the factors of both distance and proximity can be used to evaluate similarities and difference across two parts of the empire. Thus, we can throw some light on the nature and dynamics of British imperial identity in the early twentieth century.

At Mesen, or Messines, in Belgium there are two First World War memorials in perhaps unexpected juxtaposition. One is an Irish ‘Peace Tower’, dedicated on 11 November 1998 to commemorate the Irish from all over the island who served and died in the war. During the Battle of Messines in June 1917 (though not, as it happens, at this specific location) the 36th (Ulster) Division, a strongly unionist formation, fought alongside the 16th (Irish) Division, a nationalist one. Next door is a New Zealand Memorial Park, commemorating the part taken (and at this precise location) by the New Zealand Division in the same battle. In the park is an obelisk designed by the New Zealand architect S. Hurst Seager, identical to other national

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battlefield memorials at 's-Graventafel (near Passendale) in Belgium and Longueval (on the Somme) in France. Each of these three obelisks carries the poignant inscription: 'From the uttermost ends of the earth.' In geographical terms, nevertheless, the distance New Zealanders had travelled was not so much an impediment to be regretted as an endeavour to be celebrated, since the very distance travelled amplified and confirmed the unstinting loyalty of their imperial service. Reflecting on the adjacent memorials at Mesen, the observation has been made that 'the New Zealanders came further, geographically, than anyone else', but 'the nationalist Irish also came a long way, at least in political terms, and found it even further going home'.¹ The proximity of these two monuments, and the distance travelled by at least some of those commemorated, raises questions about the factors of distance and proximity, and the extent to which perceptions of national or communal identity might be affected by them. Does a Kiwi identity become less distinct the further one goes from New Zealand, and, at a distance from Ulster itself, is 'Ulster-ness' subsumed within 'Irishness' or 'Britishness', and, if so, to what extent? There is some historiographical literature on the question of what one historian has called 'western historiography's ongoing preoccupation with issues of distance and proximity'. In this context 'historical distance' is generally understood in a temporal or chronological sense, but it can also include distances of form and ideology.² These considerations are not irrelevant to the subject of this essay, but it will focus on the more geographical or locational connotations of 'distance' and 'proximity'.

Issues of national or communal identity crop up frequently in the characterisation of New Zealand, Ulster and Irish participation in the First World War. Writing from London in January 1917 W. F. Massey, the New Zealand Prime Minister, complained that, while New Zealand soldiers had been given a good deal of publicity, 'unfortunately the public in many instances mixes them up with Australians, and think they are one and the same. New Zealand itself is hardly ever mentioned, and the country suffers accordingly'.³ This quotation was used in an interesting article by James Bennett which in part explores the respective identities of Australian and New Zealand Anzacs. But, when Bennett looks for comparators among other empire troops, the Tommies are invariably English or British. There is no sense in Bennett's study that the *British* army might be disaggregated in the way he insists the Anzac Corps ought to be. Discussing the attitudes of evidently non-New Zealand commanding officers, Bennett links the British corps commander at Gallipoli, Sir Alexander Godley, with the Kiwi hero, Lieutenant-Colonel William Malone, without any apparent awareness that the former was, by his own estimation, an 'Irish soldier', and the latter (albeit English-born) the product of an Irish Catholic family.⁴ Sometimes New Zealanders disappear altogether. In *Realities [sic] of War*, Sir Philip Gibbs managed to discuss the contribution made by the dominions without mentioning them at all.⁵ These days historians are alive to the understandable sensitivities of New Zealanders about being lumped willy-nilly into some essentially Australian Anzac formation, as illustrated in a remark in a recent study of Gallipoli historiography where the author compared 'the British heroic-romantic myth' with 'the more familiar Australian (and New Zealand) Anzac legend'.⁶ But however well-intentioned

the writer may have been, here New Zealand is consigned to the tyranny of brackets, in a kind of limbo of what we might call 'parenthetical history'.

National identity was equally elusive for Irish and Ulstermen. Following the terribly costly 'V' Beach landings at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, the divisional commander, Major-General Aylmer Hunter Weston (who had Scottish lineage), congratulated the survivors of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers on the terrific achievement of their success. 'It was,' he affirmed, 'done by men of real and true British fighting blood.'⁷ Ulster's most specific contribution to the British imperial war effort was most readily identified with the 36th (Ulster) Division, which first saw serious action on the first day of the Somme, 1 July 1916, when it suffered some 5,000 casualties. The Ulster Division was exceptionally close-knit – it was a sort of 'pals' formation – and after the war its sacrifice came to be associated particularly with the freedom of Ulster unionists to run their own territory in what emerged as Northern Ireland (comprising six of the nine counties of the old province of Ulster). But sometimes it took a little teasing out. On 1 November 1922 Sir James Craig, the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, unveiled a war memorial at Coleraine, County Londonderry. The monument depicts a soldier at ease, placed on a high plinth. Below him is (according to the sculptor) 'a hooded figure of Erin' holding a wreath. 'Erin' or not, what Craig said at the memorial's dedication was that those who had died had 'left a great message to all of them to stand firm, and to give away none of *Ulster's* soil.'⁸

But these are, as it were, separate and parallel expressions of autonomous identity. And, indeed, for both New Zealand and Ulster (or Northern Ireland), there was often a reluctance to over-emphasise any sort of separate (or separatist) identity. For both territories the predominant political stance in the interwar years was one which rejoiced in 'Britishness', celebrating a willing subordination within the 'greatest empire the world had ever seen'. For the Northern Irish, or Ulster people, or whatever the unionists chose to call themselves, there was a fluctuating need to distinguish themselves from the 'Irish', or at least those Irish nationalists (North and South) who espoused a separatist desire for the whole island of Ireland to be an independent state. This essay will investigate some of these perceptions and aspirations concerning New Zealand and Northern Ireland in the context of a number of what might be called reciprocal visits between the two places: that of the Northern Ireland premier, Viscount Craigavon (as he became in 1927), to New Zealand in 1929–30 and the visits of three New Zealand premiers to Northern Ireland between 1923 and 1930, exploring along the way how 'distance' and 'proximity' might in differing ways affect and modulate opinions and mutual perceptions expressed by both visitor and visited.

According to Craigavon's official biographer, among the reasons for his trip to Australia and New Zealand in 1929–30 was that, when he had 'entertained two Prime Ministers of New Zealand, W. F. Massey and Joseph Gordon Coates' in Northern Ireland, their 'accounts of their country had made him very eager to see it.'⁹ The New Zealand visit, moreover, had something of the air of a royal progress or state visit. It could be put in the context of royal visits to the dominion, such as those of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901; the Prince of Wales in 1920; the Duke and Duchess of York in 1927; and the Duke of Gloucester in 1935.¹⁰

A closer analogy might be Leopold Amery's tour as colonial secretary in November–December 1927, the first visit ever to New Zealand of a serving British cabinet minister.¹¹

The Craigavons arrived at Auckland (from Australia) on 18 November 1929. Lord Craigavon, reported *The Times*, 'will make a careful examination of New Zealand farming and the dairy produce trade in the anticipation that he will gain much useful information on problems of interest to Northern Ireland'.¹² The pattern of the tour was set at the start: civic reception, speeches of mutual self-admiration and celebration of the British empire, visits to local places of interest, and meetings with groups of Irish and/or Ulster people. We are fortunate, too, that Lady Craigavon kept a diary, which provides a particularly vivid (and comparatively unrestrained) account of the tour. Early on, at New Plymouth, Craig assured the assembled civic dignitaries that 'we look upon New Zealand as a right-hand brother in a community which goes to form the great British Empire'.¹³ Next day there was a reception in New Plymouth by Ulster people of the district. Here Craigavon spoke of:

that close touch between the two [places] and the fact that Ulster and New Zealand were one as loyal as the other, that had made their visit so very enjoyable. Sometimes [he said] at Home there might be just a little fear that the Dominions were not quite so alive to the grandeur of the British Empire as of old, but thank God he had been cheered to know that there had been no diminution of New Zealand's loyalty.

The same day Craigavon wrote home to his cabinet secretary, remarking 'It is wonderful the number of men & women of Ulster blood out here, it is the backbone of the Dominion; they are a splendid lot.' Culturally, there was a distinctly *Irish* dimension to the occasion. Lady Craigavon was presented with a bouquet 'in the shape of a harp' (*not* a Red Hand), and during the evening 'two little girls, Misses Joan Austin and Mary Walsh, danced an *Irish jig*'.¹⁴ It is perhaps worth pausing for a moment to reflect on what was culturally believed to be appropriate to celebrate the visit of the prime minister, and arguably the creator, of Northern Ireland, a fierce and professional (as it were) Ulsterman.

The next day, a Sunday, they moved on to Wanganui, where they toured the city. Lady Craigavon wrote in her diary:

On our return to the hotel [we] found about thirty or forty Ulster people had turned up hearing that we were there. Our hearts sank as we were dropping with fatigue, but, of course, had to receive them all in the lounge. Luckily their spokesman was a clergyman who was due to take a service at half past six, so this helped to shorten the proceedings!¹⁵

The Craigavons' exhausting schedule was relieved by a three-week stay over Christmas and New Year at the Grand Hotel, Rotorua. Here they relaxed as tourists, and Craig put in a lot of trout-fishing.¹⁶ They arrived in Wellington on 3 January, and at once went to call on the prime minister, Sir Joseph Ward, 'at his house at Heretaunga, a charming little home with a nice garden looking over the golf links'.¹⁷ Later that day Craigavon visited S. Hurst Seager's memorial to the Ulster-born W. F. Massey – the mausoleum of 'his friend and fellow-countryman', as *The Times* put it¹⁸ – at Point Halswell on

Wellington Harbour. 'The Memorial', noted Lady Craigavon, 'was not quite finished, but will be magnificent. High up on the most prominent point of land, jutting out into the Bay, they have erected an oval monument of marble and granite in the centre of which is the tomb.' It was approached 'by a flight of steps and a narrow alleyway, the idea being to represent the chancel of a church and thus make people realise the sanctity of the spot'.¹⁹ Lady Craigavon did not remark that there is, in fact, no mention whatsoever of Ulster (or Ireland) on the memorial. After laying a wreath (on which was inscribed 'A tribute of affection and esteem to a great Imperialist and a firm friend from the people of Ulster'),²⁰ Craigavon naturally marked the occasion with another speech. He observed that it had given him 'great pleasure to visit New Zealand, which reminded him more of Northern Ireland than any other part of the world he had seen'. He also dwelt on Northern Ireland's own memorial to Massey:

As a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Massey, the drive leading up to the Ulster Houses of Parliament had been named Massey avenue. 'I had to decide upon a name,' said Viscount Craigavon,²¹ 'and it occurred to me that Mr. Massey was the greatest living Ulsterman of his day. I am glad to say I was able to advise him of the fact that his name had been given to the drive, and to hear from him before he died.'²²

What might be observed here, is that in the same speech, Craigavon, apparently indiscriminately, referred to 'Northern Ireland' and 'Ulster', for unionists, perhaps, synonyms, but scarcely so for Irish (or Ulster) nationalists.

The rest of the tour was spent largely on the South Island. The Craigavons were given a warm welcome at Greymouth on the west coast, where the deputy mayor, J. B. Kent, declared that it was the 'first occasion on which a member of Parliament from any part of Great Britain [*sic*] had honoured Greymouth with a visitor [*sic*].'²³ There was a particular concentration in this locality of Catholic Irish inhabitants, of which Craigavon had clearly been advised, and he implicitly addressed it in his speech. He 'could not tell how delighted he was, since being on the West Coast, to have met such a large number of Irishmen by birth and Irishmen by lineage'. He was glad to say that 'they all appeared to be playing their part and were a credit to the country'. Once again he mentioned Massey Avenue in Belfast, along which 'for all time, so long as the Parliament buildings stood, every person who trod the path to them would walk'. There was a striking degree of confidence in the future here – '*for all time, so long as the Parliament buildings stood*' – though, despite the highest hopes of Ulster Unionists, the two things were by no means the same.

In his peroration, Craigavon not only addressed the relations between Northern Ireland and New Zealand within the British imperial system, but also those between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. 'We belong', he said, 'to the same country, for while the one flag flutters over us we are one'. Ulster was 'not jealous of New Zealand's progress. On our part, we have passed through horrible times, but they have now passed away, and we have peace and prosperity. Premier Cosgrave and myself are on the best of terms, and both working for the good of the country.'

There could not, he concluded, 'be peace, prosperity and progress unless memories of the past were thrown behind'.²⁴ This speech at Greymouth took up a theme he had introduced at one of his main Australian speeches in Sydney two months previously. Reflecting then on the

prevailing conditions in Ireland, Lord Craigavon said that the relationship between all classes and creeds to-day was better than he could ever remember. Irishmen had gone through an extraordinary time of trouble – trouble that had been heartbreaking at a certain period. They had got over it, and nobody was the less friendly for it. Probably the crisis had brought Irishmen closer together, for they had all been struggling for a principle – a principle for which Australians would have fought for equal ardour. There was now a great cheerfulness about the people, and they had emerged from eight years of domestic and commercial strife better men and women.²⁵

This amiable and optimistic vision of conditions in Ireland was literally fantastic, describing years during which one historian has written that 'North-South relations were characterised by a pervasive cold war'.²⁶ In Craigavon's Greymouth speech, moreover, along with a separate reference to 'Ulster', he used the word 'country' in two distinct senses: the first apparently covering the whole empire; the second connoting Ireland, North and South.

A couple of days later the focus on Northern Ireland, and the politics (on the New Zealand side at least) were unequivocally unionist. At Christchurch (where there was a particular concentration of Ulster settlers) the mayor, R. S. Black, 'said it was visits such as this which made them feel they belonged to one glorious Empire and one flag. The fight', he added. 'which their guest had put up in the past 30 years was viewed with admiration and envy'.²⁷ Moving on to Dunedin, the Craigavons were taken to see 'the old settlers Museum containing', remarked Lady Craigavon condescendingly, 'some interesting relics, and a good deal of rubbish as well; but in a new country it is, of course, hard to collect together much of real interest, though in future years these Victorian souvenirs will no doubt be much appreciated'.²⁸

At Timaru (a centre of Catholic Irish settlement with a history of sectarianism),²⁹ the visitors were greeted by the mayor, Mr W. Angland, who told them he was especially glad to welcome them as Ireland was the land of his birth. This prompted Craigavon to an effusion of Irishness. 'We all revere the land of our birth,' he declared, 'and I am pleased to see that Irish stalwarts who have come to New Zealand have assisted to build up this country to its present unbounded prosperity', potentially a problematic comment to make in a country by all accounts slipping badly into economic recession. Indeed, throughout the Craigavons' tour there was no sense of the economic problems which dominated much contemporary New Zealand political debate. 'Like New Zealand,' continued Craigavon, 'I think Ireland has a wonderful future. We have passed through troublous and exciting times, but I am sure that now that all lies behind us, and both North and South will rally round and join in taking the road to prosperity.' They were, he concluded, 'a small community in Ulster – small but desperately Imperialistic'.³⁰

At Masterton the emphasis shifted to Northern Ireland's recent history, and Craigavon took a more ostentatiously party political line:

They were in every way a loyal people in Ulster. People here in New Zealand would have done the same as Ulster did in the same circumstances. There was no law that could compel a British citizen to give up his citizenship unless he desired to give it up. (Applause) Suppose someone passed a law that Masterton should no longer belong to the Empire. It would be ultra vires. The people of Masterton would say: 'You can go, but we remain British citizens and no law can drive us out.' That was all the people of Ulster did. (Applause).³¹

Craigavon's final speech was at a reception hosted by the Ulster Association of New Zealand in the Wellington Town Hall concert chamber. Elsewhere in the building a boxing tournament was being held which inspired Craigavon to use a sporting simile to describe intra-Irish relations. On this occasion the Ulsterman began on a wider, more inclusively 'Irish' tack, but ended with the old certainties of loyalist rhetoric, reverting to Ulster unionist type. He asked his audience

to believe him when he said that there was not an Ulster man or woman who was not just as delighted to know that the South was prospering under the new regime as those who came from the South themselves. (Loud applause) Both sides had come through very anxious and very troublesome times, but just like those who were taking part in a boxing contest next door, blows had been given and received, and at the end of it all there was the usual shaking of hands.³²

He finished, however, with words directed specifically at those Ulster folk living in what he hoped he might call 'the New Ulster', and he wanted to take the opportunity of saying

'Good-bye to Ulster in New Zealand.' So long as they were loyal to the old flag – as he was sure they ever would be – they could always be depended on to a man. (Applause.) He assured them that the walls of Derry were still standing, that 'Roaring Meg' was still there, and the Walker monument still towering up above the city. (loud applause).³³

This summoning-up of the 1689 Siege of Derry, among the most potent of the unionist 'foundation myths', came from a man who, scarcely a month before, had assured the Irish people of Greymouth that 'peace, prosperity and progress' could be possible only if 'memories of the past were thrown behind'. But was it the distance from home, and remoteness from the sterile tropes of exclusivist 'Ulsterness', which enabled Craig's intermittently more ecumenical attitude?

Not much was reported at home about the Craigavons' Antipodean tour. The *Irish News*, however, Belfast's nationalist daily, representing the political views of approximately a third of the Northern Ireland population, protested against what it called Craigavon's 'hypocritical utterances'. 'Addressing audiences largely composed of people of Irish blood,' it complained, 'a great proportion of them Catholics, he has consistently represented the Six Counties as a prosperous, happy land, its inhabitants at peace and fully contented with his Administration.' There was, it declared, danger that his speeches might 'delude a people ill-informed of the real state of affairs' in Northern Ireland.³⁴

At the beginning of January 1930 the *Irish News* printed 'The Triumph of Tyranny' by P. J. O'Regan, an 'Irish-New Zealander', which had originally been published in the *New Zealand Tablet*. O'Regan, described as 'perhaps the leading lay Irish Catholic in the country', was the son of Cork immigrants who had been elected an independent MP in the 1890s for the west coast mining district of Inangahua, near Greymouth. After losing his seat in 1899, he had become a successful lawyer representing working men and a prominent supporter of Irish republican causes.³⁵ O'Regan dismissed Craigavon's claim that Northern Ireland was 'harmonious and prosperous' as a 'daring travesty of the facts'. He summarised how the rights of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland 'had been trampled under foot' by the abolition of proportional representation for parliamentary elections, in sharp contrast, he observed, to its existence in independent Ireland where it worked to the benefit of the 'anti-national and Protestant minority' there.³⁶

At the end of the month the *Irish News* returned to the topic of Craigavon's New Zealand tour, accusing him of taking a 'five-months holiday abroad' where he was able to 'bandy about rhodomontade about Northern Ireland', celebrating its 'Loyalty and Prosperity'.³⁷ It also published an article by a prominent New Zealand journalist, B. Magee, who asserted that if Craigavon had come to New Zealand six years earlier when 'a dour North of Ireland man', Massey, had been prime minister, he 'would have been lionised, for then the cloven foot of bigotry was painfully apparent'. Now, however, matters in New Zealand had greatly improved. The current governor, Sir Charles Fergusson, albeit a prominent Presbyterian, had done much 'to emphasise the desirability of eliminating bigotry from the country'. Lord Craigavon, argued Magee, could not have come to New Zealand 'at a more opportune time to have his mind opened and his vision widened to the inflow of new thoughts and ideas'. In New Zealand, where Catholics constituted only a small percentage of the population, he had been welcomed by Sir Joseph Ward, a Catholic prime minister (with a Southern Irish background), and, asserted Magee, he would have found that, unlike Northern Ireland, 'in all the departments of State and private employment . . . religion was not a bar to preferment, much less subject to penalisation on that account'. Craigavon had 'assured all and sundry' that he hoped 'that the trip will be of benefit to the North'. For Magee, in New Zealand Craigavon had had a grand 'opportunity to learn' the possibilities and benefits of religious tolerance.³⁸

Between 1923 and 1930 three New Zealand prime ministers, Massey, Forbes and Coates, came to Northern Ireland, on each occasion following attendance at imperial conferences. Massey's visit in December 1923 was his second to Ulster as prime minister (he also came in November 1916), but it was his only visit to *Northern* Ireland as a separate political entity. Massey came as an official guest, the Belfast government having agreed to meet all the expenses of his five-day visit.³⁹

There were four main themes of the visit. First, there was a general celebration of the British empire and the sense of imperial partnership which Northern Ireland and New Zealand shared. Speaking at a Chamber of Commerce lunch in Belfast, Massey declared that he looked upon 'New Zealand and Northern Ireland as two countries in some respects very much alike – similar in their characteristics and actuated by

the same patriotic spirit of loyalty to the Crown and love and appreciation for the Empire which our ancestors built up.⁴⁰ Second was an emphasis on the importance to both places of trade. At the same Belfast luncheon, the local minister of commerce, H. M. Pollock described Massey as 'the greatest commercial traveller in the British Empire, one who believed in pushing Empire Goods for Empire Consumption'.⁴¹ One of the strongly expressed hopes, indeed, of this visit was that increased inter-imperial trade, and Imperial Preference, would work to the great advantage of the economies of Northern Ireland and New Zealand, and there were specific hopes that New Zealand, which already 'grew flax for linseed purposes', might also be able to grow flax 'to supply fibre for the Belfast linen industry'.⁴²

Third, obviously, was the returning emigrant, 'roots' dimension of the visit. Massey duly went to Limavady, where he inspected the War Memorial Institute, 'revisited a number of scenes of his boyhood', met up with some 'old schoolmates and friends of bygone days' and went to morning service in the Second Limavady Presbyterian Church, where he and his parents had 'worshipped in far-back days'.⁴³ After the service he inspected a church parade of the Royal Ulster Constabulary 'B' Specials (the exclusively Protestant paramilitary reserve police force) and 'congratulated them on the notable part they played in restoring peace to Ulster'.⁴⁴ Speaking in Limavady, Massey said that New Zealand 'had plenty of room for settlers, he said, "Give me a quarter million Ulstermen and women and I will take the blessed lot." (Applause.) They wanted to keep the race pure'.⁴⁵ At an official luncheon in Derry, Massey was unambiguously unionist. He was introduced as 'a strong man and an Orangeman'; and he told his audience he was 'glad that Ulster had remained part of the United Kingdom', adding, however, that this should not be taken as any reflection on the government of Southern Ireland. 'He would like to think', he said, 'that there would be peace and friendship between the different countries of the British Empire, including Southern Ireland'.⁴⁶

Massey came in for some criticism for his evident pro-unionist sympathies. The *Irish News* ticked him off for plunging into British and Irish controversies:

He 'boosted' Baldwinite Protection . . . he accepted praise as 'a strong Man and an Orangeman'; he babbled nonsense about 'Ulster and the United Kingdom'; in short, there was nothing left undone or unsaid . . . that a self-respecting citizen of a remote free country would not have scrupulously avoided while dwelling amongst people living under another Government.

Massey's 'exhibitions of *Ulsteria*' (a word evidently to rhyme with 'hysteria') were 'ill-mannered, uncouth and reprehensible'.⁴⁷

The fourth theme was one of how New Zealand was perceived in Ulster, as most extravagantly expressed at Queen's University, Belfast, on Friday 30 November 1923. Lord Craigavon recalled that:

Queen's University, amid scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm, proclaimed him as one of her own. I was privileged to be present when the students, attired in Maori dress elected him their paramount Chief and escorted him through the Town, cheered by an admiring multitude voicing a welcome from the heart of all Ulster.⁴⁸

The most extensive account of this remarkable event appeared in a souvenir brochure produced after Massey's visit by one of the big Belfast department stores. It described how Massey was greeted formally by the acting vice chancellor (Professor Symmers) 'in the way of the old Celtic greeting' with 'a hundred thousand welcomes' (*cead mile fáilte*).

A more dramatic welcome still awaited 'the great white chief' of the New Zealand Dominion. The whole front area of the University was in possession of the Maori tribe, and their chieftains, seated on a dias [*sic*], called the premier to the place of honour at their table. The Maori warriors were painted after the manner of the native race, and were apparelled after the fashion of the tribe.

The presentation of gifts followed, these including an *Irish Shillelagh with green ribbon*.

It transpired that the cook had no feast in readiness, and envoys were despatched to bring in a few missionaries to form food for the repast. These were tested in turn, and eventually one of the number was consigned into a big pot, under which a huge fire was lighted.

WAR DANCE AND HOWLING CHORUS

The war dance came next. There were three advances and three retreats, the former being characterised by a howling chorus, which reverberated over the landscape, and the latter by a silence that was almost uncanny. . .

Mr. Massey was obviously delighted with the Maori reception, and, when acknowledging the presents, he referred to the fact that the race had great war-like traditions, that they never surrendered, and that they played a great part in the World War. They were now civilised citizens of a great country.⁴⁹

There was an Ulster resonance in Massey's final remark about the Maori people. Bearing in mind the broad 'Irish military tradition', the Siege of Derry shout of 'No Surrender!' and the recent heroics of the 36th (Ulster) Division at the battle of the Somme, he could as well have said of Ulster loyalists that they 'had great war-like traditions, that they never surrendered, and that they played a great part in the World War'. Whether, of course, he might have asserted that 'they were now civilised citizens of a great country', is, perhaps, a rather different matter.

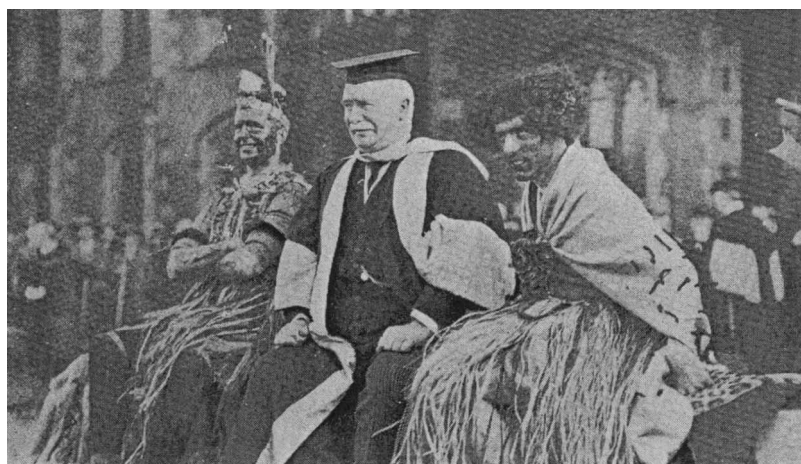
This student demonstration was clearly based on the haka, as performed, for example, on 'All Blacks' rugby tours, and which would have been seen in Belfast in November 1924 when the New Zealand touring team defeated Ulster.⁵⁰ The All Blacks' haka was (and is) taken very seriously, but pantomime performances of the Belfast sort, in which identikit 'savages' (who looked more Zulu than Maori in this instance) leap about in a grotesque (if supposedly affectionate and admiring) parody of a 'native dance', raise serious issues of cultural engagement and contemporary western attitudes to the exotic 'other'. At the time few people thought the matter very remarkable. The New Zealand press reported the occasion as 'an amusing and excellently organised "rag"', in which five hundred students 'dressed in all sorts of weird variants of Maori costumes' gathered outside the university and 'installed Mr. Massey as "Big Chief"' (see Figures 1 and 2).⁵¹ Maori singing and poi dancing had become popular at 'smoke concerts' and celebrations in New Zealand from the turn



After Mr. Massey had the Degree of LL.D. conferred on him, and was passing out of the University Buildings, he was received by 500 Students dressed as Maoris. Photograph shows the Chief asking Mr. Massey to ascend the throne,

Figure 1 From Bank Buildings (Belfast) Ltd. Souvenir Brochure 'Premier Massey's Ulster Visit'.

of the century,⁵² and Pakeha New Zealand students frequently indulged in mock war dances. In the late 1920s members of the Hongi Cub at Auckland University favoured mock hakas as a way of disrupting Student Christian Movement sing-alongs.⁵³ But Maori tolerance for the racism inherent in white parodies of the haka declined, demonstrated most dramatically when in May 1979 members of the radical Maori 'Waitangi Action Committee' violently broke up the mock haka which engineering



Mr. Massey entered into the spirit of the Students' "ra" and is seen on throne between the "King" and "Queen" of Maoris.

Figure 2 As Figure 1.

students at Auckland University had performed for over twenty years as part of their annual 'capping day' festivities.⁵⁴ In the 1920s and 1930s, however, the public discourse remained dominated by essentially British assumptions of Caucasian cultural superiority.

While Massey was the only dominion prime minister to combine a visit to Northern Ireland with the 1923 conference, two premiers came after the 1926 meeting, Walter Stanley Monroe of Newfoundland and J. G. (Gordon) Coates of New Zealand. Unlike Massey in 1923, both men visited Dublin before travelling on to Belfast, thus to an extent validating the position of the Irish Free State as a fellow dominion. Both men also received honorary degrees at Trinity College in Dublin (where Monroe (a Protestant) had been born).⁵⁵ When he came to Belfast, Monroe affirmed how very loyal Newfoundland was. In sharp contrast to the separatist tendencies being displayed by some dominions (though not New Zealand), Monroe had told the imperial conference that 'Newfoundland had no desire to be consulted regarding Britain's foreign policy. They gave the British Government a blank cheque, whether they were Conservative, Liberal or Labour, and in the event of war Newfoundland would join in feeling sure they were doing so in a just cause.'⁵⁶

Coates arrived in Belfast on Saturday 11 December, the day after he had been awarded his honorary degree (when the Trinity College Public Orator introduced him as 'the worthy successor of those great men Robert [*sic*] Seddon and Joseph Ward',⁵⁷ Massey's greatness evidently not having registered in Dublin). The *Weekly Northern Whig* remarked that Coates, like Massey, 'comes of Ulster stock'.⁵⁸ In fact Coates's main family base in the 'Mother Country' was in England, but he had an uncle, William Coates, working in the Belfast linen business, whom he met while in the province.⁵⁹ Coates, however, had a more intriguing Ulster link (and one not picked up at all during his 1926 visit) through his maternal grandmother, Agnes Casement-Aickin, one of the prominent Casement family from County Antrim, and a relative of Sir Roger Casement, the Irish republican leader executed in 1916, though more recently also celebrated as an Irish gay icon.⁶⁰

Coates was taken to Derry, where he toured the city walls and visited the Apprentice Boys' Memorial Hall, where he was 'shown a 16-foot effigy of the traitor Lundy in course of preparation for the 18th December anniversary'.⁶¹ In Belfast at a public meeting sponsored by the Overseas League he, like Massey, celebrated the imperial link, reaffirmed New Zealand's fidelity to the empire, and spoke of the economic advantages to be had from imperial preference and increased inter-imperial trade. He touched briefly on Irish matters, remarking that while in Dublin staying with the governor-general (the veteran Irish nationalist Tim Healy) he 'had had the opportunity of hearing quite a lot about Ireland – quite a lot which one did not know at first-hand previously' about 'the aspirations, the objects, the intentions, and the desire of the people of being able to develop this country even more than it had been developed. He [Coates] sincerely believed that with goodwill and tolerance this country would progress more than it had ever done in the past.' In this reference to 'goodwill and tolerance', is there a hint that the New Zealander appreciated the strength of sectarian animosities in contemporary Ireland? Coates went on to speak

of his own country, and assured his audience that 'though some 13,000 or 14,000 miles' separated them from the Mother Country,

New Zealanders still had close affection, sympathy, and loyalty for the people in this part of the world. (Applause.) He said that as a Britisher, but they had other Britishers in New Zealand who were of a darker colour – the Maories [*sic*], and even they claimed close relationship with the Mother Country, but they claimed it from another point of view altogether. They said that relationship had been brought about through the process of absorption, and quite recently one of his Ministers, in describing how that happened, explained to his audience that his great grandfather had eaten a Presbyterian minister. (Laughter.)⁶²

Thus Coates expounded in Northern Ireland the prevailing New Zealand public ideology of Maori and Pakeha as one people living in harmony, an attitude which reflected James Craig's assertions of all-Ireland harmony in some of his 1929–30 speeches in New Zealand.

In a leading article, 'A Message from the Britain of the Pacific', the *Weekly Northern Whig*, while accepting some conventional contemporary stereotypes of Pakeha-Maori relations, commended Coates for his cheerful optimism, and congratulated New Zealand for its marvellous recent history of development and the highly creditable way it had coped with what it delicately called 'the problem of the original owners of the soil'. What in the early nineteenth century had been 'two practically unknown islands, inhabited by a scanty population of warlike cannibals', had become 'a highly organised Dominion of the Empire, in which upwards of a million people live under exceptionally happy conditions'. Extremes of wealth and poverty were unknown, and there was 'little room for either the leisured sybarite or the "work shy" loafer'. The Maoris, it was noted, although cannibals, 'were, nevertheless, a race with many noble qualities', who in the years following the arrival of British colonists 'never seem to have aroused the feelings of intense dislike and repulsion which long embittered the relations between the red men of North America and the "pale faces"'. Throughout New Zealand, maintained the *Whig* (perhaps with more certainty than was absolutely warranted), 'there is no such thing as the "colour prejudice" which has been responsible for so much wrong and misery both in North America and South Africa'.⁶³

Not everyone was quite so pleased with Coates and his visit. The nationalist *Irish News* complained about 'the old and dishonourable practice of utilising eminent strangers as cogs in the elaborate machinery devised for bolstering up and maintaining in power the indefensible Ascendancy Clique who dominate the Six Counties'. Surely, it commented, the prime minister of New Zealand, 'if he is not more innocent of worldly guile than any contemporary ruler of a State', would by now have realised that he had not been invited to Northern Ireland for his own sake, but merely 'to act as an advertising agent for a discredited Government'. Neither Coates nor the Newfoundlander Monroe had been 'allowed to learn a solitary essential fact about the state of affairs in the Six Counties'. If, alleged the *Irish News*, Coates returned home 'convinced that the Six Counties are inhabited by a million and a quarter of happy, prosperous and contented people', in part it would have been because he had toured the

province 'without discovering that the Chamber of Commerce, or Chamber of Trade, or whatever sub-committee of [the] U.U.C. [Ulster Unionist Council] may have entertained him, has carefully excluded every citizen of all the thousands opposed to the U.U.C.'s policy from the public functions in which he has participated'.⁶⁴

There was some truth in this. During his visit to Derry, for example, Coates was accompanied by Sir James Craig, and at the city the party was met exclusively by Unionist civic leaders (representing through gerrymandered electoral divisions a city with a Catholic and Nationalist majority). Coates's tour, moreover, included purely Protestant historic sites. On the other hand, there is some doubt whether representatives of the minority community would, in any case, have accepted invitations to participate in meeting the New Zealander. For obvious and understandable reasons, Northern Nationalists tended to boycott official Northern Ireland government occasions, and it was only after the tripartite Boundary Agreement of December 1925, which secured partition and the existence of Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future, that Nationalist MPs began to take an active part in the Northern Ireland parliament.

The 1930 imperial conference brought four dominion prime ministers to Ireland, though only three came north. The South African, Hertzog, visited Dublin but not Belfast. The first to come north was Richard Bennett of Canada who came for a busy day of engagements before departing for Scotland. That the political climate in Northern Ireland had somewhat changed was demonstrated by Craigavon at lunch reading a letter from Joseph Devlin, the veteran Nationalist MP, apologising for being unable to attend.⁶⁵ The next premier to come was James (J. H.) Scullin, the first Catholic to have become prime minister of Australia. In Dublin he not only met the Irish premier, William Cosgrave, but also the republican leader, Eamon de Valera.⁶⁶ He received an honorary degree, not from Trinity College with its Ascendancy connotations, but from the National University of Ireland.⁶⁷ Being a strong Irish nationalist with Ulster forebears, moreover, he provides a sharp contrast with William Massey. Scullin's parents were both from the North, his father coming from Bellaghy, County Londonderry.⁶⁸

Like Bennett, Scullin was given a civic reception in the city hall, followed by a government luncheon. At the former, Scullin spoke in general terms about the unity of Ireland. He said that he and his wife (whose family were from County Cork) in their marriage united North and South. While he did not want to trespass in the 'politics of any part of this country' (which was a rather different line from the one he adopted at home in Australia), he hoped 'that in spirit and in friendship Ireland will be united, because within this Commonwealth of Nations we want unity'. At the lunch, Scullin was welcomed not only by Craigavon, but also by Joe Devlin, a first for any Northern Ireland Nationalist MP. Devlin thanked Craigavon 'for his kindness in asking him to come there with his colleagues representing a different section of opinion to his'. The leader writer of the *Irish News* added that 'without lessening our appreciation' of Craigavon's 'act of courtesy', 'we, and those for whom we speak, would be happier still if the hand of fellowship could be stretched forth on more important occasions'.⁶⁹ In all, Scullin's visit permitted an unusual (for the still new state of

Northern Ireland) combination of public ceremonial and Catholic celebration (Scullin's visit included a meeting with the Catholic primate, Cardinal MacRory), in welcoming a visitor whom the Unionist government was ostensibly pleased to have in the province.

The New Zealander George W. Forbes was the last dominion premier to visit Northern Ireland in 1930, and after the minority excitements of the Scullin visit, it was something of a return to the *status quo ante*. The reception committee comprised Craigavon, four cabinet ministers and the lord mayor of Belfast, all Unionists. At the city hall, the lord mayor said that 'to refer to politics is outside the scope of this formal but very sincere welcome', and promptly made an explicitly political remark. 'I am only stating the truth', he said, 'when I mention that the attitude which New Zealand has always displayed in Imperial matters has found a warm echo in the heart of the loyal people of this city.' Forbes responded in terms which can only have pleased the Unionists: 'He felt that in coming to Belfast he was coming to a city that had a sentiment which was very strong in New Zealand – the sentiment of affection for the Old Country and loyalty to the Crown. (Hear, hear.) . . . The British Empire', he continued (and in contrast to Scullin's usage), 'is a term that we like very much better than the Commonwealth of Nations.'⁷⁰ During his visit, the commercial possibilities of trade between Northern Ireland and New Zealand, given point by the prevailing economic recession, were addressed in a couple of engagements. Forbes toured the Belfast Ropeworks – the largest in the world – for which New Zealand might be able to supply raw material, and he also went to the Linen Research Centre (where the economic possibilities of flax were investigated).

Like Massey, Forbes was given an honorary degree by Queen's University, and, like his predecessor, he was treated to a 'Maori' demonstration. 'The students', wrote Lady Craigavon in her diary, 'staged a Maori Rag which was quite amusing, but not as good as the one they originally did for Mr Massey.'⁷¹ It was on a smaller scale than in 1923, the *Belfast Telegraph* reporting that 'upwards of a hundred students in weird costumes, with awesome headgear and grim warpaint, made the welkin ring with their whoops, howls, and yells'. Under the headline 'A Maori Welcome. "Wild Tribesmen" Greet Mr. Forbes at Queen's', the *Weekly Northern Whig* provided a more detailed description of the events. This time there was no missionary, but Forbes was presented with 'a magnificent bouquet of cauliflower' and also a wife: 'The bride, a strapping wench of some six feet odd, was brought forward and handed over with all the mysterious rites associated with such an occasion. With the coy damsel it was a case of love at first sight, for she threw her arms around her new husband in impassioned [*sic*] embrace.' In order to facilitate 'feasting and merriment', Forbes was then presented with a plate of herrings and potatoes, along with a bottle of Guinness (the *Irish News* said it was Bass – an English beer).

It was evident [continued the *Whig*] that Mr. Forbes had enjoyed the 'rag' immensely, and when he was given an opportunity of replying he assured the tribesmen that the Belfast Tribe was the best in the world. How they had reached such a high degree of perfection was a mystery, but he ventured to suggest that some of the cries would have made a normal Maori turn pale.⁷²

Forbes, like Massey, was also presented with a 'shillelagh', so the cultural cocktail was complete, the exotic and the familiar combined in an event which celebrated exuberant high spirits and martial enthusiasm, apparently characteristic of both Ulster and New Zealand.

The emergence between the wars of a regular series of imperial conferences, though intended to exploit the centripetal common bonds of empire, in fact served to stimulate centrifugal forces as well. Although the meetings provided ample photographic and rhetorical opportunities for public manifestations of imperial unity, they also gave 'status-seeking'⁷³ dominion leaders a chance to promote their individual territories' interests, as well as establishing the limits of imperial power and codifying dominion autonomy. Naturally this varied from dominion to dominion, with South Africa and Canada, for example, being more independent-minded than Newfoundland or New Zealand.⁷⁴ But inevitably, paradoxically even, proximity to fellow dominion leaders could serve to emphasise mutual 'distance' in social, economic and political terms, as much as any closeness there may have been within the imperial or commonwealth 'family', a situation illustrated in the sometimes acerbic debates during the 1930 imperial conference.⁷⁵

As demonstrated by the Northern Ireland example, the tours (with their associated rituals) which dominion premiers took of Britain and Ireland on the occasion of inter-war imperial conferences are themselves also very revealing of inter-war imperial relationships (and mutual perceptions), between the 'Mother Country' (or countries) and what might be called the sibling states which comprised the emerging 'British commonwealth of nations'. Lip service was consistently paid to the strength of imperial loyalty (and there is no reason to suppose that this did not genuinely reflect the sentiments of most Ulster unionists or Kiwi imperialists), but the visits of successive New Zealand premiers to Northern Ireland also sought to promote the alleged practical benefits which both communities hoped would accrue from the imperial link. Possible trading opportunities – especially based round the potentialities of empire flax-growing to supply raw material for the linen industry – were a constant theme in public speeches, and the itineraries arranged for visiting politicians.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, reflecting changing economic circumstances, G. W. Forbes in 1930 did not repeat W. F. Massey's expansive, and perhaps visionary, 1923 call for 250,000 migrants, even in the high cause (as Massey had asserted) of keeping the race 'pure'.⁷⁷

There were also clear promotional aspects to these tours. A common factor in Craigavon's visit to New Zealand and J. G. Coates's 1926 visit to Northern Ireland was the presentation of an idealised vision of their home countries, which certainly in Craigavon's case was intensified by his distance from home and his proximity to non-Protestant Irish migrants in New Zealand. For Craigavon the liberation of 'distance' gave him the freedom to celebrate Irishness to an extent almost inconceivable back in Northern Ireland. Massey and Forbes, in turn, could cheerfully (or apparently so) submit to the folderol of mock Maori greetings more readily than was perhaps becoming possible at home.

The centrifugal tendencies displayed in inter-imperial relations during these years have to be understood in the context of the extraordinary and, for some, apparently

whole-hearted imperial war effort of 1914–18.⁷⁸ Indeed, in some ways the quest for autonomy was enabled by the experience of the Great War. Among the rituals associated with the 1923, 1926 and 1930 imperial conferences in London was the marking of that great collective sacrifice by the formal participation of dominion premiers in Armistice Day ceremonies in Westminster Abbey and the laying of wreaths at the cenotaph in Whitehall.⁷⁹ And the shadow of the Great War fell across the visits of New Zealand premiers to Northern Ireland. It is not clear precisely where the ‘Maori’ demonstration for Forbes took place at Queen’s University. By the time of his visit in December 1930 a large and imposing war memorial (with an angel tending a dying soldier) had been erected directly in front of the main university buildings, exactly where the students had danced for Massey and the ‘missionary’ had been ‘cooked’. The proximity of that memorial might well have constrained the precocious posturings of the undergraduates in 1930. And yet their ‘war dance’ and the gift of the shillelagh (a weapon) provided a facetious echo of the martial virtues celebrated and commemorated in that monument. Three New Zealand premiers attending imperial conferences in London took the opportunity to visit Northern Ireland between the wars. Forbes and Coates also visited war graves along the Western Front, which brings us back to where we began. There the national differences, such as they were, and the distances travelled – geographical, political, psychological (or whatever) – became irrelevant in the common experience of the war and what might be called the ‘perpetual proximity’ of those Ulstermen and New Zealanders commemorated in the imperial – and commonwealth – cemeteries and monuments to the missing.

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Notes

- [1] Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War*, 138–41; McGibbon, *New Zealand Battlefields*, 6–7, 26–32.
- [2] Taylor, ‘Introduction’, 120; see also Phillips, ‘Histories’.
- [3] W. F. Massey to James Allen (defence minister and acting prime minister), 2 Jan. 1917, quoted in Bennett, “‘Massey’s Sunday School Picnic Party’”, 23.
- [4] *Ibid.*, 35, 42. Godley entitled his autobiography, *Life of an Irish Soldier*.
- [5] Gibbs, *Realities of War*, 470.

- [6] Macleod, 'British Heroic-Romantic Myth', 83.
- [7] Wylly, *Neill's 'Blue Caps'*, 42.
- [8] *Belfast Telegraph*, 11 Nov. 1922, emphasis added.
- [9] Ervine, *Craigavon*, 519.
- [10] For the 1901 tour, see Bassett, 'A Thousand Miles of Loyalty'.
- [11] Amery, *My Political Life*, II, 402–73.
- [12] *The Times*, 19 Nov. 1929.
- [13] *Taranaki Herald*, 7 Dec. 1929, clipping in diary of Lady Craigavon (henceforward Craigavon diary), Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, (PRONI) D.1415/C/3.
- [14] *Ibid.*, 9 Dec. 1929, emphasis added; Craigavon to Charles H. Blackmore, 7 Dec. 1929, PRONI, PM 9/24.
- [15] Lady Craigavon diary, 8 Dec. 1929, PRONI, D.1415/C/4.
- [16] 'I have just come in from a long day's trout fishing—Bag 23 between the two of us, averaging 2 1/2 lbs., other days 3, 11 & 12 & one of mine was a 6 1/4 lbs.' Craigavon to Blackmore, 17 Dec. 1929, PRONI, PM 9/24.
- [17] Craigavon diary, 3 Jan. 1930, PRONI, D.1415/C/4.
- [18] *The Times*, 4 Jan. 1930.
- [19] Craigavon diary, 3 Jan. 1930, PRONI, D.1415/C/4.
- [20] *Londonderry Sentinel*, 4 Jan. 1930 (I am grateful to Brian Mitchell for this reference).
- [21] This was not strictly true. The road leading up to the south entrance to the Stormont estate (where the parliament buildings were erected) was called 'Killeen Road', before being renamed 'Massey Avenue' in 1925.
- [22] *Wellington Evening Post*, 4 Jan. 1930, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/4.
- [23] *Grey River Argus*, 9 Jan. 1930, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/4.
- [24] *Ibid.*
- [25] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 Nov. 1929.
- [26] Barton, 'Northern Ireland, 1925–39', 199.
- [27] *Otago Daily Times*, 13 Jan. 1920, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/4.
- [28] Craigavon diary, 11 Jan. 1930, PRONI, D. 1415/C/5.
- [29] See Brosnahan, "'Battle of the Borough'".
- [30] *Timaru Herald*, 29 Jan. 1930, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/6.
- [31] *Wairarapa Age*, 21 Jan. 1930, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/6.
- [32] *Dominion*, 5 Feb. 1930, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/6.
- [33] *Evening Post*, 5 Feb. 1930, clipping in Craigavon diary, PRONI, D.1415/C/6.
- [34] *Irish News*, 3 Jan. 1930.
- [35] Brosnahan, 'Parties or Politics', 74–75.
- [36] *Irish News*, 3 Jan.1930.
- [37] *Ibid.*, 4 Feb. 1930.
- [38] *Ibid.*, 3 Feb. 1930.
- [39] C. A. Blackmore to Cecil Litchfield (a senior official in the Ministry of Commerce), 14 Nov. 1923, PRONI, PM10/3.
- [40] *Irish Times*, 30 Nov. 1923. The Irish politician Kevin O'Higgins had a different view of the similarities of the two territories. 'New Zealand', he wrote to his wife from the 1926 Imperial Conference, 'must be rather like Northern Ireland – it produces the same type of Jingo reactionary.' White, *Kevin O'Higgins*, 222.
- [41] Quoted in 'Premier Massey's Ulster Visit' brochure, produced by the Bank Buildings, Ltd, PRONI, PM 6/13.
- [42] *Irish Times*, 30 Nov. 1923.
- [43] *Londonderry Sentinel*, 4 Dec. 1923.
- [44] *Irish Times*, 3 Dec. 1923.
- [45] *Weekly Northern Whig*, 8 Dec. 1923.

- [46] *Irish Times*, 3 Dec. 1923.
- [47] *Irish News*, 4 Dec. 1923, emphasis in original.
- [48] 'Introduction by Viscount Craigavon' (for a planned biography of Massey by E. A. James), 10 Mar. 1930, PRONI, PM 6/13.
- [49] 'Premier Massey's Ulster Visit', PRONI, PM 6/13, emphasis in original. The estimated 500 students involved constituted about half of the entire student body of 1,077 in 1923–24. A British Pathé newsreel of the occasion ('Great Maori Demonstration') can be found at <http://www.britishpathe.com> (Film ID: 324.16) (accessed 30 March 2008).
- [50] The score was 28–6. *The Times*, 6 Nov. 1926. On 2 Dec. 1935 Ulster held the All Blacks to a draw (one try apiece), *The Times*, 2 Dec. 1935.
- [51] Similar reports, all evidently drawn from the same Press Association communiqué, appeared in the *New Zealand Herald*, *Dominion* and *Press*, 4 Dec. 1923.
- [52] Phillips, 'Musings in Maoriland', 531.
- [53] O'Sullivan, *Long Journey*, 45.
- [54] Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 220–24.
- [55] *Weekly Northern Whig*, 11 Dec. 1926.
- [56] *Belfast Telegraph*, 4 Dec. 1926.
- [57] *Ibid.*, 11 Dec. 1926.
- [58] *Weekly Northern Whig*, 18 Dec. 1926.
- [59] See 'Schedule for visit of Mr. J. G. Coates', PRONI, PM 6/7.
- [60] For Coates' family background, see Bassett, *Coates*, 10–14; for Casement, see Dudgeon, *Roger Casement*.
- [61] *Belfast Telegraph*, 13 Dec. 1926.
- [62] *Weekly Northern Whig*, 18 Dec. 1926. Another route to integration is suggested by the rumours that Coates had fathered children by Maori women (Basset, *Coates*, 26).
- [63] *Weekly Northern Whig*, 18 Dec. 1926.
- [64] *Irish News*, 13 Dec. 1926
- [65] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov. 1930.
- [66] Robertson, *J. H. Scullin*, 286–87.
- [67] *The Times*, 24 Nov. 1930.
- [68] *Irish News*, 13, 29 Nov. 1930.
- [69] *Ibid.*, 28 Nov. 1930.
- [70] *Weekly Northern Whig*, 6 Dec. 1930.
- [71] Typescript extract from Lady Craigavon's diary, 2 Dec. 1930, PRONI, D.1415/B/38, fol. 683.
- [72] *Belfast Telegraph* and *Irish News*, 3 Dec. 1930; *Weekly Northern Whig*, 6 Dec. 1930.
- [73] Nicholas Mansergh's phrase; see his discussion of interwar dominion relations in Mansergh, *Commonwealth Experience*, ch. 8.
- [74] For the role of the Irish Free State in the progressive definition of dominion autonomy, see Harkness, *Restless Dominion*, and the sharp critique of his thesis in Martin, 'The Irish Free State'.
- [75] This was especially so on economic issues. See Holland, *Britain and the Commonwealth Alliance*, ch. 7.
- [76] For the Northern Ireland side of these expectations, see Ollerenshaw, 'Businessmen in Northern Ireland'.
- [77] At the 1917 Imperial War Cabinet Massey had been instrumental in securing a United Kingdom commitment to empire settlement schemes; see Drummond, *Imperial Economic Policy*, 25–26, and, for the subsequent history of empire settlement, chs 2–3.
- [78] Sir Charles Lucas asserted that it was 'not Great Britain alone, but the whole – the heart-whole – British Empire' which declared war against Germany in 1914; see Lucas, *The Empire at War*, I, 293. For a more nuanced assessment, see Holland, 'The British Empire and the Great War'.
- [79] *The Times*, 12 Nov. 1923, 12 Nov. 1926, 12 Nov. 1930.

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