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Making it ordinary:
An *unexceptional* history of the early olympic movement in New Zealand

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Abstract

Making it ordinary presents an alternative history of the olympic movement in New Zealand. The crux of my argument is that the history of the local olympic movement is *unexceptional* given the contexts of international sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. My approach is also alternative with respect to different aspects of the narrative. In the case of content, I employ a systematic model of historical context which, by complying with the conventions of the discipline, is unusual among historians of the olympic movement in New Zealand who have tended to write decontextualised, celebratory, hagiographies. My contextual model frames the content of the history that consists of two parts. In Part I (circa 1892-1911), I examine the conception of the olympic movement and its institutions; in Part II (circa 1911-1936), I investigate the consolidation of the movement. Both parts excavate the major forces, agents, ideology, and events I believe were significant to the early development of New Zealand's olympic movement. With respect to the form of my narrative, my contextualisation is methodologically orthodox (i.e. I adhere to the analytical empiricism of mainstream history and employ a standard set of conceptual tools). However, I also adopt a deconstructionist sensibility throughout the thesis by foregrounding my narrative decisions and explicating my role as an author-historian.

In *Making it ordinary* I propose that the development of the early olympic movement was neither linear nor predetermined. Rather, it involved a complex interplay of forces, agents, ideologies, and events. While my thesis is essentially a contextual analysis, it is also involves remaking and playing with olympic memories. Lastly, in Part III, remembering olympic history, I draw on the politics of memory to argue that history is not necessarily about the end product but about the process by which it created (written/performed/presented). In my case, I set out to show the choices I made to create a particular narrative of New Zealand olympic history. There are multiple ways historians can remember and recraft New Zealand olympic history: *Making it ordinary* is one way of *remembering anew*.

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Abbreviations

AUAAA	Australasian Union of Amateur Athletic Associations
BGA	Britannic Games Association
AOA	Australasian Olympic Association
FESC	Festival of Empire Sports Committee
IAAF	International Amateur Athletics Federation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
NZAAA	New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association
NZACA	New Zealand Amateur Cycling Association
NZASA	New Zealand Amateur Swimming Association
NZOBEGA	New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association
NZOC	New Zealand Olympic Council
NZRFU/NZRU	New Zealand Rugby Football Union/ New Zealand Rugby Union
NZUC	New Zealand Union of Cyclists
SAAA	Southland Amateur Athletics Association
WAAA	Wellington Amateur Athletics Association

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Prologue

Until quite recently I was an avid consumer of popular olympic histories.¹ I keenly watched the olympic games and always enjoyed reading and learning about New Zealand olympians and the olympic movement. At school I relished 'playing' olympic countries and 'competing' in mock olympic games. I enjoyed picking a country to represent, waving its flag, and competing to win its olympic medals. Through all this, I was intrigued by stories of our olympic past. As a child, the idea that 'we' were a nation with a shared history of memories – with olympic triumphs and success stories – was commonsense. Among my earliest memories are shots of Barcelona's La Sagrada Familia cathedral prior to the opening ceremony of the 1992 olympic games,² and then in 1996 being mesmerised by fellow young New Zealand swimmer Danyon Loader as he won gold in the 200m and 400m freestyle at the Atlanta olympics. In both instances, I was awed by the spectacle (on television), the passion of the commentators, and the tingling sensations I felt as New Zealand's flag was raised and the anthem played.

¹ Authors and writers typically capitalise the word olympic. Like Booth (2005), I consider this an unnecessary and certainly unwarranted veneration. Discussing the former, Booth (2005, p.222) writes: "Any resemblance that the modern sport pageant may have to the ancient version or to the place called Olympia is remote and allusional". In the case of the latter, he argues, "the philosophy of olympic has no greater claim to a capital letter than liberalism, humanitarianism, authoritarianism, utopianism, or fascism" (ibid).

² I have since learnt these shots were carefully orchestrated by civic architects and olympic media to 'show' Barcelona's 'best face' to global audiences. To this end, an historic swimming pool was demolished to make a place for a media stand. The retention of the civic heritage site was a secondary concern, surpassed by the need to make a financially profitable olympic image.

Today, my enthusiasm for all things olympic has somewhat waned. Having completed a degree in physical education and an honours thesis on the olympic movement, I realise that my olympic education and childhood memories of the games were largely contrived, part of a mediated spectacle designed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), media corporations, national television stations, sports journalists and amateur historians to win audiences. By using popular images that play on nostalgia, highlighting the stories of successful olympians, and reinforcing ideas about New Zealand's national sporting traditions I was sold, albeit subtly, an olympic brand; a particular version of events, interpretations, and assumptions about the olympics and its history.

Looking back on my fanaticism for New Zealand's olympic participation and the ways I came to know olympic history I am a little disillusioned. I now recognise that ambiguity, misunderstanding, misinterpretation, romanticism and selective recollection framed my olympic education. Tailored by curriculum developers and implemented by school teachers, this education was essentially the product of official constructions and representations of New Zealand's early olympic history. These histories were written by historians who produced uncritical narratives that glorified national images and sporting traditions and, in particular, tended to privilege the exceptional, and the extraordinary. I vividly recall stories about gold medal winning olympians and the spectacular games opening ceremonies but, as I learnt later, these accounts were presented as *the* history, a comfortable version of events and realities, typically avoiding the multiplicities of perspectives history could entail as well as any broader social and cultural concerns.

Now, as a budding academic historian, I see how New Zealand olympic histories have been crafted as particular forms of knowledge. New Zealand olympic historians have shown little or no concern for critically examining significant changes and continuities between key events. These events include the country's co-option to the inaugural IOC in 1894, the participation of New Zealand athletes at the 1908 olympic games, the formation of the New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) in 1911 and its official separation from Australia in 1919, the growth of New Zealand teams during the 1920s, and the consolidation of NZOC in the 1930s. Nor have historians of the olympic movement in New Zealand shown much interest in olympism and the games as offering insights into more complex socio-cultural issues, such as ideological, class, gender, and race struggles. Revisiting my olympic education and its implicit historical inadequacies, I now see a need to challenge mainstream assumptions in New Zealand olympic histories. Indeed, in challenging these assumptions, I believe that I expose New Zealand's early olympic history as more ordinary and unexceptional than I, and others, have been led to believe.

Thus in this thesis I set out to write a new history of the olympic movement in New Zealand, including the NZOC. As well as acknowledging the influence of broader social, cultural, political and economic factors and wider historical context, my history seeks to give voice to agents other than long heard successful olympians. The question of why we continuously make and remake history underpins this history. This thesis is a reminder that historians create a history rather than *the* history of any one subject. Moreover, as I will argue, while recording olympic achievements is interesting and

necessary there are multiple ways we can go about remembering and re-crafting New Zealand olympic history.

Introduction

Part of crafting a new history of the olympic movement in New Zealand involves avoiding the philosophical and empirical pitfalls of earlier work. Theoretical shifts and new methodological approaches in history have changed and challenged the way historians ply their craft. Unfortunately, as recent efforts by Palenski and Romanos (2000) and Romanos (2006; 2008) testify, these new historiographical directions have been over looked by most New Zealand olympic historians who continue to romanticise and glorify New Zealand's sporting culture, image, and national olympic history (e.g., Cameron, 1979; Heidenstrom, 1992; Palenski & Maddaford, 1983; Palenski & Romanos, 2000; Romanos, 2006; 2008). Their accounts commonly adopt orthodox approaches to reconstructing the past and, overwhelmingly, focus on athletic success and national identity. Typically, they present their narratives as *the* history, a version of reality that avoids different historical perspectives and issues. Consequently, New Zealand's participation in the olympic movement has become part of New Zealand's invented sporting traditions, routinely celebrated in the media and, increasingly, in the school curriculum (Arnold, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2000, 2004, 2008; Thorn, 2002).

Notwithstanding the enjoyment celebratory aspects of the games provide some readers, my concern is that historians have become too fixated with immortalising New Zealand's olympic past to the extent that they have lost all critical faculties. They display no interest in explaining how olympic history has become part of the fabric of national culture, or ideological and social change (which is inherently a part of olympic histories), much less their own subjectivities. Compounding my unease is that contemporary events, such as the 2008 Beijing olympic games and the continued fascination with the

life and demise of Jack Lovelock (1500 metre gold medallist in 1936) (for example, Cleaver, 2009; Colquhoun, 2008, Woodfield, 2007), prompt a type of historical amnesia. That is, some people (prime examples are public figures such as media commentators and journalists-come-amateur-historians) selectively recall, popularise and glorify olympic traditions in order to create what they believe to be a 'suitable historic past' (Hobsbawn, 1983, p.1). Rather than critically engage with broader socio-cultural concerns, they romanticise hagiolatries and jingoistic histories. In doing so, they help reproduce problematic and conventional constructions of olympic history.

These are fundamental flaws in New Zealand olympic history and they reflect two issues. First, olympic historians and enthusiasts appear unable, or reluctant, to engage in any broader form of contextual analysis. Their inability to locate sport within social and cultural process of the time seemingly highlights their own backward-looking curiosities rather than their attempts at critical historical analysis. Second, New Zealand's olympic histories seem to echo historians' conventional desires to seek objective 'truth' by letting the facts 'speak for themselves'. In writing for a popular audience they seem unwilling to acknowledge the large subjective component of history. Historians unquestionably bring to the research subject particular assumptions that impact on the final form and content. What, then, is my task?

I intend to offer an alternative perspective on New Zealand's olympic history. I am particularly concerned with contextualising social and ideological changes that occurred in New Zealand at the turn of the twentieth century and their relation to sport and the conception and consolidation of the national olympic body. My main aims are twofold; I want to explore historical content and historical form. In regards to content, the

aim is to investigate whether elements of the broader socio-cultural context reveal anything new about the history of the olympic movement in New Zealand. In terms of form, the aim is to explore the possibilities of rewriting a reflexive history of the olympic movement. Both aims are directed at uncovering the significance of New Zealand olympic history, the making of olympic memories, and how my role as an emerging historian contributes to this process of remembering. The first aim is to examine the early history of the olympic movement in New Zealand, in particular, the conception, development, and consolidation of NZOC between 1892 and 1936. During this period the olympic movement grew in public popularity and political strength and NZOC rose from an obscure sports organisation to a relatively prominent athletic body and national institution. As such, I situate the early history of NZOC within broader cultural and social contexts and I examine key agents and contemporaneous internal and external forces, constraints, and convergences that influenced its administration of amateur sport and olympic teams.

Sport bodies like NZOC offered a site for promoting some of the dominant ideas, beliefs, conventions, and traditions seen as valuable for maintaining imperial authority. Yet, the imposition of colonial ideology through sport was not a straightforward and unchallenged process. Conflicts, struggles, and negotiations arose as citizens questioned their identities, allegiances, and nascent sense of nationhood. The tendency of some scholars (e.g., Crawford, 1994) has been to uncritically accept the development of sporting organisations and read their role in fostering embryonic nationalism as part of a 'successful' modernising process.

Suggestions about modernisation and the subsequent development of sport in New Zealand should be addressed with caution. Applied to sport, the modernisation thesis emphasises the codification, rationalisation, and bureaucratic organisation of sporting associations and the increased control and power exerted over the working classes by middle class administrators. While these processes occurred in New Zealand, they were complex and fragmented, fraught with pluralities, differences, conflict, and confusion. Conventional modernisation theory has now been discredited for its functionalist overtones and its inability to deal with new material conditions such as globalisation. I align with those who navigate away from the ineffective modernisation theory.³ In my narrative, I recognise the complexities of specific historical contexts, the significance of human agency, the inequalities in power relations, and the simultaneous interdependencies and incongruence between particular historical, cultural, and social phenomena.

My second aim is to use the structure and content of this thesis as a reflective tool to discuss how historians go about their work. By clarifying my approach I advocate for more reflexive histories in which historians explicitly identify the choices they make as authors. Subjectivity is a crucial aspect of historiography, and I recognise that history requires judgment and interpretation, and that productions of history are part of broader political agendas. Accordingly, throughout my chapters I discuss the narrative decisions I have made as a self-conscious 'author-historian' (Munslow, 2007). I have selected the

³ Further critique of the modernisation thesis is offered by Booth, (2000) and Alexander (1995). The latter, for example, uses a range of intellectual and social theorists to discuss the various conceptualisations of modernisation and their limitations in explaining the complexities of historical and contemporary social issues. In particular, Alexander points to the need for more reflexive and critical theorising on notions of social change and development.

evidence, the narrative structure or story line, characters, language, style, and make certain moral judgments. None of these flow naturally from the evidence.

Genres of history

Historians think, work, and produce in many different ways (see Booth, 2007 for a summary of how various New Zealand sport historians have played with the past). Despite differences with respect to their content, Munslow (1997) suggests historians work within three distinct historical genres: reconstructionism, constructionism, and deconstructionism. Drawing on Marwick's typology, I specifically navigate between a form of constructionism grounded in social contextualisation and theoretically-informed concepts, and a form of deconstructionism grounded in reflexivity. Through constructionism I contextualise the development of the olympic movement in broader social and cultural terms. Through deconstructionism I discuss and reflect on my historical craftsmanship.

Constructionists, like reconstructionists, value historical evidence. Where constructionists differ is with respect to how narratives convey that evidence (Munslow, 1997; 2006; Booth, 2005). Constructionists emphasise the necessity of using empirical sources. They also recognise the substantial influence theory plays in guiding the historical craft of gathering and interpreting sources and creating a narrative. Whereas reconstructionists reject theory on the grounds that it infuses predetermined meaning into the narrative, constructionists acknowledge theory as a crucial component of their historical enquiry and subsequent conceptualisation of the past. In this thesis, I employ a number of theoretically-informed concepts such as concepts of amateurism,

athleticism, agency, and hegemony to help explain the condition of New Zealand sport and the olympic movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Notwithstanding the utility of concepts, constructionism still remains predicated on recovering *the past* in some authentic and knowable form.

In comparison, deconstructionists, approach their research from the perspective of multiple interpretations of *the past*, where no one version of the *truth* can reconstruct the past. For deconstructionist historians *the past* remains partial and fragmented (Booth, 2005). Deconstructionists are more reflexive than reconstructionists and constructionist and, unlike the latter, engage with the linguistic dimensions of their productions (such as the subtle nuances of language and their narrative style). Deconstructionists continually critique their role in the historiographical process: their selections and analysis of evidence, their moral, ethical and ontological decisions as authors, and the limits of their interpretations.

The deconstructionist position on the creation, history, and the discovery of the past is exemplified by the works of scholars such as Hayden White (1973) and French literary critic Roland Barthes (1981 [1967]; 1989). White and Barthes both believed historians were authors who made not only empirical and theoretical choices, but linguistic and literary decisions that impacted on how they created and shaped their historical narratives. Summarising White's position, Phillips (2002) states that "narrative is essential because it is the *form* of history", but historians must importantly realise that "it does *not* guarantee correspondence between the past and what historians make of that past" (p.26). Barthes, Munslow (2006) reminds us, dismissed the idea of the objective narration – that is history can speak on its own.

Sport history has been slowly warming to deconstructionism (for example, Booth, 2008; Bale & Cronin, 2003; Bale, 2004; Brown, 2004; Nathan, 2003; and Phillips, 2002). In one example, Phillips (2002) utilises White's (1973, p.29) technically intricate narrative model of historical explanation to provide a critical evaluation of Booth (e.g. 1997, 1998, 2001; 2006a) and Jaggard's (e.g. 1997, 1999, 2001) academic surf lifesaving debate. Largely ignoring the empirical basis of Booth and Jaggard's respective works on surf lifesaving, Phillips concentrates on the literary dimensions of their narratives. Booth, for example, utilises "a synecdochic trope, a tragic plot, and a contextual argument with a radical ideology" (Phillips, 2002, p.35). In comparison, Jaggard employs "a metonymic trope, a romantic plot, predominantly a formist argument with a liberal ideology" (ibid). The comparison between Booth and Jaggard, as Phillips reveals, illustrates that for deconstructionists narrative serves an important historical function; effectively acting as a literary device between the historian and their evidence.

Douglas Booth's '*In-Between the flags*' (2008) offers another good example of deconstructionist sport history. Deconstructionism, Booth (2008; 2009) believes, has much to offer historians, but he asserts is not an entirely liberal nor liberating process. To clarify, Booth suggests, "although they focus their attention on the ways that practitioners create narratives, deconstructionists in fact do not grant historians absolute freedom to interpret the past as they choose" (2008, p.182). Booth revisits his contribution to a multi-authored centennial history of surf lifesaving in Australia (Booth, 2006a; Jaggard, 2006). Booth explains how he negotiated the complexities of being a subjective author historian operating within constraints of traditional reconstructionist

history. For example, Booth discusses the process by which he created his narrative, the origins of his involvement, his use of sources, and the editorial process. Reflecting on the subjectivities of this process, Booth points out historians necessarily make moral and ethical decisions in their work. "The decision to include or exclude material in any narrative", he argues, "rests entirely with the author" (p.173). Booth chose to provide an arguably radical interpretation of Australia's surf lifesaving history. His narrative was carefully prefigured and configured "to highlight a movement riddled with tensions and contradictions and to show that clubbies occupy contested social space" (2008, p.169).

Like Booth, Bale (2004) also revises popular assumptions about nations' sporting pasts. Bale's specific interest is with reevaluating the history, myths, and memories of highly regarded British middle-distance runner, Roger Bannister. On May 6 1954 Bannister was the first man recorded to break the 4-minute mile barrier. However, Bannister was, Bale contends, "not the much loved hero that some suggest" (p.121). Bale acknowledges that critiquing a much loved popular figure will provoke some scholars to label his history as revisionist. For Bale, revisionist history is not synonymous with poor history. Revisionist history is not about disputing 'facts', but providing explanations, and within these explanations, "simply challenging accepted descriptions, causes, and consequences of historical representations" (p.9). For example, Bale sets out to destroy the notion that Bannister was an 'amateur gentleman' and 'hero'. Bale sees these particular concepts as slippery, ambiguous, muddy, and fraught with tension and confusion. The concepts are of little use in helping Bale 'explain' Bannister's complex character. In his interpretation, Bale also poses a number of 'what if' scenarios – what he terms, "a brief counterfactual history" (p.135). In doing

so, he emphasises that the myth and memory of Bannister as a sport star is entirely fallible. As such, it is difficult to 'read' Bannister as an exceptional sport hero. Given the wider context of global running, Bale suggests, "Bannister was not all that different from other runners who preceded him, nor from his contemporaries" (p.135). Bale's intention is not to critique Bannister's athletic performance *per se*, rather to enable readers "to think about a significant moment in Britain's sporting past and perhaps even re-evaluate it" (p.14).

My narrative emulates aspects of Bale's reinterpretation. My history, for example, is also revisionist to an extent in that it challenges commonly held understandings about New Zealand sport and olympic history. Like Bale, I closely investigate the 'causes and consequences' behind particular historical phenomena (e.g., I examine how major forces contributed to the conception of the NZOC). I also, admittedly in more detail than Bale, analyse the notion of sporting exceptionalism. I specifically reveal in chapter four, for example, that New Zealand olympic history was decidedly *unexceptional*. To do so, I examine commonalities between NZOC and other comparable organisations, such as the Argentinean Olympic Committee. I, at times, also indulge in 'counterfactual history'. For example, I hypothesise about the absence of Māori and female olympians at times by posing critical questions that raise alternate possibilities and explanations. Similar to Bale, and in keeping with deconstructionist epistemology, my thesis also examines 'the making of' history. That is, I investigate some of the myths, memories, and (re)presentations of New Zealand olympic history (such as those about Jack Lovelock). Taking Bale's approach further, I reveal how my own narrative contributes to this process of remaking and remembering. My intention is to have readers revisit their

assumptions about New Zealand sport history and re-evaluate the legacy of the olympic movement.

Throughout this thesis I follow a path left by Phillips, Booth, and Bale's (reflexive) deconstructionist footsteps. Specifically, I consciously entwine my examination of the olympic movement in New Zealand with an evaluation of my own emerging historiographical craftsmanship. Specifically, I am upfront with readers about the decisions I have made in creating my narrative and how these decision have then influenced my language and style of prose. For example, I discuss the archives I have and have not used, and how the characters and themes I privilege (as well as those I omit) contribute to whose stories I write. In this history, for instance, I predominantly focused on key agents of NZOC. But as I acknowledge, at times this focus is at the expense of writing the stories of the athletes and marginalised female, indigenous, and working class minorities.

In this thesis, I recognise, like deconstructionists, the importance of interpretation, and the necessity of acknowledging that *the past* is fragmented and recoverable only as a multiplicity of histories. While I offer *an* alternative olympic history, my approach does not deny the evidence. Indeed, akin to a classic constructionist working in the domain of social history, the evidence plays an important role in my narrative. Where this thesis differs and diverges from other olympic histories is that in using the evidence I foreground clearly, *in the text*, that I am the author, and, that I make choices about what to reveal and conceal to readers. What makes this a more novel, comprehensive, and essentially 'better' investigation than previous New Zealand olympic histories is that I have employed a systematic model of context. Using a

particular model of contextualisation allows me to more rigorously examine notions of historical change. By navigating between constructionist and deconstructionist positions, the historiographical process by which I create (make) a history of the olympic movement becomes as important as the content of the history (the meaning of). This thesis then goes beyond merely exploring the peculiar intricacies of olympic history, to provide a structured approach, drawing on two of Munslow's (1997) historical genres and employing Marwick's (1998) contextual model, to make meaning out of meaning making.

What, then, makes this a credible history? The legitimacy of my work comes essentially from my selection of sources and the strength of the narrative I create from those sources. Of course, only the reader can assess my arguments. By reconciling competing epistemologies my narrative must be judged on two sets of historiographical criteria. The first criteria are the protocols of the discipline of traditional history. Specifically, readers must assess my competency in employing the tools of evidence, argument, theory and concepts, as well as evaluate the overall clarity of my writing. The second criteria stem from how well I foreground my own subjectivities and my examination of historical absences/silences of the archives. Before elaborating on the significance of context as a model for this thesis it is necessary to first explain my approach to historical material.

The evidence

Archives are the timber of the historical craft. Archival material, White (1973), Booth (2005) and Munslow (2006) all remind us, helps historians construct their narratives of

what they think the past to be about. The relationship between historians, their sources, and their stories is critical. For example, I draw key sources from the archives. I interpret my sources and present them as a narrative. Notwithstanding their utility, archives and their contents, only help (and do not entirely constitute) the stories historians create. People are inherently, Munslow professes, “story tellers who exist ontologically in a universe of narrative making (2007, p.16). As Curthoys and Docker (2006) suggest of archives and narrative representation, “the historian tells stories, but such stories are also explanations, they are not peripheral to historical understanding, they help constitute it” (p.151). Thus, it is only within my narrative that the archival material and sources I provide take on any meaning. Archival sources may reveal, for example, some of the minutiae in sports administration, however without proper contextualisation and an understanding that they are constructed as particular forms of knowledge with their omissions and biases, they remain only partially useful in historical research.

Historians obsess over archival evidence. Responding to the tendency of sport historians to treat archives as concrete sites of knowledge, Booth has called for more critical inspection into “the privileged place of archives in historical practice” (2006b, p.91). Though historians use archives readily, rarely do they make explicit their reasons for selection, the broader context in which the archives have been produced, the reasons for their production, how and why they have been collected and managed, their biases, or the nature of information they contain, or what might have been their omitted, deleted, lost, or destroyed. Using archives can be tricky at any number of levels. For all their rigour, the academic visiting the archive is typically “far from home”, “bored”, “in a hurry”, and “scribbling like crazy”. Not surprisingly, “You’re bound to make mistakes”,

says Stone, (cited in Wiener, 2005, p.210), who refuses to believe “any scholar...has impeccable footnotes. Archival research is a special case of the general messiness of life”.

According to Johnes (2007) the restrictions on both access and the extent of information the archives offer are already inherently implicit within historians’ methods of working and interpretations, although at times they may, for the sake of brevity and readability, remain hidden. Johnes argues that critical practice is in fact already in place in sports historiography, specifically that “the practicalities of writing and publishing mean that historians’ caution in interrogating archives is not always obvious in their publications” (2007, p.127). Booth, however, insists that “sport historians still maintain a high confidence in the archive” (2006, p.97) and that they should be more critical with respect to the sources used, and to be more explicit about their selections and interpretations, including any limitations placed on access and the extent of archival silence.⁴

The limitations of archives, and in particular archivists’ rules, frustrate some historians. During my research, I made four trips (each several days long in duration) to olympic and athletic archive repositories in New Zealand. During these trips, archive managers allowed me open access to primarily official minute books, financial statements, reports, and letters. At one archive, I was permitted to peruse the files myself, and freely use the communal photocopier at my leisure (and at no cost). This provided, at times, fortuitous opportunities to obtain materials not covered by the 20-

⁴ Archival silence refers to the absence of information in historical documents. Political power is used to not only restrict access to archival material, but also to selectively maintain a historical record that is consistent and compatible with the institution’s philosophies (though not necessarily its practices). As such, historians need bear in mind that archives are products of prejudice and self-preservation (Booth, 2005; Munslow, 2007).

year embargo! At the other archive, my initial searching was restricted to an electronic database. The files I selected could only be consulted one at a time, and, had to be used in a particular room. Given their extremely exorbitant charges for photocopying, I was also restricted to copious amounts of transcribing.

At archives in Greece and Switzerland, I confronted similar conditions. In Greece, I could not remove or photocopy materials but I was left to select my own relevant material (mainly specialist books and some personal correspondences). In Switzerland, I encountered very strict protocols (I am certain I transgressed these on numerous occasions). My request to study and conduct research there, while warmly welcomed, required formal approval. I had to stipulate the specific archives required before visiting (difficult, considering I had no knowledge of the extent of their collection or its exact relevance to my study at the time). Again, an archive manager tightly controlled my access and restricted photocopying to specific hours when I was closely monitored. In terms of using visual materials, I was only permitted to view and use authorised images.

While conceding their primacy in historical research, Booth (2006b) notes archives need to be refigured as contested sites of power and truth. In particular, to avoid erroneous judgments being made about the information they present, historians need to examine the social and political conditions that produce archives, and how this affects the overall trustworthiness and integrity of historical information. Refiguring archives entails scrutinising how archives have come about; why and when they were produced, and who by; how they have been managed and categorised; whether they are complete, or whether they contain omissions and or alterations. The underlying principle of refiguring, Booth outlines, is to ultimately urge historians to question their

roles as historians, their biases in selection, the nature of the evidence they choose to use, the interpretations they draw, and the eventual authenticity of the conclusions they subsequently derive.

In this research, I made extensive use of the official NZOC archives and those of the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA). I also accessed material from the Alexander Turnbull Library and the International Olympic Committee repositories in Switzerland and Greece. The material included minutes, financial reports and annual statements, personal correspondences, histories published by the organisation, periodicals, and newspapers. These resources have particular limitations. First, they represent the practices of a particular social group (primarily in this case the self-preserving interests of the conservative, patriarchal, and elite members of the NZOC and IOC), and their desire to organise, structure, and control amateur sport. In this way, the daily lives and lived experiences of other groups and individuals, such as the working classes who also practiced sport, are largely ignored.⁵ Second, although the chosen archives contain useful information, they are still incomplete historical records. Minutes and annual reports, for example, only contain abbreviated and summarised aspects of meetings on a particular day. Moreover, they do not typically contain complete accounts of conversations, debates, or arguments, and one can only speculate on the discussions and interactions occurring beyond what the archives record. Thirdly, archives may illuminate the gist of a meeting or issue but assessing anything further involves necessary conjecture. Fourthly, archival silence, missing records and correspondences, errors in recording (particularly, where they have been

⁵ When individuals do feature in these 'official' archives they tend to be recorded as subjects of particular socio-cultural issues. The minutes of both NZOC and NZAAA are replete with cases of individuals stymied by amateurism/professional debate and other bureaucratic constraints in sport.

handwritten), all pose a further limitation. The records also do not convey the important subtle nuances and idiosyncrasies of rhetoric and language, which impact on meaning and interpretation.

Record-keeping practices have varied overtime and between organisations as different administrations and archivists place judgments on relevant information, often implicitly reflecting their desire for the preservation of a suitable historical past. This in turn makes comparisons and verification of information difficult as different organisations interpret historical events and situations in varying ways. In the case of the NZOC archives, the general policy has been to keep mainly official minutes, annual reports, and statements of accounts. Although within the last decade the NZOC have adopted a more professional approach to archive management (employing skilled archivists and specialist librarian and museum curators), the storage for other material beyond these main items (for example letters, memos, sub-committee and olympic game team reports) has been inconsistent.

In comparison, the NZAAA archives (which admittedly comprise of only three large books and assorted papers) are housed at the archives and manuscripts division of the Alexander Turnbull Library. The Library meets international document preservation standards and employs qualified archivists to maintain their collections. Fortunately in the last few years the chief curator position has been occupied by an athletic enthusiast who has introduced a policy of preserving the remnants of national sport histories, especially that of amateur athletics. NZOC and NZAAA archives both comprise material that has been gathered systematically as part of official record keeping. Particularly at the NZOC, where materials have been more sporadically

donated, loaned, or bequeathed, an 'everything is relevant' approach has become the recent mantra. For historians interested in more recent events, all of the archive repositories I visited operate a standard embargo of 20 years or more on their materials to allegedly protect the sensitive nature of their organisations information. The embargo was a minor inconvenience because at the time of my trawling I was not completely certain of the exact years I would examine.

Thus the limitations imposed by historical material pose considerable constraints on my interpretation of the history of the olympic movement and its significance within early New Zealand society. I acknowledge that the eventual result of my research is only one perspective, and my version of history exists only in relation to other histories, realities, and interpretations. The thesis does, however, provide an exemplar for writing histories that foreground the role of the historian and emphasise sports' place within larger cultural contexts and cultural histories.

Context

In this thesis, I employed the notion of context as an explanatory paradigm to help reveal an alternate history of the early olympic movement in New Zealand and negotiate the difficult terrain between historiographical theory, method, the evidence and my own assumptions about the nature of history. Context, scholars such as Booth (2005), Struna (1986), and Marwick (1998) explain, provides an appropriate way to more broadly discuss the complex cultural and social phenomena, such as the development of sport, during distinct historical periods. Booth suggests "nothing is more fundamental

in the lexicon and methodology of history than context” (2005, p.18). Reiterating the importance of context, Struna states,

if one examines facts only for and by themselves, he or she produces not history but antiquarianism, the study of old things; or chronicle, the arrangement of past events in time...without this focus on context – on interrelationships, on interweaving, and thus on adequately conveying the experiences of the people in the past – history ceases to be history (1986, p.24).

Context, Booth further adds, “establishes relationships between historical events, beliefs, objects and individuals that share more than a temporal juxtaposition or contiguity” (2005, p.179).

Contextualisation is a systematic “form of synthesis based on interpretations of historical sources and evidence” (Booth, 2005, p.187). The practice involves logically addressing the complex relationships that may have occurred between events, phenomena, ideas, structures, and human agents within a given period apropos to a particular historical subject. In this research I adopt a model of context outlined by Arthur Marwick (1998) in his history of the cultural revolution across the 1960s (see Booth (2005) for a summary). The model organises particular historical and substantive concepts, ideas, and structures to provide an appropriate framework through which to study the early olympic movement in New Zealand between 1892 and 1936.

Marwick’s model consists of four key structures: major forces and constraints, events, human agencies, and convergences and contingencies. Major forces and constraints contain three main components: structural (geographical, demographic, economic, and technological), ideological (social and political philosophies), and

institutional (government and educational systems, working class organisations, and family). Events refer to historic incidents that have profound effects and consequences. Likewise, human agencies include people or groups whose actions also have particular effects and consequences. Lastly, convergences and contingencies include the complex connections between specific events and human agencies that have particular unforeseen circumstances.

An important point needs to be made here. Marwick does not, in fact, significantly elaborate on his components of context. Other than to distinguish the differences between the three types of forces (structural, ideological, and institutional), and provide examples pertinent to the 1960s, there is fluidity in Marwick's model. This is not to say that this renders the elements of the model useless, but more so that in crafting this history I have defined events, ideologies, and forces that are to a degree interchangeable. For example, nationalism can be constituted as a mobilising force for cultural unity, but also as an ideological construction of the middle class elite. Likewise, World War One can be characterised as an historical event, but it was also a force in the sense that it propelled a number of political, economic, and demographic changes. Throughout the thesis I have specified my particular interpretation, the conceptual constraints of each term, and where I have altered or moved away from Marwick's particular approach.

The components of Marwick's framework are clearly present in early New Zealand culture and sporting life. The early olympic movement was shaped, constrained, and influenced by a range of phenomena. As I explain in chapters two and six, major forces and constraints, for example, helped determine the development and

success of the inaugural Olympic Council and the participation of national athletes at olympic games.

Historians, such as McCormick (1940), Sinclair (1986), and Crawford (1994) suggest that the development of organised sport fulfilled society's desire for physical spectacle. They also suggest sport satisfied the ideological agendas of the ruling class to reiterate the sense of order and control that already constrained the lives of the working classes. Although their comments usefully illuminate aspects of the past, they reflect the influence of the modernisation thesis on orthodox New Zealand history. With regard to Marwick's framework, the development of sport and leisure life can be discussed in terms of the major social forces and constraints. Primarily these were a range of ideological, institutional, and structural mechanisms that influenced the development of New Zealand sports clubs and associations. For example, as I discuss in chapter two, vast travelling distances (both internally and internationally), availability of land for recreation, and a seasonal climate all acted as geographical constraints on national unification. This contributed, in turn, to regional parochialism that created distinct provincial identities among relatively isolated urban centres and regional friction in the administration, and practice of New Zealand sport.

The development of sport in the late-nineteenth century was also determined by economic and technological influences. Greater trade and export opportunities that helped provide some citizens with relative economic stability, coupled with improved labour policies, meant more time and income available for sport, leisure and recreation. Sport teams, and the fraternity that resulted therein, was an important part of the trade

unionism that comprised many working class lives and experiences. "The bonds of brotherhood were forged firmly in the workplace", Scates (1997) remarks,

work in the mines, at sea, and on the wharves was in many ways a collective rather than individual endeavour. Men depended on one another to work efficiently, to pace their labour, and (in difficult and hazardous conditions) simply to survive. Fraternity was enmeshed in broader social networks as well. The male camaraderie of the workplace was reproduced in distinctive patterns of recreation, male networks centred around the pub, neighbourhood and sports field (p.294).

With industrial growth came technological innovations, such as improvements to communications and transport infrastructure (roads, railways, telegraph cable, and the postal system). Sport and leisure life was also at this time subjected to greater forces of bureaucratisation and rationalisation, specifically with the standardisation of rules, equipment, and regulations.

During the late-nineteenth century, different ideologies also informed institutional practices in New Zealand. Liberal political ideas helped create receptive social conditions that made possible the female franchise and the formation of more recognisable political parties. Notions of community and the quest for a distinct identity as a 'nation' also abounded in political and social discourses at the national and provincial level, especially in regards to the idea of federation with Australia (see chapter four). Nationalism was a distinct ideological force that informed sporting practice by aligning physical fortitude and particular moral characteristics deemed desirable with sentiments of a shared sense of national pride and belonging (Phillips, 1987). The

physical and moral ideologies of the British education system also influenced New Zealand sport. In particular were notions of muscular Christianity and the class-based amateurism/professional ethos. These competing class-based views of sport caused frequent antagonisms for the administration and practice of sport in New Zealand during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Events are another significant element of context. As I discuss in chapters five and nine, a number of particular events effected the development of New Zealand sport and the olympic movement. These included, for example, discussions around the Trans-Tasman federation, the pan-Britannic Festival of the Empire celebrations, the impact of World War One, and the Post-War resurrection of sport organisations, the economic stability of the 1920s, and the onset of the Depression in the 1930s.

New Zealand sport in general, and the olympic movement more specifically, was also shaped by particular human agents. In regards to the early olympic movement, administrators such as Arthur Marryatt, Arthur Davies, Bernard Guise and their associates formed a sport power-elite which did much to advance the organisation of sport and facilitate the growth of athletic participation. Yet, as I discuss (in chapters three and seven) their efforts were significantly beleaguered by broader contextual events and their consequences.

The early olympic movement in New Zealand can also be examined by looking at the relationships between human agents, particular events, and the unforeseen circumstances that arose as a result. One example is the international friendship between IOC founder Pierre de Coubertin, Australian sport administrator Richard Coombes, and the IOC's first member in New Zealand, Leonard Cuff. Another example

is the affect that regional parochialism had in constraining the development of national sport, and divided the administration of New Zealand amateur athletics. Of particular interest is the way in which the differing agendas of the New Zealand Empire Games Association (ardent imperialism) and the early NZOC (jingoistic nationalism couched in philosophical internationalism) were negotiated, resisted, and accommodated.

Thesis structure

In applying Marwick's model, I have divided the thesis into three parts. I have crafted the chapters in each part to address my aims to first place the emergence of the NZOC and olympic movement within a broader historical context, and second to articulate my role as an author. Part one focuses on the conception of the inaugural NZOC. The period is roughly demarcated by New Zealand's first links with the IOC in 1892 and the establishment of the NZOC in 1911. In keeping with Marwick's thoughts on context, the development of the olympic movement in New Zealand and the emergence of a specific national olympic body was not a sudden occurrence, but rather, a complex process. The chapters in this section examine significant components in this process.

In chapter one, I discuss major economic, political, geographical and demographic forces that not only shaped New Zealand society but also influenced national sports organisations such as the amateur athletics associations. These associations were the parent bodies to the nascent NZOC. In chapter two, I then reveal agents who by nature of their administrative position and social resources played key roles in the formation of NZOC. I also discuss minor agents, such as women, Māori, and athletes. In chapter three, I tease out some of the predominant ideological systems (for

example, nationalism, amateurism, athleticism, and provincialism) that were inherent in the philosophies and practices of NZOC and that help explain late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand social relations. Chapter four covers the interdependencies and relationships between forces, agents, and ideologies by looking at convergences around four particular historical events: class and amateur sport, the shifting social position of women, the influence of Federation in trans-Tasman relations, and finally, the place of Māori athletes in New Zealand's sport culture. I, thus, reiterate the sentiments of Curthoys and Docker (2006) who remind us that history involves a fair amount of chance, accident, and singularity.

Part two follows the same format as I explore the consolidation of NZOC between 1911 and 1936; from the official establishment of NZOC through to its 25 year anniversary. The anniversary was also significant in that it was the year New Zealand runner Jack Lovelock won the 1500 metre event at the Berlin olympic games and although New Zealand athletes had achieved some success in the preceding 25 years, NZOC's record was far less distinguished. In chapter five, I discuss major forces and structures, such as the political and economic ramifications of World War One and the Depression, that influenced the administration of NZOC and the development of the olympic movement. Then in chapter six, I uncover a raft of long forgotten agents who shaped NZOC's formative years. I specifically address the challenges to their work as administrators and the overall significance of their contributions. In chapter seven, I revisit some of the ideologies introduced in chapter four and I discuss how ideologies and ideological changes helped NZOC operate as a collectivity; a group with shared interests, beliefs, values. In chapter eight, I investigate convergences around three

major events: World War One, the increased participation of New Zealand athletes abroad, and Jack Lovelock's achievement in the age of the Depression. All of these events, I argue, contributed significantly to the consolidation of NZOC and its continuation in the twentieth century.

In part three, I summarise this thesis and analyse how it has been a way for me to remake a particular version of olympic history. In chapter nine, I conclude by discussing the politics of memory within historiography with particular emphasis on why making olympic histories matters and for whom it matters. I also discuss how, following the examples of reflexivity I offer *in text*, historians might be able to engage in new olympic projects. Such projects would, I argue, entail *remembering anew* – essentially, playing creatively with the realm of fresh historical possibilities.

Part One

Conceptualisation, circa 1892 – 1911

Most olympic histories contain some discussion, or reference, to the birth of the olympic movement. In this regard, my narrative is no different. This first part specifically focuses on the gestation of the New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) and olympic movement in New Zealand. Over the next four chapters, I examine a group of components I believe contributed to the birth of the olympic movement in New Zealand. These components are major forces, agents, ideologies and events. As I outlined in the introduction, although borrowed from Marwick's (1998) examination of the 1960s, these components are useful for writing a contextualised history of the olympic movement in New Zealand. Although the eventual establishment of the NZOC in 1911 is of interest, the long gestation is particularly revealing. By examining these distinct historical components and emphasising instances of disjuncture, tension, controversy, inconsistency, and fracture, I question some assumptions about the nation and its romanticised (olympic) sporting history. In doing so, I create a conceptual space in which it might be possible to re-make *an* olympic history that is a little less extraordinary than that which has gone before. To repeat, by choosing these specific components over others, I foreground – in keeping with the deconstructionist tradition – my choices as an author-historian.

The conception of the olympic movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was part of the wider capitalist expansion of New Zealand society. The expansion of New Zealand included, for example, economic developments, improved political organisation, demographic changes, and greater geographic

delineations (Belich, 2007; King, 2003; Oliver, 1960; Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000). The principal concerns of capitalist development essentially were revenue production and the maintenance of class distinctions and race relations. As I argue in chapter two, these forces affected the domain of sport and leisure. Economic power relations and class divisions created clearer distinctions between work and play. Overtime, this contributed to the creation of organised sports and the proliferation of formal sports organisations, like rugby unions and amateur athletics associations (Ryan, 2004). One such organisation was NZOC.

The protracted and contested establishment of NZOC occurred over roughly two decades, from 1892 to 1911. Part one of this thesis focuses on this particular period. I examine the broader late-nineteenth and early twentieth century context. I then offer an interpretation of the conception of NZOC based on what I believe to be significant cultural, social, economic, political, and ideological processes. The conception of the Council provided the initial foundations for New Zealand's olympic history, but the relationship between the council's emergence and the broader contemporaneous social processes has not yet received significant attention. By addressing the conception of NZOC I question the incongruence between the philosophy and administration of the olympic movement in New Zealand and the realities of sports practices of the time.

In brief, Part one builds on Marwick's (1998) model of context covering the late nineteenth century through until the inauguration of NZOC in 1911. In chapter one, I cover broader economic issues, political organisation, demographic changes, and greater geographic demarcations. In chapter two, I scrutinise human agents involved in the conception. In chapter three, I investigate some of the significant ideological

systems of the time (for example, nationalism, athleticism, and amateurism). In chapter four, I discuss convergences around some of the major events of the era.

Chapter 1

The provincial nation

New Zealand's association with the olympic movement allegedly began in 1892 when a few New Zealand amateur athletes visited the United Kingdom and France. This trip led to a fortuitous meeting in Paris between Christchurch-based athletics administrator, Leonard Cuff, and supposed renovator of the modern olympic games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin (see chapter two for further discussion of Cuff and Coombes). As a result, Cuff was co-opted, in absentia, to the inaugural International Olympic Committee (IOC) two years later (Cuff, 1894). However, as I elaborate in chapter two, Australian Richard Coombes played a key role in facilitating Cuff's co-option. The Cuff links have been treated by some olympic historians (Jobling, 2000; Letters, 1996; Palenski & Maddaford, 1983; Romanos, 2006) as a distinct historical moment, divorced from any broader context and detached from invariably complex social processes, forces, and structures. Structures and forces, acting in conjunction with other phenomenon, provide essential context to understanding the foundation of the NZOC and olympic movement in New Zealand.

Thus, my concern in this chapter is with aspects of the broader late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century context. Conscious of the pitfalls of modernisation (Alexander, 1995; Berman, 1993; Booth, 2005) I recognise that within this context I need to problematise notions of development, progress, and social change. The social conditions and tensions preceding the creation of the Olympic Council provide clear evidence of how modernisation is more often fraught with difficulty, and conflict.

I first provide a general overview of New Zealand society circa the late-nineteenth century. I specifically examine political institutions, economic, geographical, demographic, and societal dimensions, such as class divisions, as they pertain to the conception of the national Olympic Council. I also consider the ways these structures and forces contributed to New Zealand sporting culture in general. In doing so, I draw significantly on the evolution of New Zealand's Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA). NZAAA played a key role in the later creation of the Olympic Council. I am interested in the politics of NZAAA and how the contest for its control influenced NZOC. Within reference to NZAAA, I reveal how amateur sport engendered community identity and rivalry but it also fuelled antagonisms among sporting administrators. To aid my explanation I draw on Oliver's concept of 'regional consciousness' (1960, p.122), which I term provincialism, or provincial parochialism. I also briefly discuss the role of provincial towns and the related urbanisation as constructive influences on the conception of the olympic movement.

Political and economic forces

Toward the later period of the nineteenth century a range of political and economic forces coalesced. In the mid 1800s economic prosperity deriving from gold and intensive agricultural activities, and a relatively stable political environment, afforded some citizens, mainly an emerging white middle class, greater lifestyle opportunities (Belich, 2001; 2007; McAloon, 2004; Sinclair, 1984). But by the late 1870s, and certainly by the early 1880s, the country had slipped into Depression. The slump New Zealand experienced in the 1870s was the result of several cumulative political, economic, and

demographic factors. These factors included, diminished land sales, increased immigration (Sinclair, 1986), and decreased export prices which created reduced spending power. Additional factors were also population growth, increased unemployment, and foreign investment (mainly British) that had been welcomed yet had not produced expected capital gains (King, 2003; Oliver, 1960; Sinclair, 1984).⁶ The 1870s, Oliver (1960) writes, left New Zealand with a haphazard transport system, an increased population, and significant debt. This Depression essentially “altered the face of society” (Oliver, 1960, p.127). It had a devastating effect upon farmer’s incomes and indeed upon the standard of living of the whole colony.⁷ Overall, the period’s defining characteristics were governmental largesse coupled with the shared guilt that manifested in personal thrift (Belich, 2001).

These contextual changes afforded opportunities for members of the working classes to contest the control of the ruling classes. That is, economic depression brought social discontent, and by the late 1880s citizens were calling for a radical political shift to replace New Zealand’s conservative colonial administration (Belich, 2007). Economic and political reform came largely from Treasurer, Julius Vogel. Rather than express “economy and caution” (Sinclair, 1984 , p.152), the government - championed by Vogel, who later became Premier - attempted to alleviate the stifling financial conditions through a borrowing programme. Although the programme was not, however, as large as that first implemented by Vogel in the 1870s, it was a liberal and

⁶ King’s assessment of this ‘long depression’ (2003, p.233-237) is, however, more cursory, and it might be argued dismissive, than the comprehensive analysis offered by either Sinclair or Oliver. Although his general discussion, augmented by the works of Dalziel (1986) and Sinclair & Dalziel (2000), and his affectations toward indigenous concerns during this time are noteworthy.

⁷ Contrary to opinions at the time, Reeves had suggested the depression could not be attributed solely to the governments borrowing for public works, but rather to the significant amount of private debt held among the colony’s citizens (1987, p.243).

confident move, and essentially a cavalier political tactic, to obtain the votes of the working classes. Vogel has since been recognised as “the one responsible for launching the Dominion on its most spectacular development phase” (King, 2003, p.228).

The main support for the Liberal administrations' agendas had come from small farm holders, oppressed industrial workers and, after their enfranchisement in 1893, many left-leaning female voters (King, 2003; Oliver, 1960; Sinclair, 1984). However, at first the Liberal's political and social reforms were constrained by the conservative Legislative Council. Once this obstacle was over come, by radically re-adjusting the Upper House (Oliver, 1960, p.142), the Liberal's innovations were more successful. For example, the Government gained public favour by making progressive moves to improve the democratic process, secure female franchise, and show sympathy to the causes, though not necessarily the solutions, of New Zealand's working classes.

Referred to by Sinclair as “a novel style of radical statism” (1986, p.75), the political and social reforms, industrial revolution, and the closely related expansion of the export sectors, offered citizens previously unknown economic liberties (King, 2003). These new liberties allowed greater investments into social and cultural life, including the formalisation and organisation of sport, leisure, and recreation. For example, as I detail in the following chapter, these conditions enabled men like Arthur Marryatt and Reg McVilly to hold respectable jobs as civil servants and at the same time volunteer their services to the administration of amateur athletics. However, as I note later, these opportunities were not equally available to all New Zealand citizens, such as Māori, females, and working-class athletes (see chapters two and six).

This era also afforded opportunities for entrepreneurialism and enterprise (Belich, 2001; King, 2003). One example was the contentious release of large plots of private land for small freehold leasing. A second example was the improved transport infrastructure that allowed greater communications, trade, and recreation. A third example was the bureaucratic organisation of social and cultural life brought about by clearer delineations between work and leisure, i.e. the establishment of the eight-hour working day. William Pember Reeves, well noted intellectual historian, cultural writer, poet, and liberal politician of the era,⁸ comments that “between 1880 and 1890 the colonists were for the most part resolutely at work adapting themselves to the new order of things” (Reeves, 1987, p.251), including, lower prices for agricultural goods and a slower developing infrastructure. Improved social organisation unified the interests of working class groups.⁹

The establishment of trade unions and labour laws also acted as a measure by which the emerging ruling classes could placate the working classes by allowing them certain rights and freedoms without disrupting the economy’s overall efficiency. The burst of political, economic, and cultural activities and lifestyle choices the liberal era spawned were also attached to notions of equality and fair opportunity. The notion of colonial egalitarianism was, however, misplaced. As Belich (2007) reminds us, various class groups in New Zealand at this time selectively adopted practices and customs (i.e. dress, vernacular, and social habits) of other classes, while still essentially maintaining

⁸ King refers to Reeve’s pioneering publication *The Long White Cloud*, first published in 1898, as “the first intelligently analytical history of New Zealand” (2003, p.269), although Reeve’s often wanes into romanticised poetics and is particularly partisan in assessment of New Zealand indigenous peoples (something King does partly counter in his later interpretations).

⁹ A significant example was the establishment of the trade unions during the 1880s, and in 1894 the introduction of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act that encouraged union membership (King, 2003, p.268).

their own ideologies. This “blurring of class lines, a mixing of class characteristics” (p.290) - what Belich terms class-cultural mobility - contributed to an allusion of greater social mobility. Yet, in reality lifestyle opportunities, particularly those of the working classes were still constrained by a pervasive social-class system. In sport, for example, working class involvement was subject to the terms and conditions of the middle class who exerted political power to maintain control of the dominant sporting institutions (as I discuss in chapters three and four).

To crystallize an important set of points here, in the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand, social class *mattered*. As in Britain and Australia, class structures were implicitly and explicitly part of the country’s broader social composition (as witnessed, for example, in the labour forces, landownership, education, government, and business). Class politics also played out in the idiosyncrasies of daily life as Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (2005) demonstrate in their studies of the nuances of social class in the South Island (see chapter four). As a facet of everyday life, sport too was certainly a part of practicing, resisting, and negotiating class boundaries. Other commentators (for example, Booth, 2000; Crawford, 1984; Crotty, 1996; Ryan, 2004; 2005; and Simpson, 1998; 2001) make the case at length that a class ethos imbued early New Zealand society sport and leisure practices, such as cricket and rugby. In this thesis I contribute to the debate by examining the role class politics played in the early NZOC. For example, while members of the working classes may have been capitalising on local conditions to affect economic and political changes to New Zealand life, they played little role in the NZAAA and NZOC.

Class is, of course, a messy and complicated business (Gruneau, 1999). In the case of the NZOC, in particular, it is difficult to discern the extent of class influence. NZOC agents, such as Arthur Davies, Arthur Marryatt, and Harry Amos (as discussed in chapters two and six) were members of an educated middle-class who mostly held full-time employment in business and the civil service. These men were also avid enthusiasts of sports that were considered to embody quintessentially middle-class values. While these facts enable a number of inferences (e.g. class practices formed the institutional fabric of NZOC), this is quite different to proving a tangible link between upbringing, education and social occupation, and the conduct of business within the NZOC. Notwithstanding, this limitation, I note that NZOC was closely modelled on the NZAAA and FESC whose design, structure, and ethos mirrored comparable class-based organisation in Australia and the United Kingdom. As such, the composition of NZOC was very much framed around distinct sets of ideas, practices, principles and policies (see chapters three and seven) that made it extremely difficult, though not impossible, for working class participants to be considered for olympic games teams.

As I examine later in chapters eight and nine, NZOC's early policies and procedures unquestioningly increased participation in the olympic movement and the working classes probably contributed to some of that increase. However, it is difficult to be precise and to know whether working class participation rose as a result of social mobility within the working classes or because of changes to, and negotiations around, amateur clauses. As I demonstrate with the case of Malcolm Champion (see chapter two and chapter seven), members of the working classes challenged the class-influenced structures of the NZAAA and NZOC. They clogged up meetings and official

minutes with debate over the peculiarities of amateurism and this resistance challenged the ways in which the ruling middle class patrons of the NZOC conducted their business. However, radical changes to NZOC practices that would have potentially caused an influx of working class participants were never going to happen immediately. As I show throughout this thesis, paradigm shifts in NZOC, whether about class, gender or race, or the nation were always protracted affairs.

The nascent nation

Overall, the liberal political climate gave colonial settlers opportunities to assess their economic strengths and weaknesses. For example, nascent social sentiments about the country's identity helped contribute to a public belief in New Zealand's status as an emerging nation state. During the 1870s and 1880s, Vogel and his predecessor Robert Stout, had augmented their visionary politics with a strong British patriotism and a vocal nationalism, despite that the idea of a New Zealand nation was still embryonic. Given that the loyalties expressed by the colony's citizens fluctuated to suit particular purposes, the dichotomised allegiances expressed by Vogel, Stout, and other political contemporaries is unsurprising. Sinclair (1986) remarks that although discussions on nationalism had occurred as early as the 1850s and 1860s, there was by the 1870s evidence of emergent and strengthening discourses on the nature of national identity. Mobilised within and around both the political and public spheres, these discourses were fraught with divisive terms such as self-governance, separation, independence, and isolation (Beilharz & Cox, 2007). Thoughts about the nation were also further

influenced by significant demographic shifts. In 1886, for example, the New Zealand-born citizens exceeded the immigrant population (Sinclair, 1986, p.31).

Demographic changes, the liberal political shift, a strengthening economy, and defined social organisation all helped contribute to the emergence of an embryonic nationalism in the colony. Nascent nationalism was a politically driven force based upon essentially arbitrary characteristics deemed to embody the concept of nation. Recalling Anderson's (1991) arguments about the imagined nation and Hobsbawm's (1983; 1990) related theorising on nations' invented traditions, these largely illusory characteristics assumedly captured the essence or shared common sentiments of the population. Even in its earliest stages, nationalistic sentiment helped engender a sense of collective identity.

In New Zealand, sport has been one of the key tools in producing and reproducing discourses of the nation. The rise of organised sport helped foster the growth of a competitive sporting environment in a number of sporting codes. One code was amateur athletics. Competitive sport such as athletics, particularly at the international level, with the frequent mass spectatorship and media coverage it drew, offered an ideal site for citizens to debate issues of identity, nation, and shared belonging. As in other nations colonised by the British, for example, Canada and Australia (see Lansley 1971 and Daly, 1982), in New Zealand discourses of the nation were overwhelming mobilised around a white-settler nationalism. That is, a nationalism that privileged a sanitised, Euro-centric, masculine, class-framed version of the country's heritage. In New Zealand, this nationalism was also layered with a pioneering ethos of egalitarianism, colonial fortitude, and imperial independence (Phillips, 1987).

To summarise, sport and leisure life offered citizens key means to assuage, at least temporarily, daily adversities of colonial life, though it also offered opportunities for greater social cohesion. Such new relations permitted possibilities to further the continuing discourses of nation and identity, yet they also helped maintain disruptive provincial identities and antagonisms. As I will discuss below, the political and economic climate experienced in New Zealand during the later part of the nineteenth century helped the growth of social and cultural organisation at both the national and provincial level. One of the most significant effects of broader forces such as improved infrastructure and communication was the development of “regulated local competitions, the formation of provincial administrative bodies and a growing number of interprovincial and international fixtures” (Ryan, 2004, p.3). As a result, various interest groups began to form as people began to seek out alternative avenues for social relations outside of the domains of work and the home. Sinclair (1986) suggests the greater cohesion encouraged by the formation of these groups and organisations were “expressions of a number of phenomena. They were cooperative; they represented but also encouraged a sense of community; (and) they were educational” (p.66).

A (dis)united nation

Thoughts about a united New Zealand nation were fraught. From the mid nineteenth century, for example, political actors around the country were advocating for greater provincial autonomy. For an embryonic country with an incomplete infrastructure and geographically isolated cities, the notion of distinct provinces in New Zealand made sense. For example, between 1853 and 1876 New Zealand had been primarily

administered by distinct provincial councils who were overseen by a central government (Ryan, 2004). For a time provincial autonomy provided an ideal way to divest some of the duties of central government. For example, the affairs of the North Island were able to be kept separate from those in the South Island. Yet, the State was still able to reap the benefits from developments in rural industry and sales in the agricultural sector across New Zealand (Wright, 2009).¹⁰ The idea of the provinces was also successful because the population bases of many carefully planned and distinct settlements (such as Wellington, Dunedin, Nelson, and Christchurch), or “frontier outposts” (Oliver, 1960, p.73), were supported by economic activities (e.g. mining and/or farming) in their rural hinterlands (King, 2003; Oliver, 1960; Reeves, 1987).¹¹

Colonial politicians argued that stronger provincial development would ultimately lead to greater urban expansion and improved technology and communication (Sinclair and Dalziel, 2000; Belich, 2001; 2007). The underlying idea of provincial governance was that the colonial government devolved certain responsibilities to regional administrations. These responsibilities included control over the secular state education system, land settlements, and distribution of revenue for regional infrastructure projects such as roads, sewers, and telephone lines. As Oliver argued,

when the provinces were set up, the colonisation of the Dominion had only started; the centres existed, mostly coastal towns, from which future development would proceed. The provincial governments were on the

¹⁰ Initially the country was divided into politically ambiguous segments known as New Munster and New Ulster. Later, the provinces were established as Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago, Northland, Southland, Hawkes Bay, Bay of Plenty, Waikato/King Country, and Marlborough (King, 2003, p.202).

¹¹ Oliver details this in more specific detail in *The Story of New Zealand*, Ch 8: The Provinces and Development (pp.111-126), and Reeves In *The Long White Cloud*, Ch 21: Some bones of contention (pp.258-269).

spot governments entrusted with the further colonisation of the Dominion (1960, 111).¹²

Provincial development in specific geographic areas meant many people lived in close proximity to one another. Under these conditions it was possible for citizens to establish distinct communities with their particular identities and practices. These practices included sporting and leisure pursuits such as cricket and rugby matches, athletic meets, boat regattas, town fairs, and local picnics.

Overtime regional identities, centred around an urban hub, engendered in some citizens a sense of regional parochialism, or as Oliver refers to, a “regional self-consciousness” (1960, p.122). Regional parochialism, or provincialism, was, however, dependent on activities and situations that offered community cohesion and a distinct feeling of regional belonging. The contribution of sport in this process of provincial identity formation was considerable. “Leisure in general and organised sport in particular”, Ryan contends,

served as a means of social harmony, a common ground upon which settlers from various points of origin could be integrated into the fabric and values of the emerging community. It was also well understood that progress in a new land required the sort of cooperation and desire for self-improvement that was characteristic of sporting endeavour (Ryan, 2004, p.20)

The social and political forces experienced within these provincial communities at the time, Ryan (2004) admits, also made possible the development of sporting cultures unhindered by the class-based constraints apparent in Britain. Ryan also partly

¹² Primarily this was to occur through the contentious acquisition and re-appropriation of indigenous lands belonging to various Māori groups (for a good discussion of these issues see Wright, 2009). These consequences of colonisation would continue to reverberate long throughout the 20th and 21st centuries.

attributes the successful development of sport throughout the provinces to a “reaction against the extent of privilege and patronage in Britain that severely restricted access to playing spaces and recreational amenities” (Ryan, 2004, p.21). The provision of space for leisure pursuits in New Zealand was inextricably tied to the processes of urbanisation occurring within provincial settlements. Yet, even into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the access to, and opportunities for, sport and leisure in these spaces were contested among various class groups. Because their alleged professional ethos affronted the middle classes, early working-class rugby league players were banned from playing in some inner-city parks (Falcous, 2007). In athletics, Vincent (2001) too suggests, professional racing rarely occurred in the same spaces, at the same times, with the same crowds, as the amateur version. Speaking of the middle-classes enthusiasm for athletics within Canterbury Vincent remarks,

the first clubs to be created were closed bodies, admitting only bonafide amateurs or gentlemen, and, therefore, remained the preserve of the upper and middle classes. Several attempts were also made to create open clubs which accepted athletes without regard to their socio-economic status and including those loosely defined as professionals. However, the exclusive form of organisation proved more durable (2001, p.43).

As sites of class struggle, urban spaces provided identifiable locations for some citizens not only to play sport, but also, to enact the fanatic rivalries that were part of provincial identity and unified regional consciousnesses. Although Ryan directs his analysis largely toward late-nineteenth and early twentieth century cricket, his assessments of

the broader interpenetration of sport into early New Zealand life and the social, cultural, and political conditions in which sporting cultures flourished here are significant.

While sport may have been an integral part in engendering provincial identities, particularly by bringing together disparate and isolated communities, the very existence of the provinces, and the regional separatism their administration created, ultimately threatened effective central government. Although the formal abolishment/abolition of the provincial government system in 1876 by Premier Julius Vogel,¹³ which may be read as a victory of the North Island over the South, did not lead to the dissolution of regional identity. Provincial parochialism was readily entrenched in the mindsets of the various and distinct colonial communities. Offering evidence of this view, Sinclair (1986, p.64) points to fervent debate in editions of *The New Zealand Magazine* (1876) to highlight the significance of New Zealand's local industries, labour forces, and political opinions, were in both engendering regional rivalries and consolidating national opinion.

As Anderson (1991) reminds us, the nation is essentially an imagined community, that is because "the members of even the smallest nation will not know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" (1991, p.6). Or, as Hobsbawm (1983; 1990) argues, the nation is a dynamic entity, comprised of shared ideas and discourses based upon a series of invented traditions, myths, and popularised understandings. Sinclair (1986) adds that the 'New Zealand' or 'national' label many of these groups gave themselves for authority were misnomers as some operated exclusively as provincial or local level institutes. Although the idea of nation may have abounded in the minds of citizens, its

¹³ Oliver suggests that the dissolution of provincial administrations was Vogel's "major political feat" (1960, p.124), and aside from a political manoeuvre, may be read as a significant advancement on creating a unified nation state.

definition was in a state of perpetual flux. Nationalism may have brought some people temporarily together under the assumption they shared some common bond, but these bonds were essentially ephemeral; that is, ideas about the nation changed as quickly as local conditions.

Provincialism

The idea of the provinces, however, remained. Political administration in the provinces reconstructed around local authorities whose expenditures and revenues more closely aligned with the liberal agendas of central government (Sinclair, 1984; Oliver, 1960). Instead of accepting centralisation, 'Provincialists', "strident and vehement ... defenders of the provinces", led "minority movements even within their own provinces" (Oliver, 1960, p.122). Oliver suggests that in general the issue of preserving regional autonomy was regarded with "scant interest" (ibid). Despite political action to the contrary, provincialism (or regional parochialism) endures in the New Zealand psyche as an important reference point in identity construction and social relations. "The provinces remain...handy if vague terms of geographical reference, and (decreasingly) the focal points of sentimental and sporting loyalties" (ibid).

Sport was inextricably tied to discourses of the (dis)united nation. Indeed, aside from engendering sporting loyalties, sport helped perpetuate regional parochialism. This was particularly the case in the conception of NZOC. However, the process of 'nation-making' in and through sport was not straightforward or uncontested. As I discussed above, throughout New Zealand, various forces influenced the ability of nationalism to unify New Zealand's disparate social and cultural groups, activities, and institutions. As

will be further discussed in chapters two and three, in regards to the development of national sport and unification of national sport organisations attempts to foster embryonic nationalism in sport were confronted by the disruptive force of provincialism parochialism. While politicians continually advocated ideas about the embryonic nation and moved to formally abolish the provinces in 1876, some citizens continued to resist their efforts by ardently expressing provincial sentiments.¹⁴ The amateur athletics association and later NZOC offer apposite examples.

Aside from solely a political structure, provincialism was born out of distinct and dynamic demographic, geographical, and economic forces that shaped particular areas of the New Zealand colony in particular and very discernable ways. These varying conditions, and the contradictions that eventually arose between provinces, influenced the creation of regional allegiances and identities. Sport played a significant part in maintaining these regional divisions (Vincent, 1999; Ryan, 2004). The divisive nature of regional sport particularly hindered the progress of the amateur athletics association and NZOC.

Relationships between the emerging sports bodies in the later decades of the nineteenth century illustrate that sport played a role in engendering regional identity. Here I discuss how provincialism effected the conception of NZOC. To elaborate, it is evident that provincial allegiances and identities were certainly firmly entrenched in the social discourse and business practices surrounding the re-formation of the NZAAA in Wellington in 1908. NZAAA was the parent body to NZOC, and an examination of its

¹⁴ John Ballance died in 1893 and was succeeded by Robert Stout, but quickly replaced by the more favoured Richard Seddon. As a former miner, publican, and member of the West Coast working class, Seddon quickly won favour with members and the public. His forthright nature secured him three further election victories and he maintained Premiership until his death in 1906 (Dalziel, 1986; Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000).

history illustrates clearly the regional divisiveness that shaped the conception of the inaugural Olympic Council.

Formed in Christchurch in 1887 with the help of Leonard Cuff (discussed in chapter two), the administration of NZAAA ran relatively smoothly for nearly twenty years. Clubs affiliated, held athletics meets and championships around New Zealand, and sent delegates and tour parties to compete overseas, though the political and financial control largely rested within the Canterbury province. By 1908 a certain level of apathy, disorganisation, and poor communication had begun to affect the Canterbury-based administrators to the extent that far from uniting athletics under one national organisation various regional centres felt aggrieved at the undemocratic situation.¹⁵ The first motion carried in the Minutes of the re-formed NZAAA reads:

Where no constitutional governing body controlling Amateur Athletics at present exists in New Zealand and as such a body is imperative to the maintenance and furtherance of the same this conference of delegates representing 37 clubs forthwith proceed to establish an Executive and adopt such other measures as may be deemed expedient for the welfare of Amateur Athletics in this country (5 December, 1908, p.1).

In the interest of reuniting athletics administration in the provinces, the reformed body requested clubs around New Zealand to pledge allegiance to NZAAA, and offer its opinion on amendments to the current rules (*ibid*), which had largely followed those set down by the parent body, the Australasian Union of Amateur Athletics Associations (AUAAA). To avoid a few members continually retaining control, the re-formed

¹⁵ The specifics of the terse relationship exemplified here are covered in detail in the official records of the early years of the re-formed NZAAA (NZAAA, 1908-1926).

organisation also adopted a rotating executive council, and in time formed sub-committees to deal with the various facets of administration. The organisation also hastened to have the body recognised as the sole national administrator of amateur athletics in spite of the faction with the Christchurch-based former NZAAA centre.¹⁶

Irrespective of Australasian recognition, the reformed NZAAA had to first rectify provincial antagonisms that affected attempts to unify administration and sporting practice. The linchpin in this stalemate was the recalcitrance of the former NZAAA administrators to concede their shortcomings and relinquish control to an apparently more capable and motivated group of enthusiasts. Plans were put in place for the newly formed organisation to obtain the finances and property held at the time by the former association.¹⁷ The acquisition of funds was particularly important in ensuring the financial viability of the new organisation. The former body, namely its chief antagonist Mr Aitken, refused to capitulate. The Christchurch association vehemently protested against the request to hand over the necessary property and finances as it did not recognise the Wellington based organisation.¹⁸ The standoff continued into early 1909, yet the tone of the correspondence remained cordial. The motion put forth was,

¹⁶ The NZAAA minutes recorded "that the newly appointed Executive be requested to furnish the AUAAA with a report detailing the present administration of amateur athletics in New Zealand, and that the Union be requested to officially recognise the newly appointed executive as the governing body of amateur athletics in the Dominion (5 December, 1908, p.2-3). However, Australasian recognition did not come immediately. Two months later the minute book reported that, "the Australasian Union notified that the appeal from this Executive had been received and that the matter had been referred to the Associations" and that "in the meantime it was notified that no official communication would be received from New Zealand" (9 February, 1909, p.14).

¹⁷ At its meeting in mid-December 1908, outlined their intent to send a letter to "Mr Aitken of Christchurch asking him to hand over all the property and funds of the (former) NZAAA at present held by him or the associations behalf" (1908, p.5).

¹⁸ Letters were received from Mr Aitken in which he refused to hand over NZAAA property as requested – and from the Christchurch Garrison Amateur Athletics Club declaring it did not recognise the Wellington Council (17 December, 1908, p.10).

that if the late council at Christchurch will place the whole of the funds, the property of the NZAAA at present held by Mr Aitken, the late secretary of the NZAAA, this executive is agreeable to deal with its share of the profit received from [sic] the New Zealand Championship meeting in Dunedin in the same manner (1909, p.13).

Despite the benefits of centralisation for New Zealand athletics, Christchurch and Wellington administrations remained antagonistic, and it was not until a conference of provincial centres in March 1909 that the competing parties negotiated a solution. To summarise, the reformed Wellington NZAAA urged the Christchurch body to resign and hand over all financial documents to the new administration (NZAAA, 1909). Following this, and recognising the initial proposal for reformation, Arthur Marryatt, chair of the Wellington based NZAAA and soon to be key figure in the inaugural Olympic Council, put forth a motion to dissolve the Wellington-based council, and establish a new NZAAA with an original constitution.¹⁹

Whatever residual personal and provincial tensions may have remained, the solution in theory at least appeared to appease club members (ibid). The resolution and re-reestablishment of the council was also recorded favourably by the press (excerpt from the *Evening Post*, ibid, p.23) which often reported the minutiae of sporting affairs.

Provincialism was undoubtedly a double-edged sword for NZAAA. It fostered competition and sporting rivalries, but created caustic administrative relations and hindered approaches to unified organisation and control. I do not intend the example

¹⁹ The motion passed was "that this Executive Council of the NZAAA appointed at the conference of centres in Christchurch on December 5th 1908 herewith dissolves in accordance with the resolution passed at the conference of centres held in Dunedin on March 20th 1909 where at a fresh constitution of the NZAAA was set up" (2 April, 1909, p.17).

above to suggest regional parochialism acted as the prime catalyst in these administrative conflicts; as these could just as easily be attributed to personality clashes and self-preserving interests. Rather, the example offers a way to think about the nature of provincial relations and sporting administration at a time when identity and geographical location were significant to cultural and social organisation and specifically to business practice. Moreover, despite political efforts to remove the antagonisms, provincialism was a distinct element in the context of late-nineteenth century New Zealand life and the developing sporting culture helped ensure its continuation into the early twentieth century.

Urbanisation

The practice and administration of sport was the saviour of provincialism; a last stronghold of the regional consciousness the Vogel government saw as defunct and subsequently sought to quash. A crucial aspect in perpetuating provincialism, and thus maintaining often divisive administrative relations, was urbanisation. Oliver attributes the growth of towns in New Zealand to “special settlement schemes” (1960, p.123) designed to re-situate various groups of European settlers to specific rural locales to, in turn, spurn profitable urban development. For example, the expansion of towns such as Wellington, Nelson, and Christchurch was, at first, a selective process of “‘systematic’ colonization” (Sinclair, 1984, p.92) aimed at creating well organised, civilized, sustainable, and in time, profitable, settlements.

The development of many provincial towns stemmed from the efforts of entrepreneurial colonialists such as Edward Gibbon Wakefield who believed colonies

“must be not fortuitous congregations of outcasts (as in Australia), but orderly bands of representative British citizens (the ‘best of the British’), going forth into the wilderness with the consciousness of a high mission” (Reeves, 1987, p.137). The pillars of this mission were essentially capital, labour, education, and religion. “Systematic colonisation remains one of the most influential ideas of the nineteenth century-and Wakefield its most determined and capable publicist” (Ryan, 2004, p.12). The idea was to retain old eighteenth century rural English values, while excluding poverty and overcrowding. The way in which it played out in New Zealand can be read, at least in part as a reaction to the “industrial chaos and creeping European democracy” and even “a bold post-Enlightenment experiment” to remedy social ills (ibid).

Wakefield’s vision, Ryan (2004) and Wright (2009) remind us, did not succeed mainly because life in the colony was harder than the early colonists had envisioned, and, because it eventually perpetuated the class divisions and inequalities of Britain. Yet, the scheme did contribute to the successful growth of many provincial towns. Whether Wakefield-inspired or otherwise, greater organisation of colonial life ultimately effected the developing sporting cultures. The reverse was of course also true. Sports helped the key agents of early New Zealand life accomplish their civilising agendas, advancing their educational, ideological, economic, and class-based interests to control disparate and isolated groups of working-class citizens. “The common bonds of sport, as well as English language and literature, went a long way to explaining how Britain was able to maintain control over such a large empire with only a small military presence” (Ryan, 1993, p.50).

Major political, social, and economic forces of the nineteenth century may have contributed to colonial expansion in New Zealand, but, as I outlined in the introduction, these forces and processes were not linear and predetermined. Instead, as I demonstrate in the following chapters, they were complex and fragmented, fraught with pluralities, differences, conflict, and confusion. In chapters two and four, for example, I investigate the actions of key athletic administrators in New Zealand provinces and towns who were keen to foster amateur athletics events, and in so doing contribute to a greater colony and its sport. Further, Ryan suggests “there were ample signs of a Wakefieldian impetus in the sporting cultures of Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson and Canterbury during the 1840s and 1850s” (ibid, p.13). In the provincial towns this was marked by improved resources and time available for sport and leisure culture, though it also engendered rivalries. Ryan (2004) infers the class divides later apparent in the emergence and practice of cricket in early New Zealand may be traced to these, and other, colonising factors.

Notwithstanding the argument above, Oliver (1960) divorces the expansion of towns from the development of provincialism. Oliver argues the growth of towns, perhaps the most marked social phenomenon of the 1870s, had little to do with provincialism. In 1881, of a total European population of some 490,000, over 190,000 lived in 65 boroughs; New Zealand was beginning to assume its present-day pattern – a large urban population dependent upon economically vital farming districts (1960, p.122). There is some merit in Oliver’s position. New Zealand remained for substantial decades a primarily agriculturally-based economy though the political focus shifted to the affairs of provincial centres (King, 2000, Oliver, 1960, Sinclair, 1984). Irrespective of

provincial sentiments, towns were critical in the development of sporting cultures, particularly in providing the social organisation and technology necessary for unifying sporting bodies, and in turn creating a context conducive to organising institutions such as NZAAA and the inaugural Olympic Council. For sport and leisure culture in the 1880s towns provided appropriate and plentiful opportunities for engendering the essential inter-provincial rivalries, and also the fervour necessary for patronage and financial opportunism.

Within the expanding towns, the specific political issues of land policy, taxation, and the welfare of the urban working population (Oliver, 1960, p.128) altered daily life, and these, in due course, had an effect on sport culture. During the later part of the nineteenth century the allocation of urban land and, to an extent, the appropriation of taxes were still closely related to the class distinctions brought about by the division of labour and the constraining economic forces discussed earlier. To develop sport required many investments, capital, participants, organisation, technological innovation, and spectatorship, but at the forefront was the ability to secure suitable sites for its practice. Sports such as athletics, rugby, and cricket required large spaces of urban land amenable to frequent spectatorship and competition. The acquisition of land for sport was ingrained within the processes of urbanisation occurring throughout New Zealand's provincial centres. Vincent (2001) concurs that urban landscapes were crucial in the development and success in the country's early sporting and greater community life. In professional athletics, for example, "the open spaces required for athletics, or any other public recreation, remained at a premium in the new and swiftly expanding conurbations". Explaining further, he adds,

most vacant land disappeared beneath 'the bricks and mortar' of industrial or residential developments, while 'the rich' desired to have what little remained reserved for their exclusive use. The saviour of athletics as a popular sport in the new urban surroundings was the publican. In some smaller centres, where the pressure on land was not so great, it proved possible to create and sustain sporting festivals which encouraged 'the development of a sense of community ... [transcending] social and class barriers'" (Vincent, 2001, p.44-45).

The use of the land, once secured, then became a matter for administration by men with the means, authority, and capabilities to exercise control over the largely working class population (see chapters two and six).

The long gestation

In this chapter, I have discussed a range of major historical social, cultural, and economic forces relevant to the conception of NZOC. It is of course possible to write a history that ignores major forces and simply tracks the NZOC's formation from its antecedents, the NZAAA, the AUAAA, and the Festival of the Empire Sports Committee (FESC). Yet, as I will continue to demonstrate throughout my thesis, the conception of NZOC was much more than this.

NZOC formally materialised in 1911, but the forces that contributed to its conception date from the previous century. In particular, the formation of the NZAAA in 1887 provided much of the organisational and administrative impetus for both national athletic events and the inter-colonial athletics tours of Australia and Britain. The significance and success of these athletics tours also indicated the developing strength

of New Zealand's regional athletic branches, and the growing administrative investments into sport by provincial administrators. These investments, however, later worked against efforts to unify the administrative affairs of the sport through a national organisation.

The establishment of the inaugural Olympic Council was not simply a pragmatic exercise in sporting administration, but rather a cultural by-product of dynamic forces and structures. Among which was the residue of British cultural imperialism, the developing jingoism of a country attempting to define and solidify its identity, and a strong sense of regional parochialism. In this chapter, I argued that the significance of the early development of athletics must however be understood and discussed within the broader political, social, and cultural forces. I chose those forces which best demonstrate the complexity behind the development of sport during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Specifically, I selected these forces to help readers better understand the expansion and administration of athletics, and in particular the conception of the national Olympic Council. Although Pierre de Coubertin had started to formulate his plans for the modern olympic movement in the early 1890s, the prevailing political, social, and economic forces, together with ongoing internal antagonisms (detailed in the chapters two and three), hindered any sufficient progress toward New Zealand's olympic involvement until after the turn of the century.

Of course, the forces I have discussed in this chapter did not evaporate after 1911, but rather, changed or were replaced with new forces (discussed further in chapter five). For example, the political popularity the Liberal party had enjoyed in the first decade of the twentieth century changed when, in 1911, William Massey's newly

established Reform Party took control. As evidenced in the working-class riots that followed, this political change also led to social change (Massey, 1999; Belich, 2001). As I will discuss in the following chapters, although significant, major forces are but one component in the conception of NZOC; influential yes, but only if we consider other contributors such as agents, ideology and major events.

Chapter 2

Men of muscle

For social historians, human agents matter.²⁰ Without agents to personalise our narratives and interpretations of history the past remains lifeless. In this chapter, I consider agents who were integral in the formation of New Zealand's Olympic Council (NZOC) during the early twentieth century. These agents include Leonard Cuff, Richard Coombes, Arthur Marryatt, Arthur Davies and Reg McVilly. My focus here is the backgrounds and beliefs of these agents and their roles in the major forces and events identified in chapters one and four. These agents were representatives and propagators of particular ideologies (see chapter three), and their actions were ultimately influenced by the peculiarities of their specific social positions. The consequences of agent's actions not only had implications for the formation of the olympic movement in New Zealand, but also the abilities of other agents and groups to effect and participate in what became an important national sporting institution. Reflecting my interest in the wider social and cultural context, this chapter also questions the autonomy of the individual agent against the backdrop of broader social forces.

The decisions I make in this chapter derive from distinctions I draw between *the past* and *history*. My choices stem from the inherent epistemological assumptions about

²⁰ Booth (2000), for example, points to four key agents in the modernising of New Zealand sport. These groups were: entrepreneurs, responsible for financial assistance, economic incentives, and the provision of outlets for sport, and for advocating and supporting the sporting interests of the growing middle classes; Businessmen, particularly hoteliers and publicans, though also station holders, legal men, stockholders, and merchants; Old boys of the British Public School systems, who were integral in the diffusion of codified sport, maintaining principles of physicality, humanism, and morality within the sports ethos, and for retaining and fostering the amateur/professional class divisions; and lastly, urban reformers, particularly in acting as social advocates for the causes and fortunes of the working classes.

history that underpin my overall thesis. My assumptions are primarily based on defining history as subjective processes of interpretation and judgment. I also acknowledge that my choices have implications for the way I compose my historical narrative. Here I wish to reiterate an important conceptual point, and in doing so, highlight some limitations of this chapter. The concepts the *past* and *history* are not synonymous. The past refers to what actually happened at a specific time, place, and context. History refers to the process by which we come to *know* the past. Put another way “history is the study of the past in the present and not the reconstruction of the past in its totality” (Booth, 2005, p.220).

Historians cannot ever fully come to know the past so must instead employ evidence-based conjecture to piece together the fragments to which they have access into a coherent historical narrative, or what Munslow (2007) refers to as the author-historian’s story space. In this chapter, for example, there were limitations in the evidence, and the constraints of context and time. As such, it was necessary for me to make particular decisions about which agents to privilege; these decisions inherently informed my narrative.

The actions and consequences of particular individuals, and groups of individuals, are as fundamental to an understanding of history as are major forces and constraints, ideologies, and events. Agents, or human agencies, are a significant aspect of Marwick’s (1998) historical model of context. Marwick’s concern rests ultimately with major agents, but he does acknowledge the role minor agents and their actions and consequences play in altering and influencing the course of historical events. In the case of New Zealand’s early olympic history, the contributions of women, indigenous

groups, and athletes of lower socio-economic classes has failed to attract significant attention. I discuss key agents behind the formation of NZOC, and I describe the process of selection which led me to privilege these agents over others and the effect this had on my subsequent interpretations. I also explore the social, political and economic groups to which key agents aligned themselves, as well as their ideological positions. I am particularly interested in how agents shaped the administration of New Zealand sport and NZOC. The chapter is guided by two questions: what can we know about the role of agents in the conception of NZOC, and what remains to be said about the way agents involved themselves in the conception processes?

Who matters?

This chapter focuses on the agents I believe played an important role in forming NZOC. In deciding 'who matters' I have made particular choices and privileged specific agents over others. I reveal different facts about those agents, and their actions and consequences of those actions; other facts I do not disclose. In doing so, I shape my narrative and interpretation of the past in distinct ways.

So, what decisions did I make when selecting the particular agents in this chapter? Initially, I accessed archival material. This material comprised predominantly official minutes and reports of New Zealand's Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA), Festival of Empire Sport Committee (FESC), and NZOC. I also obtained from repositories in Switzerland and Greece further archives pertaining to NZOC members, and correspondence between the IOC and the national olympic association, as well as materials from the Australian and British Olympic associations. I also drew upon several

New Zealand and Australia newspaper publications. These sources contained the names of not only members of the various sports committees, but also often their administrative positions, and occasionally their regional affiliations and occupations.

Although minutes and reports detail particular actions certain members took at meetings, which Marwick (2001) refers to as "simple public facts" (p.152), they do not reveal a great deal about the "complex private facts" (ibid); the personal backgrounds of individual agents or their particular psychological states at a given time and place. Minutes do not typically uncover in any significant depth interpersonal communications or discussions that may have occurred at the time. Nor do they necessarily always reveal what occurred between meetings that may have led certain agents to take, or not take, a particular course of action. Hence, I reiterate here it is necessary to frame my subsequent discussion as the production of a particular discursive knowledge produced by the evidence available, rather than as a relationship between 'the truth' and 'the facts'.

I have also drawn on secondary and alternate sources of information, personal documents, biographies, other newspapers, to construct my narrative in this chapter. Unfortunately, no comprehensive biographies have yet been written on all those responsible for founding the olympic organisation in this country. I simply could not find much of the information I needed to enrich my narrative. This is not because the searches I undertook were superficial. Rather, that a) the information I sought does not exist in written form, b) material still remains, and will continue to remain, hidden from this historian's view, and c) time and brevity prevents me from undertaking the potentially futile searches some historians deem vital to reconstructing an 'accurate'

picture of the past. With my primary sources verified, I offer an alternative narrative that is contingent upon the conditions of my searches and limitations of my sources.

These aforementioned limitations led me to focus primarily on agents who appeared most frequently in the archives and who, by their administrative positions, appear to have had significant influence in affecting the organisation, sport politics, and athlete's experiences. Some agents are self-evident by virtue of their positions (e.g. Cuff, Coombes, and Marryatt); others, however, are more contentious (e.g. Arthur Davies and Reg McVilly). The roles NZOC agents played is also interesting when we consider the positions they held. Agents such as Cuff, Marryatt, and Davies all acted at some time as chairperson or secretary of their respective sporting organisations. In these positions, they were often the sole individual responsible for recording actions, motions, and decisions of the committee as official minutes. The chairperson typically retrospectively confirmed minutes, but we cannot be certain that a) secretaries rigorously ensured the accuracy of their transcription, b) that in places they did not make semantic and pragmatic decisions about the inclusion and exclusion of information, and c) that the chair was objective, or that they did not influence the way minutes were transcribed and notated. The same issues can also be raised about secretaries. Such concerns reiterate the thesis that historians can only know *the past* through fragmented and subjective histories.

I have initially privileged those agents who were delegated members of the IOC, in this case Leonard Cuff and Arthur Marryatt. Not all members of the athletic fraternity were concerned with establishing a national olympic body, so I have also given

particular attention to those few ad-hoc members of NZAAA who formed FESC.²¹ This particular committee later moved to establish New Zealand's inaugural olympic body.

I flag here an obvious omission in the historical material; namely, the absent voices of women and Māori. Where possible, and within the context of the conception of the olympic committee, I try to uncover their untold stories (see also chapter four) by foregrounding their histories and experiences as a counter point to the dominant narrative. Such stories allow us to challenge orthodox histories that have privileged male-Eurocentric interpretations and understandings of the past. I openly offer *an* interpretation, and that interpretation is constrained by the limitations of my sources.

Guiding my analysis of particular agents are some primary concerns that frame my subsequent narration. Specifically, I am interested in the agent's personal backgrounds, their alleged beliefs, the groups to which they aligned themselves with, and their involvement with the formation of the Olympic Council. The agents I have selected, particularly in the case of Cuff and Coombes, are frequently unnecessarily valorised in some historical studies (Heidenstrom, 1992; Jobling, 2000; Letters & Jobling, 1996; Romanos, 2008). As a member of the inaugural IOC, Cuff especially has been lauded above other agents as the founder and promoter of the olympic movement in New Zealand. My investigation of Cuff, in contrast, allows us to see his accomplishments, and the efforts of other agents, in a new light.

Ultimately, I aim to demonstrate that the conception of the olympic organisation in New Zealand cannot be attributed to a sole agent or group of agents, but be appropriately discussed in terms of the wider historical context, and with reference to

²¹ FESC comprised many members of NZAAA, and was brought together with the aim of gathering a delegation of athletes who could travel and compete at the celebrations to mark the coronation of King George V in London, England.

other significant contextual structures, such as forces, events, ideologies and institutional structures. I begin below by foregrounding some marginalised agents, i.e. Māori, women, and athletes. I then discuss Leonard Cuff, Richard Coombes, Arthur Marryat, Arthur Davies, and Reg McVilly. Later, in Part two of my thesis, I discuss those agents who assisted in the consolidation of NZOC and the later years of the organisation.

Agents in the outfield

Aside from the few primary agents I mention above, other individuals and groups contributed to the formation of the NZOC. I briefly discuss these groups below so that others might seek out and interpret their stories and uncover their participation in the nation's early olympic history. For example, Marryatt and Davies were joined on FESC by J.H. Pollock, E.L. Chaffey, G.S. Hill, R.R. Keesing, A.W. Smith, G.P. Hanna, Dr. Newman and Bernard Guise. According to newspaper accounts and official reports many of these men had notable athletic careers and were familiar names in New Zealand amateur athletics before turning to careers in administration (NZOC, 1920; NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926b). Founding members of NZOC included J. Wilton (New Zealand Swimming Association), E.E. Hammond and A.D. Bayfield (New Zealand Rowing Association), and H.M. Gore and B.R. Keesing (New Zealand Lawn Tennis Association). These agents came from some of New Zealand's earliest amateur associations (Ryan, 2007), and some were founding figures of these organisations. In keeping with the amateur ethos of the time, these positions were voluntary, although

members who held executive positions may have received an honorarium. Nearly all held fulltime careers.

Two other groups of agents, absent from official records, also need mentioning: Māori agents and women. As far as the written evidence suggests it seems no Māori had roles in NZAAA, FESC, or NZOC during their formative years. However, the basis we have for making such a judgment is entirely subjective. Unless otherwise stated, individual's genealogical connections and ethnic affiliations are difficult to detect in official minutes and newspaper reports. Surnames and forenames provide some indication, but it is dubious to infer any racial or ethnic affiliation from name alone.²² Although no Māori names are evident in the minutes, it is possible some agents may have had matriarchal Māori lineage, hence an Anglo surname. However, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, some Māori did successfully compete in amateur athletics. Sir Peter Te Rangi Hiroa Buck (see figure 1.), for example, well-known and respected Māori scholar, was a national long jump champion, and his contemporaries H. Eruera and J. Te Paa also held national pole vault records (Boon & Kirk, 1996; Buck, 1949; NZAAA, 1908-1926a; 1927-1938; Ramsden & NZ. Dept. of Māori Affairs, 1954).

The absence of women during the formative years of the Olympic Council is noteworthy. New Zealand's first female athlete, swimmer Violet Walrond did not compete at an olympic games until 1920 (see chapter seven). Yet, from NZAAA minutes, we do know that women did compete in various amateur athletics events.

²² My own surname, Kohe, is such an example. Although Māori in origin, I have no Māori genetic lineage, and therefore no identifiable Māori phenotypes. I do not classify myself as Māori and rarely do I publically identify with specific Māori groups. Although I identify with Māori aspects of my identity, as with historical agents, no inferences should be made from my name alone.

However, races were often sporadic and their times infrequently recorded (NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926a). Their role in administration is even more unknown. In the context of this particular chapter, 1892 to 1911, women receive barely a mention, except the odd occasion where fundraising efforts such as social dances were concerned; given the importance of financing athletic teams, historians have grossly understated their role. As I discuss in chapter four, the exclusion of women is unsurprising given that while they had gained political franchise their inclusion into amateur athletic sport in New Zealand remained at the discretion of the upper middle-class patriarchy.

In addition to the absence of Māori and women's voices, are the stories of the athletes' themselves. We know the names of New Zealand athletes who attended early olympic games and their various records, but what we do not know are their stories, their experiences, and the personal details that may have affected their desires to compete in sport. As with administrative agents, in most cases we can only draw upon the available empirical evidence, conjecture, and then offer an 'imaginative insight' on the role these athletes played in New Zealand's early olympic history. For example, one case that deserves attention is that of the difficulties faced by Auckland swimmer Malcolm Champion prior to his successful participation in the Stockholm olympics in 1912 (see chapter seven). Although other olympic histories have recorded his athletic successes and minor personal details (Romanos, 2006; 2008), Champion had to also overcome bureaucratic conflicts between NZAAA, NZOC, and National Swimming Association over funding and compensation (detailed in chapter seven) before and after competing in Stockholm (NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926a). Champion's story is just one example of an alternative olympic narrative that could be uncovered.

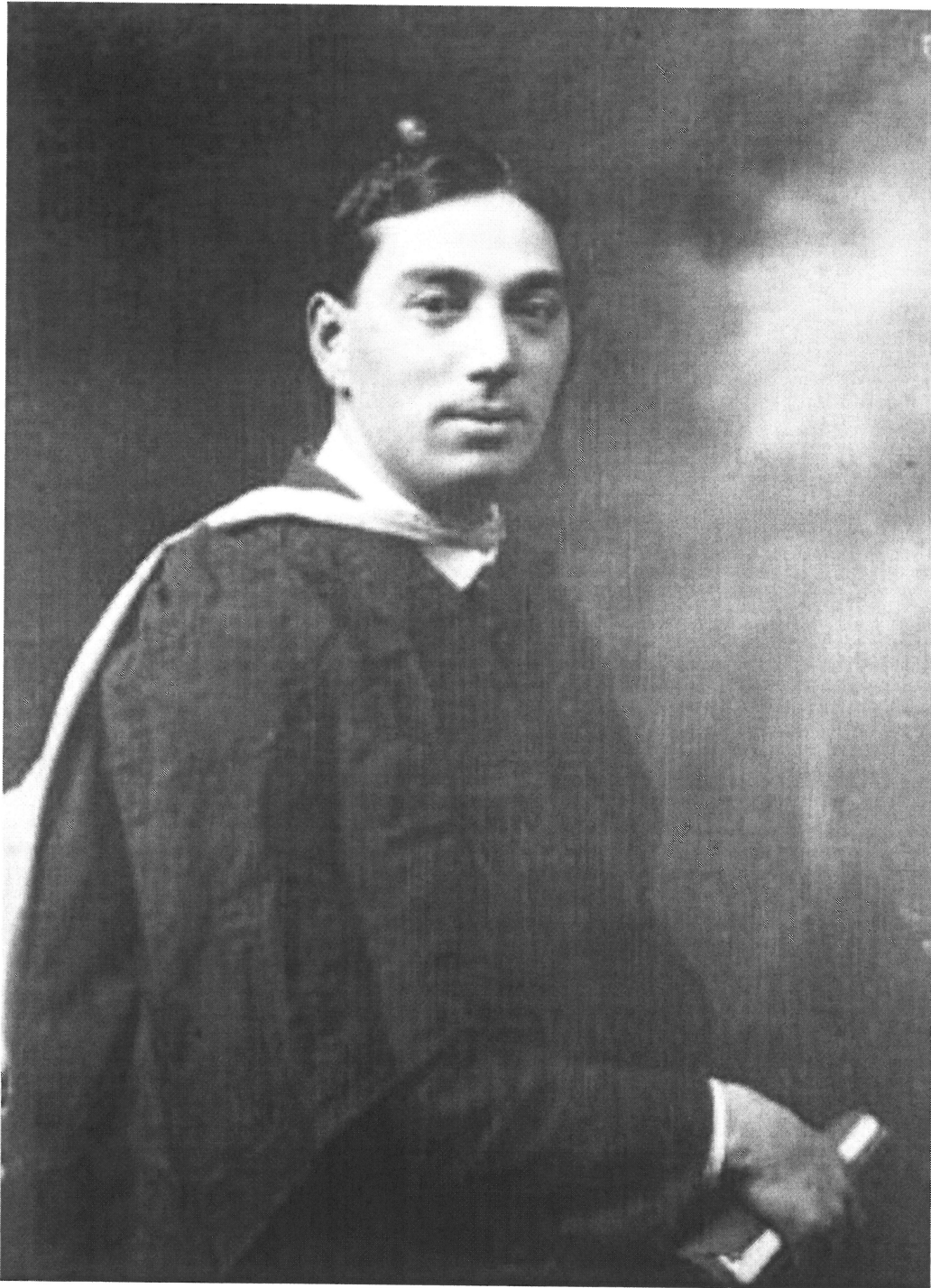


Figure 1. Sir Peter Te Rangi Hiroa Buck, noted academic and athlete (1904)

Questioning agency

Determining the role of agency in historical narrative is messy. As my discussion of Cuff below reveals, in the context of broader social and cultural forces historians need to take particular care before assigning agency to specific individuals. Recent examinations of Pierre de Coubertin, alleged renovator of the modern olympic games, are good examples of the need to interrogate the limits of autonomy in individual agents. The IOC lauds Coubertin as the patriarch of the olympic movement – a man whose love of English sport cultures, broader pacifist sensibilities, and access to a network of European colleagues, allegedly nurtured his profound vision and plan for the rebirth of the olympic games. As a counterpoint to this dominant narrative, French scholar Patrick Clastres (2002; 2005) has recently uncovered a different Coubertin.

Drawing on a critical reading of Coubertin's memoirs and the broader philosophical and political context in Europe, Clastres classifies Coubertin an opportunist. Clastres argues Coubertin did not hold a deeply considered philosophical position, but rather, appropriated a pre-existing set of educational and political schemas of the time for his own advantage. In the first instance Coubertin was, Clastres suggests, blessed by insightful mentors who were busy propagating physical education pedagogy in France. Among this group were Jules Simon and Frederic le Play.²³ It was entirely fortunate, Clastres (2005) contends, that Coubertin encountered the grand reformers working in the larger context of cultural and educational changes. Even if Coubertin leads one to believe in his own memoirs that he acted alone, Clastres

²³ Simon, a former president of the council for French education reform, advocated organised sports as an effective political strategy for French nobility. Simon introduced Coubertin to the idea of pacifism. Le Play essentially believed the way forward for European youth lay somewhere between English aristocracy and French revolutionarism.

stresses, Coubertin was but a pawn in a contest between two pedagogical lobbies: British educationalists (who promoted competitive sport as a virtuous and civilising endeavour) and French educationalists (who conceptualised sport as a way to restore the physical vitality of the upper classes). Clastres reasserts that the specific links between sport and pacificism were not Coubertin's own, but those of his colleagues and mentors.

Clastres (2005) also puts to rest the alleged novelty of the renovation of the olympic games. Indeed, throughout Europe olympic-esque games were already played, including the Much Wenlock version in England. Furthermore, Clastres contends, the idea of a pacifist sporting festival was not raised initially by Coubertin, but by two members of the International Permanent Bureau for Peace²⁴, Hodgson Pratt and Frederic Passy. The olympic games that eventually sprang forth were, in essence, just one of the myriad projects fostered by international social activist groups. All of which, Clastres reminds us, were born out of the shock created by new forms of industrial war (notably the Franco-Prussian War) that had increased national trade rivalries, created fierce competition for international resources, and heightened ideas about identity and belonging.

Coubertin's success in re-establishing the olympic games, and his strength and skill at the head of the IOC, Clastres (2002) argues, lay in his ability to build a set of personal and private relationships with diplomats and political representatives with an interest in sport. Despite surrounding himself with his friends, we must remember,

²⁴ The International Peace Bureau (IPB) was founded in 1891 by Fredrik Bajer and his associates after the third Universal Peace congress in Rome. Reflecting the zeitgeist of the many global peace movements of the time, the IPB aimed to facilitate the various activities of peace around the world and also generally promote peace related policies, treatises, and relations among and between national and international bodies.

Clastres says, that Coubertin possessed very little diplomatic and political power.²⁵ Contrary to the view put forward by Coubertin and Müller (2000), even the conference mandate to study the principles of amateurism, belongs to Adolphe Palissaux (an influential member of L'Union des sociétés françaises de sports athlétiques [USFSA]). The majority of the delegates came to discuss this above all else. Coubertin may well have mooted the re-establishment of the olympic games, but delegates remained generally apathetic to Coubertin.

In sum, Coubertin was not the autonomous individual agent responsible for the renovation of the olympic games. Rather, Clastres stresses, Coubertin was simply someone who knew how to remodel and rename his ideas according to the current intellectual zeitgeist. Coubertin merely assessed the prevailing zeitgeist that he manipulated to suit his own political ends (Clastres, 2005). Clastres' thoughts about fallible olympic agents is useful as we proceed through this chapter.

Australasian agents

The focus of this section is Leonard Cuff (see figure 2.); in particular, his background, my rationale for his selection as an olympic agent, and his later participation in developing NZOC. I argue here both ideological and pragmatic concerns impeded Cuff's olympic administration abilities, and as such, give us reason to question and reassess his agency in the conception of the New Zealand's early olympic history.

Cuff's tenure on the IOC lasted 10 years, yet it has been referred to as an "enigmatic episode in the common olympic history of Australia and New Zealand"

²⁵ At the USFSA conferences, particularly at the Sorbonne in 1894 where he formally raised the idea of the olympic games, Coubertin is little more than an organiser.

(Letters & Jobling, 1996, p.91). Despite a decade of service, it could be argued Cuff lacked initiative and nous to promote the olympic movement in Australasia. His tenure was not marked by the establishment of a national olympic committee or by his ability to send New Zealand athletes to olympic games. Some scholarship (Letters & Jobling, 1996; Jobling, 2000) has assumed Cuff's inability to distribute information received from Coubertin and his capacity to properly fulfill the IOC role was a by-product of his geographical isolation and additional administrative responsibilities. Cuff held prominent positions in insurance and stock business and other sporting commitments to cricket, and later golf and bowls. However, Cuff's actions, or inactions, as an agent involved in the establishment of the olympic movement in New Zealand and his inadvertent lack of commitment to the olympic cause can be re-evaluated if we consider his ideological persuasions and pragmatism. The re-evaluation of Cuff has implications for understanding the basis of the nation's current olympic history; in particular, it allows us to consider alternatives to the dominant historical narrative.

Cuff was born in Christchurch in 1866. His paternal grandparents, a Derbyshire couple of French-English descent, John and Elizabeth Cuff, immigrated to New Zealand in 1853 with eleven of their fourteen children. Three other sons, one of which was an architect and the other a lawyer, had previously immigrated to New Zealand in 1851 (IOC, accessed 2008; Moon, 1998). In England, as descendants of upper-class aristocrats, the Cuff's had been privy to private education, an asset that may have helped them secure valuable passage to, and social positions in, the developing colony of New Zealand. The Cuff's cultural capital married well with the Wakefield settlement scheme that sought to ensure that the majority of citizens in the new colony were very

much the best of British stock. Indeed, many of the extended family eventually held prominent positions in Canterbury society.

The family eventually moved to Cranmer Square in central Christchurch where John and Elizabeth's ninth child Albert, became a prominent shipping agent. In 1865, Albert married fellow Christchurch citizen Ellen Lucy Cole and a year later Ellen gave birth to their first of seven children, Leonard (Moon, 1998). Leonard married and fathered five children, one of who died shortly after birth. Interesting as these details are, however, the focus of the next segment is the period covering Cuff's athletic career in New Zealand and emigration to Australia (Cuff, unknown, <http://www.adrj.com/Genealogy/fam20.html>, retrieved 14 June, 2008; IOC, retrieved 2008; Moon, 1998).²⁶

Cuff was educated privately at Cook school in Cranmer Square adjacent to his home, and then Melville House private school. In 1881, aged just 15, Cuff won a School of Agriculture scholarship. The award allowed him to take up a position at the newly formed Canterbury Agricultural College at Lincoln, just south of Christchurch city (Moon, 1998). Cuff's reasons for pursuing this particular educational path are unknown. Nevertheless, it could be possible he wished to follow a similar career path in shipping and insurance business as his father. It is not clear which particular course of study Cuff undertook at the School of Agriculture, although classes in mercantile industry were offered. It is also possible Cuff's other tertiary opportunities were particularly limited. In

²⁶ In trying to determine Cuff's ideological persuasions it needs mentioning that no record exist of the family's religious affiliation or denomination either in these earlier years, or later on the reflections on Cuff's notable career. I am, given the significance of religion in New Zealand during the later nineteenth century (Stenhouse, 2004; Stenhouse & Thomson (eds.), 2004), reluctant to consider that the entire Cuff family were atheists, or that their religious, moral and ethical beliefs remained distinctly separate from their daily affairs. I remain to be convinced otherwise.

1883 there were only three universities in the colony (Otago, Canterbury, and the newly created Auckland University) (King, 2003).

Cuff left the Agricultural College and secured one of his first jobs in the insurance, share, and stock broking industry at Phoenix Assurance Company, Christchurch, where he later became a manager (IOC, retrieved 2008; Moon, 1998). In addition to his career, Cuff was also interested in sport. Although there is no record of Cuff's sporting prowess at school, it is likely Cuff played sports, such as cricket and athletics, well before he first appears in the archives first at aged 20. As his contemporaries may have done, it is possible Cuff played an array of sports during his formative school years, including cricket, field hockey, athletics, tennis, cycling, rugby, and perhaps rowing. All sports that, particularly in late-nineteenth century Canterbury, had a popular following (Collins & Jackson, 2007; Crawford, 1994; King, 2003; Phillips, 1987; Ryan, 2004; 2007). For example, in 1886 aged 20, Cuff played his first game of cricket for Canterbury, and over the season achieved a remarkable cricket wicket record of 306. His proficiency in cricket was notable, and in 1894 he was selected for the inaugural New Zealand Cricket team which he also captained. Extending his interests toward athletics, Cuff also became a premier national long jumper (Jobling, 2000). At just 21 years old, Cuff's enthusiasm for sports and his organisational nous led him to a career in sports administration.

In 1887, Cuff subsequently co-founded NZAAA, a move spurred on by his own club the South Canterbury Amateur Athletics Association (IOC, accessed 2008; Letters and Jobling, 1996; Moon, 1998; NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926b).²⁷ Yet, in regards to Cuff's role, although little was written at the time about NZAAA's management and Cuff's work

²⁷ The unification of amateur athletics and the difficulties experienced for its administrator have been discussed previously in chapter one.

as its advocate, all subsequent retrospective accounts make positive reference to his efforts; “He was the mainspring of amateur athletics in Canterbury” (IOC, 2008, notes from Mary Fraser descendant of Leonard’s colleagues, Derisley and Peter Wood).

Such accounts are problematic. Should Cuff not been an inaugural IOC member would we remember him at all? And, would we still give weight to his contributions to early colonial sport over other contemporaries whose stories remain untold? Probably not.

In 1889 Dunedin held the first New Zealand amateur athletic championships. The track meet enabled Cuff to meet Australian sport administrator and journalist Richard Coombes, who had accompanied a small and largely unsuccessful team to the event. The relationship with Coombes continued throughout Cuff’s career. Indeed, at the meet Coombes invited Cuff to consider sending a New Zealand delegation to Australia the following year. Cuff accepted, and in 1890 he led a small contingent to Sydney as manager and athlete.²⁸ Cuff continued his work with amateur athletics and his correspondence with Coombes strengthened over the next couple of years. By 1891 the two men saw were corresponding to send a team of athletes to compete in Europe. However, financial and pragmatic difficulties (e.g. qualification standards, travel distances, family relationships and employment constraints) left them unable to act until the following year.

²⁸ One of the athletes who accompanied Leonard on the trip was Hugh Reeves, younger brother of renowned New Zealand intellectual, historian, and politician William Pember Reeves. Another was Robert Lusk, a rugby enthusiast and co-purchaser of the turf now known as Eden Park.



Figure 2. Leonard Albert Cuff, c.1892

In his dual role as athlete and honorary secretary of NZAAA, Cuff travelled to Europe in 1892, first to Britain then to France, with a four-man team. Jobling (2000) suggests the impetus for the trip was an effort to curtail European scepticism toward the reported successes of New Zealand athletes, validate colonial sporting achievement, and promote nationalist sentiments. This is plausible, but the evidence is flimsy. There is no documented or detailed account of athletes' personal rationales for undertaking such a trip, nor is there retrospective evidence to suggest that athletes saw their efforts in the way Jobling proposes. Moreover, there are other, simpler, alternative explanations. Letters between Leonard and Pierre de Coubertin, and correspondence accounts from descendants of the athletes, for example, illustrate that athletes accepted a unique chance to broaden the scope of competition available to young athletes at the time and to establish and reaffirm friendship made over long distance correspondence.

Cuff and Coubertin

At the suggestion of the British athletic administrator, Charles Herbert, the team made an unplanned excursion with British athletes to Paris to partake in the athletic festival Pierre de Coubertin had organised to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Union of French Athletic Clubs (IOC, accessed 2008; MacAloon, 2008; NZAAA, 1897). Notably, this was the first, and only, audience Cuff ever had with Coubertin (IOC accessed 2008; Personal communication, Cuff to Coubertin, 1894; Jobling, 2000; Letters & Jobling, 1996; Moon, 1998; NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926a). Current histories of the Olympic movement in New Zealand are premised on the significance of this event (www.olympic.org; www.olympic.org.nz, retrieved 18 May, 2008; Romanos, 2006),

information on Cuff and Coubertin's relationship during this period remains vague and fragmented. Reflecting on his brief trip, Cuff wrote to Coubertin saying "my visit to Paris in 1892 will always live in my memory as one of the pleasantest times of my life". This is further confirmed in Cuff's request to Coubertin to "remember me kindly to all those who have showed me much kindness in Paris in 1892, a kindness that can never be forgotten" (Personal communication, Cuff to Coubertin, 1894).²⁹

Between 1892 and 1894, Coubertin sought the necessary international support for his project. Useful in this regard was his British administrative counterpart Charles Herbert, who at the time was president of the British Amateur Athletics Club. With Herbert's support Coubertin was able to propagate his agenda throughout the British Empire's distant colonies. Herbert heavily endorsed Cuff as an olympic liaison in the South Pacific.³⁰ The IOC claims Coubertin and Cuff unified by their shared vision on education and the value of sport in society (www.olympic.org retrieved 18 May 2003). However, other than their unplanned meeting in Paris, it appears Cuff had little knowledge of the scope of Coubertin's agenda for the 1894 congress (IOC retrieved, 2008; 1894, personal communication, Cuff to Coubertin; Moon, 1998). There is only a fleeting mention of reviving the games in the preliminary programme enclosed with Cuff's invitation (ibid). Despite his absence at the Sorbonne conference, Coubertin and his colleagues unanimously co-opted Cuff onto the inaugural IOC. The fact that only five of the 14 members were present was a tactical manoeuvre by Coubertin. As he stated,

²⁹ At these celebrations, Coubertin also mooted his desire to revive the games, which to his dismay received little enthusiasm (MacAloon, 2008).

³⁰ Letters and Jobling (1996) contend that Coubertin's invitation to Cuff to participate in the Congress was "on Hebert's recommendation". They also note that "enclosed with Cuff's invitation was a request to distribute a circular to a number of sporting newspapers and associations throughout Australasia" (p.94).

Nobody seemed to notice that I had chosen almost exclusively absentee members. As their names figured on the long list of 'honorary members of the Congress' people were accustomed to seeing their names and readily assumed that they were staunch members always at their tasks. I needed elbow room at the start, for many conflicts were bound to arise (Coubertin, 1997, p.24; Coubertin & Muller, 2000, p.320).

Unaware of Coubertin's agenda, Cuff apparently only heard of his IOC membership after Coubertin wrote telling him the outcome of the Congress (Coubertin, 1894). Despite the belated message, Cuff appeared honoured by his new role, and quite willingly became one of the Coubertin's disciples.

Coubertin may have wanted to extend the olympic message by using people like Cuff as "geographic propaganda" (Letters & Jobling, 1996, p.96), but the reasons behind Cuff's selection are still difficult to ascertain. It is possible Coubertin may have selected Cuff on the basis of their allegedly shared interests, particularly regarding apparently shared beliefs that sport could act mechanism for moral and social education (Letters & Jobling, 1996). Cuff and Coubertin also occupied similar business positions within sport and enjoyed multiple sports. Cuff's endeavours, engendering the sport for all belief, may have appealed to Coubertin. Yet, we cannot be entirely certain. Coubertin may have simply recalled Cuff's affable personality. Additionally, by incorporating Cuff into the IOC, Coubertin could possibly have thought he could again satisfy his self-seeking agendas by validating that the movement had a truly unique international perspective. The result of such a claim would draw the attention of other nations.

Cuff may have possessed some initial zeal for the olympic cause, yet he lacked the means to give substance to his enthusiasm. Accordingly, the promotion of the olympic movement in New Zealand remained dormant. The reason for this alleged apathy was primarily Cuff's distance from the Eurocentric committee (Jobling, 2000). For example, Cuff did not attend a single congress, IOC session, or olympic games. Letters and Jobling (1996) have noted that although well within his athletic administrative capacities, "[Cuff] made no attempt to form a National Olympic Committee (NOC) in New Zealand and no record exists of his promotion of the philosophy of the Olympic Games" (p.98). Unlike the benefits accrued by IOC members today (Booth, 1999; Jennings, 2000; Simson and Jennings, 1992), there was very little Cuff could have gained from his distant post, other than social networking. Cuff did, however, become an icon of the Australasian olympic movement despite making scant investment toward the organisation and administration of the fledgling movement or its idealistic goals.

An additional strain on Cuff's IOC 'responsibilities', and the emergence of olympism in Australasia, was the rival plan to stage a Pan-Britannic competition to celebrate athletic excellence among British Colonies. Nationalistic and colonial sentiments were restrained in the British empire, and "Cuff's position on the IOC and the NZAAA was perceived as disrupting a unified trans-Tasman approach to the Pan-Britannic Festival" (Letters & Jobling, 1996, p.95). Despite having to partially succumb to the emerging olympic movement, the Pan-Britannic festival survived through the twentieth century as the British empire games (see chapter eight), referred to now as the commonwealth games (Jobling, 2000; www.commonwealthgames.com retrieved 6

June, 2008). The Pan-Britannic proposal divided loyalties among Australasian sports administrators, but Cuff remained a follower of Coubertin. Using his contacts with regional athletic clubs, Cuff used the 1896 Australasian Amateur Athletics Championships in Christchurch as a platform for gathering sports administrators to organise a unified Australasian contingent for the Athens games. However, preparation time was too short and no 'team' was sent to Greece; except only one 'Australian' competitor attended the 1896 games, Edwin Flack, who was conveniently living in London at the time (Letters & Jobling, 1996).³¹

The portrayal of Cuff as ineffective is further strengthened when we consider that the flow of information from Europe, and in particular from Coubertin, to distant countries was infrequent and inconsistent (MacAloon, 2008). The lack of crucial information hindered Cuff's ability to produce an Australasian olympic team. Cuff's focus throughout his relationship with Coombes and Coubertin remained centred on the administration of NZAAA and the establishment of New Zealand cricket. Jobling (2000) contends Cuff's apparent failure to send a team and his further inefficiencies at networking throughout the Pacific ultimately led to his own demise. Rather than an active member, using his own initiative to shape the movement in Australasia, Cuff was rather a passive disciple who was not satisfactorily able to fulfill Coubertin's requests.

Cuff's ineffectual role as a member of the IOC continued after the 1896 games. As Letters and Jobling (1996) illustrate, this frustrated Coombes. "By 1898", Letters and Jobling argue, "Coombes had become impatient with the lack of leadership and information provided by Cuff to those interested in the Olympics" (p.102). Coombes

³¹ Although Flack competed for Australia, the country did not exist as unified state at this time (see chapter four).

garnered support from regional athletics clubs and began cementing his own relationship with Paris games organisers, the IOC, and Coubertin himself (Letters & Jobling, 1996). Coombes strongly believed Cuff's place on the IOC was "detrimental to Australian interests in the Olympic Movement" (Letters & Jobling, 1996, p.103). While not an official IOC member, Coombes' perseverance effectively allowed him to by-pass Cuff and take a leading role in the Australasian olympic movement. This transition from Cuff to Coombes left an indelible impression of the history of olympism in Australasia. Specifically "the features of Coombes' management, which evolved in response to the events and deficiencies of Cuffs IOC membership, [that] shaped Australia and New Zealand's participation in the Olympics into the 1920s and the structure of Australia's NOC into the 1980s" (Letters & Jobling, 1996, p.103).

Coombes' frustration at Cuff's inaction was fully justified. In a move that did nothing to advance his standing in the olympic movement, Cuff moved to Auckland and subsequently resigned from NZAAA in 1896 and other major New Zealand sporting organisations (IOC, accessed; Cuff, 1905b; Moon, 1998). The exact reasons are unknown; though it is likely Cuff saw his work load increasing or that this was a pre-emptive decision in light of his plans to immigrate to Australia. Deciding to remove himself from his IOC duties in New Zealand, Cuff moved to Melbourne, then Launceston (Tasmania). Again, for reasons unknown. Cuff also did not contribute to promulgating the olympic message, or to the development of Australasian teams for the 1900 and 1904 Games.

Although Coubertin urged him to retain his membership of the IOC, Cuff declined, tendering his resignation in 1905. Upon Coombes' exaltation to the IOC, Cuff -

with his iconic title as a founding member of the IOC - faded into the recesses of New Zealand sports history. Cuff's disappearance from sports administration, and specifically the olympic movement, is poignantly marked by his absence in the minutes of the inaugural NZOC (Jobling, 2000).

Infrequent correspondence, distance, and non-existent administration on Cuff's part, suggests the close relationship alleged between Cuff and Coubertin is purely illusory.³² However, in 2008 I uncovered in Lausanne a sixth letter from Cuff to Coubertin dated 28 September 1898. Contrary to Jobling and Letters' inferences about Cuff's declining commitment to the cause, in the correspondence he optimistically states, "I am pleased to say there is every prospect of a powerful athletic team representing the whole of Australasia competing at the Games". Cuff continued, "Trusting to have the pleasure of seeing you in Paris in 1900, and of renewing our very pleasant acquaintance..." (1898). This correspondence took place, possibly, after Cuff had relocated from New Zealand to Melbourne and just prior to taking up his long time residence in Launceston. It was a significant time when Cuff's work commitments as a merchant broker and insurer had increased, his career in athletics declined, and his administrative duties in sport had begun to shift towards the non-olympic pursuits of cricket, bowls, and golf. Of course, there could be further letters currently unfound that could reveal even more about Cuff's role.

To summarise, although Cuff's interest in the olympic movement may have waned at the turn of the century, my point is that this newly uncovered letter suggests

³² Cuff apparently only received five letters from the Parisian during his tenure, two informing Cuff of his appointment to the IOC, one regarding the inability to send a team to the inaugural games, and finally just two in relation to his resignation. Conversely, there also allegedly were only five from Cuff to Coubertin (Coubertin, 1894; Cuff, unknown; Letters & Jobling, 1996; Jobling 2000).

an alternative possibility. Despite the migration, and for whatever personal reason, Cuff remained dedicated, in principle at least, to his IOC role, and optimistic about his abilities to send a team to the impending Games.

Coombes

Originally from England,³³ Coombes was one of Australasia's most ardent advocates for amateur sport. As with Cuff, Coombes' fetish for amateur sport likely came from his early education and experiences. For example, it is entirely possible Coombes watched matches as a young boy and or played as an athlete at the then newly established (1863) Hampton Wick Royal Cricket Club near his home. Biographical records report that in the later years of his education Coombes expressed an active interest in running, sculling, walking and bicycling (Anon., 1935; Cockburn et al, 1969; Mandle, 1981, Serle, 1949). Upon finishing school, Coombes took up employment in the insurance industry and maintained membership with several sport clubs.³⁴ In 1886, at the age of 28, Coombes immigrated to Sydney, Australia.³⁵ His work for sporting bodies and his professional experience in England gave him useful diplomatic skills that transferred well in the Australasian context.

³³ Born in Hampton Wick, Middlesex, his parents, Richard and Ellen were local hoteliers. Coombes attended the local Hampton Grammar School. Hampton was one of England's oldest independent boys school for boys and Coombes had opportunities to study natural science, Greek, and modern languages (Cockburn, King & McDonnell, 1969).

³⁴ These clubs included notably, the Harefield Hare and Hounds Harrier Club, Waldergrave Rowing Club, the Penny-Farthing based Kingston-upon-Thames Bicycle club, and the London Athletic Club.

³⁵ Coombes' exact reasons for departing England are unclear, although he may have joined the significant numbers of Australians who saw countries of the British Empire, including Canada and New Zealand, as new lands of opportunity and promise (Coombes, 2006; Davison., MacIntyre, Hirst, Doyle & Torney, 2001; Gare & Ritter, 2008; Jobling, 2000; Mandle, 1981).

Historians have rarely proclaimed Coombes was a proselytising educationalist.³⁶ However, given his ardent interest in sport it may also be possible to 'read' Coombes' migration as part the mobilisation of muscular Christian ideologies about physical culture, health and wellbeing, and the promotion of organised sporting games to the antipodes (Mangan, 1986; 1988; 1992; Mangan & Nauright, 2000; Moore, 1989; Phillips, 2001b). As I discuss in chapter three, ideologies require active agents to invest in and promote their tenets. Though this may not have been Coombes' primary aim or impetus for migration, his later work in amateur athletics and the olympic movement suggest some transference of his own ideological values and sporting beliefs that would have been formed during the 28 years he spent in England.

The emphasis Coombes placed on sport as a vehicle for engendering Australian identity and maintaining imperial bonds with England is well documented (e.g., Cashman, O'Hara & Honey, 2001; Coombes, 1911b; Mandle, 1981; Mangan & Nauright, 2000; Moore, 1989; Serle, 1949; Vamplew, 1986). Significant attention has also been given to Coombes' promotion of the Pan-Britannic sporting festival and his correspondence with its original promoter, John Astley Cooper (Moore, 1989). As Mandle (1981) argues, Coombes divided loyalties between his Australian and English identities. Coombes initially promoted the Pan-Britannic sport festival, but also saw merit in the olympic games. Coombes valued both projects. He saw them as mutually dependent sports events rather than rival competitions, and believed they could simultaneously foster international unity and nationalistic sentiment through physical

³⁶ Indeed, Coombes did not automatically fall into a sport administration position; he spent a short time working as a jackeroo (farmhand) before taking up employment at the Sydney based sporting newspaper *Referee*. At the time the *Referee* was the largest paper of its kind in Australia, and Coombes had been contributing letters to for sometime before gaining formal employment in 1890 as a sport journalist, and then later as its editor (Jobling, 2000; Mandle, 1981; Palenski, In press; Serle, 1949).

endeavour (Coombes, 1910; 1911a, 1911b, 1911c; Jobling, 2000; Moore, 1989). Coombes facilitated the participation of Australian athletes at the first, second and third olympic games (as discussed earlier, no New Zealanders were part of these teams), but his primary concern was promoting amateur sport throughout Australia rather than the Pan-Britannic and the olympic games.

Similar to Cuff, Coombes was a product of the British Public School system. That is, he was a well-educated and notable athlete who came to embody the aesthetic modernist image of muscular Christianity (Jobling, 2000). His corporeal politics, and his ideological leanings toward an emerging Australian nationalism and his sentiments toward rising middle-class opportunities, expressed in journalistic writings, married well with his newly acquired administrative positions on the New South Wales Amateur Athletics Association and later as secretary of the Australian Amateur Athletics Federation.

Coombes was initially drawn to the olympic movement through his relationship with Cuff, Herbert, and Coubertin. Jobling (2000) has noted that Coombes' personal ideals closely aligned with Coubertin's, and consequently he "eventually embraced the olympic movement strongly and his support for the concept becomes [sic] even greater than his loyalty to the empire" (p. 152). Though absent from Athens in 1896, Coombes capitalised on the success of fellow Australian runner Edwin Flack to fuel Australian support for the olympic cause.³⁷

³⁷ Despite Cuff's inability to send a unified team, Flack made the solitary journey to Athens, competing in four events (winning both the 800 and 1500 metres, and entering the tennis doubles and marathon) (Jobling, 2000; Miller, 2003). Having received little help from Cuff, Flack relayed his success in Greece back to Coombes who hyped up then dispersed the accounts throughout Australia in the *Referee*.

Correspondences between Coombes and Cuff suggest they shared a close friendship. Their relationship certainly was particularly productive when it came to unifying sport and sporting administration. Outside of their interest and proficiencies in sport, both men were of a similar age (Coombes older by eight years), had similar private education, comparable careers in insurance, and the means and ability to attract other agents to their causes. One significant difference, however, is the amount of effort they invested in their support for the olympic project and maintaining their relationship with their European contemporaries; Herbert in England and Coubertin in Paris. Coombes possibly saw more political advantages here than did Cuff.

There is no hard evidence to suggest Coombes wanted to usurp Cuff's IOC membership before 1905. Coombes had clearly become frustrated at the lag in the passage of information between Cuff and Coubertin, then to himself. Coombes possibly saw Cuff's move to resign from New Zealand sport administration as an opportunity to establish himself as the IOC's representative in Australasia (Letter & Jobling, 1996, Jobling, 2000). It is evident in his letter to Coubertin in January 1905 (Cuff, 1905a) that Cuff had been considering resignation from the IOC. It is most likely that Cuff's resignation was spurred by Coombes' own suggestion, although there is no direct evidence that suggests as much. The passage below indicates that there appears to have been no animosity in Cuff's decision,

I am satisfied that he (Coombes) is quite the most suitable man for the position as he is in touch with all branches of sport. Regretting that I have not been able to devote as much time as I should have liked to the interests of the Games, and thanking you for the curtesy (sic) you have always shown... (ibid)

Although Coubertin wished Cuff to reconsider, Cuff added in his next and final letter that he felt that while respecting Coubertin's sincerity, "the Games Committee would be much better represented by Coombes" (Cuff, 1905b).

The same day Cuff wrote to Coubertin, Coombes also penned a letter to the Olympic Committee President. Coombes stated he would,

be only be too pleased to act if [I am] appointed in place of Mr. L. A. Cuff...It is hardly necessary to say I will do all in my power to assist in this part of the world. Although I regret I will be unable to attend the coming congress in Brussels, I will endeavour to be represented by proxy (1905).

This letter was followed by another shortly after, in which Coombes suggested to Coubertin that it might be in the best interests of Australia and New Zealand to have separate representation on the IOC. In the hope of expediting the participation of New Zealand athletes at the Games, NZAAA had been lobbying Coombes throughout Cuff's tenure (NZOC, 1920; NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926b).

Between 1905 and 1911, Coombes worked as the sole IOC member in Australasia. During this time, NZAAA sent its first three athletes to compete in the 1908 London Olympics as part of a combined Australasian team. They were Harold Kerr, Henry St Aubyn Murray, and Arthur Rowland. Most notable were the efforts of Harry Kerr (see figure 3.) who won New Zealand's inaugural olympic medal, a bronze, in the 3,500m walk. New Zealand first won gold when Malcolm Champion features as part of the Australasian team in the 4x200m swimming relay in 1912 (NZOC, 1920; NZAAA, 1908-1926a; Palenski & Maddaford, 1983; Romanos, 2008). The composition of the inaugural Australasian team has been well documented, but Harry Kerr and the other

New Zealand athletes have received marginal attention (Palenski, in Press; Palenski & Maddaford, 1983; Palenski & Romanos, 2000; Romanos, 2006; 2008).

Following the establishment of NZOC on the 18 October 1911,³⁸ and pending separate representation, Coombes took on dual roles as IOC member for both New Zealand and Australia. In 1919 the IOC accepted NZOC as a member and appointed Arthur Albert Marryatt as the member in New Zealand (Miller, 2003). Following changes to the IOC's rules, nations with established and recognised committees were all able to compete as their own entity. Consequently, New Zealand championed its first 'national' team at the 1920 games in Antwerp (Miller, 2003).

Coombes continued advocating olympism and the amateur ethos as a member of the IOC in Australia and throughout the 1920s he remained an avid contributor to the olympic cause until age and ill health forced him to retire in 1932. He had continuously extolled the virtues of sport and the amateur ethos through the Australian education system, ensured Australia's presence at subsequent olympics, and advocated an exclusive British Empire Games (see chapter eight) (Jobling, 2000). In his 27 years on the IOC Coombes became an iconic figure of the olympic movement. Jobling contends that by continuing to spread the olympic message in Australasia Coombes "not only pursued but epitomized status, respectability and idealism" (ibid, p.151). Far surpassing the meagre efforts of his New Zealand contemporary, Coombes did leave a more profound legacy of public service to olympism, sport, education, and international diplomacy.

³⁸ The name changed later to the New Zealand Olympic Association, and then in 1997 to the New Zealand Olympic Committee, a semantic change reflecting the IOC's shifting agenda to streamline the organisation and its objectives, and to equate all nations with the same term.



Figure 3. Harry Kerr, New Zealand's first olympic medallist, (London, 1908, Bronze, 3,500m Walk)

The contrasting contributions of Cuff and Coombes illustrate the myriad reasons people flock to the olympic movement. Cuff's initial enthusiasm for Coubertin's olympic project subsided primarily because he already had significant work, sport, and later family, commitments. He also lacked the necessary information to effectively administer and develop the olympic movement in New Zealand. Though Coubertin may have seen Cuff as an olympic proselytiser in the antipodes, this tactic eventually failed because Cuff's distance from the Eurocentric movement impeded direct and frequent correspondence with Coubertin. Cuff's inaction and the sporadic and insubstantial nature of olympic information warped and distorted the authenticity of olympism in Australasia. As in Europe, the olympic philosophy faded into the background. Indeed the very constitution formulated at the inaugural meeting of the NZOC was more concerned with securing participation, establishing a national identity in the movement, and practical business considerations, then with any promotion of olympism or adherence to moral values (NZOC, 1920; NZAAA, 1908-1926a). Although the efforts of Coombes ensured the movement survived in Australasia, practical concerns, politics, organisational issues, and individuals seeking self-serving interests have negated the role of olympism in these formative years (see also chapters one and three).

The relationship between Cuff and Coombes, Cuff reluctance of the former to promote the olympic movement in New Zealand, and Cuff's marginalised place in New Zealand sport history raises several questions. Was Cuff really the 'founder' of the olympic movement in New Zealand? Upon what evidence can this claim be made? Could we consider Cuff a more preeminent founder of amateur sport, rather than the olympic movement? Can we pinpoint Cuff's most significant contribution to the olympic

movement in New Zealand as the abdication of his IOC position to Coombes in 1905? Would Coombes be a better founding member, or is there someone else more suitable? Have historians of the New Zealand olympic movement been reluctant to consider the significant role played by an Australian in New Zealand's early olympic history? Why have historians emphasised these agents, Cuff and Coombes, and not other agents who were part of their organisations? Would it be perhaps more appropriate to consider New Zealand's first olympic athletes as a better starting point for a national olympic legacy? Such questions urge us to re-evaluate contemporary orthodox New Zealand olympic history by considering and advocating the roles played by other agents, such as the athletes and women. These questions have the potential to disrupt conventional understandings of olympic history by problematising the hereto privileged position of selected Anglo-male agents in historical processes.

Festival men

The ability of Cuff and Coombes to administer the New Zealand olympic movement was largely determined by a small group of less-known local agents. These agents were responsible for the organisation of amateur sport as members of the parent NZAAA. In chapters one and four, I discussed the conception and early development of NZAAA, and here I focus on some of those individual agents who were members of the organisation between 1908 and 1911. In this period, these members established both FESC and the inaugural NZOC.

After 21 years of organised amateur athletics, provincial antagonism had rendered NZAAA lame. A group of Wellington, Dunedin, and Southland members

headed by Marryatt fought to regain control of the body from their Christchurch-based colleagues (see chapter one). Their coup effectively reinvigorated the beleaguered association, centralised administration, created new policies and practices, and reunified more colonial sporting bodies under one banner. The NZAAA was initially run by a small executive of around ten to twelve members, the most prominent among them being Arthur Marryatt (see figure 4.), Arthur Davies (see figure 5. and figure 6.), and Reg McVilly (see figure 7.). I offer now some insight into these agents, their lives, and roles in the early olympic movement.

Brothers E. and H. M. Marryatt, who may have originally been from Australia, settled in the South Otago town of Milton around 1860. As I explained chapter one, it was a fortunate time to come to the country.³⁹ The changing demographics and the establishment of industries such as forestry, farming, and mining meant some men were able to settle, raise families, and establish communal roots. The Marryatt brothers were one such example. The particular reasons behind the Marryatts' emigration and settlement in Milton are unclear. Milton, and Otago more generally, were prosperous and developing areas in which to settle and the possibility of sharing in the new wealth may have also been a substantial lure to the young brothers (McAloon, 2002, Olssen, 1984).⁴⁰

Exact details of Arthur Marryatt's family history around this time are sketchy and fragmented. Evidence suggests other members of Marryatt brothers extended family followed them from Australia (*Otago Witness*, 1872, 23 November, p.14). In 1869 at

³⁹ For example in the 1860s the central Otago gold-rush spurred unprecedented economic development in Dunedin and its surrounding environs (Belich, 2007; King, 2003; Sinclair, 1984; Wright, 2009).

⁴⁰ By the third quarter of the nineteenth century Milton served as a gateway to the prosperous inland goldfields. Founded originally by Presbyterian migrants from Dunedin, the town was a key trading post between the goldfields and port settlements of Invercargill and Dunedin (Olssen, 1984).

least one of the two brothers played cricket for the local Tokamairiro club (*Tuapeka Times*, 1869, 20 February, p.3). Both men also held notable roles in the Milton community. E. Marryatt, for example, served on the local school board (*Tuapeka Times*, 1884, 30 January, p.3), while H.M Marryatt, an accountant, later received notoriety for assaulting his daughter's school teacher (*Evening Post*, 1899, 18 April, p.2). H.M Marryatt fathered at least two daughters, one of whom died young from a medical mishap (*Evening Post*, 20 September, 1913, p.5). In 1873, E. Marryatt fathered Arthur Albert. The historical gaps raised here are significant in that they cast considerable uncertainty over the influences of family background on Arthur Marryatt's early years, and the role early experiences and family may have played developing his later ideological thoughts on sport. Such doubts also help remind us that *the past* can never be recovered in entirety. We require *history*, that is evidence, and what Vico refers to as "imaginative insight" (in Berlin, 1990, p.62) to conjecture any life into the lived experiences of yesteryear.

Uncovering material on Marryatt's early school days is also difficult. We know that in 1878, the year Marryatt turned five, the Tokomairiro School (established in 1856) was one of the leading schools in the province. It is likely Marryatt attended there. Whether he engaged in formal athletic activities during his childhood days is unknown. Marryatt wrote no memoirs of his youth. However, given the emerging significance of sport in the region and New Zealand at the time (Crawford, 1984; 1986), it is likely he spent as much time at play, leisure, and physical culture as he did at school, home, and later work. His father's participation in some of New Zealand's earliest forms of organised sport may have also influenced Marryatt's later decisions to partake in sport.

As with Cuff and Coombes, Marryatt's interest in amateur sport, as opposed to professional sport, derived from somewhere. I explore this convergence between class, sport, and amateurism in chapter three.

By 1891, aged 18, Marryatt had begun employment as an accountancy clerk at the Otago and Southland divisional branches of the New Zealand Government Life Insurance Department located in Dunedin. Marryatt worked there for the next 17 years. During which time he married Catherine Cameron Stewart (Department of Internal Affairs, 1907). In mid 1909, aged 35, he transferred to Wellington to work for the Life Insurance district office.⁴¹ While little is known of Marryatt's time as an accountant, we do know something of his involvement in organised amateur sport in Otago and Wellington during the early twentieth century.

Marryatt did not feature as a young athlete in the teams Cuff took to Australia, England, and France. Accordingly, we do not know if the two conversed or shared a relationship of some description, but given the frequency of amateur athletics events during this period and their similar personalities, it is likely they met. What is clear from newspaper reports in the 1890s across New Zealand is Marryatt was a familiar name in athletic sports commentaries, known for his physical prowess and administration, first in Otago and Southland, later in Wellington. When Marryatt made the switch from athlete to administrator is not so important; what matters is Marryatt recognised that amateur athletics was in disarray and that he could help the sport through his own initiatives and by gathering the support of his peers.

⁴¹ Here, Marryatt was praised for his work ethic and cordial relations with other staff (*Otago Witness*, 3 June 1908a; <http://www.colonialcdbooks.com/insurance.htm> retrieved 17 July, 2007).

By 1908, Marryatt was a significant presence in New Zealand amateur athletics, particularly as a key protagonist in the re-establishment of NZAAA. Marryatt (still representing Southland) colluded with colleagues from Wellington and Dunedin to take control of NZAAA from Christchurch, an administration they deemed incompetent. I detailed this event in chapter two, but critically, the re-formation of NZAAA was a key political move for Marryatt. NZAAA gave Marryatt a platform to continue his role in the administration of colonial athletics. Through his work on NZAAA and later the Festival of Empire Committee, Marryatt was in a suitable position to launch NZOC.

Marryatt's role in NZAAA administration, as vice-president, treasurer, and later president, has been well documented. These records show that the resurrected NZAAA's priorities were ensuring the country was represented on the IOC and that it competed at the olympic games in its own right (NZAAA, 1908-1926a). The records provide scant personal detail that could help uncover the ideological rationale behind particular agents' decisions.

Yet, it is clear that Marryatt did not initially support the idea of a separate NZOC. Between 1909 and 1911, Marryatt continually reiterated to colleagues on the Olympic Council of Australasia (OCA) that it was in New Zealand's best interests to remain under the Australasian banner (*Evening Post*, 1911, 28 December, p.8). Although he initially favoured separate representation, Coombes appeared to waver between advocating New Zealand participation and waiting for perhaps a better time in the future (NZAAA, 1908-1926a).⁴²

⁴² NZAAA sought the opinions of its members, and although there were some dissenters, the majority voted in favour of Marryatt's suggestion.

Marryatt's actions here raise some interesting questions. Why would Marryatt not agree to separate representation? What benefits and disadvantages could Marryatt have envisioned either way? Did Marryatt and his contemporaries not have faith in their own administrative skills? What did separate representation really mean to New Zealand, and to Australasian and international relations? Were the olympics not yet an attractive proposition? Or, were the concerns over amateurism and the codification and practice of sport in New Zealand too great to warrant devoting time to a marginal international sporting project? Why then later did Marryatt accept a position on the Festival of Empire Sports Committee and then later the Olympic Council?

Answering these questions is difficult because of the lack of evidence. However, the questions alone do highlight three key points in relation to Marryatt's role as a founder of the olympic movement in New Zealand. Firstly, Marryatt's significance in the practice and administration of amateur athletics in New Zealand is well noted, and worthy of recognition; Second, although we know little of Marryatt's ideological persuasions in regard to sport, his informal and formal education and upbringing in prosperous Otago may have all contributed to his personal desire to partake in colonial sport. Third, despite Marryatt's initial reluctance to seek a separate IOC member for New Zealand, sometime between 1911 and 1919 (when he accepted his IOC membership) he clearly underwent an ideological shift. I consider this shift in Marryatt's new disposition in Part two.



Figure 4. 'Marryatt (Second row, first from right) as Vice-President of the Otago Amateur Athletics Centre with winners of the Interprovincial Cross-Country Championship', (*Otago Witness*, 29 August, 1906).

One significant contemporary of Marryatt was Arthur Davies. Marryatt and Davies served together in the Southland Amateur Athletics Centre (SAAC), and Davies later joined Marryatt on the NZAAA Executive, FESC, and later NZOC. Like his peers, Arthur Davies' careers as athlete and administrator are worth noting, although not well documented. Indeed, the following comments offered on Davies' role are constrained significantly by archival silence; the lack of information contained within primary sources. Moreover, key materials that might illuminate important details about his character, personal history, disposition, or ideological persuasion are missing from the archives. What information we might know about Davies I have gathered primarily by cross-referencing the official minutes of the NZAAA, FESC, and NZOC. I have also corroborated this information with local newspaper sources.

Arthur George was born in 1878 to Emma and Evan Davies in rural Southland (Department of Internal Affairs, 1878). While little is known about his early life, Davies, like Marryatt, played a role in the administration of the SAAC. As a Southland representative, Davies joined the re-formed NZAAA in 1908 (NZAAA, 1908-1926a). Just five years Marryatt's junior, it is possible, of course, that the two men shared a close friendship given their similar administrative positions and participation in amateur sport. Like Marryatt, Davies moved to Wellington (sometime prior to 1908) and continued his work in athletics administration on NZAAA Executive and later as president of the local Olympic Harrier Club.⁴³

⁴³ The reasons for Davies' relocation to Wellington are unknown. Lifestyle change, employment opportunities and advancement, love, sport, family or other humanitarian causes are all possible explanations.

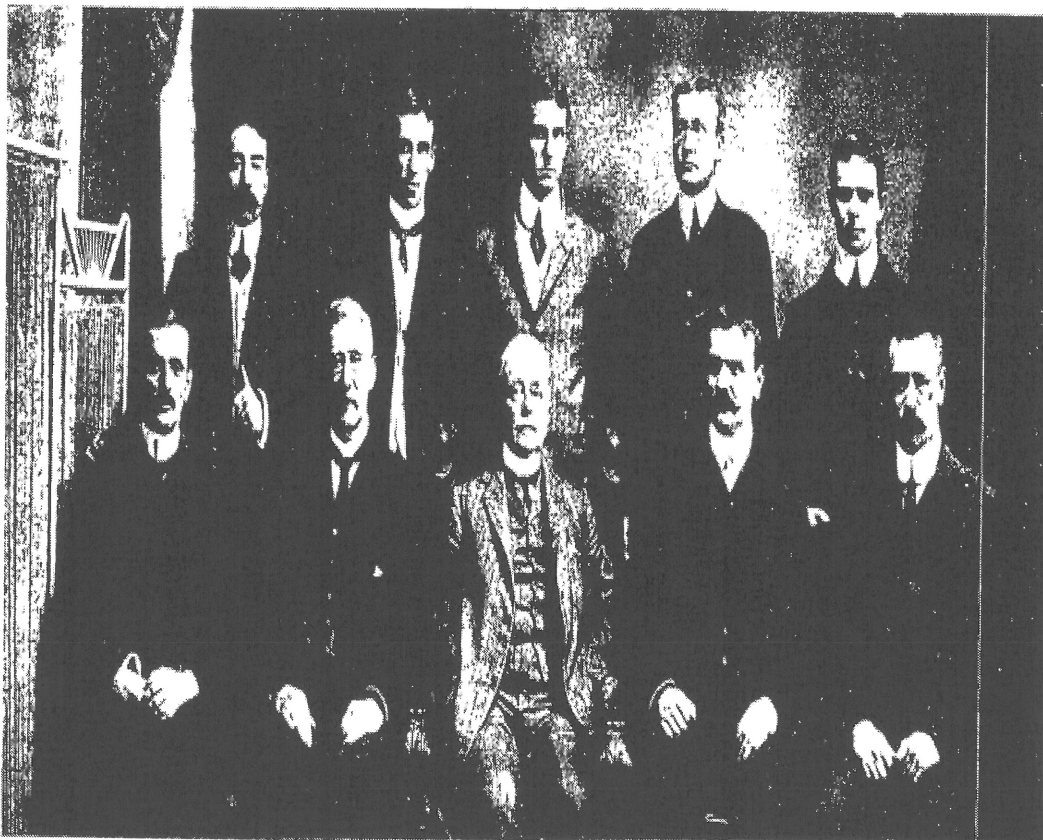


Figure 5. 'Marryatt (Front row, fourth from left), vice-president/acting treasurer and secretary, with members The New Council of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association'; Arthur Davies is also present (back row, first from left) (*Otago Witness*, 1909, 19 May, p.46).

In 1909, during his time on the NZAAA, *The Evening Post* reports that Davies was implicated in the divorce proceedings with Catherine Margaret Bush against her husband, George Arthur Bush (1909, 22 April, p.14).⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, NAAA records make no mention of the difficulties or anxieties this may have caused Davies (NZAAA, 1908-1926b).

As early as September 1908 Davies, possibly at Marryatt's suggestion, aligned himself with a group seeking to re-establish the country's amateur athletic association (NZAAA, 1908-1926a; 1908-1926b). During his time on NZAAA Davies advocated and supported several of the association's key decisions. First was the decision to re-establish the autonomy and control of NZAAA under a centralised executive and to elect Davies to the subcommittee examining the re-organisation of amateur sport. These decisions effectively secured Davies' position among a small elite echelon that controlled amateur sporting codes throughout New Zealand. A second significant decision was Davies' support for NZAAA to seek further information regarding New Zealand having its own separate Olympic Council. Davies did offer his support, but he was at first not on the sub-committee established to explore separate representation. However, I believe this particular decision places Davies, and his contemporaries, as the olympic movement's initial New Zealand advocates.

Another of Davies' significant milestones on NZAAA was his motion to charge affiliated amateur sports bodies in New Zealand an annual capitation fee, or levy, to fund the representation of New Zealand athletes at the olympic games (NZAAA, 1908-1926a; 1908-1926b). These fees were later replicated by NZOC, and although the

⁴⁴ The grounds given for the divorce are 'misconduct', a term which then applied to a wide range of marital indiscretions and offences.

Council suffered financially for many years, Davies' funding pool for athletes enabled NZOC to financially assist the participation at athletes at olympic games.

Davies' role on the FESC also bears noting. Throughout 1911, NZAAA were busy establishing a national Olympic Council and helping New Zealand athletes attend the impending Festival of Empire celebrations in England. Davies requested all affiliated amateur bodies assist the committee in nominating and funding a team. As the Committee's secretary Davies bore financial responsibility for raising significant funds for the teams' departure. Within just four months the FESC managed to organise a small group of athletes to make the journey to England (FESC, 1911; NZAAA, 1908-1926a).⁴⁵

In May 1911, Marryatt resigned from NZAAA, possibly due to work commitments, but it is also likely he was consumed by FESC work and the impending possibility of New Zealand's separate olympic representation. Indeed, by early October, both Marryatt and Davies' names had been forwarded by NZAAA as New Zealand representatives to the Australasian Olympic Council (NZAAA, 1908-1926a). Davies' reasons for accepting the nomination are unknown. Yet, it might be possible he saw participation in the olympic games as an extension of his already prolific work with amateur sport. So, in October 1911, following the success of FESC, Davies and Marryatt found themselves championing the inaugural meeting of a nine member NZOC.

⁴⁵ The Festival of Empire New Zealand team comprised Malcolm Champion (swimming), Dr Guy Haskins, Ron Opie, and William Woodger (athletics), and Anthony Wilding (tennis).



Figure 6. Arthur Davies (Front centre), as president of the Wellington Olympic Harrier Club, 1924

Marryatt and Davies' efforts were notable, yet another contemporary in New Zealand amateur athletics needs mentioning. Although not an initial member of NZOC, Ronald W. McVilly was a distinguished figure within the athletic community, in particular as a member of NZAAA and FESC (NZAAA, 1908-1926a; NZAAA, 1908-1926b). A former athlete and a member of the Wellington community McVilly, once referred to as a "solid sport" (*Taranaki Herald*, 1908, 25 October, p.5), was also a key figure in national boxing and rowing. Later, McVilly was general manager, chief clerk, and long serving employee of the New Zealand Railways service. An article in a 1935 edition of the *New Zealand Railway Magazine* by one of McVilly's peers provides a particularly useful character reference. The excerpts below are by far the most extensive personal reflections on an early agent of the olympic movement in New Zealand. They portray McVilly as a man of fine character, an upstanding member of the local community, well respected, modest, though not without his flaws. We can never entirely verify or corroborate such subjective comments; we might only presume that these sentiments were somewhat genuine.

In this world of economic stress and strife there is still, luckily, that saving grace which prompts certain human beings to disregard their leisure (and sometimes, too, their own material advancement) to work and plan and organise the leisure of others...As another man will wearily leave his toil for a breath of air and a mental or physical let up, he would leave his office for a night of hard work to keep some struggling sport alive. At the first annual meeting of the Wellington Centre of the NZAAA, that meeting extended over two nights, until one a.m. on each occasion. The nights were warm, and so were the discussions.

I fell foul of him that night—practically the only time in the thirty years all told I have known him. He loved an argument in those days—mainly, I suppose, because it was a relief from the daily office round where he gave the orders and no arguing.

Holding the position he did in the biggest of all State enterprises there never has been any question of his using sport as a means of self-assertion or seeking the limelight. His forthright pronouncements have at times been the subject of much newspaper discussion which, favourable or otherwise, has left him unmoved. For years he declined honours which the athletic world wanted to bestow on him because he knew where he would be of the greatest service to the sport. It would be idle to claim that Mr McVilly has never made mistakes.

The mistakes he has made, however, have generally come about through ill-advised attempts by others to bounce him from a stand he took in the beginning—in many cases from the desire to draw out the other side of the case...But though at times he was, and even nowadays is, in my humble judgment, wrong in the individual instance, he has been seldom, if ever, wrong in the long view (*New Zealand Magazine*, 1935, p.25).

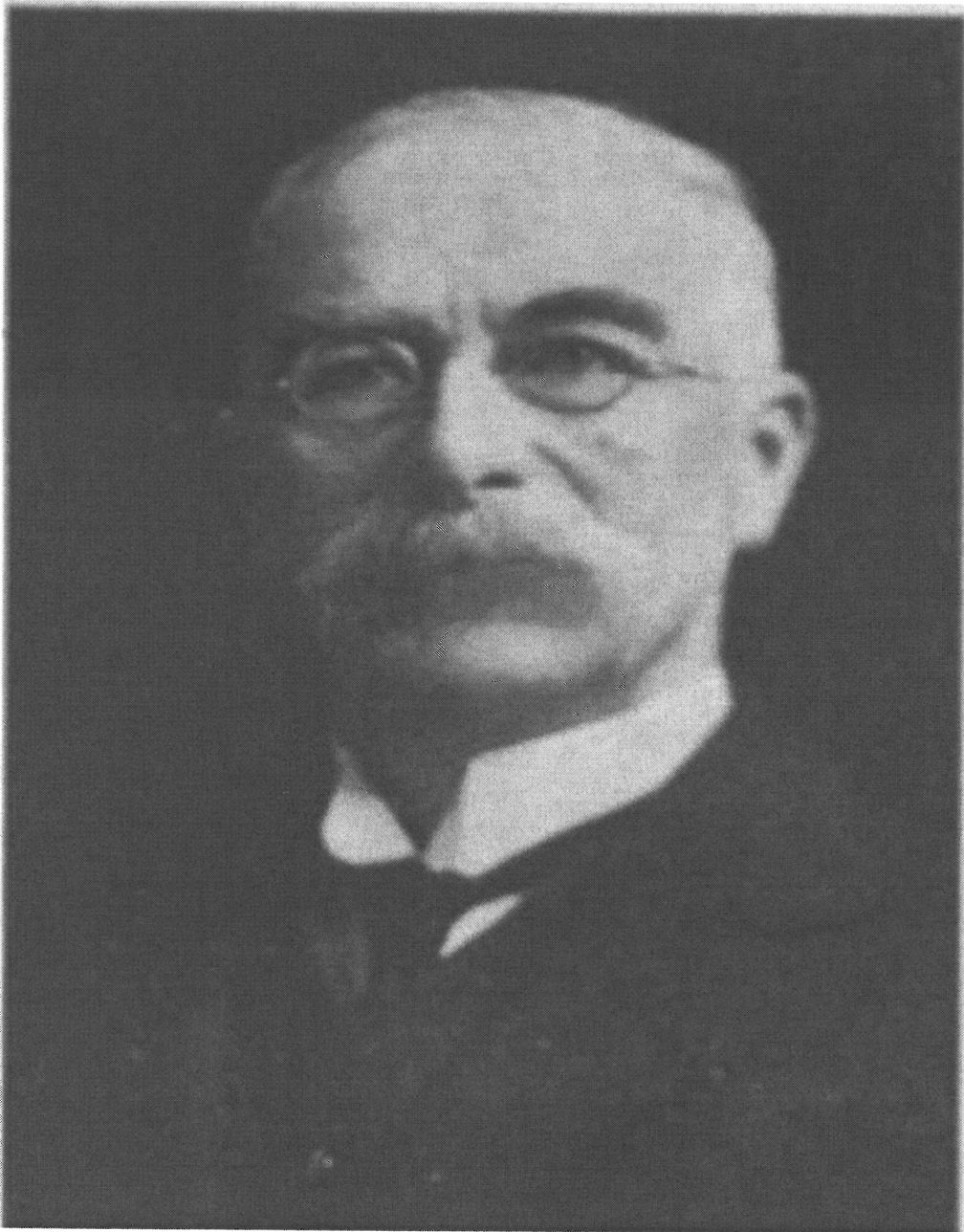


Figure 7. Reg McVilly, c.1935

The comments above about McVilly's character are highly subjective, however, we can establish that in NZAAA and NZOC his contributions reflected those of a proactive individual. McVilly frequently attended meetings and appeared to have contributed positively to the advancement of the associations (NZAAA, 1908-1926a; 1908-1926b). In 1935, McVilly was made a life member of NZOC, yet he has received marginal recognition and attention in accounts of New Zealand's olympic history. Aside from being a key figure in New Zealand railways, McVilly's work for amateur sport in New Zealand deserves significant recognition. Along with contemporaries Cuff and Marryatt and others still to be explored, McVilly does warrant consideration as a notable figure in the olympic movement in New Zealand.

At the outset of this chapter, I set out to identify agents who I believed played significant roles in the conception of the olympic movement. The conception was roughly demarcated by two dates; Cuff's trip to Britain and Paris in 1892 and by the formal establishment of NZOC in 1911. I made specific decisions to select and omit particular agents over others based on the overall narrative of my thesis, analytical argument, and ethical preferences. All the while I was conscious of the fact my narrative could only ever be considered a partial subjective representation of *the past*. Accordingly, in foregrounding the limitations of my choices and decisions I also acknowledge that there are other agents and other stories that could be told. Notwithstanding other agents, Cuff, Coombes, Marryatt, Davies and McVilly were all people I decided matter in the conception of the olympic movement in New Zealand.

My narrative is unique, but it is only a fragmented alternative interpretation. In deciding the parts of their stories that need voicing I have made, as an author-historian,

a series of choices that have affected the final narrative. These include epistemological choices, aesthetics, semantic, and linguistic decisions, emplotment inclinations, my ethical preferences, and empirical selections (Booth, 2005; Munslow, 2007). As Munslow reminds us, history and the past are not synonymous; that is, history is *about* the past, it is not *the* past in actuality (2007, p.93). Inevitably then, the version of history I offer here has been produced by an extremely complex process of crafting inference and empiricism into a narrative that can only ever act as a partial interpretation of the past.

I chose Cuff because his link to the IOC has become a foundation stone of New Zealand's olympic history. Coombes was included for his relationship to Cuff, his role on the IOC, and his long history in Australasian amateur sport. The re-evaluation of Cuff and Coombes I offered raised new questions about whether we can appropriately attribute these two men with the conception of the olympic movement in New Zealand. I also focused on Arthur Marryatt, Arthur Davies, and Reg McVilly. These three men are a good representation of the small group who had stakes in New Zealand athletics around the turn of the century.

I also ventured into a description of the social, class, political and economic groups these agents aligned themselves with, as well as their ideological positions. However, the paucity of information available in the archives is a significant barrier to this particular quest. The little we do know of their individual backgrounds and administrative contributions suggests that their roles in the early history of the olympic movement are more significant than has been previously thought. I also raised concerns that the voices of Māori, women, and athletes themselves were notably absent or

marginalised during this period of conception. I aimed to demonstrate that the conception of the olympic organisation in New Zealand could not be attributed to a sole agent or group of key agents, but needs to be discussed in terms of the wider historical context, and with reference to other significant contextual structures, such as forces, events, ideologies and institutional structures.

Some agents had substantial roles in the administration of NZOC, and these enabled them to exert power and influence over the affairs of amateur athletics in New Zealand. However, these agents were no more significant in the development of the early olympic movement in New Zealand than their lesser known contemporaries or the many athletes who were under their control. Continued research will hopefully further explore the role other agents played during this period of New Zealand's formative olympic history. In Part two I consider the ideological shifts some of these agents may have undergone during NZOC's period of conception to consolidation, and I also consider the role new agents played between 1911 and 1936 as NZOC gained formal IOC recognition, and with that its first independent IOC members.

Chapter 3

Sporting Collectives

Alongside major forces, events, and human agents, ideology is a central plank of Marwick's (1998) model of historical context. The relationship between context and belief systems matters, Hunt concurs, because "ideology cannot be understood apart from cultural context, relationships of power, and the creation, transmission, and interpretation of meaning" (1990, p.110). Ideology refers to specific sets of beliefs, values, and assumptions held by particular social groups about society, social relations, and social phenomenon. Ideologies do not exist in the ether, but they are rather, grounded in the meanings and interactions that constitute peoples' daily experiences. Ideologies typically serve distinct political purposes and act as powerful mechanisms for shaping social behaviour. Hargreaves agrees, suggesting that "ideas and meanings evolve, show continuity and undergo change, not because of their internal content, but because people interrelate with one another in particular social contexts" (2007, p.49). The development of ideologies are thus, integrally linked with the human praxis of social interaction, in this case relations in sporting organisations.

The New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) is a good example of a sporting organisation effected by ideological politics. Within NZOC, individual agents and groups negotiate their competing belief systems – essentially ideas about sport, sporting bodies, and appropriate social mores - in particular ways. Yet, the process of ideological negotiation is never straightforward. This is essentially because the inherent function of ideology is largely to "misrepresent social relations and...legitimize the established

power structure” by warping one group’s belief system as status quo (Hargreaves, 1986, p.8). Of course, ideological conflict occurs on a number of economic, political, and cultural levels. Hargreaves suggests that although not an ideological institution in itself, the cultural phenomenon of sport “may take on an ideological function in specific conditions” (Hargreaves, 1986, p.9), particularly in determining the power and legitimacy of competing social philosophies.

Following from this, I identify in this chapter how particular ideologies came to bear on the conception of NZOC in New Zealand during the late nineteenth century. I investigate a set of ideological systems, such as nationalism and athleticism, which were prevalent in the conception of NZOC, and specifically within sports organisations like the NZOC’s predecessor, the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA). My objective is to highlight tensions and conflicts over belief systems in early New Zealand sport. Two specific class-based ideologies were athleticism and amateurism. These ideologies mobilised around economic relations in the colony and helped maintain social power by perpetuating the principles of the ruling social group (Belich, 2007; King, 2003; McAloon, 2004; McLellan, 1986).⁴⁶ As a particular sporting ideology, amateurism served as a specific strategy for athletic sporting administrators in New Zealand by enabling them to retain their ideological control over sporting culture. However, ideologies require institutions, agents, and a means of promotion in order to

⁴⁶ In keeping with my premise that disjuncture and tensions are an important part of historical change, Belich (2007) asserts that the power of ideology to subordinate the working classes to the whims of the ruling class was not fixed and predetermined. Various forms of resistance and negotiation arose as classes selectively engaged in the customs and practices of other social groups while retaining their own principles and beliefs. Leisure pastimes, food and drink preferences, and clothing styles were particular examples.

be effective. For the middle classes in New Zealand, sport, with its mass appeal, provided an appropriate vehicle for the transfer of ideological values.

At the outset, what is evident is that various agents of capitalist-driven class-defined groups clearly structured aspects of New Zealand life during the later nineteenth century. For the development of modern sport in New Zealand, this primarily meant sporting administrations comprised of an educated upper-middle class elite who used their privileged position to perpetuate social distinctions with the working-class majority and maintain their beliefs over sporting access and participation (Ryan, 2004; 2005). Social and political ideologies of the ruling-class may have driven colonial sporting cultures, but as is evident in the continued changes to NZAAA and NZOC policies (which I discuss below), members of the working classes were clearly using resistance and conflict as *one* way to counter the class constraints in sport. Yet, to reiterate, it is important to again consider here that issues of class are complex. For example, I confess it is difficult to say whether exactly athletes at the time saw the class struggle in the way I have conceptualised it here. Moreover, given the limitations of the evidence, it is also hard to discern just exactly how members of these groups perceived their own class identities, and, in fact, whether class dialectics consciously figured in their rationale for participation (or non-participation) in sport.

I have focused on specific ideologies, for example amateurism and athleticism, because I believe they best demonstrate the conflicting influences upon the NZOC. Moreover these ideologies illustrate the contested nature of New Zealand athletic cultures. Amateur athletics, for example, comprised primarily of members from the middle-classes. These members (as I discuss in chapters two and eight) were active as

administrators and athletes. Professional athletics, by comparison, comprised predominately members of the working classes who competed for prizes and money. Although the ideological beliefs of the working classes essentially may have aligned with humanistic notions of physical culture (Booth & Loy, 1999), their beliefs did not fit neatly with philosophies of the ruling-class administrators who expressed their beliefs through the policies, rules, and legalise of their emerging sports bureaucracy. Later in Part two I discuss which ideologies, if any, prevailed through to the consolidation of NZOC.

Ideology and hegemonic power

Systems of belief are a major force and constraint in constructing historical context. Indeed, as I discuss below, in the development of modern sport and the conception and consolidation of New Zealand's olympic history particular belief systems, such as amateurism, have had discernable affects. Structured as philosophies and ideologies, belief systems organise the values and ideas of certain groups (Sage, 1990). Ideology forms an important part of Marwick's model of contextualisation by helping explain the convergence of social and historical circumstances, such as the nexus between educational and political philosophies, cultural practices, and significant historical events (Marwick, 1998). For Marwick, ideological systems broadly constitute structures of "what is believed and what is possible to be believed, (and), existing political and social philosophies" (ibid, p.24).

Marwick's sketch of the term is a useful starting point, but it does not capture the pervasive nature of ideology, its ability to inform cultural and social practices, its role in

historical conflict, or its capacity to influence social order. Thus, to better contextualise Marwick's ideology, I draw on Callinicos (1989), Gerring (1997), Hunt (1990) and McLellan (1986).⁴⁷ In so doing I illustrate two key characteristics of ideology. First, ideology is about the organisation and dissemination of the beliefs and values of particular social groups. Second, the production and maintenance of these systems of ideals is inevitably tied to ongoing power relations as each group works to negotiate the conditions of its own existence.

Ideologies serve distinct practical socio-economic purposes by reinforcing specific social hierarchies. For Callinicos (1989) social hierarchies exist because human beings have a desire and the ability to distinguish themselves from one another by forming groups based upon shared beliefs and interests. Of course, individuals are not passively involved in this process but rather, they are active agents. That is, conscious actors motivated explicitly by their beliefs and desires in the pursuit of common interests. Callinicos uses the term *collectivities* to define the way ideologies offer the means for groups of individuals with shared belief systems to negotiate, by way of power and conflict, their social position. That is, Callinicos asserts,

agents draw their powers in part from structures (the forces and relations of production) which divide them into classes with conflicting interests. The fact...that agents have shared interests by virtue of the structural capacities they derive from their position in the relations of production makes it essential to

⁴⁷ Although belief systems have invariably existed since the earliest civilizations, the etymology of ideology and its employment in philosophical reasoning was a product of the late-eighteenth century (Lucas, 1978). Lucas (1978, p.471) and Mangan (2007, p.76ff.) attribute the conception of the term *ideologie* to French philosopher Antrine Louis Claude Destult de Tracy. Interested in the reformation of the French public school system, Destult de Tracy believed the science of ideas, more explicitly the philosophy of perception, could be used to elicit educational change in the form of new social order. Later, Marx changed the positive connotations of the term for a more pessimistic and economically deterministic definition.

consider the forms of collective organization through which they seek to pursue these interests (1989, p.134).

An important distinction in Callinicos' conception of ideology is the difference between class awareness and class consciousness. The former he sees as the knowledge of a shared class position, the latter, involves a collectivity of individual agents who not only recognise their own social position, but also, the need to negotiate conflict and competing interests in determining their particular position relative to other groups. The most important cases of collectivities and social consciousness, for Callinicos, are classes and nations, both of which I cover in this chapter.

Callinicos, who takes umbrage with the dominant ideology thesis, sees ideology not as the embodiment of a false consciousness initially implied by Marx and his followers (Lucas, 1978), but rather in the Gramscian fashion, that ideology is an 'articulation of interests' of various collectivities or social groups. Stressing the notion that ideology informs human praxis, Callinicos asserts that "collectivities exist if and only if their members co-ordinate their actions in light of the identity they believe themselves to share" (1989, p.137).

I need to make an important clarification here. Ideology is a form of social consciousness - a way of organising the collective ideals of particular groups, such as the working-class – but ideology is also essentially a human attribute. That is, "*persons* hold ideological beliefs, not classes" (Callinicos, p.139). Only when individuals form themselves into distinct collectivities does the powerful nature of ideology come to bear; hence the necessity of differentiating between social organisations and collectivities. Although the two concepts are blurred, Callinicos suggests that organisations tend to

have a formal structure, while collectivities necessarily do not. For example, amateur athletics in New Zealand was a specific sporting association created by particular agents to fulfil their class-based desires about physical culture and superiority. The ideology of amateurism reflected the class interests and desires of the ruling middle-class collectivity about the organisation of athletics. Amateur athletic agents, such as Reg McVilly, Arthur Davies, and Arthur Marryatt (as discussed in the previous chapter), were members of a class-based social collectivity who shared an interest in a particular ethos of athletic sports which they used to maintain control over the institution.

Amateur athletic agents, such as those mentioned above, were middle-class sport enthusiasts. They represented just one of the groups responsible for the development of sport in colonial New Zealand. These groups included educated old-boys of the public school system who played a role in the administration of sport; business owners and entrepreneurs who sought to benefit from the growing capitalist structure of modern sport (see Hardy, 1990, for a good analysis of this issue), and working and middle-class patrons, who both sought ways and means in sport to distinguish themselves, their lifestyles, and belief systems from each other (Booth, 2000; Phillips, 1987). By organising and consolidating their beliefs these various groups were able to mobilise a form of ideological power, and in so doing, legitimise their specific values, morals, social mores and practices. Athleticism and amateurism – both entailing elements of physical culture and social hierarchy - were two specific ideologies, for example, that helped middle-class agents during the conception of the NZOC control organised sport and distinguish themselves from working-class participants (Mangan, 1988; Ryan, 2007).

Citizens in late-nineteenth century New Zealand also invested in particular ideological systems because they brought particular conditions that helped advance their individual and collective needs. For NZOC, namely the educated middle-class sports administrators, ideological collectivity was particularly important as it enabled them to maintain their philosophical investments into sport. Yet, it also opened up possibilities for growth and development by allowing it to control the participation of other groups, such as young athletic working-class men. For NZOC agents ideologies such as athleticism and a nascent nationalism provided an effective means for preserving their own belief systems and manipulating the organisation of sport to secure their own interests, which essentially were to retain class distinction and privilege. However, total ideological domination was futile because the working classes were reluctant to embrace the belief systems of the minority elite. As Callinicos reminds us, ideological conflict occurs because “a particular ideology invites us to accept a particular kind of social identity. Moreover, since ‘ideologies differ...the individual has some choice as to which identity he or she will accept...’ (1989, p.156) The question then becomes a matter of navigating conflict and maintaining social peculiarities (as detailed in chapters two and four). In this sense power, conflict, and negotiation were all essential components in determining what ideologies prevailed in New Zealand sport and society in the late nineteenth century.

Ideology offers a way to understand the collective organisation and transmission of social values and the role of power in determining the legitimacy of particular belief systems. However, in spite of this strength, the term does not fully address the intricate processes of power negotiation and conflict that occur when the various beliefs systems

of particular groups collide and one group seeks to gain control over a particular resource. Accordingly, the concept of hegemony acts as a way to consider the role of power in ideology, and the ability of ideology to act as a major force in determining the social reality of particular historical contexts.

Recognising the integral presence of power in ideology, Gramsci (1971) morphed the term into 'hegemony', a concept that acknowledged ideological power (i.e. whose beliefs systems mattered and tend to be validated as the status quo) worked by consensus as opposed to the coercion initially implied by Marx (Hughson, Inglis, & Free, 2005). Essentially hegemony is "the result of people's positive reactions to values and beliefs, which, in specific social and historical situations, support established social relations and structures of power" (Hargreaves, 1994, p.22). The concept builds upon the fact that ideological force is not a concrete concept, met out in a necessarily totalitarian fashion, but rather, a means by which ruling groups can achieve control and power by careful persuasion and "...an ongoing process of accommodation and compromise" (Sage, 1990, p.20).

Hegemony also works because of its ability to legitimise societal norms and values as status quo, and in the processes of doing so "concealing the inherent system of domination" (Sage, 1990, p.19). However, Callinicos reminds us "the main role of the dominant ideology has been to secure the cohesion and reproduction of the *ruling* class, not to integrate the masses within the existing social order" (1989, p.141). The notion of hegemony therefore offers a way for us to understand the competition between belief systems, the way these systems inform human practices, and that this process is never fully resolved but involves ongoing tension and negotiation (Hargreaves, 1982; 1994;

Sage, 1990).⁴⁸ For example, referring to the significance of athleticism in the history of early nineteenth century sport culture, Crotty argues the underlying purpose of sport was “principally about the formulation and dissemination to its subjects of a dominant, or hegemonic, ideology” (2004, p.64). However, Crotty’s problematic conflation of hegemony and ideology does illustrate his own neo-Gramscian tendencies to give primary importance to the dominant systems of belief (the hegemonic), rather than to recognising that all belief systems are in effect equal, and that issues of power, control, and subordination ultimately determines the supremacy of one system over another.

Imperialism, nationalism, national Identity

At the turn of the twentieth century, major ideological forces were contouring and constraining New Zealand colonial life. Although initial Anglo-inspired designs for the colony were for it to be an outpost of the British Empire, questions were soon raised by politicians, social commentators, and members of the public about New Zealand’s identity, its history, and its future direction. As I detailed in chapter one, these questions were essentially a reaction to demographic changes, the stabilisation of the political system, improved lifestyle opportunities, and New Zealand’s growing international recognition (Belich, 2007). A distinct component of this search for collective identity was ideas about the nation (Sinclair, 1984). Indeed, to reiterate, nationalism – coalescences between nation and state - are key features in Callinicos’ (1989) conceptions of ideology and power. His thoughts are again worth foregrounding here.

⁴⁸ Recognising the ideological basis of hegemony, Williams suggested “hegemonic configurations of power are understood to be part of a continual process of change which incorporates negotiation and accommodation, a ‘lived system of meanings and values – constitutive and constituting” (Williams, 1977, Cited in Hargreaves, 1989, p.22).

For Callinicos, “the formation of nationality typically involves the incorporation of existing political and cultural units into the territory of a centralized and bureaucratic state and their forced assimilation to the culture usually of the class which dominates that state” (1989, p.159). That is ideologically, nationalism can be understood as the politically driven “formation of *nation-states*” (ibid). Although, this practice of ‘creating’ nation states has occurred for hundreds of years, drawing on the work of Hobsbawn, Callinicos reminds us that the later part of the nineteenth century can be considered arguably the “most decisive phase in the development of nationalism” (p.171). Within the western world, and certainly in New Zealand, the development of nationalist ideologies was a significant force in the making of nation-states. Nationalism was contingent upon the establishment of collective traditions among particular class-groups, and the ideological power of particular groups to assert and legitimise their specific traditions, customs, and practices as popular, and thus national, cultural forms (Belich, 2007; Hobsbawn, 1983; 1990).

General New Zealand historians have recognised to some extent the place of sport, notably the privileged socio-cultural place of rugby in New Zealand, as a component in the transition of the fledgling colony to established nation-state, and a characteristic of an emergent and ‘unified’ New Zealand society.⁴⁹ “The progress of the colonial society towards nationhood”, Gibbons writes, “has been reckoned in various ways by historians as”,

including the articulation of ‘national’ communication systems, the establishment of ‘national’ organizations, communal celebration of sporting and military

⁴⁹ Valuable contributions on imperialism, nationalism, and national identity in New Zealand have already been made in regards to rugby (Crawford, 1986; 1994; Laidlaw, 1973; Nauright, 1993; Phillips, 1984, 1987, 1990; Ryan, 1993) cricket (Ryan, 2004), rowing and aquatics (Vincent, 1999).

achievements under New Zealand banners in international arenas, constitutional adjustments which diminish imperial control and increase local autonomy, and related to the constitutional alternations, extensions of independent government initiatives in matters of trade and defence” (2002, p.6).

Commenting on the significance of sport within the ideology of embryonic New Zealand nationalism, imperialism, and the broader organisation of cultural and social life, Ryan adds that it “has been, and forever will be, inextricably bound to the workings of economies, political ideologies, and cultural systems” (2004, p.1). “It is therefore no coincidence”, Ryan, adds, “that the growth of a ‘new’ British Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century was accomplished by an even greater expansion of sport” (ibid). Horton concurs with Ryan suggesting that given its “symbolic potential”, nations adopted modern sport to “establish their identity” (1998, p.179). In this thesis I further investigate the NZOC as a significant cultural institution that helped advance the imperialistic, nationalistic and identity seeking agendas of the developing nation state; agendas which largely involved the liberal middle-class influencing the affairs of the working masses.

The way in which nationalist ideology coexisted alongside notions of imperialism has been a common thread in New Zealand historical research. Reflecting upon how nationalistic sentiments emerged during the turn of the nineteenth century, Gibbons notes that “later historians, most notably and influentially Keith Sinclair, preferred to think of New Zealand and New Zealanders in the twentieth (century) as transcending their British origins, outgrowing their colonial beginnings, not just aspiring to but achieving national identity and independence”(2002, p.6). As a significant cultural

activity, sport played an important part in this process of establishing a 'national' identity. Sport engendered on the one hand imperialistic fervour by reaffirming an affective Anglo heritage, yet it also helped foster expressions of a common culture based upon shared characteristics deemed to reflect a common 'national' image and a collective way of life.

British cultural imperialism was a strong ideology within New Zealand during the later part of the nineteenth century, but there was an emergent interest in fortifying a New Zealand nationalism based upon elements of common culture, notions of community, and collective understanding. Noting the importance of these elements within nationalism and national identity, Hughson et al add that, "the feeling of community is fraternal, it involves something more than the recognition that men need each other materially. The bond of commonality is one of serving common identity, a pleasure in recognising 'us' and 'who we are'" (Hughson, 2005, p.63). Sport takes a central place in the process of establishing a sense of national community. Hughson, Inglis and Free suggest that "the most important communal aspect of sport is that it brings people together--as individuals and groups--in a leisure context providing a means of escape from work and other onerous aspects of everyday life" (ibid, p.68-69).

Although the construction of a 'common culture' is closely tied to nationalist ideology, in New Zealand this was problematic in the sense that public thought oscillated between imperial sentiments and a nascent national identity (Belich, 2007; King, 2003). Imperialism, in the New Zealand sense, referred to the allegiances settler-citizens of the colony exhibited en masse via social, cultural, and political means, to their Britannic roots, while simultaneously still allowing the possibility of a collective, albeit

emergent and ambiguous, New Zealand 'identity'. The progression from pioneer society to relatively modern and independent country raises questions about New Zealand's emerging place in the world, particularly in relation to the Britannic motherland, and the eventually unified, trans-Tasman Australian states (Cashman, O'Hara, & Honey, 2001; Palenski, in Press; Phillips, 1987; Ryan, 2004; Sinclair, 1986; Stoddart, 1988). Referring to the dominant Anglo-centric masculine perspective, Sinclair suggests "Pakeha New Zealanders had to decide who they were, but also who they were not. That meant considering their relationship to the British and Australians. There was endless discussion about those two issues especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (1986, p.94). In practical terms, "almost all of the Dominion's overseas loans came from Great Britain. Most of the immigrants still came from the same place. In other words, the direction of trade and migration strengthened the imperial bonds. Politicians could rarely be heard criticising the Empire of the British" (ibid, p.108).

To summarise, during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century a nascent ideology of nationalism – mobilised around discourses of colonial identity - shaped social relations in New Zealand. Like any ideology, nationalism also involved hegemonic conflict among competing collectives whereby different groups sought to validate their beliefs and practices as legitimate cultural forms (Ryan, 2007). For example, sport administrators held ideologies of corporeal culture centred on embodiments of a preferred white masculine settler physicality. This physicality was manifest in a range of sport cultures, notably in rugby and cricket, but also in amateur athletics. Athletics effectively inculcated ideals of the nation and humanistic aspects of sport and athleticism (Hoberman, 1984). As I argue below, amateur athletics is a good example of

how a particular ideological collectivity used sport and modern sporting organisations in their quest for legitimacy. Sporting administrators predominately comprised elite educated men of the British and New Zealand public school system (Hokuwhitu, 2003; Mangan & Hickey, 2000; Ryan, 2004). This minority group were a collectivity of agents who held similar beliefs about their own class position, and the role of sport in perpetuating and maintaining that privilege. With greater access to the necessary resources, namely finances, educational and administrative experience, and social networks, these agents were able to shape the colony's emerging sporting organisations such as amateur athletics and rugby union, to serve their own interests and class based desires (Booth, 2000; Ryan, 2007).

As I discussed earlier, despite the ruling classes' ability to maintain general control of organised sport the process was rarely ever complete. The strategies of organisation and control employed by the elite to disseminate their belief systems were to unify disparate sporting bodies, yet, retain class distinctions. These strategies, however, inevitably confronted opposition that threatened to disrupt the practice of sports and challenge the class-based idealism over the amateurism ethos. Moreover, in regards to the histories of sports and sporting organisations, hegemony thus presents a way to understand that these power struggles over ideology are "the result of conflicting interests over unequal sports resources in specific social contexts" (Hargreaves, 1994, p.23).

Athleticism and amateurism

The ideologies of physical culture and the hegemonic relations that were a part of the development of late-nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand sport appeared in a number of institutions. The rift between rugby union and rugby league over class-based values, control, legitimacy, and rights to participation is one example (Falcous, 2007; Ryan, 2005). Another site for ideological struggles was within amateur athletics. At the turn of the century, athletics was not only a core activity in the British-inspired New Zealand education system, but also popular sporting pastime throughout New Zealand (Crawford, 1986; Heidenstrom, 1992). Athletic sport also featured prominently in colonial print media (e.g., *FairPlay*, 1893), and athletics affairs, both competition and administration, received particular attention.

The role of athletics and the underpinning philosophy of athleticism were particularly significant in the formation of NZOC. Not only was the administration of amateur athletics the basic template for the inaugural Olympic Council, but the ideology of athleticism also provided the organisation with a popular philosophy during its formative years. Athleticism was essentially the ideology of choice for NZOC agents, however, inevitably struggles occurred that required them to employ particular strategies, such as amateurism, to ensure athleticism's ideological domination and preserve their control and manipulation of a key element of New Zealand's sporting culture.

Athleticism, in a modern sense, emerged in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century simultaneously with the advent of the formal education system and social and

economic investments into athletic events and clubs (Crotty, 1996; Ryan, 2007).

Describing the ideological component of athleticism, Mangan notes,

physical exercise was taken, considerably and compulsorily, in the sincere belief of many, however romantic, misplaced or myopic, that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to both command and obey. These were the famous ingredients of character training which the public schools considered their pride and their prerogative (1981, p.9).⁵⁰

“At the general level”, Stewart adds, athleticism “constituted a philosophy of education which attempted to balance the intellectual with the moral and physical” (1992, p.37). Moreover, importantly in terms of a civilizing education, “at the specific level the ethos involved the use of team games to develop in the boys the traits of manliness, character, gentlemanly behaviour and patriotism” (ibid). Sports such as rugby, cricket, and athletics, inculcated the belief of the middle-classes that boys could express manliness through healthy physical pursuits. Manliness, a dominant form of masculinity, was a characteristic deemed appropriately ‘gentlemanly’ by ruling groups, and totally in keeping with sentiments about the superior vitality and physicality of the antipodean settler colonies.

Referring to the way in which athleticism was crystallized in the organised sport in Australian public schools in the late-nineteenth century, Crawford suggests the

⁵⁰ J.A Mangan is a writer and editor of several seminal publications on the topic of athleticism. These works include *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (1981), *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the diffusion of an ideal* (1986), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914* (1988), and *A sport loving society: Victorian and Edwardian middle-class England at Play* (2006).

ideology acted as “a powerful and pragmatic instrument” (1986, p.47) for the transformation of young males into disciples of civil obedience, physical fortitude and moral resolve. Crawford further suggests that within Australian schools of the period, athleticism operated as “an elitist system that exalted competitive sport, gave an inflated emphasis to the importance of winning, and embalmed the heroes of the playing field in antiquated sentiment” (1986, p.44).

In a similar fashion, though slightly delayed, athleticism provided the underpinnings for the practice and organisation of modern sport in New Zealand.⁵¹ Although the notion of athleticism was evident in rugby, cricket, athletics, and rowing (Crawford, 1994; Phillips, 1987; Sinclair, 1984), the concept was also evident in the philosophies of NZOC. Athletic ideals were fundamental in the diffusion of modern sport from Britain to the distant imperial colonies. Not only were the technical and administrative aspects of organised sport transmitted to colonial playing fields, but settlers also imported to their new environment ideals, beliefs and assumptions about physical culture, health and well-being. The promulgation of a sporting ethos was very much a part of this process.

However, the diffusion of sporting ideals in the New Zealand colony could not be left solely to athletic participants. Rather, particular institutions and strategies were needed to disseminate various ideological beliefs. In the case of athleticism, this required people first believing in its principles of gentlemanly conduct, healthy

⁵¹ Although studies of athleticism in Australia are plentiful; within New Zealand little attention has been directed to assessing its role within national sporting culture. In this regard, the contributions of Scott Crawford (1984; 1994) on the athletic imperative within New Zealand sporting culture, Jock Phillip's (1987) seminal analysis of the national construction of the masculine New Zealand image, and Mangan and Hickey's (2000) study on colonial educationalist Herbert Milnes and the Games cult in New Zealand are all useful contributions.

competition, and humanistic physical endeavour. As such, the collectivity of agents involved in the development of sport in the colony needed a means to foster their shared philosophies of sport. Advantageous in this regard, was the institutionalisation of the New Zealand education system modelled along the lines of the British Public Schools.

Athleticism was a peculiar ideology of the British Public School model. In Britain, at places such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby, a new breed of educators who saw value in the holistic nature of a humanistic education began to invest in athleticism as a guiding ideology (Mangan, 1981). Ryan writes that “a new generation of headmasters realised that organised sport and controlled leisure outside the classroom was essential to discipline inside it” (2007, p.99). The British Public School model is useful for understanding the applied humanistic practice of sport and the organisation and codification of sport and leisure life. The model “played a crucial part in the formation of the ruling class in the second half of the nineteenth century” (1986, p.39) and their organisation of modern sport.

Hargreaves asserts that the extensive achievements in organising sport in the mid-Victorian era that occurred in Britain provided the grounds for later developments in global sport, and in particular, the basis for controlling working-class participation. The general curriculum of the British public school model inculcated the beliefs of the ruling bourgeoisie to maintain their social standing and exert influence over the working classes (Hargreaves, 1986). Advocates of the British Public School system, both in England and New Zealand, argued that the cumulative affect of the moral imperative in

sport and broader education would ultimately be the creation of young men with considerable civil calibre (Mangan & Hickey, 2000; McGeorge, 1992; Phillips, 1987).

Successfully employed in Britain, colonial educators exported the British Public School model to New Zealand and transposed it on to high schools such as Christ College, Nelson Boys, Wellington College and Otago Boys. Mangan and Hickey write,

It is clear that elementary education in New Zealand followed the British pattern.

It is unremarkable therefore that the introduction of games into elementary schools, in New Zealand followed a similar pattern to that of Britain. Firstly, the development of the curriculum was based on British practice. Secondly, several major educational diffusionists came from the mother country (2000, p.42-43).

Mangan and Hickey's statement is written in reference to the pioneering achievements of the humanist educationalist Herbert Milnes whose belief in holistic ideologies of sport and education did much to promote the sporting ethos in New Zealand's premier schools. While athleticism had the effect of imparting middle-class youth in New Zealand with humanistic values, by emphasising the link between physical fortitude, character development, and social cohesion, the ideology helped strengthen the stereotypical associations between physicality, perseverance, citizenship, and the adversities of colonial life. The education system particularly acted as a formal conduit for the extolling of a quasi-religious doctrine of muscular Christian virtues. The emphasis on athletic endeavour also helped engender, especially through sporting rivalries, a selective sense of national identity, belonging, and the fertilisation of a New Zealand 'national' character (Phillips, 1984; 1987; 1990). One effect of the British Public

school model in New Zealand was in helping create a national culture dedicated to sporting pursuits.

The success of the British Public school model in New Zealand lay in its strategic integration of sport and athletic endeavour within a curriculum driven by a classed-based interpretation of moral virtues. Ryan suggests,

The role of school sport in general and cricket in particular was also essential in creating and perpetuating the moral ideology. Among those schools committed to an English public school model, and among the primary schools beyond which the majority of the population did not proceed, there was a quite deliberate use of sport to promote broader educational ideals such as discipline and conformity (2004, p.4).

McGeorge (1992) writes that “the games that grown men took seriously were reckoned particularly character forming” (p.48), and consequently “in the nineteenth century, the moral curriculum of the secondary schools centred on honour, courage and sportsmanship rather than obedience and industry...” (p.49). Reiterating the interface between sport and morality in late nineteenth-century New Zealand, Phillips adds, “the character of the Pākehā male stereotype in New Zealand was forged by the interaction of two powerful traditions: the desire to keep alive the muscular virtues of the pioneer heritage, and the concern to contain that masculine spirit within respectable boundaries” (1987, p.86).⁵²

⁵² The role of the moral imperative in New Zealand rugby and cricket histories has been detailed by numerous scholars (e.g., Laidlaw, 1973; Phillips, 1984; 1987; 2000; Ryan, 1993; 2004). In reference to rugby Phillip writes that “organised team games”, particularly rugby, though also other sports, “came to be seen as a training for the moral life. They taught a strength and self-control that was moral as well as physical. They inculcated character” (1987, p.87).

The link between masculine identity, class, and athleticism raised above highlights a particularly important issue with the diffusion of athleticism from Britain to New Zealand. Although the British Public school model helped the formal organisation of sports, in New Zealand the emergence of the model was fraught. Formal education provided the means to promote the ideology yet not everybody had access to such institutions. This was particularly the case for females, members of the indigenous population, and working-class males (as I discuss in the following chapter). The latter two groups channeled their efforts toward vocational training or entered directly into the workforce as manual labourers. Sport was not exclusively a practice reserved for the educational elite, but an important cultural form available across the social spectrum.

New Zealand's broader sport culture and the organisation of sport outside schools offered advocates of athleticism, the educated elite, valuable opportunities to perpetuate the ideology of athleticism. To guarantee the virtues of athleticism survived in the colony, the advocates required a strategy. Specifically, they needed a means to control the domain of sport and ensure the preservation of the ruling-elite's capitalist beliefs. Again, the British roots of modern sport, in particular its powerful political structures, proved particularly useful.

In Britain, the social hierarchies of late-Victorian life used specific tactics to maintain social distinctions; elite administrators of sport also adopted these tactics. With the ability to preserve social distinctions came ideological power; a way of ensuring the continuation and dominance of middle-class values and beliefs. The creation of amateurism was a key strategy for achieving this goal. Amateurism was part of the class-driven global debate on the wider principles and practices in late-nineteenth and

early-twentieth century sport. The debate centred on the paradox between the morally elevated position of amateurism, its rigid function within class-influenced sports administration, its practical application, and its ambiguity with the allegedly dichotomised term 'professionalism'. In New Zealand, amateurism thrived as a basic principle of organised sport (Ryan, 2007). Amateurism played a significant role in formalising the ideological tenets of athleticism and operated as a key selection tool for sporting organisations, none more so than the amateur athletic association and the national Olympic Council.

Allison defines a human activity as amateur when "it is chosen in order to enrich experience and that choice is not coerced by economic or social forces" (2001, p.10). However, the reality was that amateurism was a particular mechanism "devised by the English social elite...to exclude from sport those of the lower classes" (Smith, 1993, p.430), and to maintain their own economic and social privilege. Amateur control was a pervasive aspect of modern sport throughout the Western world. As Hargreaves argues, "most of the controlling bodies were run by amateur, part-time administrators; the international bodies were dominated by amateurs; many major sports, like tennis and Rugby Union, rigidly enforced amateurism as a condition for participating; and the invidious distinction between amateur and professional players remained in major sports" (1986, p.91). Amateurism was also a part of the athletic ideology ingrained within the public school system. As Crawford suggests, "team games, and their particular character of amateurism, had been efficiently and effectively harnessed in the English public school system for the purposes of character training and as a means of

indoctrination into a prescribed code of rules and conventions held by the upper classes (1986, p.45).

Amateurism was, by very definition, a power-imbued, class defined and controlled approach to the selective administration and practice of sport, reflective of the broader hegemonic processes affecting culture and social life. Essentially, sports administrators used amateurism to maintain class distinctions and impede sports participation on primarily financial grounds. However, in keeping with the diverse economic concerns of the ruling elite, amateurism was not consistently applied across sporting codes. In New Zealand, athletics administrators used the concept of amateur to reiterate their control of the sport, in particular their desire to dictate the terms and conditions of participation. Specifically this meant that once excluded an athlete could, and would, only gain re-entry into organised competition after a considerable time spent in athletic purgatory with their re-admittance totally being on the whims of the administrative body. Shortly, I discuss how the policies of amateurism were mobilised within the amateur athletics association and the implications this later had for the NZOC.

Discussing the role of amateurism within aquatics and athletics in mid to late nineteenth century Canterbury, Vincent (1999) writes,

The class based definitions of amateurism that were taking shape in English aquatics and athletics during the mid-Victorian period, and the attitudes underlying them, also survived the long sea journey to colonial New Zealand. However... attempts to introduce these ideals into the same sports in a

community on the colonial frontier faced considerable difficulties and were quite probably doomed to failure (p.5).

The reason that this translocation did not occur easily was possibly due to the disparate and isolated nature of New Zealand's colonial communities, and the very embryonic state of organised sport in New Zealand. For example, the NZAAA adopted its definitions and policies on amateurism from Australian and British parent organisations. Yet, the NZAAA soon realised that in the colony's emergent athletics culture these definitions would not work as efficiently given New Zealand's different demographic composition, more mobile labour force, egalitarian undertones, and informal propensity towards community based competitions.

Referring to the translocation of amateurism, Vincent argues that unlike what was occurring in England at the time, "amateurism in Canterbury before 1880, was not something imposed, with its associated middle class values, on sport in general". Rather, Vincent stresses, "it was used as a means of fostering a sense of community among a small group within a larger sporting population" (1999, p.6). Although the sporting population were predominately working-class labourers, a small minority controlled access to sport resources, and with that the means to organise venues, competitions, and committees. These were essentially business patrons, and middle-class entrepreneurs, and again, alumni of the British public school system (Booth, 2000). Despite the difficulties in translocation of the concept to New Zealand, Vincent does concur, however, that amateurism was more so about maintaining social distinctions than in achieving total control of sport. Supporting the conclusions of Hargreaves (1986) on amateurism in England, Vincent notes the strategy of amateurism

was “not an ideology imposed on sport by a colonial elite in an effort to take control, but a mechanism used by a segment of the upper and middle classes to separate themselves from the wider sporting population” (p.11). The development of amateurism through organised athletics in the colony, specifically in the NZAAA and NZOC, provides a clear example of how formal structures of sport, such as policies and definitions, helped perpetuate ideological power and maintained these social distinctions.

By 1897, the NZAAA had been in existence for a decade. During this time, the association had achieved considerable success. They were able to implement an administrative structure with a certain amount of financial stability, facilitate regular competitions, including national and international fixtures, and through annual subscriptions, unify, at least on paper, the disparate nature of New Zealand’s various athletic organisations. However, NZAAA’s capabilities to administer athletics were more than just ensuring the practicalities of sport were met. Rather NZAAA members, like Leonard Cuff, Arthur Marryatt, and Bernard Guise, who were effectively agents of the ruling-elite, utilised economic, political and cultural resources at their disposal to maintain their own social positions and belief systems, and importantly their power and control of their organisation. The fact that both the NZAAA and the later Olympic Council contained high profile business and local body politicians supported this strategy of using sport to maintain the distinction of their social group and the legitimacy of their individual social positions.

Evidence of the NZAAA’s healthy state was not only demonstrated through its stable finances and administration structures, but, also by the high standard of athletic

participation around the country and athletes' abilities to compete on par in international competition. New Zealand amateur athletics was, throughout the late 1880s and early 1890s, based on their competent management of athletics around New Zealand, a clearly successful sporting organisation. In 1889, the NZAAA held its first championship meeting in Dunedin. The following year it conducted a successful reciprocal exchange to New South Wales, with the small team of New Zealand athletes winning 7 of 11 championships. During 1892, New Zealand representatives visited England, "...and although not successful in winning a championship, still a number of good performances were accomplished" (Newspaper clipping, c.1892, in NZAAA, 1933, March 22). In 1893, New Zealand also sent its first team to the inaugural Australasian championships in Melbourne. The success of these events resided largely in the Association's ability to maintain a high standard of competition that served to distinguish and venerate 'amateur' events and athletes above the so-called professional leisure pursuits still in practice throughout the colony. One such venture that received attention throughout the colony was the popularised commercial sport of professional walking, or pedestrianism, (Vincent, 2001).

The adoption of a strict amateur code allowed the rulers of amateur athletics in New Zealand to impose certain limitations upon athletes in terms of their participation in athletic sports. However, as discussed below, the rigidity of the amateur code, particular in its multifarious, and at times contradictory, clauses extended beyond the realm of sport and into daily lives, and in particular, the work choices of colonial athletes. The consequences of amateurism not only created continuous friction between participants

and administrators, it also challenged the abilities of the ruling elite to effectively maintain their control and power over New Zealand's sporting culture.

During its first decade the NZAAA moulded its amateur code based on the practices and policies of amateur athletics organisations in both Australia and Britain. In both these places amateurism had become a powerful strategy to fulfil the middle class fantasies of social distinction and humanistic athleticism (Crotty, 2004; Hargreaves, 1986; Mangan, 2006; Phillips, 2001). In New Zealand the case was not so different, with colonial sport administrators working alongside their trans-Tasman colleagues to create a strict policy of amateurism that could be employed uniformly across sporting disciplines. The rationale of a universal strategy of amateurism appeared not so much about creating a fair basis for competition, but on maintaining the exclusivity of amateur sport, which middle class agents believed to be a privileged pursuit. The emphasis of the strategy appeared to be not on how an athlete was characterised as an 'amateur', but rather, on how they were deemed professional, and thus marked as ineligible for amateur competitions. In this regard, 'reinstatement' became the ruling-class' most effective tool in managing athletic sport and maintaining their ability to control the expanding organisation.

The Australasian Amateur Conference debated a trans-Tasman definition of amateurism during its week long inaugural meeting in Sydney in 1897. Although amateur athletics flourished in the two colonies, only eight delegates representing just four athletics clubs and a range of sporting disciplines such as rowing, boxing,

swimming, and cycling attended the Conference.⁵³ The issues discussed by delegates at the meeting were deemed so sensitive that the Conference allowed only invited visitors and select media to attend (NZAAA, 1897, p.2). The Conference subsequently adopted the following working definition,

an amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize, staked bet, or declared wager, or who has not knowingly and without protest competed with or against a professional for a prize of any description or for public exhibition, or who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of any athletic exercise as a means of livelihood or for pecuniary gain (ibid, p.4).

For the middle-class administrators at the conference who held primarily white-collar jobs in the commercial sector, such a definition posed no problem to their way of life, or their beliefs about maintaining the purity and exclusivity of their sporting culture. But for those who engaged in manual labour, trades and employment in the sports sphere, such a definition, and its subsequent amendments, proved to be severely restrictive and antagonistic to working class cultural practices, such as gambling and entrepreneurial economic activities (Belich, 2007; Booth & Loy, 1999; Gruneau, 1999; Ryan, 2007). Furthermore, in keeping with the educational roots of athleticism, the definition also extended into school sports cultures where young sportsmen (rarely was the code applied to women's sport initially) were forced to adhere to the rigid requirements, and indeed the punishments, imposed upon their adult athletic contemporaries.

⁵³ The delegates were Mr R. Coombes and Mr C. Marks (New South Wales), Mr B. Parkinson and Mr W. Briggs (Victoria), Mr N. Mandelson and Mr C. Campbell (Queensland), and Mr P. Selig and Mr L. Cuff (New Zealand) (NZAAA, 1897, p.1).

Although the control of school sport came under the jurisdiction of education providers, the practice of athletics in schools still closely followed the codes and policies that were emerging in the broader formalisation of the sport. As such, the athletic sports young boys engaged in were constrained within the ideology of athleticism and the rigid strategy of amateurism. The NZAAA reports of several instances of the need to clarify the 'amateur' status of young athletes who had begun to compete outside of school-based competition and involve themselves in mainstream athletic events and meets (NZAAA, 1909). Why codes of amateurism were enforced upon colonial school's athletes is not entirely clear from the available evidence. There are suggestions that the amateur athletics association wanted to ensure the continuance of amateur athletics by promoting it within the educational system. NZAAA committee member and physician Doctor Newman personally advocated to his elite middle-class colleagues of the athletics association "the fostering of the athletic spirit in the schools and colleges" (NZAAA, 1909e, 30 November, p.84).

Delegates further defined the amateurism strategy by adding several amendments and exceptions. Several clauses, which surfaced later on in the ideology and practices of the NZAAA and NZOC, are particularly interesting and worth noting here. In both organisations, for example, athletes had to relinquish their status as 'amateur' when the executive board found them to be in breach of certain limitations and accepted boundaries. Athletes could breach the amateur code in various ways. Breaches included: competing with a pace-maker for a professional or person under sentence of suspension, in public, or for a prize; selling...bartering, or otherwise turning into cash, any prize won...or accepting any remuneration directly or indirectly; wagering,

or being in any way interested in a staked bet or wager made in connection with any competition in which he is an entrant or competitor; entering for any athletic event for which a money prize is offered, or for which a money prize or trophy is offered as alternatives, or any even open to professionals; accepting any travelling or hotel expenses from any club or sports promoters, except in the case of a championship meeting...; and entering or competing in any athletic event under a fictitious name (NZAAA, 1897, pp. 4-6).

However, as with many rules, there were notable exceptions. These exceptions were formally laid out in the official rules of the association this did not prevent disputes and conflicts, or most notably the agents of the associations' ability to publically exercise their power to generate particular outcomes. The exceptions included: that all persons who have been reinstated by the relevant body, and have not infringed their amateur status shall be considered amateur; that amateurs shall not lose their status by competing with or against professionals in any game for which no money prize is offered; competitions at arms between volunteers and regulars, fire brigade competitions pure and simple; and also the pastimes of shooting and sailing, and all other pastimes not coming within the definition of athletic exercise shall not be considered as coming within the scope of these rules; and lastly, receiving remuneration for any office connected with athletics sport, if sanctioned by the AAA, shall not constitute a person a professional. Two particular exceptions were aimed directly at the relationship between athleticism and amateurism within secondary education. These were that school boys who had infringed their amateur status could compete at their own school sports without affecting the amateur status of their schoolfellows, and that

teaching athletic exercises at schools did not constitute a person a professional provided his (sic) engagement included scholastic duties at the school (NZAAA, 1897, pp. 4-6).

The limitations of these rigid rules and the range of sports to which they were to be applied also illustrates the absurd, ambiguous, and self-serving logic of the ruling class' administration. One example was the nature of gifts awarded to successful athletes; while medals were acceptable trophies were not. Curiously, this was later amended so that trophies could be received at secondary school-based events, but these then had to be passed on to governing associations (NZAAA, 1909, 11 October, p.70). Competitive sports such as sailing and shooting were also deemed outside the scope of amateur rules, yet the pastimes tug-o-war, quoits, 'throwing-cricket-ball', handball and fives, were deemed to be within the amateur association's jurisdiction. Additionally, while sailing was exempt from amateur legalise, boating was not. The distinctions made between the two are unclear in the minutes. In New Zealand, the differing terms were being used simultaneously to describe a range of watercraft competitions (*FairPlay - 'Sport, Games, and Pastimes'*, 1893). One possible reason may be that on the basis of the necessary resources required to partake in an organised regatta, boating, which involved greater bureaucratisation, codification, and financial investment may have been regarded in more formal terms. Conversely, sailing may have been perceived by sports administrators as a leisurely pastime available to a wider proportion of the population.

While the NZAAA did not permit amateur athletes to engage in employment related to directly to sport, except within a secondary school employment capacity, this

rule did not apply to sports administrators. Those select organisers at the conference, who were protecting their own class-based interests, and those of their absent colleagues, had shaped the amateurism strategy to retain their ability to compete as athletes and still receive the benefits of an honorarium from the positions of amateur sports bodies. This was clearly the case with Leonard Cuff who served, at length, as both a proficient New Zealand sportsman and NZAAA administrator, and later as the International Olympic Committee's representative in New Zealand (Letters, 1996).

Indeed, amateurism was a complex and confusing ideology. One of the peculiarities of amateurism was that even athletes who were not amateur, and to those who had been, but had their status removed, all fell under its jurisdiction. Irrespective of whether they had competed in a professional sense, athletes who the executive had not officially deemed amateur were selectively excluded from amateur events and competitions. These non-amateur athletes could only be included after proving they had not breached the terms and conditions laid down by the parent amateur association. Again, these rules were not explicitly made clear to all athletes and appear to have been largely personal judgments. For example, rowers in New Zealand who had been involved in 'professional' labour union based organisations and wished to then participate in amateur events appeared to have fared better in terms of gaining reinstatement than their Australian counterparts (*FairPlay-'Sport, Games, and Pastimes'*, November, 1893, 11 November, p.18).

The contrasting and inconsistent way amateurism was applied across sporting codes, contexts, and countries illustrates that while the middle class may have heavily invested in the ideological force of amateurism their ability to produce an effective

strategy for its dissemination remained a particular challenge. The disjuncture between ideology and practice outlined above suggest that discussions of amateur sport or amateurism in sport should more correctly refer to amateurism in the plural. This reflects “the selective, fluid and dynamic dimensions of amateurism as it was interpreted in the context of local, regional and national historical traditions” (Phillips, 2001, p.24).

Over the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the amateurism debate emerged as one of the key defining issues of global and national modern sport. Indeed, it significantly permeated the inaugural trans-Tasman conference where sport administrators from New Zealand, Australia, were following the work of their contemporaries in other countries and in organisations like the IOC who were working extensively toward unifying their ideological principles and policies. However, confronting their efforts were broader ideological and political forces (see also chapter one) that threatened the idealistic nature of international sporting competition and disrupted their belief in universal sport objectives. While modern sport in New Zealand was moulded by athletic ideologies, organised sport in New Zealand was also shaped by the historical significance of British imperial ideology, an emergent nationalism, and a dynamically characterised national identity. The unique trinity of these ideologies was a key component of national athletic competition and, importantly, the NZOC’s conception. In the next chapter, I discuss how aspects of the above ideologies coalesced around several key conception events

Chapter 4

The *unexceptional*

The establishment of the New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) in October 1911 was one particular event in the country's olympic history. The event marked a new phase for amateur athletics in New Zealand and the country's participation in future olympic games. Nearly 100 years on the event has become a significant cornerstone for the contemporary NZOC. The Council frequently advocates its enduring links to its foundation and the early days of the modern olympic movement. However, as the previous chapters have described, closer examination of contextual conditions at the time reveals that there is nothing especially radical or unique about the NZOC's formation. In this chapter I suggest that the emergence of the NZOC and the local olympic movement was both inevitable and unexceptional, given the multifarious global and national conditions of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the ideological (capitalist and middle-class driven) persuasions of the agents involved. The establishment of NZOC was simply the result of a convergence of well known social-cultural factors (agents, ideologies, events and actions) at the time. These conditions were not unique, and indeed were common among sporting organisations here in New Zealand and abroad. By examining the emergence of NZOC and its relatively ordinary character, I argue that historians should reconsider New Zealand's early olympic history as *unexceptional*; that is no more distinguishable, profound, praiseworthy, or historically remarkable than other sporting or cultural institution.

Central to my argument that the foundation of NZOC was quite ordinary is the notion of convergence (Marwick, 1998). I employ the term in this chapter to describe the anticipated coalescence between agents, ideologies, events and actions that interrelate to produce, or inhibit, certain social, cultural, or political outcomes. Convergences provide an historiographical tool to appraise the exceptionality of specific historical events by locating them within broader historical and cultural contexts and comparing them with similar occurrences elsewhere. For example, I juxtapose the development of NZOC with Daly's (1982) assessments of sport in colonial South Australia and Lansley's (1971) examination of amateur athletics in late nineteenth century Canada. I examine the convergences of four socio-cultural conditions in New Zealand around the turn of the nineteenth century as the context in which a group of middle class agents laid the groundwork for the development of the olympic movement and the establishment of NZOC. These conditions are class and amateur sport, the shifting social position of women, the influence of Federation in trans-Tasman relations, and finally, the place of indigenous athletes in New Zealand's sport culture. I have chosen these particular conditions because they allow us to question whether New Zealand has a particularly long, proud or, most significantly, an extraordinary history of engagement with the international olympic movement.⁵⁴ I especially encourage historians to rethink the all too frequent use of exceptionalism in their narratives. I begin by discussing the evolution of *unexceptionalism* within history.

⁵⁴ This view is commonly touted by NZOC agents, national sports organisations, and popular olympic historians, for example (Palenski & Maddaford, 1983; Palenski & Romanos, 2000; Romanos, 2006; 2008; Woodfield & Romanos, 2008).

An exceptional sports story?

Markovits and Hellerman (2001), and Pope (2007), have explored the links between sport, exceptionalism, and national history. They are highly critical of exceptionalism in history. Focusing on the United States, they challenge the ideological framework of American exceptionalism which proponents claim contributed to the expansion of specific forms of modern sport, such as baseball, and the non-development of soccer. According to Markovits and Hellerman's thesis, the enfranchisement of white males, less rigidly defined class structures, geographic mobility, land ownership, the egalitarian myth of the American dream, and a multiethnic population all fed the exceptionalist mindset of the American people. Furthermore, within this context modern sport was "deeply rooted in other exceptionalisms that constitute essential features of modern American life" and emerged to reaffirm hegemonic aspects of a developing national culture (Markovits & Hellerman, p.9). These distinct qualities of American life allegedly explain why soccer failed to emerge as part of the dominant sport culture.

Pope notes how "Americans have imagined themselves to be fundamentally unique, special, or 'exceptional'. [And that] this historical amnesia of the nation's past stems from the hold of popular historical narratives of American 'westward expansion' and 'manifest destiny', which have portrayed a benign, often romantic story of 'aggrieved innocence'" (2007, p.93). In discourses of American imperialism, Pope contends, sport culture has been a prime conduit for a national exceptionalism, but this relationship has become disrupted as new historical narratives have shifted away from nation-centred approaches. Drawing on Bender (2001) and Tyrrell (1992), Pope suggests 'the legacy of exceptionalism can only be properly laid to rest by overcoming a

strictly national focus and embracing a transnational mode of analysis....' (2007, p.94) After accounting for more complex global structures, forces, and convergences, Pope argues that sport in colonial American culture does not seem particularly exceptional when compared to that in other colonies (ibid). Pope, and Markovits and Hellerman, offer ways to rethink the significance of sport and national culture. Their thesis that exceptionalism fails when compared to the complexity of historical social and cultural forces and the similarities across other western countries is particularly useful for remaking the history of the olympic movement in New Zealand and highlighting its more ordinary character.

Exceptionalism in New Zealand culture has recently received attention from Miles Fairburn (2008). He comments that "since the beginning of colonization, New Zealanders had believed that theirs was a unique society" (p.34). He argues that a case for New Zealand exceptionalism derives from its consumption and re-production of select aspects of British, Australian, and American cultures rather than an organically grown unique culture. Fairburn disputes the notions of New Zealand as a 'social laboratory' and the collective working class ideology that underpins both Mulgan and Sinclair's 'Man alone' thesis that entrenched itinerant rural workers as the stereotype of New Zealand's persevering colonial spirit (Mulgan, 1939; Sinclair, 1986). Fairburn's reappraisal of New Zealand's exceptional culture has not yet been applied to sport, although Phillips' analysis of the roots of rugby culture and masculinity points to areas of overlap (1987). In short, Fairburn's thesis provides a useful starting point to discuss the *unexceptional* nature of New Zealand's early olympic history.

Fairburn remarks that external influences imposed on New Zealand life around the turn of the twentieth century and geographic isolation paradoxically prevented the country from developing a "strong autochthonous culture" (2008, p.33).

The physical isolation of a country or region is frequently associated with cultural lag, backwardness, cultural insularity and, at its most extreme, radical divergences. But with New Zealand the opposite was true. The circumstances producing its exceptionally remote geographical position made its history of human occupation much shorter than it was for other countries, giving its people far less chance to evolve major traditions of their own, and predisposing them to be unusually heavy borrowers of other cultures (ibid, p.45).

Fairburn's comment here is particularly pertinent in regards to the country's sport culture, and specifically New Zealand's early olympic history. Organised sports played in New Zealand, for example rowing, athletics, cycling, swimming, rugby and cricket, all originated in the British public schools (Booth, 2000). As with the sports themselves, the organisational model of amateur sport bodies (i.e. the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association [NZAAA] and NZOC) and the ideologies upon which they were based (primarily muscular Christianity, amateurism, capitalism, humanism, Anglo-patriarchy, British idealism, Austral(as)ian independence, and American entrepreneurialism) all arrived from abroad. The NZOC, NZAAA, sports, and indeed the middle-classes concern with amateur sport were thoroughly ordinary aspects to New Zealand culture (for example, *Fair Play*, 2 December, 1893, p.22; for further discussion see Ryan, 1993; 2004; 2007). They were essentially only one element of cultural life; important yes, but

not *the* most significant component in national history or the process of 'making' New Zealand a nation.

Fairburn's, and Markovits and Hellerman's respective cases for unexceptionalism are premised, to varying degrees, on comparative analysis. Fairburn, for example, compares New Zealand with Britain, Australia and America to argue that any distinct elements of 'exceptional' identity (e.g., nuances of language, settler mythologies, and literary and artistic influences) emerged from a pastiche of global cultural products. Markovits and Hellerman assess exceptionalism in American soccer by comparing soccer in America with other supposedly American exceptionalisms. They also evaluate American soccer by making comparisons with globalised sport in central Europe. Likewise, I also utilise comparative analysis. I demonstrate the unexceptional NZOC by comparing the organisation's history with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Amateur athletics in South Australia. In these comparisons I show that the conception and consolidation of NZOC mirrored the Canadian Olympic Committee (Kidd, 1994), Australian Olympic Committee (Gordon, 1994), and, most closely, that of the Argentinean Olympic Committee (Torres, 1998; 2001).

As branches of the international olympic movement, national olympic organisations worldwide shared more commonalities than dissimilarities. Some of these similarities relate to time and space. Reflecting my earlier points about the fragmented conception of the early NZOC, Kidd (1994) – referring to the emergence of the Canadian Olympic Committee – notes that,

very few NOCs were in existence anywhere before 1905. In most countries with organized sports at the time, the initiative to put Olympic competition on a

nationally representative basis, which necessitated formulation of responsible NOCs, came from the British Olympic Association (itself only formed in 1905) in the early stages of its preparations for the 1908 Olympics in London. In Canada's case, in 1907 the BOA asked Governor-General Earl Grey to coordinate Canadian participation in the 1908 Games. Grey delegated this task to his secretary, the veteran colonial administrator John Hanbury-Williams. (p.108)

Kidd also introduces another commonality here; the catalyst of Britain. This similarity may be unsurprising. After all, the Canadian Olympic Committee, and for that matter NZOC, the Australian Olympic Committee, and the Argentinean Olympic Committee were all institutional products of British imperialism. Specifically, the conception of olympic committees and associations was part of the mass proliferation of British sport. Organised sport was, Mangan (1999) states, implicit in the colonizing agendas of British imperialism which stretched across the globe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The imperial roots of olympic organisations served a common purpose in that by organising sport within their respective locations they ultimately helped foster civility, genteel masculinity, and middle-class and imperial cohesiveness, loyalty and pride.

Early national olympic organisations, like NZOC, comprised middle-class agents who worked to organise amateur sport in keeping with the British model. The key agent in Australia was Richard Coombes and in Britain Charles Herbert. (I discussed both men in chapter two). In Argentina the key agents were José B. Zubiaur and Alejo Peyret (Torres, 1998). Zubiaur and Peyret were ardent pedagogues committed to improving the education system within Argentina. Not surprisingly, they looked to Coubertin's

achievement with physical education (see chapter two) in France for inspiration (Torres, 2001). Like Cuff, Coombes and Herbert, Zubiaur and Peyret were drawn to Coubertin's modern olympic games project. These agents, although operating in different countries, were also informed by many of the same imperial ideologies, for example, class debates over amateurism and professionalism, thoughts about global interconnectedness, and the dialectic between nascent forms of nationalism and imperial loyalty (Daly, 1982; Belich, 2001; Booth, 2000; Mangan, 1999; Torres, 2001).

The similarities between the conception of NZOC and the formation of an Argentinean Olympic Committee in particular are profound. As with the case of Cuff and Coubertin (discussed in chapter 2), the history of the olympic movement in Argentina has been premised on chance encounters, fleeting correspondence, stifled development, and poor relations between local agents and global olympic entrepreneurs (Torres, 2001). In the late nineteenth century, Zubiaur and Peyret were, like Cuff, attracted to Coubertin's ideas. They were also able to establish a tentative link the Eurocentric olympic movement. Moreover, like Cuff, Zubiaur was co-opted to the inaugural IOC. However, his co-option did not inevitably lead to the formation of a national olympic committee or the immediate and consistent participation of Argentinean athletes at the olympic games (Torres, 1998; 2001). Furthermore, as I demonstrated happened with NZOC in previous chapters, the national olympic organisation in Argentina was also borne more from political struggles, personal antagonisms, and provincial and organisation parochialisms, than it was out of a shared vision for sport.

Just as NZAAA agents fought over the best way forward for amateur sport, and in so doing protracted the development of the country's national olympic body, so too

did athletics agents in Argentina. Between 1907 and 1914, both New Zealand and Argentinean athletic agents worked on similar projects; maintaining their presence on the IOC, formulating their olympic bodies, securing their olympic participation, and consolidating their financial positions. As Torres notes, mirroring what occurred in New Zealand, “it took Argentina almost three decades to form its own National Olympic Committee after Coubertin named José B. Zubiaur as a founding member of the IOC in 1894; interest in Olympism arose in elite Argentine sporting circles little more than a decade after the Baron’s successful recreation of the Olympics” (2001, p.84). Yet, olympic “advocates had the connections and the power to force one congressional debate and several governmental deliberations on Olympic participation before the First World War. However, there was no room in this era for economic ‘irresponsibility’ such as the expansion of public spending for Olympic excursions” (Ibid, p.85).

Thus, like what occurred with Marryatt and his NZOC colleagues after 1919 and into the 1920s, the Argentinean Olympic Committee required substantial resuscitation. In particular, efforts to soothe internal fractions, stimulate financial growth, and more actively promote the ideals of the olympic movement through its athletes. Not only were the political, social, and economic influences on the respective olympic organisations very similar, but so too were the ways in which athletic agents and the olympic organisations, responded. As Torres concludes, the early history of the olympic movement in Argentina was marked by “several unnerving periods of procrastination” (2001, p.86). Torres’ words could equally apply to the NZOC.

In addition to the similarities with Argentina, contemporary analysis makes it possible to further demonstrate NZOC’s unexceptionalism. Reflecting Fairburn’s claims

exceptionalism requires a radically divergent trajectory, the way in which NZOC operates today mirrors (in design, organisation, policy, and ideology) that of nearly every other national olympic committee. Indeed, to ensure global acquiescence to their aims and objectives, the International Olympic Committee requires each national olympic committee to conform to its structure, management, and business practices (IOC, 2007). In so doing, any distinctions between national olympic committees are specific to the locale, arguably superficial and, relatively speaking, not at all exceptional. While certainly each organisation may possess its own idiosyncrasies (for example the specific relation between olympic bodies and government funding agencies), these do not in any way supersede the many shared characteristics.

I now build upon the comparative analysis offered above, and further illuminate the specific condition of NZOC's unexceptionalism, by examining four major influences - class, gender, race, and federation. While contingent on many elements, these particular influences that, I believe, best crystallize the relationships between contextual convergences and NZOC's conception.

Class and control

The perceived absence of class politics has been integral to the egalitarian myth embedded in traditional New Zealand history (Oliver, 1960; Reeves, 1987; Sinclair, 1986; Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries economic prosperity brought about by changes in the colony's political structure (specifically the rise of liberalism) more clearly demarcated and divided the colony's working population (see chapter one). These typologies of class, Belich (2007) reminds

us, were in fact more complex, dynamic, and fluid than has been typically imagined. Fairburn and Olssen's (2005) landmark studies of the nuances of class in Canterbury and Dunedin settlements echo Belich's remarks. The work of Fairburn and Olssen (2005) and Fairburn and Haslett (2005) highlights that even in small communities there were significant inter and intra group distinctions. Taste, style, dress, language differences, marriage practices, land ownership, and religious affiliations are obvious examples; sporting practices were another. Referring to the relationship between sports and class in Britain, Hargreaves (1986) suggests, helped "reproduce a more complex cross-cutting modern pattern of vertical and lateral divisions – between traditional and privatized/dislocated elements, between white and non-whites and between working-class men and women" (p.112).

Sport and leisure practices, Daly (1982) reminds us, are intricately connected to social life, values, structures and identities. The emergence of amateur sporting associations in New Zealand, such as NZOC, is one example of how particular social classes reconstructed and adapted the leisure and recreational practices of their forbears in new colonial contexts. While aspects of the New Zealand context differed from other British colonies, there were many similarities about the emergence of amateur sport organisations that were comparable with other antipodean settlements. Colonial South Australia is a good example. In *Elysian Fields*, Daly (1982) analyses how various sports divided class groups in the South Australian colonies. The development of sport cultures in colonial society, Daly suggests, was not a direct reflection on English values and practices, but was appropriated by colonial settlers and the descendants to suit and reflect their specific cultural contexts. In South Australia, for example, and in

contrast to other Australian colonies, the immigrant population included significant “non-conformists, dissenters, philanthropists and utopians” (Daly, 1982, p.5) and also a number of German settlers who brought with them their own leisure pursuits and pastimes and social practices.

Similar demographic variance occurred in New Zealand, for example the heavy influence of Scottish Presbyterians in cities such as Dunedin and Invercargill and the Scandinavian settlements in the North Island. The Wakefield scheme of systematic colonisation that characterised settlement in South Australia and attempted to create communities with strong social class identities was too also replicated (with its inherent failures) in many parts of New Zealand. Many of the class sport practices Daly (1982) observes, for example the upper and lower classes’ interests in gambling and blood sports, the entrepreneurship of local businesses to attract spectators to organised sport events, and middle-classes’ active advocacy for rationalised leisure and the construction of ‘amateur’ sport associations, also occurred in New Zealand.

In *Elysian Fields*, Daly (1982) also critiques the supposed egalitarian nature of ‘better’ Britain settlements. Subtle class conflicts, in this case between aspiring English middle-class gentry and those with enough capital to forge new social paths, were inherent to colonial life. Daly points to sports such as cricket, rugby, and athletics as particularly visible areas where class subtleties were not only reflected but actively constructed. The decadent culture of professional athletics, for example, concerned members of the middle classes enough for them to establish their own amateur athletics associations. Daly argues that the consequences of New Zealand’s ‘obsession’ for sport

have contributed to current discourses about the nation's sporting past (see chapter nine for a detailed discussion on this issue).

Class politics were indeed integral to the formation of NZOC (see chapters two, three, six and seven, and also Mangan & Hickey, 2000; Ryan, 2007). An elite group of educated male middle-class agents created specific organisations such as the NZAAA and NZOC to promote their shared values and interests. Initially these interests maintained class distinctions and excluded the working classes. The establishment and control of the NZAAA and latter NZOC is indicative of how middle-class groups carved out for themselves and actively policed specific social and cultural spaces. These organisations employed stringent 'amateur' dogma (rules, regulations, clauses, and policies) that curtailed working class participation (NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926). Indeed, middle-class ideologies were inherent in many forms of sport and recreation that already pervaded New Zealand society. Vincent (1999) reminds us that amateurism, for example, was 'not an ideology imposed on sport by a colonial elite in an effort to take control, but a mechanism used by a segment of the upper and middle classes to separate themselves from the wider sporting population' (p.11). As I have discussed elsewhere (for example, in chapters three, seven, and eight), there were attempts by members of the working classes to confront the rigidity of amateur sport. However, in the case of the NZAAA and NZOC this resistance was never a collective, consistent, or continued effort. Ultimately, the working classes lacked the structures (organisation and administration) and agency (people with the power, political nous, and ego to ensure its ongoing success) to present an immediate threat to amateur sport.

As such, the middle classes' were able to generally preserve their interests through amateur sport with some concessions. ...Although there was some conflict between the country's amateur sport bodies and The working classes constituted a significant part of the settler population, so why did they not resist or counter middle class control of amateur sport more so than they did? They may have lacked the time and finances (necessary social capital for organised sport), but a lack of incentive seems a more probable explanation. Given the absence of any strong protest, it seems the working classes recognised that trying to affect change in middle class NZOC was, at this stage, difficult. The working classes may have possessed the numbers, but they were presumably savvy enough to realise that the middle classes had access to the vital resources sport required (administrative structures, spaces, equipment, facilities, and social networks). Although sport in New Zealand still remained drawn along class lines, occasionally the working classes responded to the middle-classes control of amateur sport by employing particular strategies. One of which was to generally accept the terms of amateur competition as laid out by the ruling administrators of the NZAAA and NZOC. Another was to maintain (in theory at least) lines between professional and amateur competitors; another was for them to establish their own clubs, such as workplace social sports teams, to satisfy their own desires to partake in competitive sport.

Tensions did inevitably emerge between class groups. The continued uncertainty over the amateur definition was one particular example. The NZAAA and NZOC were modeled on other international amateur sport bodies and it was clear that the dimensions and application of the amateur definition needed to better reflect the

broader context of New Zealand life where class boundaries were often porous. NZAAA and early NZOC minutes, for example, both show constant readjustments to their respective amateur rules and regulations and continued debate over the reinstatement of debarred amateurs. The slow adjustment to amateur policies suggests that middle-class agents of the NZAAA and NZOC did not see working class participation in athletics as an immediate threat and the class separations occurring in New Zealand amateur athletics were also being reflected in similar colonies elsewhere (Australia and Canada being two particular examples).

The middle classes' control of sport involved the historical convergence of ideology, agency, and social forces. There are interesting aspects to these convergences, but they were not dissimilar from class issues occurring elsewhere. In South Australia, for example, subtle class conflicts, in this case between aspiring English middle-class gentry and those with enough capital to forge new social paths, were implicit to colonial life (Daly, 1982). In Canada, amateur athletics bodies were essentially born out of particular middle class desires and then characterised by broader class tensions (Lansley, 1971). These tensions, and the changes in amateurism they brought about, reflected the broader social developments occurring across wider Canadian society at the time. Given the significance of class distinctions in New Zealand life, the middle classes' control of NZOC and their ability to 'restrict the regular sporting opportunities of most nineteenth century New Zealanders' (ibid, p.105), essentially by barring athletes they deemed professional, is not so surprising.

Amateur sport may have been widely practiced throughout New Zealand during the late nineteenth century, although it was by its very nature, still an exclusive leisure

practice of a particular group of men who required a means to continue their need for social distinction. In this respect, the emergence of NZOC can be considered not as a profoundly exceptional event brought about by idealistic visionaries but rather an inevitable and peculiar by-product of the colonial context and the ideologies and agendas of a particular class-group whose status and values were threatened by ongoing class tensions and struggles and broader socio-cultural concerns. Adding to class tensions and sport were issues of racial participation and representation.

Māori olympians

Māori athletes are inconspicuous in NZOC's early history. However, Māori athletes, such as Peter Buck (discussed below) and his contemporaries, did compete in organised sport at the time of NZOC's formation. So, we know that there were possibilities for Māori to participate in historical amateur sporting events pertinent to the NZOC. However, their participation in sport at the time does not have translated into a place in NZOC's historical record. Māori are absent from both written olympic histories of the period and the archival sources upon which these histories are based. Yet, does the absence of Māori constitute an element of exceptionalism? In this section I argue that the dearth of Māori athletes in the country's early olympic history should not surprise historians given that agents across various amateur sport associations that included NZOC, although not explicitly racist, held views tainted by a scientific-racist logic. While this logic did not necessarily prevent Māori from participating, it inherently inhibited Māori athletes from rising above discourses of prejudice and racial caricature. The exclusion of Māori athletes from early olympic history is also unexceptional given

the prevailing colonial discourses of race at the time (Stenhouse, 1996). The experiences of Māori athletes in various sports, while largely understated, echoes that of other indigenous groups who took part in white man's sport but were not always privy to its benefits, including places in the annals of history (Tatz, 1995).

The full extent of Māori participation or exclusion in amateur athletics is extremely difficult to gauge. Official records do not generally note athletes' racial, ethnic, or religious affiliations. In the absence of verifiable sources we cannot, nor should not, infer race from an athletes' name alone. Writing in regards to the marginalization of Aboriginal voices in Australian sport history, Tatz (1995) also raises the concern that despite what we have come to know about the plight of indigenous peoples and their involvement in sporting culture "there is much we need to know: about their lives as athletes, their circumstances, frustrations, their experiences on the way to the top. There is much we will never know, in particular, about the thousands who never had the opportunity to get to the starting line" (1995, p.348). With this in mind, I emphasise that although amateur sport originated as a pastime of the white male middle classes, unlike in Australia it did not explicitly preclude Māori participation. One example of success was the young Māori, Peter Buck; arguably one of New Zealand's most distinguished athletes at the turn of the nineteenth century (Ramsden et al, 1954). As with female participation, the hegemonic nature of amateur sport meant Māori involvement occurred under the terms and conditions of those in power, namely the exclusively white NZOC and NZAAA. Some of the agents in these organisations inevitably subscribed to a racially prejudice ideology that limited their ability to negotiate the politics of including Māori athletes.

Māori athletes participated in many of New Zealand's sporting codes during the turn of the twentieth century (Love, 1952; Ryan, 1993), although in athletics, olympic teams, and amateur sports administration their involvement is minimal. Just as the franchise did not immediately improve female participation in politics, Māori participation in amateur athletics did not necessarily advance their social status. Hokuwhitu (2004; 2005) suggests that while sports such as rugby offered Māori a means to (re)construct their identities in a Pākeha dominated world, we should not infer that Māori participation in sport led to greater social recognition and opportunities. Contrary to the myth of racial egalitarianism in sport, the latter only enabled Māori to partly challenge racial prejudice and disrupt the colonial discourses that positioned them as subordinates (ibid).

The popular press also reproduced racial discourses that underpinned colonial sport. The following excerpt from the *Otago Witness* illustrates how race was an inextricable part of popular discourse during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (and in this case, ingrained within the practices of the NZOC),

The Maoriland AAA has answered Queensland Association's query, 'Should aboriginals be allowed an amateur status?' in the affirmative...but in doing so they remarked that Maoris are considered to be different from Australian niggers. They are a better class of coloured person, no doubt, but why should they be considered different from any other type in regard to athletics? However, it is consoling to know that each State stands by its own nigger (26 August, 1903, p.50).

The reference to Australian racial politics in the excerpt above deserves further consideration, particularly in helping us understand some of the complexities around

athletic participation among Māori. As in New Zealand at the time, sport was a predominant feature of life in Australian colonies. Most significantly, sport was part of a broader cultural sphere in which race, race logic, and racial politics underpinned and complicated social intercourses between white Anglo and indigenous citizens. While the exclusion of Māori athletes from aspects of social life may not have been as extreme as in Australia, largely due to vastly different political ideologies on race and events such as the Treaty of Waitangi and associated land wars, in terms of their exclusion and controlled participation in amateur athletics there appear to be some parallels.

As with Māori athletes in New Zealand, Aborigines in Australia had a notable, yet understated, presence in colonial sport. Aboriginal stories and experiences have also been marginalised by predominately white-orientated histories which largely ignore the complexities of their identities as indigenous people and constrain their physicality as athletes within a racialised discourse. For example, colonial Australia had a reputation for racial violence, hatred, intolerance, and suppression, yet Aborigines took to the sport of running to free them from the officialdom and control that pervaded nearly all other aspects of their daily lives (Tatz, 1995). Running gave some Aborigines new economic means, a popular status as athletes, and opportunities to socialise among the predominately white European community. However, as with their Māori contemporaries, participation came at a price. Aborigines may have found some success in running, but their involvement in amateur athletics presented a threat to conservative agents, such as Richard Coombes and his colleagues, who subscribed to racial ideas about the alleged 'unfair' physical advantages of Aborigines over their white contemporaries.

The racial ideologies entrenched in amateur athletics agents reflected many of the beliefs held by other members of colonial society, in particular white professional classes, including doctors, lawyers, and educators. These individuals aligned themselves with the racial philosophies of the likes of Herbert Spencer who believed in rationalising the domination of the strong 'white' race over that of the inferior weak 'black' races by essentially demeaning their intelligence and morality (Tatz, 1995; Hokuwhitu, 2004). This meant notably precluding, where possible, and constraining elsewhere, any form of intercourse between the races, including in the domain of sport. Hence, to justify their exclusion in a way that would not cast doubt over their inherently racist ideologies, and to protect the morals of their organisation from being sullied by successful black athletes, the Australian Amateur Athletics Association simply classed all Aboriginal runners as permanent professionals. Over time Aborigines gained entry into amateur athletics, but only as agents changed and the organisation slowly adjusted its 'reasons' for exclusion. This situation was replicated in New Zealand.

The plight of Aborigines in Australian sport provides a useful comparison for understanding the complexities of Māori participation in athletics and the olympic movement in New Zealand. It is too simplistic, Tatz (1995) reminds us, to say that all white officials opposed amateur Aboriginal athletes. Nor could it be said that all white runners were prejudiced against black competitors, and one can not necessarily assume all competitors felt disadvantaged by having to accommodate black athletes, or that all black athletes felt aggrieved by their situation. Athletics may have offered Aborigines, and Māori for that matter, opportunities for social mobility and interaction but progress made in sport was countered by regression and retreat in other areas such as

education and politics. This is not to say that race did not remain an inherent problem in amateur sport at the time, rather, I recognise that the issue is far more complex than white control and black resistance and negotiation.

The personal views held by agents of NZOC further reiterate the ordinary and unexceptional nature of colonial racial politics. Key NZOC members, Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies appear silent on the issue of Māori representation, but their colleague Dr. Alfred Newman was quite outspoken. Aside from serving on the executive boards of NZAAA in the led up to the formation of NZOC and as Mayor of Wellington, Newman was particularly forthright on the subject of the plight of Māori and expressed his views in frequent public talks (For example, 'The origin of the Māori', *Evening Post*, 1911, 12 January, p.2; 'The Māori', *Evening Post*, 1911, 9 August, p.3) (Stenhouse, 1996). In his 'Causes leading to the extinction of the Māori' Newman remarked, "I hope I have made it clear...that the Maoris were a disappearing race before we came here...Taking all things into consideration, the disappearance of the race is scarcely a subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick, easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race" (Cited in Belich, 2007, p.247). Newman was a respected citizen and more often than not was seen as a professional 'authority' on indigenous anthropology. Newman also saw fit to express his opinion on the place of Māori within amateur sport to his NZAAA colleagues. "The Maoris are a physically strong and capable people", Newman wrote to NZOC chairman Arthur Marryatt, "their savage history has given them a natural aptitude for a great many physical pursuits. Such proclivity gives them unfair advantage over their white counterparts. While their involvement should not necessarily be discouraged, we must do all we can to prevent the Maoris tainting the purity of the

convergence of events, that this would have led to any greater involvement of Māori in the olympic movement. The absence of Māori athletes might be easy to explain as unexceptional, but could the same be said about women's participation in the NZOC?

Women and suffrage

Gaining the right to vote was a significant step in the social emancipation of New Zealand females. As a later commentator remarked, 'by the passing of the Women's Franchise Bill, the women of New Zealand became an object lesson to their sister women all over the world' (*Otago Witness*, 1907, 18 December, p.22). Franchise may have been a moment of significant historical change, yet it did not immediately improve the social and cultural lot of women's roles. Franchise raised New Zealand women's social capital by affording them a more significant voice in party politics, but, they still remained largely disenfranchised from other areas of life, for example, business, commerce, and cultural life, and the male-dominated world of modern sport. Franchise was a political milestone, but the proliferation of the bicycle and its appeal, *en masse*, to New Zealand women did more for women's social advancement in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The advent of the bicycle, and the vigor with which women approached cycling offered women new ways to liberate their bodies from the constraints of the late Victorian era and allowed them opportunities to exercise a new form of social power over their lives (Simpson, 1998; 2001; 2003; 2007). "The bicycle, along with other influences of modern life", Simpson says, "became instrumental in transforming the prevailing gender order and gave prominence to emerging definitions of femininity"

(2003, p.13). Changing ideas about gender in sport were, Simpson, reminds us, part of the broader dynamic historical structures and forces affecting New Zealand's socio-cultural landscape. As Simpson remarks, "the transition from the initial resistance in women's cycling, to conditional acceptance, and its eventual assimilation into mainstream society, was consistent with the broader social changes in the position of women in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth New Zealand in the context of nineteenth century modernity" (ibid, p.11).

Views on women in sport in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century varied. One general assumption was that a female's place in sport, and also her form and physicality, should be closely controlled. As one commentator remarked, "if we women attempt any sport we ought not only to know how to do it but to thoroughly understand the etiquette. We often hear that women are a nuisance in the hunting field, they 'ride' jealous, they love marking remarks on a golf course, and even on a croquet lawn they do not always 'play the game'. In fact, if sport does nothing else, it really ought to teach women the value of silence" (*Evening Post*, 18 October, 1902, p.18). Some commentators targeted specific sports, "Discus-throwing is the latest form of exercise among American women, a sport popular amongst the Greeks...A graceful and easy carriage is said to be among the benefits accruing from this pastime" (*Otago Witness*, 26 August, 1903, p.50). Others were more concerned about the destruction of the female form, "the modern craze for athletics threatens to destroy the symmetry of the female figure. Waists grow smaller and shoulders broaden. When a woman's waist becomes large, or small, her hips must be broader than her shoulders...No woman ever

wanted to see her shoulders broader than her hips, whatever else might happen to her” (*Argus*, *Evening Post*, 29 August, 1903, p.10).

Neither franchise nor cycling gave women better access to the patriarchal power structures of amateur sports administration. For example, the new political prospects afforded to women through franchise reflected opportunities that were part of the much larger context of feminism. In general, feminism at this time was driven more by an ethos of gaining respect, redefining femininity and striving for equality than it was by the sole quest for political, cultural, and social participation. Like franchise, late-nineteenth century cycling in New Zealand also gave women a new found utility to challenge the male dominated world. While franchise may have given women a political voice and cycling may have offered some females a form of social emancipation, attempts to effect change elsewhere in sport were more futile. One initially impervious bastion was amateur athletics. In the NZAAA and NZOC the idea that men and women operated in different social domains still prevailed (Moore, 2005, p.130). Indeed, amateur athletics epitomised the masculine virtues of physical rigor, healthy competition, and gentlemanly idealism that had come to characterise quintessential middle-class late-nineteenth century New Zealand (Ryan, 2004; 2007).

The shifting views on women and sport evidenced in New Zealand throughout the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not changing fast enough to concern or threaten the masculine pursuit of amateur athletics or its patriarchal administration structures. Although we cannot be entirely certain agents of NZAAA and NZOC possessed views such as those illustrated above, they were inevitably products of a patriarchal society that, in spite of political franchise, maintained and perpetuated

gender inequalities. Female emancipation, with its roots in first wave late-nineteenth century American feminism (Fairburn, 2008), did not mesh well with the patriarchal and fraternal nature of masculine amateur athletic sport whose origins and values were effectively conservative British middle-class. Although feminists had made some ground in advocating for greater women's rights, the inevitable outcome of which was suffrage, there was essentially no guarantee that franchise would improve the positions of women in party politics or that women of all classes would be empowered this new found political choice, or that this freedom would help them gain entry in male dominated sport associations (ibid).

In spite of franchise challenging some peoples' views on gender, the dramatic shifts in perspective that presumably occurred over the turn of nineteenth century did not appear to drastically affect change in the mindsets of agents who controlled the political structures of amateur sport. Between 1892 and 1911, and for a considerable period thereafter, women remained particularly absent from NZAAA and NZOC. There is no current evidence of their participation as sportspeople, as administrators, or for that matter as spectators. Overall, franchise did not greatly advance women's participation in sport. Fanaticism for the bicycle did much more for feminist liberation, although these changes did not filter through to amateur athletics or specifically the conception of NZOC. While convergences around class and gender were not particularly exceptional in the early history of the NZOC, was there anything extraordinary about trans-Tasman relations?

Trans-Tasman relations

By the last decade of the nineteenth century New Zealand had established itself as a distinct colony, although Australia's political entities were still competing colonies and territories. A key event in Australian unification was Federation and this had major effects on trans-Tasman relations. Historians now largely dismiss conventional understandings about Federation leading to the birth of Australian nationalism, greater economic relations and prosperity, and a sharper sense of colonial identity (Birrell, 2001; Clark, 1981; Hirst, 2000; White, 1981). There is, however, still some consensus the trans-Tasman partnership forged closer economic, trade, migration, and colonial relations, and also sporting relations (Cashman, O'Hara, & Honey, 2001; Gordon, 1994; Palenski, [in press]; Sinclair, 1986; 1988). In this section, I discuss how, like class and franchise, federation was one event in a raft of ordinary historical events, structures, and forces that contributed to the conception and development of the olympic movement in New Zealand. In NZOC, Federation did not necessarily lead to stronger trans-Tasman ties, but contributed to the increasing desire of the organisation to retain its autonomy and control (largely via the NZAAA) of amateur sport in the country.

Australasia's colonies voted to join as a common Federation in a series of referenda in late 1900 and early 1901. New Zealand too had been one of these colonies and there was talk throughout the 1880s and 1890s that New Zealand may have united with the other colonies and possibly Fiji as part of a broader Australasian or Pacific Federation (Cashman et al, 2001). In New Zealand, Federation was initially heralded as the answer to the Country's poor defence capabilities. Later, antagonists were keen to advocate the opportunities it presented for trade and economic relations (*Evening Post*,

1890, 14 February, p.3; 1892, 24 November, p.2). Editorials in the popular press during the early 1890s illustrate that the first public responses to Federation in New Zealand were mixed. By the mid 1890s growing support for Federation met strong opposition (*Evening Post*, 1896, 19 March, p.2). By 1900 commentators pointed out that New Zealand had not played a significant role in Federation debates, and as such, was seen by Federation protagonists in Australia as a late comer to union talks (*Otago Witness*, 1900, 12 April). Yet, some conversely believed it was time to forego national pride (though the 'nation' was itself still embryonic), and commit to a more formal trans-Tasman relationship (*Evening Post*, 1901, 6 February, p.4).

Public support for Federation was, however, not mirrored in New Zealand politics, and without political support Federation inevitably did not succeed. Federation failed in New Zealand because of the country's geographical distance, distinct demography, incomparable economic markets, a distinctly different history to that of Australia, and strong political opinion in the voice of Richard Seddon (Sinclair, 1986). The outcomes of Federation for New Zealand simply could not be guaranteed against a backdrop of an emerging nationalism characterised by a growing romanticism with the idea of a distinctly (egalitarian) New Zealand way of life; an idea that had been effectively proffered by colonial writers such William Pember Reeves and his contemporaries (Reeves, 1898 [1987]). While scholars have disputed the exact causes and effects of Federation, a consensus has emerged that at the turn of the twentieth century the formal unification of the colonies contributed to closer trans-Tasman relations.

Despite strong trans-Tasman sporting links, sport has been largely divorced from discussions on Federation. Sports historians, Cashman remarks, have accepted 'Federation was a limited and pragmatic arrangement promoted by politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen...the culmination of a dry and arid constitutional debate that failed to touch the many followers of sport who were passionately committed to a team or sport' (Cashman et al, 2001, p.3). Cashman *et al* have explored the influence of Federation on Australia's sporting landscape; Little and Cashman for example discuss links between Federation and Australasia's representation at the early olympic games in the same volume (Little & Cashman, 2001). They argue Federation had little impact on the shared Australian and New Zealand team at the early games (1908 and 1912) and that the Australasian team united out of economic and pragmatic necessity rather than any great desire for shared colonial bonds. Moreover, and most interestingly, Little and Cashman (2001) contend New Zealand's olympic identity actually emerged as a response to Australia's domination of shared symbols and emblems and NZOC's greater need to regain a sense of individual identity already entrenched in New Zealand life (*ibid*). I agree for the most part with Little and Cashman's assessment, however the role and power of NZOC agents to affect the development of their own organisation seems to have been grossly understated (see chapters two and six).

Cashman and his colleagues do identify two key points about Federation and Australasian sport. Firstly, that the wider trans-Tasman political climate had little impact on the political relationships between sporting bodies in the two colonies, and secondly, that pragmatic concerns were the prime impetus behind the close ties forged between many of the two colonies sports bodies. In regards to the NZOC's quest for separate

olympic representation they also acknowledge that the issue was more complex than a simple polarization of competing nationalisms played out by the agents of amateur athletics. Even within the NZAAA and NZOC thoughts on trans-Tasman unification and separation varied. However, Cashman and his colleagues do not analyse the NZAAA and NZOC in the post-Federation phase within a broader socio-cultural context. Nor, for that matter, do they acknowledge the difference between the two countries. Specifically in regards to the participation in olympic games, promotion of the olympic movement, and support for various IOC policies (the apartheid boycotts, the retention of amateur clauses, or leadership choices) was more the product of a series of unexceptional historical convergences and particular local material conditions than it was a creation born out of a tenuous trans-Tasman fraternity.

Like colonial sport in South Australia, in New Zealand national (dis)unity was one of the constraining factors affecting the success of amateur athletics and the promotion of the olympic movement. While New Zealand endeavored to participate at the international level, the fractured state of the organisation, its fragile financial position, and geographical distance from top-level competition made it necessary for NZAAA to interact and compete with trans-Tasman colleagues. One continual thorn was the issue of separate olympic representation. The exact nationality of competitors is debated, but athletes participating under the Australasian banner did participate in the first three olympic games (Gordon, 1994). New Zealanders, Little and Cashman (2001) assert, appeared unconcerned about representation at the first olympic games. While partially correct, the NZAAA were also essentially incapable and indeed too preoccupied to send New Zealand athletes to the first three games. Until NZAAA reorganised itself in 1908

any olympic federation, or separate olympic representation for that matter, was unfeasible. The reformed NZAAA did eventually send a small team of three athletes to the 1908 games in London (NZAAA, 1908-1926).

Little and Cashman (2001) also suggest that although “the arguments put forward favouring New Zealand’s separate Olympic representation ranged from the economic to the practical,...they were clearly underpinned by a very evident strain of an emerging New Zealand national consciousness” (p.90). While this is one explanation, it is also clear that the NZAAA was not always a united voice. Marryatt, a later NZOC chairman, appears to have swayed between advocating separate representation and retaining shared Australasian IOC membership (NZAAA, 1908-1926). Two years prior to the establishment of the NZOC, Marryatt stated that first up “the council had no immediate intention of succeeding from the Australasian Union” (ibid, 17 May, 1909). NZAAA was content, for pragmatic purposes, to nominate athletes to compete under an Australasian banner. Marryatt acknowledged that in time it would be in the best interests to seek separate representation. Coombes, as president of the Australasian Amateur Athletic Union, reaffirmed to the NZAAA “that in obtaining direct representation New Zealand would have a resident representative of the Olympic Games Committee in New Zealand”, and most significantly that national representatives would be recognised as competing from New Zealand (ibid). Separating itself, though not severing completely, from their Australian counterparts was a key step in NZAAA and NZOC’s primary goal of establishing national autonomy. Consequently, any direct effect of political federation was only ever a secondary concern. The conservative nature of the NZAAA and later NZOC and the slow speed of trans-Tasman and European correspondence also meant

that any change brought about by broader politics was unlikely to immediately effect the organisation.

Federation has not been recognised as a pivotal event in traditional accounts of New Zealand's olympic history (i.e., see Romanos, 2008). Yet, an informal 'Federation factor' - sentiments about nationalism, national identity and political separation - were clearly a part of the broader context of New Zealand life and were entrenched in trans-Tasman relations sporting relations (Sinclair, 1986; 1987; & implicitly Romanos, 2008). Why did such ideas not have a more discernable influence on the NZOC? There are four possible reasons. First, the power structures that controlled amateur athletics were largely separate from those that controlled the respective colonial governments. Sport, and in this case amateur athletics, featured predominately in colonial life but it generally remained distinct from government politics. Certainly the sentiments of the liberal progressive political reforms that characterised late nineteenth and early twentieth century governments (Belich, 2007; King, 2003) were not reflected in the conservative bastion of amateur athletics that generally abhorred any sort of radical change.

Second, while Federation marked a historical juncture in New Zealand and Australia's histories, in amateur athletics close trans-Tasman relations had already been established. Federation may have helped unify the disparate nature of Australia's sporting organisations, but it did not drastically alter the trans-Tasman relations in amateur athletics in New Zealand. Notably, Coombes and his New Zealand contemporaries, who had similar ideological and sporting interests, remained in close contact both before and after Federation. Moreover, sporting competitions between the two countries continued, and also athletics cultures appear to have continued to flourish

in both countries irrespective of the broader political choices about Federation (NZAAA, 1897; 1908-1926a; NZOC, 1911-1914).

Third, as with franchise, there was no guarantee that Federation would be successful, in terms of greater participation, or that if New Zealand joined it would reap the same benefits as the Australian states. In fact, for all the debates in both countries about Federation over the last two decades of the nineteenth century there were no real assurances that Federation would change lives in New Zealand for the better and improve trans-Tasman relations, least of all for sport.

Fourth, the middle-class patriarchal and fraternal conservative ideologies of national sport were simply too entrenched in the mindset of the respective countries' citizens and the organisational structures of sport to make Federation a viable option for trans-Tasman sporting relations. NZAAA was, at the time of Federation, already 14 years old. Although experiencing administrative problems, the underlying national purpose of NZAAA would not be accommodated by a potentially new Australian Federation that relegated New Zealand to a state athletic centre. The views of the agents involved were simply too adversarial. Moreover, there is nothing particularly exceptional about the decision New Zealand politicians took to remain outside Federation. By 1900, New Zealand had established a strong political system, viable international economic and trade relations, and a nascent nationalism strengthened by participation in the South African war (Belich, 2007; King, 2003). Furthermore, the uninterested response of NZAAA and NZOC agents to Federation can also be regarded as particularly ordinary given the insular and conservative nature of amateur athletics, the parochial egos of its administrators, and the prevailing pragmatic concerns. These

characteristics were not novel features of NZAAA and NZOC but plagued other sport organisations in New Zealand and further abroad. The beleaguered development of sport in colonial South Australia is a good example (Daly, 1982).

Fairburn's thesis of exceptionalism raises questions about the convergences that influenced New Zealand's early olympic history. Fairburn essentially disrupts the conventional idea of New Zealand as a 'unique society' (2008, p.34). While the 'multitudinous events in New Zealand's past that did not happen elsewhere', Fairburn argues that these do not, of themselves,

indicate that New Zealand had an exceptionalist history...composed of many events that are both unique or highly unusual and significant. Every country has umpteen events in its past which are unique but most of these are insignificant...To be regarded as exceptional, a country's history must not only experience a unique or unusual event but also take a divergent path from that of others in consequence' (ibid, p.30).

The development and success of the national sport culture, including New Zealand's olympic history, has been part of this continued discourse of historical exceptionalism. Yet, there was in essence nothing exceptional about the development or characteristics of New Zealand sport and particular olympic history that made it remarkably different from sporting cultures elsewhere. Fairburn's suggests New Zealand's geographical isolation and relatively short (colonial) history predisposed the population to become "heavy borrowers of other cultures" (ibid, p.45). Though not a key feature in Fairburn's analysis, I argued colonial sport was in fact just one further element of the country's borrowed cultural pastiche.

New Zealand olympic histories are not novel sports narratives but form part of the country's broader past. By highlighting how particular events, ideologies, and agents coalesce in rather happen-stance and ordinary ways, I remind readers that the course of history is not linear and predetermined, but in fact a fragile thread whose course can change with the smallest and seemingly most insignificant choices, events, convergences, and circumstances. In sum, the conception of NZOC is an important aspect of New Zealand's history but only if we consider the broader social, cultural, political, and economic context and accept that sport, especially that practiced under the umbrella of the olympic movement, is merely one small narrative in a whole raft of narratives about the nation's past. This argument is useful as I proceed now to discuss the consolidation of the olympic movement in New Zealand.

Part 2

Consolidation, circa 1911-1936

In narrating New Zealand's early olympic history I have drawn on Marwick's (1998) model of context. Specifically, I have used the notion of major forces, agents, ideology, and events (convergence and contingencies) to place the conception of the New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) in a broader social and historical perspective. I have also raised questions about how structure and narrative choices influence historical representation. In Part two, I follow that same format and explore the consolidation of the NZOC between 1911 and 1936. 1911 marks the NZOC's official date of establishment, and 1936 its 25 year anniversary. Equally important, 1936 was the year Jack Lovelock's won the 1500 metre track event at the Berlin olympic games (see chapters six and eight). Although New Zealand athletes had achieved some success in the preceding 25 years, NZOC's record was less distinguished. For example, in the decade immediately following World War One New Zealand experienced a period of fluctuating economic conditions, a changing political landscape, and significantly, a resurgence of New Zealand's (masculine) sports culture (Belich, 2001; King, 2003). During this time the country sent its first 'national' team to an olympic games and athletes celebrated their first exclusively 'New Zealand' olympic victories (Romanos, 2008). Yet NZOC remained plagued by protracted internal politics, grandiose egos, financial woes, gender issues, and regional antagonism.

In chapter five I identify major forces that helped consolidate, shape, and constrain NZOC during its first 25 years. Primary in this regard were the economic,

political, and socio-cultural impacts of Empire (specifically New Zealand's ties with British imperialism), the prosperous 1920s, and the onset of the country's most significant recession which culminated in the Great Depression. The forces of empire, especially war, severely curtailed the olympic movement and the ability of the NZOC to expand and develop. Forces in the 1920s and early 1930s, such as the reappraisal of New Zealand's economic position, national direction, identity, and culture, also influenced the country's sports organisations. In this chapter I argue historians need to more carefully examine the role major forces played in national sporting administrations and the expansion of New Zealand's sports cultures. As in chapter one, I reiterate that when placed within the broader social, historical, and cultural context, the development of NZOC can be understood as a product of distinct historical phenomenon and particular evolutionary social processes, namely dynamic global and local economic conditions, government changes, and cultural turns in gender politics. I contend that the essentially conservative and patriarchal NZOC could not easily, or readily, adapt to such forces during its first 25 years.

In chapter six, I discuss those agents who made significant contributions to the NZOC over its first quarter century. I follow up on Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies, both key agents involved in the conception of the organisation, as well as introducing new agents, notably Arthur Porritt and Bernard Guise. As in chapter two, I privilege particular agents over others depending on the length and nature of their involvement, but I also acknowledge the role of minor and less known agents whose voices have remained silent in conventional olympic histories, such as Harry Amos. Although limited

by archival silence (see introduction), where possible I continue to illuminate their stories and experiences.

In chapter seven, I revisit the notion of ideology and how particular belief structures permeated New Zealand life, and in particular shaped the cultural institution of NZOC and agents of the olympic movement. Following Callinicos (1989), who argues that ideologies only differ from philosophy when they contribute to particular and practical courses of action, I argue ideologies serve distinct purposes in reinforcing specific social hierarchies. In regards to sport, NZOC, and the olympic movement privileged and legitimised the concerns of middle-class administrators while subordinating the needs and experiences of athletes, the often excluded and marginalised working classes, females, and non-Anglo ethnic groups. I also consider predominant ideologies of the interwar period. The first of which was a more clearly delineated nationalism and patriotism that coalesced with reestablished trans-Tasman relations and a renewed sense of imperial allegiance (Belich, 2001); the second, a continuation of political and cultural liberalism. I then revisit ideologies introduced in chapter three, namely athleticism and provincialism; both played integral roles in the conception olympic movement. I acknowledge the role ideologies play in defining particular social and cultural phenomenon and the identities of particular individuals and groups. My interest is in the way organisations form out of the collective actions of agents who use their shared beliefs to meet particular needs and ends.

In chapter eight, I discuss how convergences around particular events contributed to the consolidation of NZOC and the olympic movement. I address the impact of World War One, the Great Depression, the introduction of the Empire Games,

the 1936 olympics, and Lovelock's olympic gold. Although I have chosen these particular historical events for my narrative, other events could tell a completely different story. Here I question how common constructions and reproductions of history are shaped by narrative choices, in this case, choices about which events and agents do and do not matter. In particular, I reassert the need to query, in light of the broader context of New Zealand cultural life at the time, whether the country's olympic history, or more general sport history for that matter, as significant and exceptional as has been, and is often, assumed.

Chapter 5

Crown and coin

A range of major forces demarcated the first 25 years of the New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC). Some of these forces, King (2003) contends, were strong political, education, and welfare systems, relatively stable race relations, a productive export economy, rapidly urbanising population, well established communication networks, and a growing sense of nation and identity. Not least of influence were empire and the collapse of global and local economies. Major forces brought significant changes to New Zealand but they did not always contribute to the country's development in productive ways. Rather, they introduced discontinuities, conflicts, disruptions that NZOC needed to negotiate. For example, regional parochialism challenged the partisanship of central government, growing discontent among working class labourers over wage and working conditions rocked the trade industries, concerns over Māori health and welfare put paid to racial harmony; and global conflict threatened national security and colonial ties (Baker, 1986; Belich, 2001; Oliver, 1960; King, 2003; Wright, 2009; *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 1910, December 31, p. 4).

The affect of these forces also permeated sport. Indeed, sport was an active constituent part in many of the social and cultural tensions and conflicts in New Zealand. The racialised experiences of athletes in the 'natives' colonial rugby team is one example (Ryan, 1993; 2005), the use of cycling by white protestant women to affect the female cause is another (Simpson, 1998, 2001). Social and cultural forces

especially also influenced the amateur NZOC organisation and its involvement in the olympic movement.

Forces, or at least major forces, are an important aspect of Marwick's (1998) model. Marwick essentially distinguishes three types of forces; structural (e.g., geographic, economic, demographic), institutional (e.g., systems of government, education, class and religious organisations), and the ideological (political and social philosophies and systems of belief). In this chapter, my particular concern is with examples of the former two types, the latter I deal with separately in chapter seven. Again, Marwick's model is useful in providing structure to context, but as Fairburn and Haslett (2005) and Belich (2001) contend, it is difficult to ascertain the many complex effects that historical forces have on each other and New Zealand society as a whole. Despite attempts to smooth out and unravel the various 'threads', a lot still remains unknown and messy. For example, how major forces influenced particular historical institutions and organisations. The work of Phillips (1987), King (2003), Fairburn and Olssen (2005), and Belich (1996: 2007) goes some way to describing the role forces played in historical educational, community, and media contexts. Nevertheless, there is always scope for further explanations about how other forces, including those Marwick might consider to be minor, influenced the New Zealand life during what was an intensely dramatic period.

In chapter one, I argued that of all the major forces provincial antagonism and financial parsimony precluded administrators of New Zealand's Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA) from forming a national olympic body before 1911. In this chapter I argue that while the consolidation phase of NZOC saw increased athletic participation

and achievement, the administration of the organisation was still characterised by the same financial woes and discontent that marred greater New Zealand life. I specifically examine how empire and economy affected the administration and development of NZOC between 1911 and 1936. I also question what constitutes an historical 'force' as well as conventional olympic histories that construct the modernisation of sport in distinctly linear terms – an approach which scholars now argue is particularly problematic (e.g., Alexander, 1995; Berman, 1993; and Booth, 2005).

Empire, politics, economy

The first decade of the twentieth century was an eventful time for colonial politics in New Zealand. The decision, detailed in chapter four, by the then Liberal government to not join the Australian Federation in 1901 was one marker of the ongoing process to establish a distinct and autonomous New Zealand identity (Sinclair, 1986). Yet, the process was paradoxical. Advocates such as Richard Seddon sought political and economic autonomy for New Zealand, but loyalties and affiliations with the country's British past were still entrenched within colonial life. In New Zealand's urban infrastructure, education, government, the military and sport aspects of empire abounded. In the early phases of colonisation, for example, empire gave settlers a sense of purpose – the building of a 'better Britain' (Belich, 2001). Later empire became a tool for political, economic, and cultural enterprise. As I discussed in chapters two and three, another example was the organisation and development of amateur athletics along the British model that was based on elite notions of chivalry, fair play, and gentlemanly conduct. The force of empire was also maintained in the colonial ties found

in olympic sport and it provided a rationale for amateur athletes to join the 'patriotic cause' during World War One.

Empire provides a way to understand the interconnectedness of components in Marwick's (1998) model. Empire was a distinct structural and institutional force in the sense that it constituted a range of implicit (ideological values, such as dichotomised nationalism, and other beliefs, myths, and assumptions) and explicit (tangible political, economic, and socio-cultural elements) that connected the country to its British past in ways that affected change and development. Empire was also a powerful and peculiar force in that it subdued, through rhetoric and policy, less savoury aspects of New Zealand colonial culture, such as the rising non-Anglo migrant population (e.g., Chinese, Dalmatians, Indians, French, Italians, and Polynesians). The multiplicity of New Zealand's settler pasts essentially undermined the legitimacy of the country's British imperial colonisation.

The broad effects of empire were also evident in other contemporaneous political, economic, and cultural forces. One case in point is the political challenges and changes New Zealand experienced after the first decade of the twentieth century. These not only tested the notion of democracy in New Zealand – essentially the principle of 'fair' political representation, enfranchisement, and opportunity – but also raised questions about identity, belonging, citizenship, and nation. Below I analyse these forces of empire, and in chapter seven and eight I discuss how they were mobilized in the consolidation of the early olympic movement.

Since the early 1890s, Seddon's Liberal government had championed unprecedented development. Land re-appropriation to bolster the trade and export

industries (essentially owned by Anglo-settlers), improvements to infrastructure and the welfare, education, and health care systems, and investments in tourism and the business economies were just some of these significant ventures (Belich, 2001; 2007; Burdon, 1955; Drummond, 1907 [2007]; King, 2003). Sir Joseph Ward replaced Seddon as Premier when the latter died in 1906 and the Liberal party's reign continued until 1912 when internal splits between labour ideologues and ardent liberalists weakened its power against the increasingly prominent Reform party led by William Massey. The Liberals had governed for 21 years, a success attributed to Seddon's strong leadership style, political nous, and ability to capitalise on and perpetuate myths about a shared national identity and imperial allegiance (Belich, 2001). Largely independent and irrespective of party politics the country experienced marked social change. Significant in this respect was the rapidly urbanising population. In 1907, when New Zealand formally became a Dominion of the British Empire, the rural population was still the majority. However, within just four years the urban population exceeded rural inhabitants for the first time. Auckland's population, for example, grew by over 100 percent between 1896 and 1911 (King, 2003). As a result, New Zealand required a new government that better reflected this changing demography.

The Reform Party, a coalition of farming, urban, and professional business interests won the 1912 election but immediately they faced a series of challenges; the foremost of which were industrial disputes in mining and wharfing over pay, working conditions, and labour rights. It was the closest New Zealand came to class war as union and non-union members, Belich (2001) suggests, as well as a radical socialist group – the Red Feds, battled with employers and ordinary citizens over the legitimacy

of their occupations (primarily in regards to legal rights, wages, and working conditions) and their significance to New Zealand's economy. Though some might disagree with Belich's assessment (e.g., Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000), it is clear that the extent and effect of the industrial action that characterised the start of the second decade of the twentieth century was considerable. The popular press followed disputes closely and were quick to run up sporting-like tallies of wins, losses, and draws. For example, by September of 1912, one paper noted there had been as many as 66 strikes over the past year, not including a number of allegedly 'unimportant or trivial cases'. Nearly 5000 men had been rendered idle and there were total losses to workers of £30,382 and £40,634 to employers (the average loss per worker was around £6 10s) (*Grey River Argus*, 12 September, 1912, p.5). New Zealand had experienced strikes before, but during this time they involved increasingly heightened tension and conflict across a greater number of industries. Generally, workers won many individual disputes, although they also reached a number of compromises. Nonetheless, by the end of 1913 the affected working classes were overwhelmingly subdued by political, military, and economic forces (Belich, 2001; Olssen, 1988).

Class conflict surrounding the industrial disputes was a notable force in its own right, but conflict was also a manifestation New Zealand's greater economic development within the global capitalist system. Conflicts arose because export demands that fuelled economic growth and produced financial benefits for shareholders and owners' companies could not effectively meet labourers' needs. The strike era highlighted to central government, the general population, and those watching New Zealand from afar, several concerns about life in the colony. First, colonial citizens,

including the working classes, were conscious of global affairs and capable of internalising and appropriating international issues on their own terms. This was somewhat distressing for those middle and upper class colonists who believed in New Zealand egalitarianism, and who advocated allegiance to empire and nation (above and beyond class borders). Second, despite what the ruling middle classes believed, the colony was not a harmonious productive society with equitable labour industries (Belich, 2001). The working classes clearly had a voice and were prepared to use it to effect change. Yet, the transformations brought about by class conflict highlighted a third concern; that political change (e.g. better labour laws), did not equate to direct or immediate social change (e.g. improved lifestyle opportunities). The seeds of the strike movement were planted long before the Reform Party took office, and the fallout and discontent reverberated long after the pickets had come down and the men returned to their wharves and mines (Olssen, 1988). The strikes were simply not going to resolve years of class discontent. Yet, the public fervour and rancour created by the strikes is a good example of how fractures, conflicts, tensions, and disharmony were central to the idea of New Zealand's democracy

Empire and the economy were both noticeable forces on NZOC and the olympic movement because they constituted a dominant theme in official minutes, but influences of class conflict are not as easy to discern from the available sources. In this regard, some degree of conjecture is required. The industrial disputes of 1912 and 1913 in Wellington took place in the vicinity where NZOC and NZAAA regularly convened. NZOC agents, such as Arthur Marryatt and Bernard Guise were business men and notable members of the community who undoubtedly formed opinions about the class

disputes occurring on their doorsteps. It is entirely possible those working class individuals picketing for unions on the streets were many of the same individuals excluded from amateur athletics unions because of their trade occupations. Only an intimate knowledge of NZOC agents at the time could however reveal whether they demonstrated their opinions of the industrial conflicts in their administration of amateurism.

The concern over union football in New Zealand is one example that hints at a reaction by amateur athletic agents toward working class professionals. During and following the industrial disputes, some trade union members, unable to enjoy the financial freedom and leisure of amateur sports, involved themselves in 'professional' football competitions. Union football codes (and their players) were an affront to the amateur ethos, even more so were the growing frequency of 'professional' versus 'amateur' competitions (Falcous, 2007). NZAAA agents, who did not approve of such conspicuous class conflict, worked quickly to clarify the terms under which competitions could take place. To prevent trade worker professionals 'tainting' the idealism of amateur sport NZAAA forced event organisers to officially recognise the two separate competing classes and have a system of penalties to deal with their respective rule infractions (NZAAA, 1912, 5 February, p.198).

Although we do not know how industrial class disputes specifically affected key NZOC agents, we do know life in New Zealand after the trade conflict was not exactly peaceful. The following years saw New Zealand's participation in World War One and the Great Depression. Both events were propelled strongly by empire and the economy. War, for example, was intricately enmeshed within the overarching force of empire that

had already formed part of the character of New Zealand life, and, though dramatic, its outbreak in 1914 was not particularly surprising. Even when Marryatt and his contemporaries met in February 1911 to convene the forerunner to NZOC, they assumed an Anglo-German war of some description was imminent (*Evening Post*, 25 February, 1911, p.5).

Over the next three years, the forces of empire strengthened. Countries, predominately in Europe, covertly or otherwise took stock of their military might and positioned them selves politically to confront potential threat to their borders, real or presumed. When war was eventually declared in August 1914, no debate over New Zealand's commitment was necessary. According to the tenets of empire the country was a British Dominion, and as politicians and the popular press told citizens, this was as good a reason as any to fight for the imperial cause – a cause which certainly not all New Zealand's conscripts and volunteers must have been entirely certain of, or comfortable with. War was a disastrous consequence of empire. Had the price - in excess of 58,000 dead or seriously injured - been given up front, the advocates for war may have curbed their patriotic bloodlust.⁵⁵

Notwithstanding the catastrophic final death toll of war, the effects were not necessarily always detrimental. 'Serving the empire', for example, became an altruistic cause and forceful mobiliser of community sentiment. Sporting events and sport culture in particular, including NZOC and the nascent olympic movement, were tied to initial enthusiasm. There was significant political and economic emphasis placed on

⁵⁵ New Zealand contribution to World War One was extreme. Over 124, 211 men were sent (in excess of 40% of all men of military age), approximately 9% of the Dominion's total population. Tragically, 58,000 were killed or wounded, the majority in France on the Western front (Belich, 2001, p.96; Phillips, 1987).

protecting the empire through war, but empire also became part of New Zealand culture in the sense that it did not necessarily preclude people from enjoying such things as sport and other forms of entertainment. Theatres vigorously promoted military themed films and productions (*Evening Post*, 15 August, 1914, p.2), and clubs, societies, companies, and individuals organised fundraisers to bolster the war chest (*Grey River Argus*, 25 August, 1914, p.3). As Phillips noted, "local committees were organised to hold recruiting meetings and take the message to race meetings and picture shows" (1987, p.159). Ladies baked cakes, choristers sang, and fairs were held: "come and help to swell the fund for our boys who are helping to save the country" cried the *Evening Post* (14 June, 1915, p.2). Contributions came from all over New Zealand as people offered, among many items, cars, homing pigeons, tunnel digging expertise, and bi-planes (*Grey River Argus*, 6 August, 1914, p.6). Most significantly, however, young New Zealand men offered themselves.

The strengthening imperial forces that eventually led to the outbreak of war did not immediately halt New Zealand sport, nor did it constrain NZAAA and NZOC administrators who continued facilitating competitions during the war. Between 1914 and 1920, there are numerous instances where the administrations of both NZAAA and NZOC were forced to consider the war and its implications for amateur sport. Officially, both organisations ceased operating during the war,⁵⁶ although some administrators continued to correspond. For example, Richard Coombes, the IOC member in Australasia, wrote to Coubertin and other members of the IOC in 1915, 1917, and 1918

⁵⁶ There were only three meetings of the NZAAA in 1914, none in 1915, one in 1916 (mainly held to confirm the continued cessation of the national championship), but no more until the organisation resumed its function in October 1919. In regards to the NZOC, there were no official meetings between 26 November 1913 and 27th February 1920.

regarding issues such as the cessation of the 1916 olympic games, the re-election of Coubertin to the IOC Presidency, and the co-option of other IOC colleagues (Personal communications, 1915; 1917; 1918). The NZAAA also convened to send five athletes to the Australian Amateur Championships in 1914 and was able to nominate a small team to attend the 1920 Antwerp olympic games (NZAAA, 1913-1927).

Empire mattered, and to a degree, NZOC and NZAAA agents acknowledged their amateur athletics could be sacrificed to serve this greater force. In late 1914, for example, there were strong concerns about the viability of championship events. As one anonymous member from the Canterbury Amateur Athletics Centre wrote,

in view of the fact that such large numbers of athletes have volunteered for service with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, also the necessary expenditure that would be entailed by competitors my centre considered that it would be in the best interests of all concerned if the even was abandoned for 1914 (NZAAA, 1913-1927, *Vol. 1.*, p.42)

In reply, Marrayatt as NZAAA chairman consented to abandon the meet and urged that the cost involved in hosting the event could go toward the patriotic empire fund. The number of athletes absent due to military service, he also remarked, would detract greatly from the 'visual interest' (ibid, p.43). Volunteering for the war "spoke volumes for the sport that they could supply so many men" Marrayatt added, their "training would fit them for enduring the hardships which might lie before them" (ibid). It appears that for agents of NZAAA and NZOC, empire could not be ignored and war was the great event that would truly test their athletic stead.

The physical attributes and abilities of New Zealand athletes who partook in the war were of considerable importance to the administrators, and were useful in increasing their organisations' kudos. At the 1914 NZAAA Annual General Meeting, attended by several members of the NZOC, the association acknowledged that,

although their [the athletes] absence will be felt during the coming season, the council knows that the [athletics] training they will have received will stand them in good stead for the arduous duties, and will prove of the greatest assistance in the share of our [the country's] forces in the maintenance or British prestige. The absence of our fellow athletes on the King's service should make us the more diligent in keeping the sport at its usual high level...(also)...sports meetings...,wherever possible, should be devoted to entirely Patriotic purposes (ibid, p.50).

It would be easy to dismiss such comments as typical of the time. Imperial allegiance still characterised part of New Zealand identity, and the nexus between sport and war was an easy way to reaffirm that idea. The war, and in particular the sacrifice of national sportsmen in the name of empire, reaffirmed stereotypes about the New Zealand colony and its pioneering heroes (Phillips, 1987). While this is a partial explanation, in supporting the war by venerating athletes who volunteered for service both NZAAA and NZOC validated their legitimacy as valued sports organisations and status as a bastion of middle-class Anglo (national, imperial, and patriarchal) ideologies (see chapters seven and eight). Support for the war was a good public advertisement for NZOC in particular as their official minutes were regularly published in mainstream press. Even

when war halted athletic competition, New Zealand citizens happily supported those sport organisations that acknowledged and respected the efforts of athletic servicemen.

In sum, during the second decade of the twentieth century New Zealand citizens experienced several key events. Most predominant of these was World War One. War exacerbated the forces of economy and politics, but it also strengthened the force of empire. Despite the country's multiple ethnic histories, the force of empire, or more precisely residues of New Zealand's British colonial bonds, persisted in the popular press war rhetoric and other areas of cultural life, such as amateur athletics, and helped mobilise corporeal discourses around a nationalistic, white, Anglo-inspired masculine ethos (see chapter eight). Empire was clearly important to agents of NZAAA and NZOC who believed athletes would be best suited for the patriotic cause.

The effects of empire reverberated after 1919 in news columns, government rhetoric, and sport, but new forces also began to influence NZOC. Foremost of these forces were economics and politics. For example, post-war Massey's Reform government still held office. One of its key strategies for reinvigorated productivity was the farm settlement scheme in which returning servicemen received plots of land. In the short term the scheme created jobs and boosted the agricultural industry. However, a decade later the Great Depression would force many farmer-service men off their land (Gould, 1992; 2000; Powell, 1971; Roche, 2002). The government also placated the working classes with investments in housing and education, and the middle classes with capital incentives to develop business and commerce. Class mobility at this time was, Belich (2001) contends, still largely a myth used by Massey to quell political and industrial conflict and "restore social stability after the troubles in paradise" (p.156).

In this sense, while the working classes may have desired, and eventually acquired in some cases, the privileges of the middle classes, they were still constrained by acute economic and political forces and hegemonic processes that worked to maintain ideological distinctions between the various classes. Moreover, while some individuals may have enjoyed certain mobility in some areas, exclusions and limitations remained the norm, including in the control of institutions such as education and amateur sport. For example, changes to amateur sport policies enabled more working athletes to compete alongside middle-class contemporaries (e.g. exemptions were made for teachers of physical education, sport coaches, and organisers of blue-collar business sport teams who all profited from 'professional-esque' activities). Yet control of the governing bodies in sport, such as NZAAA and NZOC, still resided with an elite group of educated agents, such as Arthur Marryatt, Arthur Davies, Harry Amos, and Arthur Porritt (see chapter six).

I identified earlier that during most of the 1920s minor fluctuations perturbed the New Zealand's economy. Although this meant relative financial security for some individual citizens, it appears to have done little to bolster NZOC funds which campaigned endlessly to ensure its economic survival, particularly between the olympic games. For example, prior to the 1924 Paris games the cost NZOC needed outlay (in boat tickets, allowances, and team uniforms) to be able to send a team was a considerable £300. This cost eventually led to moves to establish a permanent olympic games fund (NZOC, 1924, 12 October, p.60-67). Building support for the NZOC between olympic games seems to have been difficult enough, but the situation was further exacerbated by the constant need for more money. Notable citizens, such as

Arthur Porritt, made substantial contributions (ibid, p.88; and see chapter six), but it appears to have offered little comfort to NZOC administrators. Throughout the 1920s and into the more frugal 1930s, NZOC encouraged its affiliates to “foster the olympic spirit” and “raise funds for Olympic purposes” (NZOC, 1912-1932, p.90). To some extent, it appears to have worked. Prior to the onset of the Great Depression NZOA⁵⁷ reported that it was on “a solid foundation” with a balance in excess of £1245 (ibid, p.153). Even though there was still no extensive long-term vision, monies raised ensured an increasing number of New Zealand athletes would continue to compete in immediate olympic games.

Despite the changes brought about by post-war political and economic forces, the haze of prosperity that embraced New Zealand quickly evaporated. Yet, the effects of the economic collapse that began with the demise of the American stock market in October 1929 were not immediately felt in New Zealand. New Zealand brokers, Grant (1997) remarks, seemed “blithely indifferent” (p.138) to the catastrophe. Eventually the shock waves came. As the result of countries shifting their investments to Britain, the only free-market available, New Zealand’s primary export industry revenues plummeted. The consequences were broad and varied. Yet, Belich (2001) is quick to remind us they were perhaps not as extreme as has been previously suggested. New Zealand did experience a dramatic downturn in trade, a rise in unemployment, and significant drops in consumption, and there were horror tales, such as the increasing abortion rates (Brookes, 1981; Molloy, 2007). Yet, these forces did not affect all citizens to the same degree. For example, for a time wage rates were stable and consumer prices dropped

⁵⁷ Reflecting trends in other national organisations, the NZOC briefly changed its name to the New Zealand Olympic Association, though it later reverted to the NZOC (this time a committee rather than council).

giving even the working classes a temporarily new found spending power. Redundancy was all too common, but the losses were not shared evenly among the industries or their workers. Nevertheless, as with the war, the traumatic effects of the Great Depression would linger long after the economy had recovered.

At the outset it appears NZOC were unscathed by the depression. Yet, in 1934 Chairman Harry Amos wrote to IOC President, Henri Baillet-Latour regarding the nomination of Arthur Porritt to the Olympic Committee (Personal communication, 19 February, 1934). As well as detailing Porritt's suitability for the IOC role, Amos wrote openly about the hardships of the depression on NZOC and life in New Zealand. The letter was also an acknowledgement that irrespective of political and economic forces both organisations should do everything to ensure the continuation of olympic sport. This correspondence is ironic as Baillet-Latour had recently enjoyed lavish hospitality with the wealthy American IOC member (and future president) Avery Brundage and from the NZOC during his visit to the Country in 1932. It was, however, not the first evidence of broader forces influencing the NZOC. In 1931, in a letter to IOC headquarters in Lausanne, Amos outlined the financial and practical constraints of the time and the associated difficulties of sending a team to the impending 1932 games in Los Angeles (NZOC, 13 July). Despite the efforts of some agents to protect and preserve their conservative elite middle-class interests (see chapters three and seven), the exchange of letters about the olympic movements precarious position, shows how NZOC were not impervious to external global and local forces.

Geography and technology

Despite the evaporation of many geographic and technological limitations to New Zealand life, an ardent provincial parochialism (see chapters one and three) remained entrenched in the colonial psyche and in the mindsets of NZOC agents during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Unsurprisingly, this did not dissipate over the following decades. Considerable geographical and technological forces posed new challenges for how citizens, including NZOC agents, interacted and went about their lives. For example, the return of servicemen and the subsequent investments in agriculture spurred significant developments in the rural infrastructure (e.g., roads, electricity, and communication networks). The ease of travel, coupled with the rise in unionism and the increased controls over working class labour (Olssen, 1988), and the relative economic prosperity post-war afforded some people greater opportunities for social interaction and cultural exchange. The rise in women's organisations, recreational clubs, and interprovincial sporting events during the 1920s and the rapid exchange of information across the popular press (e.g. the publication of NZOC and NZAAA minutes) were further examples of a country enjoying greater geographical and technological freedom. Investments into war also spurred the growth of new scientific technologies. Bio-engineering to benefit the farming industries is one example, but others included the rise of the motion movie picture, an increase in air travel and the proliferation of the motor car (Belich, 2001; King, 2003; Sinclair & Dalziel, 2000).

Geographic and technological changes and the greater force of empire may have lessened the effects of regional fractures, but in sport residues of colonial provincial sentiment still prevailed (Obel, 2005). Furthermore, while geographic and technological

forces contributed to greater opportunities in travel, consumption, leisure, and recreation, not all citizens – including amateur athletes who were prohibited from financially benefitting from their sport - were privy to changes brought about by these forces. There was still a significant working underclass in New Zealand (Fairburn & Olssen, 2005), and while they may have reaped the rewards of improved electricity, communication networks, and farming technologies, they were unlikely to share in benefits to the same extent as members of the middle classes.

For all the changes major forces wrought on the New Zealand between 1911 and 1936 there were some important continuities: a strengthening of the political system, ongoing growth of secondary and tertiary education sectors, a flourishing mainstream media (particularly print and radio), and the continued investments in health and welfare. Moreover, as significant, traumatic, controversial, far-reaching, up-heaving, and radical major forces were at this time there is still debate over whether they had any pronounced impact on New Zealand's general social structure. Fairburn and Haslett (2005) have gone so far as to suggest that there was little social change, in terms of class segregation and household head demographics. They identify some noticeable alterations to the country's social profile, however, these were largely confined to particular working class groups and were less distinguishable over time. "It was not the short, sharp shocks that had the greatest impact on the class structure" Fairburn and Haslett argue, "but long-term factors (notably economic stagnation) that slowly increased the proportion of the population at the bottom end of the class structure and decreased the relative size of the economic elite" (2005, p.33).

Minor forces

Toward the end of the war New Zealanders felt the traumatic effects of the sudden, short lived, violent, and indiscriminate Spanish influenza pandemic (with its origins in the return of soldiers from the Western Front, it was debatably the country's worst natural disaster). The pandemic could be rightly classified as an event; it certainly marked a turning point for medical technology, disease and immigration control and health practices (Rice, 2005; McSweeney, Colman, Fancourt, Parnell, Stantiall, Rice, Baker, & Wilson, 2007; and Wilson, 2007). Here I regard it also as a force in the sense that it contributed strongly to a growing public concern in New Zealand over broader issues of health and morality (I discuss the ideology of morality further in chapters six and seven). Moral concerns, such as the pandemic (which raised questions about health, hygiene, and appropriate social conduct), had the capacity to essentially influence how people lived their lives. The pandemic had already claimed around 25 million lives around the world, and, in New Zealand, the influenza added at least another 8,600 lives; a large proportion of which were young European males. The lives lost to the pandemic exacerbated the large losses the New Zealand had already sacrificed for the war. The flu also took the lives of many Māori and Western Samoans (the latter at the time were under New Zealand military rule) (Belich, 2001).

Although the pandemic peaked between October and November 1918 its effects endured. The extent, causes, and influence of the influenza have been the subject of continued scholarly debate (e.g., Rice, 2005; McSweeney et al., 2007), but in New Zealand, Belich (2001) suggests, the flu fuelled the "slow-burning sense of trauma" (p.113) New Zealand experienced throughout the 1920s. Irrespective of the tragic loss,

the influenza served as a reminder to citizens that New Zealand was not immune (in all senses of the word) to global ills, nor was it the safe and secure far-flung 'healthy' colony.

Influenza is one example of a minor, though traumatic, force. Although it was part of the broader context of New Zealand life it is difficult to determine whether it specifically affected NZOC or the early years of the olympic movement in New Zealand. It probably, I believe, did. Forces like the influenza, and additionally prohibition, franchise, or religion, were all features of New Zealand life. Whether these 'lesser' forces had any discernable influence on NZOC or its agents is not an issue that might be easily resolved by a more rigorous examination of archival material. Connections and effects between forces and structures that existed in the past simply cannot always be recovered by history and historians' archival searching. It is possible, for example, that influenza and war decimated local amateur athletic clubs to the extent that they could no longer facilitate competitions, send athletes to national competitions to be nominated for olympic selection, or pay their NZOC subscriptions. Yet, evidence of such a connection, and what seems to be an entirely plausible scenario, appear to have evaporated over time. Though the problem might perplex some historians, and despite attempts I have made to draw lines between forces, historians must realise they can never fully recover the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen* – or as it actually happened (Curthoys & Docker, 2006).

Forces and historians' choices

In regards to the effect of major forces on the social structure of the NZOC, I concur with Fairburn and Haslett (2005). Major forces may have contoured broader New Zealand life, but determining their effects on the many intricate parts of society, such as the inner working of sports organisations is difficult. In summary, despite dynamic conditions NZOC remained a bastion of the white-educated, middle class elite who were capable of using forces such as empire and economy to improve the prestige of their organisation. As significant as the major forces were, they did not to any great degree curtail the development of NZOC. There was no immediate halt to sport or the administration in the initial stages of war. The general expectation, especially in far-flung New Zealand, was that war would be brief and only short hiatus in sporting competition would be necessary. Moreover, while there were some changes in leadership, the NZOC weathered fairly through the 1920s and early 1930s.

Major forces, Marwick (1998) reiterates, play key roles in defining particular historical contexts. Yet, in this chapter, I have encouraged readers to question how historians define forces and how they operate. For Marwick, for example, essentially only major institutional and ideological forces mattered; those that affected significant cultural and social changes. Marwick's emphasis on major forces highlights a limitation of his particular approach to context in the sense that it does not account for the influences or effects of minor forces that arguably have less discernable effects. In the two and a half decades after the establishment of NZOC major forces of empire and economy clearly had distinct effects on New Zealand life and on NZOC by introducing

new conflicts, tensions, discontinuities, and disruptions. The forces of empire and economy cannot be ignored, however, as I demonstrate in the following chapters these also coalesce with other political, cultural, social, technological, and geographic forces to afford citizens new developments, opportunities, and experiences.

One example of the issues with forces is the controlled entrance of working class athletes and women into amateur athletics. While some working class individuals and females may have been able to enjoy the luxury of travelling to amateur sport events around the New Zealand and overseas, class differentiation and gender preservation still mattered. Between 1911 and 1936, a small *collectivity* of middle-class elite males who shared similar interests about sport, empire, class and gender still directed amateur athletics. And, while changing economic conditions in trade industries and cultural shifts in gender politics in the first decades of the twentieth century had altered female and working class lives, the evidence at hand is that in amateur athletics the affects of these forces were less noticeable. Yet, like I discussed in regards to the consolidation, NZOC agents were comparatively slow to adapt to contextual forces.

My intention in this chapter was to examine how major forces affected the abilities of the NZOC administrators to develop their organisation and facilitate amateur sport and olympic participation. In doing so, I made choices about which forces could have or did influence NZOC during its consolidation. Of course, I could have chosen to focus on other forces (e.g. migration patterns, race relations, education changes, cultural liberalism, or sporting commercialism) in this chapter that might have revealed a completely different history. However, I based my choices upon some of the key concerns expressed in official minutes and correspondences between NZOC and

NZAAA agents, predominant issues in the popular press, and historical assessments of the period by other scholars. My examination revealed that empire and economy were prominent (especially during War and The Great Depression), but other issues such as class disputes were also driving historical forces. I argued that between 1911 and 1936, the consolidation phase of NZOC, there was an increase in athletic participation and achievement in the organisation. Nonetheless, this progress was still stained by political friction and economic concerns, both issues that also marred the greater context of New Zealand life.

The consolidation of NZOC is complex. NZOC were 'successful' in sending teams to the olympic games (see chapter six and eight) despite the adversities presented by major forces. However, success came at a cost. The achievement of athletes throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s reflected positively on the organisation, especially during and immediately after the war, but the growth of NZOC also presented new challenges, administratively, politically, and economically, that needed to be dealt with, irrespective of whatever major forces lay ahead. To argue NZOC was essentially solely a sporting organisation, (which seems to be a theme of histories that down-play or avoid broader issues of context, e.g Romanos, 2006; 2008), belies that the organisation was contoured by major forces, and as I elucidate in following chapters, a complex interplay of forces, ideologies, agents, and events.

Chapter 6

Old friends and new acquaintances

In this chapter I identify key historical agents who helped consolidate the New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) between approximately 1911 and 1936. My approach follows that laid out in chapter two, namely, that key agents not only enliven social histories but their voices offer essential cultural context. Analysing these NZOC agents and their actions reveals much about the minutiae of socio-cultural politics in the New Zealand's early twentieth century sports organisations. In chapter two, for example, I concluded that the conception of the NZOC involved a key group of elite middle class educated men. By examining their lives and actions it was possible to identify and illuminate broader contextual forces, events, ideologies and institutional structures that came to bear on the NZOC. I also acknowledged that some agents had more significant administrative roles than has been previously realised and that some agents, such as Māori, women, and athletes, still lack an historical voice.

In this chapter I continue my analysis of Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies, two agents who had integral roles in NZOC's conception. I also introduce new agents, Bernard Guise, Harry Amos, Arthur Porritt, and Jack Lovelock. While their personal background is interesting, I am concerned with examining their contributions to NZOC. Specifically, how they mediated change and continuity in the national olympic movement, and why they took particular courses of action. Marryatt, for example, in his role as NZOC chairman (1911-1922) and International Olympic Committee (IOC) member (1919-1923), provided important continuity for the olympic movement and

helped resurrect the national organisation after the six year intercession caused by World War One (NZOC, 27 February, 1920). However, his contribution to the resurrection of the NZOC was not necessarily consistent with his views on the Council's independence and future.

My aim in this chapter is to explore agents who, based on available evidence, significantly effected the administration of NZOC during its first consolidative phase. As an author-historian I have made particular choices with respect to my selection of agents. These choices are based upon my employment inclinations (how I construct my narrative), personal subjectivities (who I choose as agents), and moral and ethical persuasions (e.g., in discerning the behaviours and actions of agents I impose on them meanings and judgments that derive from my own morality) (Munslow, 2007). I craft a contextual history of the New Zealand olympic movement by utilising narrative to smooth over the messiness and chaos of the historical evidence. In this particular chapter, for example, I concede my license in revealing and concealing details of agents' lives and experiences. To reiterate, my history is *an* interpretation of the histories of NZOC and its agents and this task is difficult. In this chapter and in chapter two, for example, while I contend it is possible to uncover some aspects of the personal lives of agents – such as the social and political groups to which they belonged, their economic status and religious affiliations, and the ideologies to which they subscribed – the scarcity of archival information prevents us from completely knowing their idiosyncrasies and how they came to bear on the administration of NZOC.

To counter reconstructionist readers who might find my comments about lack of evidence irksome, (though this issue will be already quite familiar to most

deconstructionists) I argue historians need to employ - what Vico referred to as 'imaginative insight' (in Berlin, 1990, p.62): necessary synthesis, interpretation, conjecture, and supposition to inject life into their narratives. In doing so my narrative takes on an emancipatory role by foregrounding the lives and experiences of those whose voices have been unrecognised or marginalised in the annals of olympic, sporting, and national history. Such an approach also offers a way for other historians to reassess how they investigate, interpret, and represent human agency in their work. Later in this thesis I discuss the roles of these agents in relation to the ways people have come to remember and forget olympic history (see chapter nine).

Marryatt and Davies

Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies were the doyens of NZOC and amateur athletics. Marryatt and Davies were born, raised, and educated in rapidly urbanising areas of the New Zealand's South Island in the late nineteenth century (see chapter two). By the first decade of the twentieth century both men, just five years apart in age, held leadership roles in the New Zealand's provincial amateur athletic administrations. The authority these positions commanded, as well as a level of diplomacy, tact, and administrative nous both seemed to naturally possess, enabled them to reform the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA). Supported for the most part by their colleagues, Marryatt and Davies also established the Festival of Empire Sports Committee (FESC) and the inaugural NZOC. Many details of their lives are unfortunately sketchy (such as their family, employment, and educational backgrounds). Yet, as I detailed in chapter two, it is clear that by 1911 Marryatt and Davies had overcome personal adversities and

wider provincial antagonism to form a body that would enable New Zealand athletes to compete at the olympic games, continue to foster the growth of (and police) amateurism, and in time promote the idealism of the olympic movement (NZOC, 22 November, 1911).

Marryatt and Davies, referred to by their colleagues as “those indefatigable Messieurs” (NZOC, 10 June 1926, p.90), continued their work with NZOC long after its establishment. Marryatt retained his joint roles as IOC member and NZOC chair until 1923. Davies took over NZOC after Marryatt retired and Joseph Firth (see below) became the next IOC member. Davies held his position on the NZOC (and the NZAAA) until resigning in 1926. Marryatt and Davies had differing leadership styles, abilities, agendas. For example, NZAAA, FESC, and NZOC minutes illustrate Marryatt and Davies each had their fair share of supporters and opponents and that their decisions often received mixed responses. Their nemeses appear to have been rogue colleagues, such as Fred Wilton (who lambasted Marryatt’s leadership of the NZOC, suggesting he and his colleagues acted like a bunch of showmen), and disgruntled sports organisations, such as the Amateur Swimming Association (who disagreed with Marryatt over provisions for olympic athletes) (Anon, 1922). Yet, both men earned enough respect from their peers to ensure not only the survival of NZOC but the continuation of their tenure. In this respect, their administrative actions are worth investigating.

NZOC has not typically recorded its official minutes verbatim nor has it adequately referenced particular speakers. It is thus often hard to ascertain the exact agent(s) behind many of the organisation’s policies and decisions. By virtue of his

position as chair and someone with recognised aptitude in amateur athletic affairs, Marryatt's name, opinions, and actions fortunately occur frequently throughout the archives. His contributions to NZOC, can be seen and subsequently assessed, more easily than his other peers. As I mentioned earlier, Marryatt ensured continuation for NZOC through World War One. War significantly curtailed amateur athletics (see chapter four), but it did not dissolve the Council. Marryatt can take much of the credit for the continuity of the Council; he maintained dialogue between members of NZOC and agents in the wider olympic movement, such as Richard Coombes in Australia. In 1919 Marryatt's efforts, combined with the resignation of Coombes as the IOC member to New Zealand and the recognition of New Zealand as an independent olympic nation, culminated in him accepting the position as the IOC's member in New Zealand (NZOC, 1912-1932).

In 1919 NZOC had finally received from the IOC recognition to compete as a separate nation. Marryatt reconvened the full NZOC in 1920 and immediately set to task advancing New Zealand's chances of participating in future olympiads. Prior to this some New Zealand athletes had participated in the 1908 and 1912 olympic games, although they were officially recognised Australasian competitors (see chapter two, and Gordon, 1994; Romanos, 2008). For the time being Marryatt retained NZOC's formal constitution, policies, rules, and objectives. His greater concern was to raise the necessary funds to enable athletes to compete in the upcoming games in Antwerp, Belgium. His initiatives during the 1920s included lobbying the Prime Minister for a government subsidy, supporting 'olympic day' events throughout the country, raising and more stringently collecting subs from affiliated sports bodies, advertising for public

financial support, and arranging to dovetail transport costs with the Australian olympic team (NZOC, 1920, 27 February – 6 December, pp.38-48). The last initiative is perhaps the most interesting given Marryatt's flip-flops over separate representation at the olympics and his thoughts on NZOC's capacity to go it alone. As I outlined in chapter two, Marryatt wanted to preserve the Australasian olympic unity that had supported the participation of New Zealand athletes at the two previous olympic games. Throughout NZOC's early years he liaised with amateur sport officials in Australia and ensured that Australasian unification at olympic games was a pragmatic union. Marryatt did not instigate the call for New Zealand's recognition as a separate nation at olympic games (an action that should be attributed to his Auckland colleague, George Hill) (NZOC, 24 August, 1912), but by 1920 he was welcoming New Zealand's olympic independence and seemingly enjoying his new role on the IOC.

Marryatt also made other contributions that strengthened NZOC. Following the 1912 olympic games financial support for NZOC declined and Marryatt rebuked sports bodies around New Zealand for not supporting olympic athletes; which he believed was a national cause (NZOC, 26 March, 1912). To prevent this from occurring when the Council resumed routine operation in the early 1920s Marryatt instigated a 'ways and means' committee to attract necessary financial support and regularly assess the feasibility of sending athletes to olympic games. Marryatt's leadership style entailed delegating responsibilities to colleagues who had valuable social connections. His selection of the railways administrator Ron McVilly (discussed in chapter two) on fundraising tasks is a good example. Marryatt also engaged with the Sport Protection League, an advocacy group established to broadly provide support for New Zealand

athletes, to temporarily assist the training and funding of olympic athletes (NZOC, 27 November, 1912). He also gained the support of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU), despite the fact that rugby was no longer an olympic sport.

In sum, Marryatt provided distinct leadership for the Council during the 1920s and made substantial contributions to its consolidation that ensured, at least, its short term survival. He enacted policies (policing amateurism for example) and practices (financial accounting) within the organisation that presumably aligned well with his educated upper middle-class beliefs. He also surrounded himself with capable colleagues who were suitably educated, well resourced, and held similar investments into sport and sporting ideals. Examining Marryatt's tenure reveals some of the adaptations amateur sport in New Zealand underwent during the early twentieth century. Marryatt's part in the bureaucratic control of athletics and his proficient administration of NZOC ensured that amateur athletes could compete at olympic games and represent New Zealand. Yet, the wavering between national and trans-national unity illustrates, however, that he was not always a man who foresaw a clear direction for NZOC. The tensions he witnessed during his time in office over amateurism, funding, and participation also highlight that the future of amateur sport and olympic movement in New Zealand was rarely ever secure.

Davies' contributions to NZOC during its formative years are equally interesting. In 1912, for example, Davies (supported by Marryatt) proposed compulsory subscriptions for sports bodies affiliated to the Council (NZOC, 1912). Although not large, subscriptions – that had been successful in the NZAAA - gave NZOC a more regular annual income than previously when it relied on fundraising initiatives.

Unsurprisingly, Davies' views also echoed Marryatt's views on NZOC's quest for recognition as a separate olympic nation. It was also Davies who sought out nominations for Joseph Firth as the New Zealand's next IOC member.

While NZOC generally acted quickly on Marryatt's decisions and ideas, it waited until Davies left office before acting on his administrative proposals. One example was Davies' renewed call to canvas prominent citizens for support. His proposal initially fell on deaf ears, and was only more strongly supported after Davies resigned and financial support for the NZOC had dropped significantly. Lack of interest in the olympic movement and dwindling finances caused NZOC to seek the patronage of the Prime Minister, Governor General, and Chief Justice (NZOC, 3 August, 1926). Davies also encountered external factors that impeded his administration. For example, his move in May 1923 to make the Council an incorporated body was, at first, unsuccessful due to legalities over tax and (rather, ironically) its amateur status. The Council eventually became an incorporated body some years later.

Like Marryatt, Davies enjoyed many successes. One of which was the establishment of the olympic art union scheme – a fundraising competition involving local artists (NZOC, 22 November, 1924). Another was the alliance with Australia and South Africa to procure funds for their participation in future Empire Games. To ensure NZOC made a significant contribution to the alliance Davies sought out the support of the Dominion Advisory Board – a group responsible for maintaining economic, political, and cultural relations between New Zealand and its trade partners. Davies' direction ensured NZOC remained committed the participation of athletes at the 1924 olympic games in Paris. Part of his plan entailed the establishment of provincial branches of the

NZOC which had the authority to form committees to select talented athletes and most importantly raise olympic funds. Davies was also responsible for the first major constitutional changes NZOC had seen since its inception. This included the affiliation of a greater number of sports associations (NZOC, 23 July, 1923). As I discuss in the following chapter, amateur ideology underwent considerable change during NZOC's formative years and Davies understood that the Council needed to adjust to the shifting class struggles that were being played out in New Zealand sports.

Marryatt's resignation from NZOC and the IOC in September 1922 and Davies resignation in 1926 marked the end of two significant careers as volunteer administrators in amateur athletics. For more than 20 years Marryatt and Davies had been central figures in New Zealand amateur athletics. Their roles and influence in the Southland Amateur Athletics Association in the late 1890s, the reformation of the NZAAA in 1908, the creation of the FESC in 1911, the eventual establishment of the NZOC and its resumption in the 1920s justify awarding them the title of forebears of the New Zealand olympic movement. Cuff may have provided *an* initial link to the nascent IOC, and Coombes some of the pragmatic solutions for getting New Zealand's athletes to the olympic games (see chapter two). But, Marryatt and Davies' business acumen, leadership, diplomacy, and administrative nous helped consolidate the NZOC after its hesitant beginnings.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Davies died in 1933 aged 55 (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1933); Marryatt died in 1949 aged 75 (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1949).

Bernard Guise

The early NZOC was replete with businessmen who had the administrative capabilities to make the Council a successful 'professional' organisation.⁵⁹ One man who aided NZOC in this regard was Bernard Albert Guise, a solicitor from the renowned Wellington law firm Bell, Gull, Bell & Myers (Spiller, 2007). Guise was born to parents Mary Ann and William in 1881 (Department of Internal Affairs, 1880; 1881). In 1911 he became the inaugural NZOC's Secretary General. Many aspects of Guise's life before this time, such as his education and family life remain unknown. These early experiences may have contributed to his years on the NZOC, but it is difficult to gauge with any certainty. This said, however, it is most likely Guise received a good education which enabled him to pursue tertiary education and a later career in law. Moreover, as with Marryatt and Davies, it is probable that Guise entered into athletics administration on the Wellington Amateur Athletics Association (WAAA) after having played some sort of sport. While Guise's sporting pursuits remain a mystery, he appears to have had enough interest in athletics, and also the time, to volunteer his services to NZOC.

Guise had 12 years in the NZOC office. He likely began his involvement in athletics administration on the WAAA, and acting as WAAA's representative was one of the main protagonists of the NZAAA's reformation in 1908 (discussed in chapter two). For a short time, Guise served as the NZAAA secretary. Guise's small role in the routine administration of the NZAAA changed in February 1911 when he became involved with the short-lived FESC. The FESC was the precursor to NZOC and members included

⁵⁹ I use the word professional here to denote that fact that the NZOC was a relatively modern bureaucratic organisation that employed qualified men with specialist business skills to run its administrative affairs, despite its primary concern with 'amateur' athletics.

leading names in amateur athletics such as Marryatt, Davies, and McVilly (see chapter two). On the FESC Guise shared roles as secretary and treasurer. As I discussed in Part one, the success of the FESC led to calls to establish a permanent Olympic Council. While Marryatt and Davies were two of the NZOC's master craftsmen, they were also joined by other capable colleagues such as Guise who ensured they repeated the successful experiences of the FESC.

Guise served as NZOC Secretary General from 1911 until 1923. The role comprised some important responsibilities: collating official minutes, arranging meetings, and conducting the daily business of sending and receiving the correspondence of NZOC members, affiliated organisations, and international sports bodies. He also dealt with public suggestions regarding the country's representation in particular olympic sports, yachting and tug-of-war for example (*Evening Post*, 26 February 1914). Guise also communicated NZOC's decision to seek recognition from the IOC as an independent national olympic committee (NZOC, 27 November, 1912). After more than a decade of hesitancy about trans-Tasman athletic relations and infighting among provincial amateur athletics organisation spawned by the competing egos and agendas of individual agents, it was an important decision. Not only did it formally separate NZOC from their pragmatic union with the Australian Olympic Association, but enabled athletes to receive recognition as New Zealand competitors at future olympic games. Marryatt would have signed off on the general message, but Guise's careful and tactful selection of words must have significantly advanced this particular dialogue between NZOC and its contemporaries.

Guise was a competent administrator. There is little evidence he disagreed with his peers or antagonised the Council. For the most part Guise appears to have adopted positions similar to Marryatt and Davies. For example, he agreed on the founding constitution of the Council and its objectives to raise the status of New Zealand's amateur athletes abroad, procure funds for olympic teams, police the amateur ideals, and promote the olympic movement (NZOC, 22 November, 1911). One particularly valuable contribution made by Guise was as a member of the 'Ways and means' subcommittee. NZOC delegated to this subcommittee the financial and logistical tasks associated with sending athletes to olympic games. Specifically this required Guise and his peers to continuously develop fundraising initiatives (dances, festivals, art unions, concerts, and subscriptions) and plan ticketing, transport, and accommodation arrangements. The subcommittee was also responsible for ascertaining the financial status of each athlete selected, and consequently the level of funding they required to attend olympic games.

The Ways and means subcommittee did not have an easy task. At times Guise and his committee came under scrutiny for adopting a particularly hard line (e.g. compelling athletes to cover a considerable amount of their own expenses, as I illustrated with the case of Malcolm Champion in chapters two and seven). The ability to continually launch new fundraising initiatives and sustain those that were successful required considerable time and effort. As such, it should be remembered that Guise and his NZOC colleagues were not paid administrators and they used much of their leisure time to conduct amateur athletics business. Consequently, the rise in New Zealand athletes participating in olympic games can to a large extent be attributed to the

indefatigable Ways and means committee. It is Guise, and this subcommittee in particular, that perhaps should be credited, and more importantly remembered, as the agent(s) responsible for New Zealand's early olympic successes.

Despite his long term investment in NZOC, Guise continued to ensure that his own provincial club, the WAAA, supported NZOC and its initiatives. Though we cannot be entirely sure of the extent to which Guise advocated for the WAAA, it is clear that Wellington athletic administrators held key functions on the NZOC and actively campaigned on fundraising drives for olympic athletes. Wellington administrators were also closely involved with many of the NZOC functions, such as organising receptions for departing and homecoming olympic teams and visiting international athletes and administrators. Interestingly, Guise and other members of the WAAA do not seem to have been involved in the selection of New Zealand's early olympic athletes; delegates from other regions took up this task. It is difficult to know exactly Guise's role in the close relationship between the WAAA and NZOC beyond what NZOC minutes and occasional press reveal. The closeness may have been partly due to the fact that NZOC headquarters were in Wellington and local administrators were the easiest people to undertake NZOC tasks. However, while this is a partial explanation it does not seem to account for the improvements in transport and communications networks (specifically train travel and postal services) that would have over time enabled NZOC to more easily correspond with colleagues around New Zealand.

In sum, although there is much we may never know or understand about Guise's role on NZOC, it is clear that he was a capable administrator whose actions, in part, directly and indirectly effected the development of the early NZOC. Though amateur

sport was a leisurely pursuit, the time and effort involved in running the NZOC was significant, and most likely affected other facets of Guise's life. When Guise resigned in 1923 it was "on account of business pressure" (NZOC, 24 April, 1923, p.54). Returning to his career in law, Guise still continued to maintain an interest in athletics, often officiating at regional events.⁶⁰

Harry Amos

During the 1920s and early 1930s the New Zealand olympic movement experienced a number of changes in its leadership. One change was the resignation of several IOC members to New Zealand. Wellington educationalist Joseph Firth, respected military hero Bernard Freyberg, and former sportsman, lawyer and expatriate Cecil Wray were all nominated by NZOC as suitable candidates for the role. But, all three held only very short terms. The fact that NZOC did not seem to have a capable and enthusiastic IOC representative particularly irked Chairman Harry Amos. "I really believe", Amos wrote to Freyberg, "that it is necessary for you to consider if it would not be advisable to send in your resignation and make place for a man who could take better care of the interest of the Dominion" (Personal correspondence, 22 March, 1930). Freyberg had stated to NZOC that distance and military commitments prevented him from fulfilling his obligation to the IOC and NZOC. As Amos wrote to Freyberg, "I am very sorry to hear that you will be very likely never be able to give more time to our Committee and therefore that you have considered yourself bound to send in your resignation as member of the IOC for New Zealand" (Personal Correspondence to Freyberg, 6 April, 1930). A similar dialogue was also exchanged between NZOC and fellow IOC members Firth and Wray. The

⁶⁰ Guise died in 1951 aged 70 (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1951).

NZOC had initially seen Wray as “a very suitable man” who “would do full justice to the position” (NZOC, 30 August, 1930, p.164). However, he only lasted three short years as an IOC member.

Closer to home other administrators too had relatively short terms in office. Charles Camp, for example, was NZOC’s secretary general from 1923-1930. He was responsible for communicating the affairs of NZOC to the IOC and other relevant bodies, but appears not have executed the task with any consistency or proficiency. In comparison to other administrators of the time and figures such as Porritt and Lovelock (who I will discuss here and in chapter eight), Camp receives scant mention in NZOC minutes. This is not to say that his contributions to the Council were insignificant (we cannot be entirely certain the effect Camp had on NZOC), but rather that he has not been remembered in the same way as his peers have (the issue of memory I will cover in Part three). The same might also be said about Horace McCormick, who was secretary general from 1930 to 1934, and Phillip Rundle, chairman from 1926 until 1928.

We know that these short-term agents were nominated to these positions by their peers, that they had an interest in amateur athletics, and a particular investment in New Zealand’s olympic participation. We do not importantly know, however, exactly why their motivations, commitments, and contributions to NZOC differed so significantly from other administrators. The preoccupation of NZOC with finding funds and the toll this took on its leadership is one possible answer. Hints to this effect can be seen in McCormick letter to IOC President, Comte Henri Baillet Latour “If we can only get our finances right most of our troubles will disappear” (NZOC, 13 July, 1931). McCormick’s

concerns also take on a new seriousness given the wider financial burdens that were soon to be experienced in New Zealand as a result of the Depression (see chapter eight).

NZOC may have had some inactive leaders, but, Harry Amos was not one of them. Born in 1875 and married to Dorothy Mabel Richards in 1917 (Department of Internal Affairs, 1917) Amos became one of the most competent NZOC/NZOBEGA administrators. A former cyclist, Amos was chairman from 1928 until 1934 and secretary general from 1934 until 1950. His achievements throughout his lengthy administrative career were numerous and noteworthy. One of his first assignments was team Chef de Mission and manager of the boxing contingent to the 1928 olympic games in Amsterdam, during which New Zealand boxer Ted Morgan won the New Zealand's first olympic gold medal. He was in fact the first NZOC leader to accompany a team to an olympic games (previous teams having been accompanied by associates in Australia and England, or New Zealand coaches). For a team of around 20 to attend the Amsterdam games Amos needed NZOC to raise roughly £10,000 (NZOC, 7 February, 1928, p.121). Although fundraising was NZOC's Achilles heel Amos, was not perturbed. He immediately delegated peers to appeal to editors of New Zealand's mainstream press to have them advertise for subscriptions from sports clubs and members of the public. "The time had arrived", Amos believed, for the NZOC to "give the public an idea of what we really want" (ibid). One way to raise public awareness, for example, was for advertising to be placed on Wellington's iconic Basin Reserve sports ground.

NZOC had risen from a slump in public interest and financial support seen in 1926, but money was still a concern. Amos recognised that if NZOC were not placed on

a significant financial platform then the future of New Zealand olympic teams would be in jeopardy. From March until August of 1928 Amos campaigned not only for finances so that a team could attend the impending olympic games but also for ongoing patronage and support that would likely ensure NZOC's survival into the foreseeable future. As a result, Amos successfully propositioned the government and Prime minister as well as sport bodies, such as the NZRU, for financial support. His fundraising attempts were, however, not always successful. The lack of sufficient funds meant the team to Amsterdam only comprised of seven athletes, sent at a cost of £1,672 (NZOC, 10 December, 1928) and a contingent of rowers missed out altogether (although the budget still allowed for a team masseur) (NZOC, 17 April, 1928).

The vigorous fundraising initiatives by Amos and his colleagues coupled with the smaller than anticipated olympic team did have one benefit; this being that affiliated sports bodies contributed more funds more regularly (e.g., £400 each over four years). As such, NZOC were left with a considerable financial surplus that could be put toward future olympic teams. Although the athletes "did not meet with the success anticipated", Amos felt that the council had been placed on a solid foundation (the organisation's balance was approximately £1245) (NZOC, 26 June, 1929, p.154). In particular, he suggested that in future colleagues should submit and commit to "a scheme which to a very large extent will remove for the shoulder of the Council the very arduous task of collecting the necessary money to dispatch a team" (ibid). Fiscal responsibilities, Amos believed curtailed NZOC's ability to meet its broader goals of developing amateur sport and unity among sport bodies. "Some people question the necessity of an Olympic Association", Amos wrote, "but if the Association did no more than to unify the existing

controlling authorities of amateur sport it would be worth while. Moreover, the International Olympic Association (sic) deals only with the National Olympic Association" (ibid, p.156)

In addition to his financial prowess, Amos was particularly savvy about the Council's media relations and image management. As a result, the Council enjoyed a good working relationship with the mainstream press (for example regular columns were published in papers such as the *Evening Post* after council meetings, and 'the press' were frequently thanked for their services in reporting the efforts of the Council and olympic athletes). Yet, in 1928, when Amos took up position as Chairman, strains started to appear in this relationship. Prior to athletes embarking for Amsterdam, Amos made it clear athletes and team members (for example, chaperones, coaches, masseurs) were not to act as publicity agents for the NZOC to members of the press. As team manager Amos believed this was his sole responsibility (NZOC, 17 April).

The reasons for Amos curtailing athletes' free speech are not particularly clear, however it is possible he wanted to protect them from making comments that would tarnish NZOC's reputation or paint New Zealand amateur sport in a bad light.⁶¹ Public opinion about the NZOC and the mixed successes of New Zealand athletes at olympic games had fluctuated throughout the 1920s, and NZOC certainly needed press comments that were positive. Also, in many western countries, including Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, there were at the time fervent debates over whether

⁶¹ Curtailing athletes' freedom of speech has been a continuous practice of the NZOC. Even most recently the NZOC have adopted an ultra-conservative stance on athletes voicing their own opinions at olympic games; the issue of Chinese human rights abuses and policies in the led up to the Beijing games being one particular example (see Bingham, *New Zealand Herald* (Online Edition), 5 July 2008). The NZOC is one of only few countries with a specific constitutional clause that prevents its olympic athletes from voicing their moral and/or political opinions.

athletes should receive 'broken-time payment' as compensation for wages lost because of athletic competition. We do not know enough about the personal backgrounds or opinions of New Zealand athletes in 1928 on the issue of broken time to ascertain whether they may have spoken up or not. Notwithstanding, NZOC clearly felt threatened enough to prevent them from doing so anyway. We also do not know what athletes thought about NZOC curtailing their right to free speech as it was Amos who reported athletes' activities back to the Council and press.

Amos' career as NZOC secretary general continued until his resignation in 1950. During which he continued to prove a capable, professional, and enthusiastic administrator. His efforts in ensuring NZOC had a sound financial base enabled them to continue to send increasingly larger (and arguably increasingly successful) teams to olympic games. The contingents to the 1932, 1936 1948 olympic games are particularly good examples. Amos also was responsible for facilitating the visit of the IOC's third President, Comte Henri de Baillet Latour in 1932, which included lavish hospitality throughout New Zealand. Amos excelled in leadership, communication, conflict resolution, media relations, administration, and as a diplomatic attaché, and as such, his hand in the development and professional character of NZOC over the course of 25 years is undeniable. There are many olympic successes and stories that would not have occurred without Amos' foresight. He was not a man without flaws, his suppression of athlete's freedom of speech being one example. However, he clearly had a passion for the olympic movement and an investment in New Zealand athletes. "My work", Amos wrote to the Otto Mayer (IOC Chancellor), "has been a labour of love and I trust that the Olympic tradition of sportsmanship will outlive the controversy re

'broken time' etc" (Personal correspondence, 3 July, 1950). Amos' story, which has not yet received significant attention in New Zealand olympic histories deserves to be taken up by future scholars.

Arthur Porritt

Davies, Marryatt, Guise, and Amos were all well known men in New Zealand's sporting circles and all made valuable contributions to the consolidation of NZOC. Yet, their voices have remained largely unheard. By comparison, their colleague Arthur Porritt, (see figure 8.) – who at the time was largely known for his 3rd placing in the 100 metre final at the 1924 olympic games - has received greater attention in annals of the New Zealand's olympic history. Porritt, born in Featherston, Wairarapa in 1900, was the eldest son of well-educated parents Ernest and Ivy. Alongside his careers as athlete, surgeon, and diplomat Porritt held the position of IOC member to New Zealand from 1934 until 1967. In this particular section I briefly examine aspects of Porritt's life and the relationship he had with NZOC administrators during the Council's formative years (see figure 9.). During the most active years of NZOC, Porritt lived predominantly in England, where he acted as a liaison, host, and occasional manager to visiting New Zealand olympic and athletic teams. His role takes on a new significance given the incongruence between Porritt's investments in amateur sport and the accoutrements of his professional lifestyle.

Porritt was a peculiar agent. He was held in high regard by his international peers, but it was the respect he had with fellow New Zealanders that earned him a nomination as an appropriate member for the IOC in New Zealand. "Dr Porritt is a New

Zealand Rhodes scholar”, wrote NZOC chair Harry Amos, he “has been a good all round athlete, and is imbued with the highest ideals of sportsmanship” (personal correspondence to IOC President Comte Henri de Baillet-Latour, 19 February, 1934). Porritt’s suitability can certainly be questioned. He resided for a significant period of his life in England, had only a one time appearance as a New Zealand olympian, predominantly only had long distance communication with NZOC during the formative years, and was not actually formally a member of NZOC. As such, it would be easy to disregard him as an agent at all. However, Porritt was a useful contact for NZOC, and in turn, NZOC provided Porritt with a means to retain a connection with his ‘New Zealandness’.

Porritt was, biographers Woodfield and Romanos suggest, “a remarkable man, cushioned by success in every direction” (2008, p.296). From his self-confessed privileged upbringing, through his Oxford medical training and military service, to his time as New Zealand’s Governor General, Porritt was a man with means, motive, and opportunity to succeed. The various appurtenances that featured in Porritt’s life - cars, social networks, club affiliations, travel, finances, worldly experiences - attest that he was a man highly skilled in the acquisition of cultural and social capital in all its forms. Porritt’s successes in his education, sport, professional career, and humanitarian work gave him a considerable public status, particularly in the United Kingdom but also in New Zealand where he was frequently referred to as one of the country’s finest exports (Gerard & Sperryn, 1994; Woodfield and Romanos, 2008).



Figure 8. Arthur Porritt, c.1924

In the consolidation of NZOC Porritt emerges as a key agent. Though he lived and worked overseas he was useful resource for the Council. He captained and managed New Zealand olympic teams in 1924, 1928, and 1936, sourced training facilities, accommodation and transport for New Zealand athletes prior to the games, made financial contributions to NZOC, provided medical advice when NZOC could not afford to send a team doctor or physiotherapist, and even before becoming an IOC member was forthright in representing NZOC's views at olympic congresses (Colquhoun, 2008; NZOC, 1912-1932; Woodfield and Romanos, 2008). Although Porritt later went on to become an outspoken member of the IOC, his views were not always replicated by his colleagues on NZOC. He was later a noted critic of the anti-apartheid movement and its advocates and staunchly advocated the IOC re-admit an apartheid South Africa to the olympic movement. He also held strong views on the prevalence of doping in sport and the rampant commercialism of the olympic games.

NZOC evidently needed someone of Porritt's calibre to ensure their continued representation at olympic games and provide a voice and face to their organisation. For Porritt, the IOC membership enabled him continue to fraternise with the social elite and enjoy more of the luxurious lifestyle to which he had become accustomed. Porritt did not have an active part in the administration of NZOC, but his presence in England and on the IOC made it easier for the Council to manage olympic teams abroad and maintain better working relations with the Euro-centric olympic committee. The Council provided a link for Porritt back to his home country, but he appears to have also been passionate about New Zealand athletes enough to commit to advancing NZOC's views and causes within the olympic movement.



Figure 9. Porritt (Second row centre) and Amos (Front row, third from the left) with the 1928 New Zealand Olympic Team

In his early years, he did not greatly advance the olympic movement in New Zealand, but rather helped by enabling New Zealanders to contribute to the movement by competing at olympic games.

Jack Lovelock

Not all agents in the consolidation of NZOC were administrators. Some, such as middle-distance runner Jack Lovelock, were athletes. Lovelock had an "intense preoccupation with his sport" (Colquhoun, 2008, p.29), and by competing internationally, specifically at the 1932 and 1936 olympic games (see figure 10), earned kudos that reflected positively on NZOC. Although born and educated in New Zealand, Lovelock spent the majority of his adult life studying, working, and competing in England and the United States. His brief return to New Zealand following his olympic success in Berlin created great interest among media, sports fans, and physical educationalists that helped promote the NZOC and olympic movement (Colquhoun, 2008). Like Porritt, Lovelock was a useful agent (see also chapter eight for a discussion of Lovelock's utility as an event). Living predominantly in England as a Rhodes Scholar, Lovelock had also used his athletic success to gain entrance into and maintain affiliations with the "upper-class Oxbridge sporting set" (ibid, p.22).

Although athletes had competed for New Zealand at previous olympic games, NZOC saw Lovelock's international successes as a way to promote the olympic movement at the national level. Lovelock's athletic successes against some of the world's best milers gave him a high profile in 1930s international sporting circles. Although competing in amateur events, Lovelock was a consummate professional.



Figure 10. Lovelock crossing the finish of the 1500metre final at the 1936 olympic games in Berlin (Colquhoun, 2008).

He earned money as a journalist, athlete, and radio announcer that enabled him to travel widely and compete extensively across Europe and North America. Throughout which he maintained, through telegrams and letters, close relations with NZOC and its chairman and secretary general Harry Amos. Lovelock was, Colquhoun (2008) suggests, a proficient and prolific writer. The frequent letters he penned to friends and colleagues were merely further additions to the meticulous record he kept of his thoughts, ideas, opinions and experiences. In his letters to Amos and NZOC, for example, Lovelock provided valuable logistic and pragmatic feedback on the New Zealand team and their olympic performances. While he praised Porritt for facilitating the visiting New Zealanders in London, he also expressed concern that New Zealand athletes' continuous training on the trip over and the inadequate time allowed for acclimatisation led to poor performances. Lovelock saw the 1932 olympic games in Los Angeles particularly as "a big disappointment" (Personal correspondence to Amos, 10 October, 1934). Consequently, he urged NZOC to get serious about providing their athletes with proper coaches, trainers, and technique specialists.

Lovelock was, however, more than a conscientious letter writer. Even before winning his olympic gold medal in 1936 Lovelock was a well respected athlete and emerging medical, health and physical education scholar. He was a rather proud expatriate who believed his athletic expertise and experiences with elite sport would benefit NZOC's administration of olympic teams and ensure the future success of New Zealand athletes. His frank comments were a strong impetus for change in the way NZOC went about its work. Lovelock had particularly lamented the lack of financial support the NZOC had provided himself and Porritt as leaders of the New Zealand

team. "I believe that your Committee is hopelessly ignorant", Lovelock wrote to Amos, "of the state of affairs, the expenses of living, and conditions of competition on this side of the world" (personal correspondence to Amos to Harry Amos, 19 July, 1936). Notwithstanding Lovelock's critique of NZOC, he appears to show a degree of sensitivity when he acknowledges the administrative and pragmatic issues NZOC must be faced with. Lovelock confesses to Amos, in fact, that "such insularity of knowledge is perfectly understandable" given the "the difficulties you are up against, both you personally who understands how things work on this side of the world and your Committee who obviously do not yet. Even if they did, are severely handicapped by economic factors" (ibid). Amos and NZOC were clearly receptive to Lovelock's suggestions, and from the 1930s began to implement games management plans that were more appropriately tailored to athletes' individual needs and the broader demands of intensive international competition (NZOC, 1911-1932).

From the mid 1930s onwards NZOC became increasingly adroit at meeting the financial and athletic needs of ever larger New Zealand olympic teams. To this end, Lovelock was a key agent. As a respected and knowledgeable figure Lovelock provided a voice for athletes' concerns which before had predominantly been filtered through a games manager or chaperone. Amos and NZOC, in return, were clearly appreciative not only to have Lovelock compete on the New Zealand team, but for him to show an interest in the affairs of the organisation and its future. Lovelock was certainly endeared by NZOC and members of the New Zealand public. "New Zealand will not only fittingly welcome the temporary return of a very distinguished son", Amos wrote to the NZOC,

...A son who has distinguished himself not only by his athletic prowess, but by his studies abroad. The growing importance of national physical education makes Mr. Lovelock's visit a great moment to us. His athletic achievements have been the result, not only of his natural talent, but of deep and intelligent study. The government feels that Mr. Lovelock will have something to impart of very great value, not merely in connection with track athletics but also in connection with physical education generally (personal correspondence to the NZOC, 3 October, 1936).

As well as frequent praise, Lovelock also received jewellery and medical instruments as gifts from visiting New Zealand athletic teams (personal correspondence to NZOC Councillor Heenan, 26 August, 1938). We do not know much more about Lovelock's friendship with Amos, or why he felt so compelled to advise NZOC. What is certain, however, is that without figures such Lovelock and Porritt – who could cast a critical gaze over NZOC and its affairs – the Council may not have been instigated the necessary changes that brought continued success for New Zealand at olympic games. Lovelock was useful not only because he was a successful runner - although this gave him popular profile – but because he was a well educated intellectual who believed in New Zealand athletes and spoke up about their place in the olympic movement.

In this chapter I have excavated the lives of agents who I believe contributed to the administration of NZOC during its first consolidative phase. I used their stories to enliven my narrative of the olympic movement in New Zealand and offer an essential cultural context to the organisation's social history. In my examination I also revealed how agents might be used as a heuristic device in historical narratives. The lives and

actions of agents, for example, can be linked to broader contextual forces, events, ideologies and institutional structures. Marryatt and Davies, for instance, were products of a formal educational system which impressed upon them a passion for sport, a sense of responsibility, and a professional flair for business. They were authoritative and well resourced social figures who utilised diplomacy and tact to manipulate the world of amateur athletics and frequently conjured financial and pragmatic initiatives that ensured the continuation of NZOC.

Agents also help historians explain social and cultural phenomenon. In this chapter, an exegesis of lesser known NZOC agents provided a way to analyse change and continuity in the national olympic movement. The succession of minor agents and short-lived administrators, such as Wray and Freyberg (who were unable to fulfil their international responsibilities and obligations to the Council), illustrates that the history of NZOC and its consolidation was not smooth and untroubled, but involved frequent change and conflict. Exposing agents also highlighted that commitment and dedication to the international olympic movement was, by no means, universal. Marryatt, Davies, and Guise, for example, all appear to have shown varied interest(s) in their organisation. Their particular actions over amateurism and national representation – which were not always congruent with their ideological positions – wavered between maintaining the status quo and adapting to necessary change.

In this chapter I established that agents serve many purposes, and moreover, that their historical contributions can be interpreted in many ways. Guise, for example, was a competent man who possessed the ways and means, specifically resourceful social connections, which enabled him to fulfil his administrative responsibilities. Guise's

skills, namely his tact and diplomacy in national and international athletic relations and familiarity with trans-Tasman sporting affairs, were particularly useful for separating NZOC from its olympic union with Australia. Yet, as a WAAA representative and civic identity, Guise was also good example of how (as I explained in chapter two) agents still maintained provincial allegiances that at times antagonised the agendas of NZOC. Other agents, such as Amos, were especially useful as proficient administrators, working prolifically to advance and enhance NZOC's profile. Throughout his lengthy service Amos had multiple roles. He was a particularly active fundraiser, media and public relations savvy, and a good delegator. His not only helped consolidate the Council, but showed a tireless concern for New Zealand affairs and broader debates occurring within the olympic movement and world sport.

In this chapter I also determined that some agents - already recognised as key historical figures - can be understood in new ways and provide important reconnections to the wider cultural context. Porritt and Lovelock, for example, made significant contributions to NZOC that have not been well recognised thus far. Conveniently located in England, Porritt was useful in terms of his social status and international connections, his medical knowledge and technical athletic expertise, and as a liaison for visiting New Zealand teams. Above all else, he was a valuable asset because he maintained a long-term interest in the olympic movement, New Zealand athletics, and most importantly, NZOC affairs. Similarly, as a successful athlete and scholar, Lovelock had a social profile and respect that proved useful for advancing the cause and popularity of the olympic movement in New Zealand. In addition, Lovelock provided NZOC with a much needed athlete's voice by giving valuable logistical and technical

advice that brought the realities of olympic competition into sharp relief. His necessary critiques, insight, and vision were pivotal for instigating changes in NZOC's policies and practices that would bring more regular olympic successes.

In sum, agents add useful historical voices to narratives that would otherwise remain lifeless. I confess my role in crafting the stories of these specific agents. The brief analysis of agents I have offered in this chapter reveals that the consolidation of the NZOC was replete with intriguing figures whose stories provide new perspectives on New Zealand and its olympic history. Their particular contributions to NZOC are remarkable in that they illustrate the consolidation was characterised more by personal leadership styles than it was by any clear business plan or strategic direction. My approach, which advocates a specific place for agents within contextual histories, will be useful for historians interested in (re)presenting in their work the idiosyncrasies of individual agents and their roles within broader institutional structures and cultural contexts.

Chapter 7

Consolidating collectivity

The role of ideology in New Zealand's early olympic history has, I believe, been understated. The New Zealand Olympic Council (NZOC) emerged when it did because particular socio-cultural, economic and political conditions produced a set of agents, for example Arthur Marryatt, Bernard Guise, and Arthur Davies, who subscribed to a set of concomitant beliefs that informed their shared visions of sport. These agents possessed resources and abilities that enabled them to establish an organisation dedicated to the olympic movement. In its formative years, between 1911 and 1936, NZOC was not an especially eminent or powerful organisation. However, later its status surpassed that of its parent body - the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA). Ideological beliefs were an integral part of this process of maturation. In this chapter, I revisit how particular ideologies shaped NZOC and its agents. I am interested specifically in the ideologies of athleticism, amateurism, nationalism, and provincialism that I introduced in chapter three, as well as the ideology of morality. The last mentioned helps explain some of NZOC's administrative practices. I am particularly concerned with how and why these ideologies changed or remained constant over the course of NZOC's first 25 years.

As discussed previously, ideologies help explain how historical phenomenon – events, agents, and forces – coalesce (Marwick, 1998). Ideologies also serve distinct political and social purposes by effecting how people interact (Callinicos, 1989), such as creating disjuncture between class groups. During the late nineteenth century, for

example, an ideology of amateurism in the New Zealand - premised on a belief that sport was an unpaid gentlemanly pursuit - created divisions between working and middle classes. In regards to the olympic movement, ideological distinctions between the middle and working classes afforded the former class, namely agents of NZOC and NZAAA, the ability to exclude from their sports events those individuals and groups they believed violated the amateur code. As I explored in chapter three, ideologies about nation, sport, and social behaviour were also significant features of late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand life. Such ideologies, Hunt repeats to us, "cannot be understood apart from cultural context, relationships of power, and the creation, transmission, and interpretation of meaning" (1990, p.110).

By tracing the influence of ideologies on the nascent NZOC, I argue that they play defining roles in the creation and continuation of particular social and cultural phenomenon. For example, ideologies of amateurism and athleticism – both aspects of the imported middle-class British Public School model - contributed to how particular individuals and groups formed and remolded their identities through sporting activities such as rugby, cricket, and athletics. Accordingly, I reiterate the argument made throughout this thesis that during its formative years the NZOC and the olympic movement privileged and legitimised the concerns of middle-class administrators while subordinating the needs and experiences of athletes, the often excluded and marginalised working classes, females, and non-Anglo ethnic groups in ways that contradict contemporary narratives of a 'shared' olympic history.

In this chapter, I am particularly concerned with finding reasons as to how and why ideologies affected NZOC in ways that impeded its administration, and also,

curtailed the representation of New Zealand athletes at olympic games. The overall aim is to foreground the role of ideology in New Zealand's olympic history and offer an explanation for how NZOC has survived as a *collectivity* (Callinicos, 1989) – a group with vested beliefs in each other and some shared purpose. cursory examination reveals that ideologies were central to effecting continuities and change in the organisation's early years particularly through influencing official policy, decision making, and the rhetoric of NZOC agents.

The changing context

In chapter three, I defined ideologies as encompassing the specific beliefs, values, and assumptions held by social groups about their social worlds. In this sense, ideologies are ingrained in the praxis of human behaviour by serving distinct social and political purposes. The way I employ the term essentially reflects Marwick's (1998) assumptions in his model of contextualisation that ideologies can tell historians something about the lives and experiences of particular social groups. For instance, why people believe what they believe, how groups with different beliefs co-exist and interact, and how belief systems might affect particular historical and contextual phenomena. Ideology is also a useful concept because it helps historians explicate how beliefs, social and cultural practices, and events may collide and the subsequent meanings particular groups might take from these collisions (Hunt, 1990, Gerring, 1997; McLellan, 1986). A good example I raised in chapter two, three and four was how some NZAAA agents subscribed to an ardent provincialism that disrupted the regional and national administration of amateur athletics and impeded the establishment of NZOC until 1911.

As Hargreaves (2007) observes, ideologies are dynamic. Over time, forces, events, agents, and social meanings change. Accordingly, across any given context (especially one as extensive as I examine in this thesis) an ideology might come to constitute a whole range of different, and potentially contrasting, ideas, values, and beliefs. For example, earlier I mentioned that in order to ensure the virtues of athleticism survived in the colony, middle class advocates required a means to control the sport and ensure the preservation of their class and capitalist beliefs. To do so they employed the powerful political structures of the British amateur sport model, which at first proved particularly useful. However, after a while changes in administrators, a smaller pool of national athletic talent, increasing conflicts over working class athletic participation, disputes over rules, regulations, and procedures meant that amateurism (specifically in the context of New Zealand athletics) came to constitute different values and assumptions. The emphasis shifted from what constituted amateur to what constituted a professional, and thus ineligible to compete in amateur events. This ideological shift has also been observed in other similar contexts. Lansley's (1971) assessments of amateur athletics associations in Canada and Daly's (1982) study of colonial sport in South Australia are two particular examples that note the fluidity of amateur ideology in late nineteenth and early twentieth century sport cultures (see chapter four). While some ideologies like amateurism may have changed significantly during NZOC's formative years, others such as parochial provincialism appear less flexible.

In chapter three, I argued that amateurism, nationalism, and parochial provincialism played clear roles in the establishment of NZOC. These ideologies did not, however, evaporate with the founding of the Olympic Council. Rather, new agents and

changes in the New Zealand's socio-cultural conditions (see chapter five) meant that between 1911 and 1936 these ideologies came to bear upon NZOC in different ways. One example of an ideological shift that influenced NZOC's administrative practices was the notion of the 'amateur athlete'. Upon the establishment of NZOC Marryatt and his contemporaries agreed to adopt the criteria for amateur status employed by the NZAAA. At the time, this effectively precluded amateur athletes from receiving financial incentives to compete, engaging in sport-related employment considered professional, or receiving stop-work payments. However, the lines were never clear-cut. As I identified in chapter three, from the outset ambiguity, inconsistency, and hypocrisy regularly blurred the lines between NZAAA and NZOC's amateur and professional demarcations.

One particular case is the plight of premier swimmer Malcolm Champion (see figure 11) who – prior to and after competing 1912 olympic games – fought a long battle with NZOC, NZAAA, and the New Zealand Amateur Swimming Association (NZASA) over his eligibility to compete and receive reimbursement for expenses (travel, sundry costs, and wage losses) (NZAAA, 1913-1927; NZOC, 1912-1932). Prior to his official selection to the olympic team for the 1912 games NZOC asked Champion if he would compete providing sufficient funds were raised. Champion replied affirmatively, though he stated NZOC should give his wife £80 to compensate for his loss of earnings during competition and training. Champion perhaps saw this as an opportunity to circumvent the amateur 'stop-work' clause by not directly receiving the payment himself. NZOC declined the request outright, but NZASA, who had nominated Champion, were quick to come to his defense and offer some financial assistance and political support.

NZASA wrote to NZOC saying Champion had agreed to travel to the games, but if his expenses were not fully covered, he would come straight back without competing. So, NZOC called Champion's and NZASA's bluff. In a letter to the president of NZASA, NZOC chairman Bernard Guise wrote that firstly, the NZASA "comments are quite uncalled for and before passing any opinion I think you should acquaint yourself with the facts. I will endeavor, as briefly as possible, to place these before you" (NZOC, 25 April 1912, p.23). Guise went on to state that such a payment essentially broke the amateur ethos (though not official amateur policy), and in good faith they would agree to personal guarantee a subsidy £50 (later increased to £100) with Champion and NZASA forced to make up the rest. Eventually, in order to retain his amateur status, Champion reached a compromise by accepting a small reimbursement. Champion's case highlights how important it was for NZOC agents to police the amateur ideal. Yet, despite the conservative intentions of middle class agents such as Arthur Marryatt and Bernard Guise, amateurism was a rather fluid ideal.

NZOC essentially took much of its administrative direction, including amateur policies, from NZAAA. While this worked initially by providing a useful template to control the selection and participation of athletes at olympic games, it is evident that over time NZOC worked to produce their own amateur criteria. Conversely, shifting ideas about amateur athletes caused NZOC to rethink some of its administrative practices. A number of key changes to amateurism came during the 1920s. By this time, the olympic games were a recognised international sporting event and NZOC agents wanted to continue their country's participation.



Figure 11. Malcolm Champion, New Zealand member of the gold medal winning Australasian 4x200 Relay Team, Stockholm Olympic Games, 1912.

Increasing the number of New Zealand athletes sent to the olympic games meant that both NZOC and the individual competitors had to raise more funds. This occurred precisely as sports bodies around New Zealand showed a limited interest in the olympic games (NZOC, 12 October, 1923). Presumably, this was due to the low profile and lack of success from New Zealand's earliest olympians, the high costs involved in sending athletes so far abroad, and the prolific national and provincial competitions that captivated the interests of the local public and consumed the agendas of amateur sports organisations. To 'stimulate the olympic spirit' (NZOC, 10 June, 1926, p.90) the NZOC needed to make some allowances. They would not compromise on stop-work payments for amateur athletes so employed other measures, such as relaxing restrictions placed on those amateurs involved in sport related employment (e.g., coaches, physical educators, and hunters), thus allowing them to earn and also compete. Another was to increase fundraising initiatives (art unions, olympic balls, and funds from sports matches) and to raise NZOC subscriptions (NZOC, 1920; 1922; 1923). Further strategies were to carefully - subtly and slowly - tinker with the amateur definition and rules to ensure a greater number of athletes were able to compete, and thereby increase NZOCs revenue and talent pool (NZOC, 1912-1932).

NZOC's strategies appear to have worked. The records of both NZOC and NZAAA show only slight changes in amateur policies in the late 1920s and early 1930s and an increase in athletes attending olympic games. Indeed, NZOC did not significantly amend its constitution and amateur regulations until its amalgamation with the newly formed British Empire Games Association (BEGA) in the early 1930s. In the short term, this consolidation proved administratively and financially prudent. The union

strengthened the financial status of the olympic organisation and gave it greater power to control elite level sport in New Zealand, but it also necessitated changes to the amateur ideal.⁶² The entrenched, though essentially flawed, ideal of the gentlemanly amateur (see Allison, 2001) advocated by NZOC and NZAAA agents could not withstand the continued cost of sending New Zealand athletes to compete at both the olympic and empire games. NZOC abhorred radical change. Yet, given the effects rapidly modernising western sport cultures were having in New Zealand (e.g. in commercialising popular sports forms like rugby and cricket, spurning new clothing and equipment technologies, affecting new rules and policies, and creating frequent conflicts over 'amateur' and 'professional' technicalities), it is evident that what it meant to be an amateur could no longer come to constitute that same virtues, beliefs, and ideals it had in the past.

There was always some degree of ambiguity over amateurism in New Zealand athletics. The frequent lack of clarity and consensus, for example, was one reason the middle classes were so subtly able to affect control of the sport. By the mid 1930s, however, there was a clear disjuncture between the ideals of amateurism and amateurism in practice. This was particularly clear in the case of Jack Lovelock (see chapter eight). Born, raised, and educated in New Zealand, Lovelock completed University and after which took up a Rhodes scholarship in England. While undertaking his medical studies and even in the early stages of his short career as a doctor Lovelock continued to train and compete as an amateur athlete (Colquhoun, 2008; Woodfield,

⁶² Over time the respective and competing interests of the two sports events (the olympic and empire/commonwealth games) and the growing largesse of the olympic movement meant the two organisations could not function effectively as one body. Today, the NZOC and New Zealand Commonwealth Games Federation often work together, but operate ideologically and practically as distinctly separate organisations.

2007). Although he lived and worked in Britain and later the United States, Lovelock competed at the 1932 and 1936 olympics as part of the New Zealand team (see figure 12.). Lovelock fulfilled the amateur criteria laid down by NZAAA and NZOC. Lovelock did not receive money for competing (that we know of) nor did he engage in practices, such as receiving trophies or prize money for competing, wagering bets, or using the services of a professional coach, that would contradict the amateur ethos (again, that we know of). However, his vocation, social networks (including a friendship with the renowned Arthur Porritt), and additional financial and administrative support from the NZOC allowed him to enjoy the consummate life of a professional athlete (NZOC, 1912-1932; Woodfield & Romanos, 2008; Colquhoun, 2008). Travelling to compete in athletic meets across Europe and the United States, receiving generous accolades and hospitality, and accepting coaching from esteemed amateur peers and colleagues were all luxuries athletes in New Zealand rarely enjoyed without forfeiting their amateur status.

Lovelock competed as an amateur without any adverse repercussions from NZAAA or NZOC. This may not have been the case had someone of Lovelock's ilk wished to compete at early games or if different agents had interpreted and applied amateurism in less liberal ways. Not only does the example of Lovelock highlight how inconsistently NZOC applied amateur dogma, but it also shows how ideologies morph as agents, socio-cultural conditions, and time change.



Figure 12. Jack Lovelock, one of the many athletes who blurred ideological lines, 1936.

Lovelock was one of New Zealand's greatest amateur sport heroes, but his methodical and technical approach to running, his use of coaching techniques, and his ability to travel and compete extensively across the western world reflect far more the persuasions and traits of a professional rather than an amateur athlete.

To summarise, amateurism was an important ideology for NZOC. Yet, inevitably, such a conservative and elitist belief system could not endure the constant barrage of assaults brought about by changing material conditions (i.e., new groups participating in sport, new economic opportunities, and the modernisation of sport practices). The early signs of tension, contradiction, and change seen in the formative years of NZOC, foreshadowed that the future of amateurism in the olympic movement would be fraught with controversy.

Returning to the provinces

During NZOC's first 25 years, amateurism was an important belief system for athletic administrators and the sportspeople who fell under its jurisdiction. Amateurism was a pervasive force, but so too were national and provincial ideologies. Referring to the conception phase of NZOC, I argued that an ideology of provincialism constrained NZOC's administrative practices and curtailed the development of the olympic movement. I suggested the entrenched regional identities that were an inherent part of colonial settlement, what Oliver called "regional self-consciousness" (1960, p.122), manifested themselves in the mindsets of early middle-class athletic agents as a 'provincial parochialism'. These ideas about community and belonging fractured amateur athletics during the late nineteenth century. While some middle class groups

advocated a nascent nationalism (politicians, media, educators) (Phillips, 1987, Belich, 2001; 2007), the primary preoccupation of athletic administrators was to subdue provincial discontent. Provincial antagonisms, specifically conflicts over administration, control of resources, and finances, also made it difficult for a national athletic body to function effectively.

The reformation of NZAAA in 1908 and the eventual establishment of NZOC in 1911 was a small step toward reconciling tensions caused by provincialism. However, the construction of a 'unified' national athletic body (NZAAA) and the formation of an organisation with a supposed 'international' focus (NZOC) did not immediately evaporate provincial sentiments, nor did it encourage to any greater degree the pervasive, yet selective, nationalism that had already consumed other sport cultures in New Zealand (e.g. rugby and cricket) (Phillips, 1984; Ryan, 2004; 2005). After 1911, both ideologies emerge in the practices, policies, and development of the NZOC. Nationalism, provincialism, and imperialism for that matter, did not operate as mutually exclusive belief systems but instead were interdependent. As Callinicos (1989) asserts, there is in this sense no dominant ideology but rather many competing, interlocking, ideologies that come to bear on individual agents in different ways at different times. In terms of NZOC, ideologies of nationalism, provincialism, and imperialism worked in unison to affect the decisions of athletic agents. The interdependencies of these ideologies helped craft, over the course of 25 years, an organisation that could simultaneously affiliate regional sports organisations and foster amateur sport at the local level, emphasise New Zealand manhood (NZOC, 26 June, 1929), and promote an international understanding about the peace and goodwill found in and through sport.

NZOC's key goal was to facilitate the selection and participation of New Zealand athletes at olympic games, however the coalescence of nationalism and provincialism during the organisation's early years made this a difficult task for a number of reasons. Empire and war, for example, both encouraged strong nationalistic and imperial sentiments throughout New Zealand. A nascent Anglo-inspired New Zealand nationalism could not encompass the complex multi-ethnic nature and fractured history of New Zealand society, but, it was suitably invested in by agents of amateur athletics who were, for the most part, educated males of an elite colonial middle class. These individuals believed in provincial identity, but they also believed in nation and empire. In particular, NZOC agents saw opportunities to bask in the reflected kudos regional athletes could bring to the organisation when they enlisted to fight for the country (as I illustrated in chapter five and eight).

Despite the establishment of a national Olympic Council representing the interests of all the provinces, the investment, contributions, and support from the regional centres was not at all equal. The WAAC, for example, whose agents had strongly influenced the reformation of the NZAAA, seem to have provided more administrators, financial contributions, and athletes for olympic selection than other comparatively sized clubs such as Christchurch or Auckland. In 1926, NZOC chairman Phillip Rundle pointed out "the necessity of procuring support from the chief and secondary towns" and that "every care should be taken to encourage their enthusiasm and ability to take up the (olympic) movement which should be national and not provincial" (NZOC, 3 August, p.91). Yet, financial sustenance for NZOC from regional and local governments was not spread evenly across the country's provinces. Some

amateur athletic centres (e.g. Wellington and Dunedin) were more successful in canvassing prominent provincial citizens (for example, Arthur Marryatt, local city mayors, and the Prime Minister) for support. There is no definitive evidence that an ardent provincialism was behind these disparities, but it does provide us with a useful explanation as to why NZOC may have struggled to engender national support.

At particular times over the course of NZOC's first quarter of a century provincial parochialism can be seen more clearly than a defined investment in national interests. For example, in between olympic games (when support for NZOC typically subsided) some national amateur sport bodies, such as the NZASA and New Zealand Amateur Cycling Unions, while affiliated to NZOC, were uncooperative and unsympathetic toward NZOC's greater goals of fostering unity among amateur sport organisations and raising funds to ensure future olympic participation. Both swimming and cycling were popular amateur sports in New Zealand throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These sports had their own administrative structures, pools of amateur athletes, fan bases, and regular schedules of local, national, and international competitions. As affiliates of NZOC, both organisations were able to nominate athletes for selection in olympic teams. However, there are occasions when these organisations seemed uninterested in NZOC's affairs and more concerned with promoting the national and international identities of their own respective organisations and athletes. "It is in the best interests of amateur swimming", one administrator from the NZASA wrote, "that we do all what we can to promote the status of the sport here and abroad before investing in a cause of which the outcome is laudable but most uncertain" (correspondence to NZOC, 13 June, 1922). The parochial views of the agents in

swimming appear to have extended to some of NZOCs other amateur organisations. By the mid 1920s NZOC lacked provincial delegates to reach necessary quorums and were faced with the possibility of “winding up of the New Zealand Olympic Games Association (sic)” (10 June 1926, p.90).⁶³

The provincialism seen in swimming was also reiterated by agents of amateur cycling. During the 1920s administrators of amateur cycling were having their own difficulties trying to rectify provincial factions that threatened to disrupt the nationalistic fervor engendered for the sport and its competitive athletes. Over the late 1920s and early 1930s a strong public interest in cycling, combined with the entrepreneurialship and personal agendas of a set of agents in the Auckland and Wellington provinces, led to establishment of two ‘national’ organisations, the New Zealand Union of Cyclists (NZUC) and the New Zealand Amateur Cycling Association (NZACA). The former had sought affiliation to NZOC but had the application denied because the Council were not convinced that they were a) the sole authority of the sport in New Zealand, and b) representative of the wider cycling associations throughout the country. Because of infighting between the NZUC and NZACA the issue was not resolved until some years later. Eventually, as an interim solution, NZOC chose to deal only with the NZACA whose policies and administrative approach more closely reflected their own amateur ethos (NZOC, 1931, 1932). As I discussed early with regard to provincial factions and the NZAAA, the example of cycling illustrates that while NZOC broadly promoted nation unity in sport, they were always going to have to work to rectify conflicts and contention that were entrenched in provincial ideology.

⁶³ The New Zealand Olympic Games Association was part of the nomenclature used by Dominion sport's bodies to refer to the NZOC.

The issue of the IOC representative to New Zealand further complicated the interdependencies of provincialism and nationalism. Since its inception, the IOC insisted that its individual members represented the IOC in their home countries and were not representatives of their countries on the IOC. Yet, in the formative years of NZOC its agents continually referred to their representative as being the IOC member *from not to* New Zealand. This issue caused confusion when New Zealand needed to nominate its fourth IOC member. In 1923 agents in provincial amateur athletic centres, again mostly protagonists from Wellington, encouraged NZOC to nominate Joseph Firth. The Wellington agents of the NZAAA, who also held positions on NZOC, possibly saw that benefits and kudos would invariably come if one of their provincial colleagues was selected. While Firth was considerably suitable for the job, NZOC received a stern reprimand from the IOC for not following the official protocol. The issue also occurred again when Firth retired in 1927. The controversy over Firth's appointment is a good example of how ideological tensions and conflicts can affect human praxis (specifically in this regard, NZOC's administrative choices and social relationships with the IOC).

During NZOC's early years, provincial, national, and imperial ideologies mobilised themselves in many other ways. The continued challenges experienced by NZOC after the formation and amalgamation with the national BEGA are one example. Another is the noticeably unequal division of olympic representation across the provinces despite NZOC and NZAAA casting widely for a greater representation of the nation's athletic talent. There could, of course, be alternative explanations for these occurrences. For example, demographic differences in the provincial centres could have caused the unequal distribution of athletic talent. Notwithstanding this conjecture, the

frequency with which provincial, national, and imperial sentiments feature in the administrative records of NZOC and NZAAA, the practical courses of action they seem to have affected, and the lengths agents went to defend their beliefs convince me that the power of ideology is a far more compelling explanation for some of the changes, consistencies, challenges, and conflicts that were seen in the olympic movement in New Zealand between 1911 and 1936. While provincial, national, and imperial ideologies affected the NZOC often in particularly specific and discernable ways the influence of other ideologies, such as moral idealism, were more subtle.

Morality

In the early decades of the twentieth century New Zealand citizens showed a clear interest in the issue of morality, or more specifically, moral order. The pursuit of moral harmony, Belich (2001) suggests, satisfied a desire to bring order, purpose, and control to citizens' public and private lives. The ideology raised questions about the New Zealand's wider moral direction and traversed many areas of daily life, including religion, consumption, private and public propriety, relationships, health, eugenics, medical and social practices, education, recreation, and sport. As I argue shortly, aspects of this broader moral ideology came to bear on the nascent NZOC and its middle-class administrators. Despite what proponents proclaimed about national unity (sentiments created by the force of empire), the conflicts over moral order highlights how some citizens in the New Zealand (essentially, in this case male middle-class sports administrators) were still fractured, disenfranchised, and unsure about their values, identity, and direction.

Moral ideology largely constituted a quest for improved health, and social respectability. It encompassed New Zealand sport - particularly amateur athletics with its emphasis on a class ethos, physical prowess, and appropriate social conduct. Although Protestants represented some of the most extreme moral evangelists of the time, many other groups, including professional women and both sides of the political spectrum were also interested parties. One issue of particular importance was prohibition. As one correspondent to the *Grey River Argus* remarked, "with hard times ahead, it would be one of the most beneficial reforms possible to remove the liquor traffic, which mops up £40,000 annually in New Zealand. At a time like this such a large sum wasted on drink can only add to the economic burdens of the people" (3 November, 1914, p.2). Prohibition was one popular issue, but it is difficult to separate it out from other ideological forces such as the growth of sectarianism, feminism, concerns over social welfare, the Americanisation of popular culture (see Fairburn, 2008), and the broader economic and political influences of the time. "The crusade for moral harmony", Belich rightly argues, "was a knot of many strands. The strands' thickness varied and the knot was constantly rewoven" (2001, p. 159). Besides not all citizens were troubled by the same issues to the same extent, or wanted to resolve them in the same ways.

Some moral concerns, such as particular laws around prohibition and social behaviour, were specific to the New Zealand context, but it is necessary to mention that most of the moral debates that were prevalent during the 1920s were not exceptional or unique. The forces effecting life in New Zealand were in many cases also experienced elsewhere (Parker, 1999). Many, including prohibition, political participation, and

medical and social eugenics, had roots in the later decades of the nineteenth century. Yet, “moral evangelism”, Belich argues, “while international appears to have been stronger in New Zealand than in most countries. Some New Zealand strands of the knot were thicker and tangled more tightly” (2001, p.169). Feminism, for example, which in New Zealand had enjoyed its ‘first wave’ in the 1890s, was again now greatly strengthened by women who had a more significant political voice⁶⁴, access to tertiary education, and stronger social networks to effect their causes (Else, 1993; Nicholls, 1996; Van Acker, 2003).

Discerning specifically how moral forces influenced NZOC is particularly difficult. The effects of prohibition, the rise in social feminism, and the quest for morality were dominant issues in New Zealand in that they received excessive attention in politics and the popular press. Yet, there is no clear evidence, however, that these forces effected to any significant degree the direct administration of amateur sport. There is only a small lamentation, for example, by Arthur Porritt in his memoirs about women’s initial participation in the olympic games (Woodfield and Romanos, 2008). Given amateur athletics agents imposed rigid official rules on athletes about sporting conduct and the amateur way, and the necessity of providing chaperones for female olympians such as Aucklander, Violet Walrond, we might assume morality was of considerable importance to NZOC. Walrond, at only 15 years old, was the country’s first female olympian (see figure 13.).

⁶⁴ Although women gained the right to vote in 1893, they could not stand for election to parliament until 1919, and despite several attempts to contest seats during the 1920s the first female member, Elizabeth McCombs, was not elected until 1933. Even then the success was largely attributed to the sentiments aroused by her husband’s death.

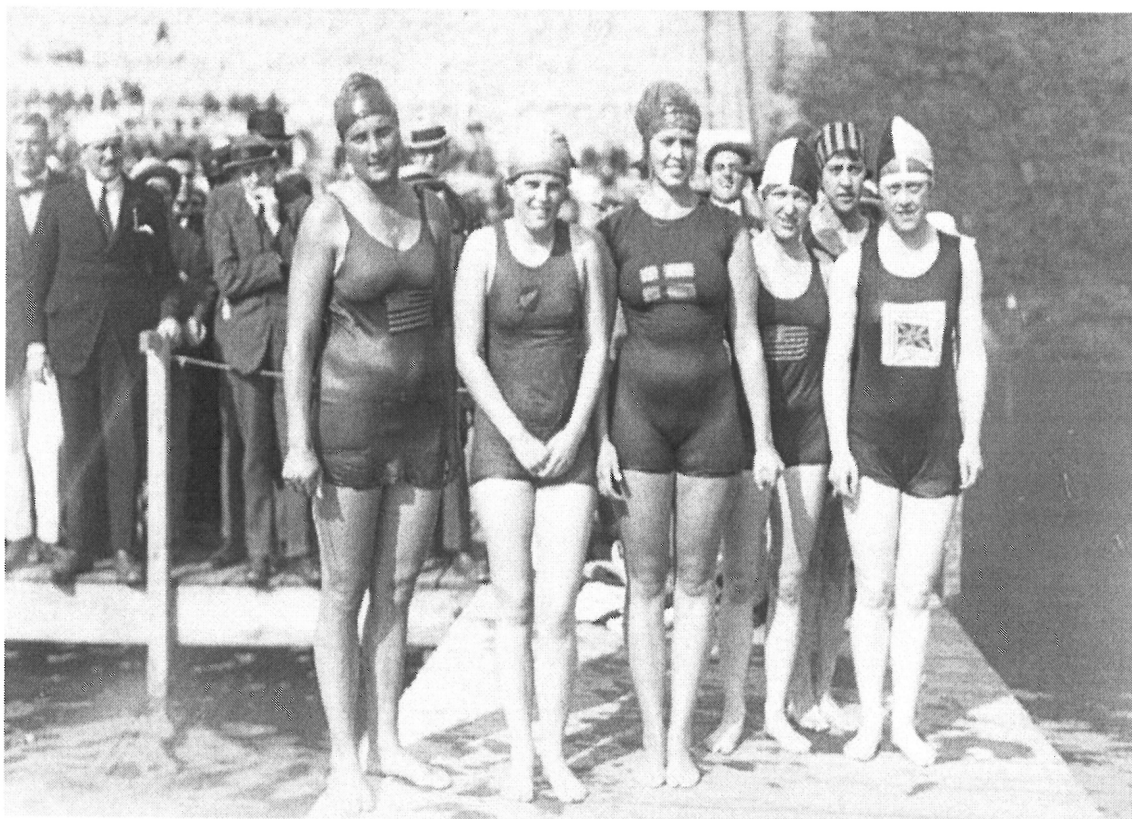


Figure 13. Violet Walrond (2nd from the left), New Zealand's first female olympian who competed at the 1920 Antwerp olympic games.

Walrond competed at the 1920 olympic games in Antwerp, Belgium, coming 5th in the final of 100metre freestyle event. Her participation in the olympic team, and possibly the fact that there were no other females selected, concerned her father enough for him to offer up his services as chaperone and unofficial coach.

Although it necessitated raising more funds, the decision was "favourably viewed" by the Council (NZOC, 20th May, 1920, p.44). We might surmise from Violet's example that women's absence from amateur athletics and early New Zealand/Australasian olympic teams is a result of oppressive patriarchal structures and hegemonic ideologies about gender that constrained women's attempts to enter into athletic sport and its administration. But, it is hard to ascertain anything further from the available sources.

Changes and continuities

I have discussed above particular ideologies that I believe affected NZOC's early years. Over the course of the Council's first 25 years amateurism, provincial, national, and imperial ideologies all had relatively discernable influences on NZOC, while the effects of moral idealism were arguably more subtle. While the ways these ideologies contributed to the particular actions, decisions, and behaviours of agents is of some concern, I am more interested in why these particular ideologies may have influenced NZOC in the ways that they did. Given what we now know about the development of NZOC, its agents, and the influence of the broader historical context, there a few particular 'explanations'. The first possible reason, I believe, is the passage of time.

Ideologies are dynamic entities, and rarely will the ideals, beliefs, and values they encompass remain the same over time. NZOC's first 25 years do not appear to have been long enough to precipitate radical conceptual shifts but there is some evidence of slight ideological change (notably, adaptations to amateur policies and a stronger belief by agents in their autonomy as a national organisation). Indeed change, or at least the time and potential to change, Hamilton (2006) contends, is one of the defining elements of ideology. However, as I have discussed with reference to amateur athletics in New Zealand, it is clear that ideological change can take considerable time. NZOC agents changed often but the conservative nature of the organisation meant ideological change took much longer. One reason for this is that the organisation was ill equipped with effective strategies to cope with the changes that radically sudden ideological shifts may have caused. For example, had feminist ideals caused a dramatic 'overnight' increase in female athletes and females wanting administer their sport, neither the NZAAA or NZOC had appropriate mechanisms (e.g., policies, procedures, and administrative sense and sensitivities) to be able to cope.

The varied influences ideologies had on NZOC can also be attributed to the continued progression of agents who were at the helm of and involved in the organisation's administration. Over the course of its first 25 years NZOC had six IOC members, four Secretary Generals, five chairman, and many more executive members and affiliated representatives. While these individuals brought to the organisation particular expertise, they also brought their own sensibilities about the world and worldly ideas. Most agents appear to have had an investment in preserving aspects of middle-class Anglo patriarchal ideals, yet not all held similar views. As such, the notion of an

ideological *collectivity* was inevitably antagonised by the inherent personal differences between agents in power (e.g., Harry Amos and Horace McCormick), and also the preoccupation of some key agents (e.g., Bernard Guise and Reg McVilly) with matters outside NZOC. The ongoing pragmatic difficulties the organisation faced gives good reason to question that the ideologies I have discussed, though significant, did not influence agents (especially those in positions of power) in the same ways. As Callinicos (1989) reminds us, the ability and extent of ideology to influence agents, and in turn agents' abilities to affect change or consistency, stems from their place in the social hierarchy. Callinicos' approach to ideology here provides a useful explanation as to the different investments NZOC agents made into various ideologies and the consequences these investments had on the administration of the organisation during its formative years. In terms of NZOC, not all agents possessed the capacity (the necessary social and economic capital), desire, or the time in office for that matter, to affect change in their organisation and precipitate radical ideological shifts.

While time and the persuasions of particular agents is a partial explanation for the effects of ideologies, broader forces and contextual factors provide another explanation. As I outlined in chapter five, major forces (essentially empire and the economy) were significant contributors to the development of NZOC during its first 25 years. Yet, as Marwick (1998) reminds us about context, forces and ideologies are inextricable. The force of empire in New Zealand, for example, was fortified by British imperial sentiments and an emergent, yet still strong, 'New Zealand' white colonial defined nationalism. It is clear that these ideologies did not always exist in competition or mutual exclusion, as the cases of New Zealand athletic, rugby, and cricket teams and

their tours abroad, and the enlistment of vast numbers of athletes for military service during wartime illustrate. Instead, there appears to have been some ideological cohesion.

Contextual conditions inevitably change. As such it is possible that the ideological influences and consequences of nationalism, imperialism, and political liberalism (as was championed during the 1920s) had on New Zealand, and in turn agents of NZOC, might not have been the same had the material conditions in the country been different (e.g., if World War One and the Depression not exacerbated the forces of empire and economy). For example, had war not more clearly (politically and metaphorically) demarcated national and international alliances then national and imperial ideologies, including those expressed through amateur athletics and its agents, might have been manifested differently.

As is evident by comparing the contents of Part one of this thesis with the contents of Part two, the material socio-cultural features that affected the NZAAA and embryonic NZOC between 1892 and 1911 were not, for example, exactly the same as those that came to bear on NZOC later on. As we saw with how rising working class interest in sport eventually altered amateur ideology, as contextual conditions changed so to did related ideologies change. Partly, Hargreaves (2007) suggests this is because ideologies are entrenched within social relations in particular cultural contexts. As cultural conditions and major forces shift people draw new meanings and interpretations from their social worlds. This certainly seems to be the case when we examine (as we did early in this chapter and in chapter six), the links between morality, athleticism, and

the gradual allowances made to female athletes in New Zealand and consequential changes in the perceptions of NZOC agents about the female gender.

One further explanation as to why ideologies influenced NZOC in the ways that they did has to do with the necessity of conflict and resolution. Ideological conflict, negotiation, and resolutions are a part of the histories of many other New Zealand sports. As I discussed in chapter five, contemporaneous examples of conflicting class, gender, race, and economic ideologies in New Zealand sport include the emergence of women's cycling, the contestation between rugby union and rugby league, and the preservation of cricket (Ryan, 2004; 2005; Simpson, 1998; 2001). A culture of ideological conflict and negotiation has also been a characteristic of the international olympic movement (Zakus, 2000).⁶⁵

While it seems difficult to believe NZOC agents actively wanted to engage in conflict (although some ego-centric individuals might have tried), without tension and negotiation it was unlikely it could have adapted and responded to the changing demands of modern sport in New Zealand. For example, the rise in the participation of working class and female athletes, the growing commercialisation of sport and dissolution of traditional amateur and professional boundaries, and the continued development of local and provincial sport clubs who sought affiliation to NZOC, all involved ideological conflicts that challenged how NZAAA and NZOC agents administered, controlled, and developed amateur athletics. Conflicts did not always lead NZOC agents to change their beliefs and practices. Continued protests by amateur

⁶⁵ An important caveat however is that while ideological conflicts (particularly those around amateurism and commercialism) may have caused some changes to the IOC's philosophic propaganda of olympism (Chatziefstathiou, 2005), these have not necessarily precipitated dramatic ideological change within the organisation which has essentially remained conservative, patriarchal, and elite.

athletes and clubs over NZOC not providing stop-work allowances, for example, seems to have been generally ignored (NZOC, 1912-1932).

What ideological conflicts did do was constantly remind NZOC, also the NZAAA, that their position as a sports authority was tenuous. Given the rise of social sport and leisure clubs around the provinces and the increasing porous borders between middle-class and working class athletes and their sports (in this case athletics), they could not afford to remain complacent or nonchalant. The ideological conflicts NZOC experienced and at times negotiated and resolved may also be read as an indication that the organisation was evolving and maturing. The eventual relaxing of amateurism policies and the gradual involvement of female athletes in the national olympic movement is one sign that NZOC agents were amiable, in some cases, to readjusting their beliefs.

Ideological consolidation

Previous accounts of the early olympic movement in New Zealand have largely ignored the centrality of ideology to the NZOC and its place within the broader historical context. Yet, as scholars such as Marwick (1998), Callinicos (1989), and Hunt (1990) reminded us earlier on in chapter three and at the beginning of this chapter, identifying ideologies and the ways they come to bear on agents, events, and actions is vital to constructing and understanding cultural histories. Accordingly, in this chapter I acknowledged some of the ideologies that influenced the development of NZOC during its first 25 years. I revisited ideologies of athleticism, amateurism, nationalism, and provincialism that were contributors to the conceptual phase of the organisation. I also examined the ideology of morality – which, I argued, encompassed athletic sport cultures and beliefs about the

body. Components of these ideologies were reflected in how NZOC and NZAAA agents administered amateur athletics.

NZOC is what Callinicos (1989) would term a *collectivity* – a group of individuals who believe they share values that define them from other individuals and groups, and that these values are worthy of investment and protection. While the personalities and agendas of some agents may have differed (see chapter six), their ideological persuasions and tendencies towards middle-class Anglo patriarchal and conservative values and beliefs seem to have coalesced often enough for them to have been able to preserve and police the national olympic movement. As I showed with respect to NZOC's amateur policies and its interest in national and imperial ideals, ideologies were considerably central to effecting continuities and change in the organisation's early years. As I identified in this chapter, through the rhetoric of NZOC the particular effects of ideologies on the institution can be traced to agents, and their official policies, decision making, and practical actions.

To foreground the role of ideology in New Zealand's olympic history I concluded by positing four 'explanations' as to why ideologies effected NZOC in the ways that they did. I argued the passage of time, continual changes in management and leadership, broader historical forces and matters of context, and the necessity of conflict and negotiation all contributed to ideological change and continuity. I am convinced ideology played a significant role in the maturation of NZOC given the range of belief and values that seem have been accommodated across the course of NZOC's first quarter century (albeit with resistance and contestation). However, I am entirely conscious of the fact that ideologies do not exist in isolation, but rather are entwined with other features of the

historical context. Accordingly, I examine in the next chapter how ideologies coalesce with major forces, agents, and events to provide a broader explanation for NZOC's early development.

Chapter 8

Intertwining events

Most historians engage with significant events. Marwick (1998), for example, uses events as a fundamental component of his contextual model. The selection of events in historical narratives, however, is another matter and one that invariably fuels debate. The Black Sox scandal in American baseball is a classic example (e.g., Nathan, 2003).⁶⁶ As I outlined in chapter five, events – actions and proceedings that conjoin agents, social and cultural forces, and ideologies – play a key role in contextualising the early history of the olympic movement. New Zealand olympic history is, of course, replete with historical events. For example, the participation within an Australasian team at early olympic games, the accommodation of females into the New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) and national olympic teams, the influence of world wars and the depression, and New Zealand's responses to controversial olympic games (e.g., Berlin, 1936, Mexico 1968, Munich 1972, and Montreal 1976).

New Zealand olympic historians also relish events. However, their focus is usually on sporting moments. My interest in events is somewhat different. For example, in chapter four, I applied a more liberal interpretation of events and examined class and amateur sport, the shifting social position of women, the influence of Federation in trans-Tasman relations, and the place of indigenous athletes in New Zealand's sport culture. Given the similarities in these events with those elsewhere, and drawing on

⁶⁶ The Black Sox controversy involved the indictment of several baseball players who were found guilty of match fixing. The scandal spurred public disgust toward professional baseball players and eventually forced structural changes on the sport. Despite their use of similar sources, historians typically treat and interpret historical events and their consequences in quite different ways.

scholars such as Markovits and Hellerman (2001) and Pope (2007), I argued that the early history of the olympic movement was largely *unexceptional*.

In this chapter I continue to reinterpret historical events. I investigate how convergences around particular events contributed to the consolidation of NZOC and the olympic movement. I also question the insertion of events in historical narratives. That is, I question why historians use particular events, such as in this case Lovelock's success in Berlin, as opposed to other events to construct certain histories. Specifically, I discuss the impact of World War One and the post-war era, the introduction of the empire games in 1930, the 1936 Berlin olympics, and Lovelock's olympic gold. The 1930s were, in particular, a decidedly important time for modern sport and global politics. Recalling Anderson's (1991) earlier theorizing on nationalism, Keys (2006) argues, in the decades preceding World War Two nations came to be defined as 'imagined communities'. Likewise, modern sport too "came to constitute an imagined world" (p.2) – a transcendental space where sporting passions 'united' the nations of the world. In the 1930s, Key suggests, this imagined world of sport rapidly expanded (*ibid*). 'Old' entrenched events like the olympics underwent commercialisation, and commodification, and 'new(ly)' conceived events like the soccer world cup aroused international interest. Modern sport events, Keys continues, "attained a level of popularity and worldwide significance that set them apart from what came before and that crystallized the attributes that would shape the enormous sport extravaganzas of the second half of the twentieth century" (*ibid*, p.2). It was at this time that the olympics shifted from an elite 'European-based pageant' to a global mass-appeal mega spectacle (Keys, 2006). Similarly, the inception of the empire games at this time too was, for

British colonies and Dominions, a valuable site for playing out nationalistic camaraderie and political rivalries. As I argue in this chapter, a number of events in the interwar years highlight the consolidation of NZOC.

Although I have chosen these particular historical events for my narrative, other events could tell a completely different story. Here, I reassert the need to query how common constructions and reproductions of history are shaped by narrative choices about events and agents. In so doing I invoke Munslow's argument that "all histories are literally/literarily made – that is, they are assembled as a string of selected and linked events and recounted in the shape of a narrative/discourse" (in Booth, 2008, p.165). The first of these events, to which I now turn, is World War One.

Post-war restoration

NZOC was barely three years old when Britain and her colonies declared war in 1914. During these first few years, NZOC had achieved some success. It had helped send four athletes to compete in the 1912 Stockholm games,⁶⁷ increased its profile and that of the olympic movement among fellow amateur sport bodies in New Zealand, and raised a small amount of financial aid for olympic teams. However, several obstacles to their progress remained. For example, NZOC was still entangled in the Australasian union. It had not raised enough support and interest among wider New Zealand society to ensure financial viability. Nor could NZOC guarantee public respect for the work and achievements of New Zealand olympians. NZOC essentially needed to address these

⁶⁷ Three New Zealand athletes had competed at the 1908 olympics in London. As the NZOC did not then exist, their selection to compete as part of an Australasian team had been made by the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA). They were also recognised not as New Zealand competitors, but participants from Australasia.

concerns to ensure the olympic movement's future in New Zealand. In this regard, the imposition of war – which temporarily ceased the activities of the council – was a rather timely and welcome event.

The First World War was a monumental event in New Zealand. It underpinned political life, it burdened economies, it decimated human life, it incised people's social and moral values, and it posed new questions about identity and belonging. The war was a prime political and economic catalyst of the day and still deeply resonates in the nation's psyche nearly a century on. One way New Zealanders were drawn to the war was through enlistment. Whether voluntary or through conscription, enlistment extended to every corner of the country. It attracted working and middle classes, school teachers, farmers, public servants, and athletes. Excerpts from the popular press, diary entries and letters from young servicemen at the time suggest the reasons for enlistment were invariably complex. "Historians now tend to discount the direct role of official cultural pressures of imperial, racial and national patriotism in their decision (to enlist)", Belich contends, but "such beliefs did have a substantial grip on many New Zealanders at the time, and that this must have encouraged volunteering" (2001, p.99).

Analogies between sport and war were part of enlistment propaganda. Imperial and national patriotism led a considerable number of New Zealand's sportsmen to swap the mud of the sports field for that of the battlefield. One notable recruit was the young preeminent tennis player, Anthony Wilding. Bronze medalist at the 1912 olympic games in Stockholm, four-time winner of the Wimbledon singles and doubles titles, and multi-sport athlete, Wilding was killed in 1915 in the battle of Ypres, France (Richardson & Richardson, 2005; Romanos, 2008). While it is not exactly clear whether Wilding

subscribed to the idealism behind the war-sport analogy, the correlation clearly worked for many other of his sporting peers. Memorials and epitaphs to fallen soldier athletes, and even entire sports teams, litter New Zealand provincial towns. The alleged unity between sport and war, particularly the promotion of physicality and camaraderie, also appealed to agents controlling amateur sport organisations, such as NZOC and NZAAA.

Notwithstanding the eventually horrific outcome, the newly conceived NZOC needed, and indeed used, the war and the public fervour it engendered to advance its cause. While war consumed a significant component of the male athletic population, members of the NZOC did not seem too perturbed. War, it appears they believed, would not drastically alter their organisation. As I contended in chapter six, for NZOC's middle-class administrators who had generally avoided the trenches, war was an ephemeral event - a temporary intrusion that did not necessarily impinge on their control of leisure and sporting lives. As Marryatt lamented, by taking away star athletes war merely "robbed (amateur sport) of a good deal of its visual interest" (NZAAA, 1914, p.43). In effect however, I argue, war was necessary for helping NZOC survive.

For athletics administrators, war was fleeting and sport endured. War, however, did offer NZOC legitimacy that helped consolidate their organisation. War particularly aligned with and embellished sentiments of masculinity, humanitarianism, and nationalism; ideals embraced by the fledgling olympic movement (Coubertin & Müller, 2000). War gave NZOC an altruistic purpose. It gave them a cause that had values with which they could identify. It is most pleasing, Marryatt proclaimed in 1914, "that some many athletes had volunteered for the front" (ibid). Although the duration and nature of war at the time were largely unknown, Marryatt added that their training in sport would

undoubtedly prepare them for the tribulations they might soon face. Similar proclamations were also made at NZAAA's annual general meeting, which included Marryatt and other members of NZOC. "It is a matter of extreme gratification to the Council", one delegate stated, "that in the great conflict in which our Empire is at present engaged, so many amateur athletes are at present on active service" (NZAAA, Nov 23, 1914, p.50). Sport had best prepared them to fight for the commonwealth, the delegate continued, "although their absence will be felt during the coming season, the Council knows that the training they received (through sport) will stand in good stead for their arduous duties, and will prove of the greatest assistance in the share of our forces in the maintenance of British prestige" (ibid). Yet, as difficult as war would eventually become, the preservation of sport remained paramount. As these official continued, "the absence of fellow athletes on the King's service should make us all the more diligent in keeping sport at its usual high level" (ibid). Part of this diligence entailed continuing amateur athletics events throughout New Zealand, retaining close relationships with Australian and American athletic allies, making policy allowances for 'professional' military athletes, and supporting military athletic championships (NZOC, 1912-1932; NZAAA, 1913-1927).

Amateur athletics continued in New Zealand throughout the war, but in the aftermath, amateur organisations needed to restore previous public interest, athletic participation, financial support, and administrative leadership. Now "that the hard times were over", Marryatt wrote, "amateur athletics would once more come into its own" (NZAAA, 15 December, 1919, p.73). For NZOC, which had largely ceased operations during the war, this meant pursuing olympic participation, reinvigorating interest in the

olympic movement, and promoting the organisation as one that fostered and preserved 'essential' human values. In this regard, war and NZOC's organisational hiatus had advantages. War effectively allowed Marryatt to operate as a one-man-band. By 1914 NZOC had gone some way toward gaining recognition as an autonomous nation in the olympic movement. It still had to divorce itself from Australia and be granted its own International Olympic Committee (IOC) membership. By the end of 1919, Marryatt (with the help of Australian Richard Coombes and through correspondences with the IOC) had achieved separate recognition for New Zealand and a place for himself as an IOC member. In addition to improving NZOC's status, these achievements meant that athletes could now receive recognition as New Zealand national competitors at olympic games. Had war not caused NZOC to suspend its administration, and thus prevent Marryatt from working alone, it entirely possible that separate representation would not have occurred as early as 1919.

The adjournment of the Council during war, coupled with the cancellation of the 1916 olympic games, and an over-inflated calendar of national sport and athletic events meant that by 1919 general interest in the olympic movement in New Zealand had somewhat waned. While this could have meant the demise of NZOC, when the Council convened at the beginning of 1920 members seized the break to reinvigorate life back into their organisation. Paramount to the task was the continuation of New Zealand's olympic participation. The Council immediately proposed a tentative team to attend the impending games in Antwerp, Belgium. What little money NZOC had in 1914 had largely evaporated during the war, and with the cost of sending a small team estimated to be around £2000, it set about reestablishing financial support from various governing

bodies of sport around the country, for example, the New Zealand Rugby Union. NZOC again sought the patronage of the Prime Minister, government, and other high profile citizens, such as the Wellington mayor. It also promoted itself and the olympic movement through newspapers, specifically calling for public subscriptions. Council members in some regions even proposed 'olympic day' fundraisers (NZOC, 1912-1932).

By promoting awareness about the olympic movement after the war NZOC generated greater financial income than it had done in its first few years. However, the income was not sufficient to allow for more athletes to participate at olympic games. The team to Antwerp comprised just four athletes (including New Zealand's first female olympian, swimmer Violet Walrond), plus a manager, chaperone (Violet's father), and a trainer. In spite of the small team, the vigor with which NZOC championed their cause and the praise duly lavished on athletes upon their return, meant that competing for New Zealand team was now an alluring opportunity; an opportunity, albeit, that would require high levels of athletic commitment and financial sacrifice. Throughout the 1920s, while New Zealand olympic teams grew, places still remained highly competitive and limited by NZOC's bank balance in addition to selection criteria.

In sum, war was, invariably, a vital event in the making of New Zealand olympic history. The analogies engendered between sport and war were useful devices for enlisting members of the athletic fraternity. The participation of New Zealand athletes in war gave sport organisations like amateur athletics associations not just reflected glory (as I argued in chapter six), but also a sense of purpose and legitimacy. The presumption was that the war would be temporary; sport in the meantime would endure.

The Council did eventually cease operations between 1914 and 1919, but during this time Marryatt continued to raise NZOC's status in the olympic movement. Although amateur athletic sport had continued, the war had effectively obscured the olympic movement from the public radar. As a result, when NZOC resumed in 1920 it had considerable work to do to renew enthusiasm and rejuvenate New Zealand's participation at the olympic games. Effectively, the break in NZOC created by the war was a catalyst for its consolidation.

Rings around the Jack

War officially ended in June 1919. The residues of war, however, remained throughout the 1920s and long after. In New Zealand, for example, stronger economic and political ties forged with Britain during the war continued. During the following decades, these were fortified further with political treaties, trade agreements and constitutional changes (Belich, 2001). The retention of strong imperialistic values during the 1920s and 1930s were also witnessed in and through sport. One particularly significant event in this regard was the empire games, first staged in 1930. Another was the 1936 'Nazi' olympics in Berlin. It was during the 1930s that "governments and private groups in countries across the world", such the USSR, the United States, Germany, and the IOC and the International Football Federation (FIFA), used "international sport as a medium for mediating between national identity and an emerging international society" (Keys, 2006, p.183-184). FIFA and the IOC in particular, claimed global authority on modern sporting spectacles and promoted the relevance of a universal sport culture. The 1932 Los Angeles and 1936 Berlin olympic games illustrate the phenomenal changes and

growth in international sport during the 1930s as well as the IOC's increasing control over the lucrative modern sport spectacle. How did the NZOC respond to the resurrection of an imperial sport festival alongside the olympic games, and the explicit promotion of a totalitarian ideology at the olympic games?

Englishman John Astley-Cooper first proposed a pan-Britannic games in 1891. The idea caught the attention of some of Astley-Cooper's peers, but met more mixed responses abroad (Moore, 1989). The games were a good idea in theory, Moore (1989) suggests, but they inevitably failed because of incomplete planning to address practical arrangement. Astley-Cooper's plans were undermined by Coubertin's enthusiastic modernisation of the olympic games. Moreover, Coubertin possessed valuable social networks to inspire and facilitate the renovation of the modern olympic movement. Notwithstanding the launch of the olympic games, the idea of an exclusive empire festival of sport did not all together evaporate. Indeed, sporting links between England and her Dominions remained strong throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As I detailed in Part one, there were, for example, several athletic exchanges between New Zealand, Australian, and Canadian, and United Kingdom amateur associations (Henniker & Jobling, 1989; Lansley, 1971; NZAAA, 1908-1926a; Moore, 1984; 1989). One such event was the short-lived Festival of Empire celebration (discussed in chapter three) held to mark the coronation of King George V in 1911. The festival included a significant sporting component. Interestingly, Richard Coombes believed he revived the idea of a specific empire sport event at this festival (Henniker & Jobling, 1989). For whatever reasons, Coombes idea was, however, unsuccessful.

Post-World War One, ideas about empire and sport abounded. Countries like the United States, Britain, France, Germany and USSR used sports, and sports events like the olympic games, as a guise to restore order, friendly nationalistic rivalries, and international political ties (Keys, 2006). Participation in olympic and empire games, was in this regard, symbolically entwined with constructions of a national identity and international allegiance. Throughout the 1920s the games in particular were becoming an increasingly popular international sporting event, but also an important site for the reassertion of jingoistic national and imperial allegiances. "At the conclusion of the 1920, 1924 and 1928 Olympic Games", for example, "athletic contests were held between combined Empire Teams and teams from the United States" (Henniker & Jobling, 1989, p.11). These empire teams occasionally had included New Zealand athletes.

The olympic games and associated imperial sports meetings in 1928 provided the context in which Canadian amateur athletics manager Melville Marks (aka Bobby Robinson) could propose the idea of a British-empire sport event (Moore, 1984). Where Astley-Cooper and Coombes had failed, Marks succeeded (Moore, 1989). Marks essentially proposed 'friendly' games. The first of which was held in Hamilton, Ontario in August, 1930. The empire games were designed to be held every four years between olympics.

NZOC agents appear to have warmly welcomed the launch of the empire games. These new games were another ideal platform to showcase New Zealand's athletic talent. However, it seems the Council also saw the empire games as a way to prepare athletes for success in the more competitive olympics. In the led up to the first empire

games Council agents were already thinking ahead to ensure New Zealand representatives had the necessary preparations that would enable them to “bring back olympic laurels” (NZOC, 1929, p.155). NZOC’s enthusiasm for the empire games here is somewhat unsurprising. Given New Zealand’s strong imperial allegiances (as evidenced in and through the war) and its reputation in athletics, it would have been simply too embarrassing not to field a team. However, fielding a team appeared easier said than done. “At the time we do not appear to possess any world-beaters in track and field events, swimming and boxing”, the Council lamented, although “we might well consider the advisability of sending to Hamilton a ‘rowing eight’” (ibid, p.155-156).

To this end, NZOC formed the British Empire Games Committee (NZBEGC). The NZBEGC comprised essentially the same members of NZOC. Despite their uncertainty in 1929, within 12 months they had managed to draw together, from across five sports (rowing, athletics, swimming, diving, and bowls), a team of 22 athletes. In Canada, these athletes eventually competed against 378 athletes from 10 nations. New Zealand athletes achieved 3 firsts (in the Six Mile Run, Javelin, and Coxed Four rowing events), several second and third-placings, and numerous other credible finishes (NZOBEGA, 1932). One of the successful athletes was javelin thrower Stan Lay who had finished 6th in the event at the 1928 olympics (see figure 14.). Lay went on to compete in the 1938 empire games in Sydney and 1950 empire games in Auckland.

Hamilton was a turning point for NZOC. After success at the empire games the NZOC seemed keen for the country’s athletes to continue competing at both Empire and olympic games. This was a considerable goal for NZOC given the substantial geographic and economic constraints to travelling and competing in Europe and

America. If they were to be successful, however, NZOC and NZBEGC could not co-exist as there was considerable overlap between the two organisations. Administratively, they comprised the same agents spouting the same ideas, although the NZBEGC had not yet created some of the formal policies, for example a constitution, official amateur code, or athlete selection criteria. They were also vying for the same financial resources, which in New Zealand amounted to some already heavily mined patrons of amateur sport and a near exhausted pool of amateur association subscriptions. Uniting the NZOC and NZBEGC was arguably the best option.

NZOC and NZBEGC effectively became the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association (NZOBEGA) on the 20th November 1930 (NZOC, 1930, p.168). Amalgamation of NZOC into NZOBEGA and its subsequent support of the empire games raises interesting questions about the consolidation of the NZOC and its ability to accommodate and negotiate change.

From the available evidence, it seems NZOC saw several advantages to unification. Foremost of these advantages was that the empire games offered another international arena in which New Zealand athletes could compete. As I argued in chapters seven and eight in regards to sending New Zealand athletes to olympic games, the empire games also offered administrators a vicarious sporting experience – that is, basking in the reflected glory of national athletes invariably helped NZOC agents legitimise their existence as a successful cultural institution.



Figure 14. Javelin thrower Stan Lay – One of the first athletes to represent New Zealand at both olympic and empire games.

The respectability and status this engendered among other lesser sport bodies and their athletes, in turn, increased NZOC agents' power over New Zealand amateur athletic sport. NZOC, and latter NZOBEGA, were the sole body effectively responsible for selecting athletes to compete at these international events.

NZOBEGA agents were resolute. A union was a necessary and practical decision that would further advance New Zealand sport. Largely they were right. The organisation was able to attract more athletes, and more interest from administrators across a range of sports, classes and social groups. Part of their success lay in the fact that the empire games comprised similar, but not necessarily the same sports, as olympic games. Some athletes, such as Stan Lay, were fortunate enough to be able to compete at both. The olympic games were already an international success, and there were similar visions for the empire games. It then made practical sense, in terms of administration tasks, fundraising, and logistics, for NZOC and NZBEGA to unite as one sports administration.

For NZOC agents the timing was perfect. Where NZOC had largely followed the NZAAA, the constitution and philosophies of the NZOBEGA now fell more closely in line with the demands of the policies and practices of the IOC. For example, the NZOBEGA made amendments to more rigorously policing amateur/professional boundaries and they also raised the selection standards for potential athletes (NZAAA, 1927-1938; NZOC, 1912-1932; NZOC, 1933-1964). NZOC had been at the forefront of New Zealand amateur athletic sport for the past decade, but it was still tied closely to the agendas and politics of the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA). Attracting further patronage, athletic interest, finances, and public support gave NZOC

more autonomy from auspices of NZAAA. The NZAAA now remained largely focused on local administrative affairs, and its significance as the authority on amateur athletics in the country remained only really in writing. Whereas in the past NZOC's policies reflected those of NZAAA, this was no effectively no longer necessary. At the local level the NZAAA could do to amateur athletics and its athletes effectively what they wanted, it was NZOBEGA who now were the prime facilitator of participation in the two primary international athletic events.

In the rush to amalgamate, NZOC appears to have overlooked some disadvantages, foremost of which was an increased bureaucracy around political lobbying, time spent in meetings, and corresponding with members throughout New Zealand. It also now meant the constant need for financial pro-activism. The empire games and olympic games required New Zealand athletes to travel 'overseas', and the cycle of facilitating two (large) teams would essentially drain what little financial reserves NZOC had managed to build up over the past decade more quickly. If NZOC could have learnt anything from its conception and early years it was that money mattered. However, even after NZOBEGA's formation discussion about expenses remained a topical issue (NZOC, 1912-1932; 1933-1964). It seems also that NZOC did not see that a union had the potential to challenge and temporarily disrupted the executive leadership and create frictions among followers.

For athletes, there was arguably another disadvantage to the union. The creation of NZOBEGA essentially subjected New Zealand athletes' lives and bodies to more surveillance and control. Modern sport was already, Keys (2006) describes, already a disciplined practice – obsessed with rationalization and surveillance. By now supporting

the empire games, NZOBEGA were able to continue their 'gaze' over New Zealand athletes. Whether the amateur athletes competed here or abroad, their physical performances were at race meets, trials, and championship events, constantly scrutinized, evaluated, and critiqued according to the exacting scientific standards of human performance – that is records, times, training regimes, and fitness levels. Athletes' social behaviours beyond the pool, track, and ring were also tightly controlled by chaperones, managers, team trainers, and the games 'reports' (NZOC, 1912-1932; 1933-1964).

Inevitably, there were far more perceived advantages than disadvantages, and the formation of NZOBEGA became a key moment in the consolidation of NZOC. The amalgamation shifted the momentum of NZOC from a largely part-time body with a four-yearly focus, to one that now focused on increasing New Zealand participation and performance at the two main international athletic events. Agents do not appear to have paused to consider whether there was any ideological conflict between the 'international' idealism of the olympic movement and the British imperialism of the empire games. There are several possible reasons to explain the speed at which the empire games were incorporated into NZOC's agenda. First, the agents involved may have seen through the idealistic 'international' propaganda of the olympic movement, and in doing so recognised the fundamental similarities of the empire and olympic games – that is ideological events where nationalistic jingoism masks as humanitarian camaraderie. By administering the empire games, in addition to the olympics, NZOC agents also retained an element of control over the lives of others (in this case, amateur athletes). While this may have satisfied their own peculiar interests, it also helped

maintain their status and respectability as a significant player in the New Zealand's sport culture.

Any potential negative consequences amalgamation may have had however were offset by NZOC's desire for social distinction. Amateur sport was a popular pastime, and to retain regular employment may have been an honor and achievement for some agents whose lives were in other areas more mundane. Furthermore, given New Zealand's well-established links to the olympic movement and international athletic sport, amalgamation/participation at the empire games was a way to maintain international respectability. More simply, what was good for everyone else was good for NZOC too. It is, of course, entirely likely that NZOC saw it as just another opportunity to enjoy athletic sport.

Berlin

The beginning of the empire games meant that the 1930s were a busy time for sport institutions such as NZOBEGA which now worked within a biennial cycle of international athletic competitions. The 1930 empire games were followed by the 1932 olympic games in Los Angeles, the 1934 empire games in London, and the 1936 olympic games in Berlin. While the empire games enhanced the sporting calendar and created new opportunities for New Zealand athletes, the biennial schedule posed new challenges for NZOBEGA. Yet, in spite of the dire financial slump plaguing much of the western world during the 1930s (see chapter five), money issues appeared to be the least of the organisation's concerns. Indeed, seemingly unperturbed by the global economic turmoil, after the Los Angeles games, the organisation showered visiting IOC President, Comte

Henri Baillet-Latour with lavish hospitality (NZOC, 1932). More so than finances, the more pressing concern for NZOBEGA in the lead up to both the 1932 Los Angeles olympic games and the 1934 empire games in London was the lack of available athletic talent in New Zealand. However, these concerns were misplaced as NZOBEGA continued to send increasingly larger teams to both empire and olympic games. These teams enjoyed considerable success particularly at empire games (NZAAA, 1927-1938; NZOC, 1933-1964). Although Keys (2006) argues that the 1932 Los Angeles games were an important historical marker for international political relationship, they were, in regards to NZOBEGA's identity, status, and cultural significance a mere interlude to the greater political spectacle of the 1936 Berlin olympic games.

The 1936 olympic games in Berlin, also referred to as the Nazi olympics or the Nazi games, need little detailing here. These games, arguably more so than any other event in the history of sport, have been the subject of intense scholarly debate (see for example, Cohen, 1996; Lennartz, 1994; Krüger & Murray, 2003; Rippon, 2006; and Walters, 2006). To summarise, in 1931 Germany won the hosting rights for the 1936 games. Germany was, at the time, led by a fragile democratic government which was ill equipped to deal with rising inflation, declining industries, and broader political and social unrest (Rippon, 2006). The strongest response to these conditions came in 1933 when Germany's National Socialist (Nazi) party, led by Adolf Hitler, came to power. Hitler, aided by a close cohort of colleagues, sought to improve Germany's economic and political might after the devastation and international condemnation following World War One. To this end, Hitler instigated a range of radical fascist social policies based on extreme eugenic views about the genetic superiority of a pure 'Aryan' race. Aryans

(epitomised best by youthful white male Christian bodies), Nazi ideologues proclaimed, possessed desirable mental capacities and physical capabilities that made them efficient and effective workers and thus ideal citizens for a productive and powerful nation state. Nazi ideology, however, eventually led to the systematic displacement and brutal extermination of political dissenters and many millions of the Jewish population throughout Europe throughout the 1930s and early 1940s (Taylor, 2004). The experiences of Jewish athletes, before, during, and after the 1936 games, Taylor (2004) reminds us, are a perfect example of how “sport has always been vulnerable to exploitation by those with political agendas” (p.1-2). For the Nazis in particular, the olympic games were “an irresistible opportunity for propaganda – a way of advertising their cause and entrenching or extending their power” (ibid).

Despite the fact that sport and physical culture were a predominant part of German social life, Hitler allegedly had little interest in sport, least of all its educational and moral underpinnings (Rippon, 2006). However, Hitler’s colleagues convinced him that the olympic games offered an ideal opportunity to promote Nazi ideology and to legitimise his political regime (Rippon, 2006; Walters, Krüger & Murray, 2003). “German sport has only one task”, Joseph Goebbels, Hitler’s Minister of Propaganda asserted in 1933, “to strengthen the character of the German people, imbuing it with the fighting spirit and steadfast camaraderie necessary in the struggle for its existence” (in Rippon, 2006, p.17). Hitler’s fascist designs on the olympics were, of course, not unique. Hitler’s contemporary, Benito Mussolini, used the 1934 Football World Cup, and iconic Stadio Flaminio venue in particular, to showcase Italian fascism. Like Hitler’s Aryan ideals, Mussolini based his fascist ideology on an idealistic version of Italian bodies. As in

Germany, such bodies were a personification of the vitality and strength of the nation and of its despotic leadership (Gordon & London, 2006; Hoberman, 1984; 1986).

Prior to the 1936 olympic games, international commentators expressed a number of concerns around Hitler's growing political strength, his alleged oppression of political opposition, the treatment of Jewish citizens, the aspersions cast at non-Aryan athletes, and the possibility (extreme as it seemed at the time) that the idealistic vision of the games might be compromised by a greater political agenda. However, Hitler allayed much of the criticism and the games were a coup for Nazi propaganda. The Nazi's ability to dupe the IOC was largely due to their allies in the olympic family, including Carl Diem, Theodor Lewald, and IOC President Avery Brundage, and International Amateur Athletics Federation president Sigfried Edstrom (Hoberman, 1984; 1986; Taylor, 2004).⁶⁸

Hitler's Nazis and the unfolding humanitarian catastrophe in Europe were far removed from sport culture in New Zealand and particularly the insular lives and concerns of NZOBEGA members. Their prime concern remained whether New Zealand would be able to send a successful team abroad, and thus, continue its growing international profile in athletic sport. To this end, Arthur Porritt, the recently elected IOC member to New Zealand who resided in London, reassured NZOBEGA agents in the lead up to the games that the Germans (sic) were indeed on track to arrange a superb games with excellent facilities, and that importantly New Zealand athletes should very much look forward to competing there (NZOC, 1933-1964). Porritt's affirmation seems

⁶⁸ The games, as we know, went ahead; internationally memorable for the athletic feats of Black American sprinter Jessie Owens and the carefully orchestrated spectacle of the opening and closing ceremonies, they and the ultimate corporeal performance of Nazi political power.

to have been enough of a guarantee for NZOBEGA to invest their financial and administrative resources in sending a team.

As I have continually argued in previous chapters, much remains unknown about the personal and collective opinions of NZAAA, NZOC, and NZOBEGA agents. For example, we do not know how much they knew about broader political affairs in Europe, least of all Hitler's designs for German supremacy, or how much they knew about the intended use of the games as political propaganda. We do know that Porritt was later sympathetic to white South Africa (NZOC, 1933-1964); large sections of which were pro-Germany. We also do not know if they were aware of this information, their choices would have been any different. Hence, it is necessary to tread cautiously in attempting to weigh up the moral judgments and actions of key agents at this significant historical juncture. Notwithstanding this point, it is clear that the 1936 games were salient for New Zealand by virtue of providing a stage for the legendary middle-distance athlete, Jack Lovelock. Lovelock's win in the 1500metres Berlin olympic final that earned him adoration among New Zealand sports fans.

The re-appropriation of Jack Lovelock

In the early 1930s, Jack Lovelock was sporting superstar. Indeed, even now he remains one of New Zealand's most popular sport heroes (see, for example, Colquhoun, 2008, McNeish, 1986;1999; Romanos, 2006; Cleaver, 2008; & Woodfield, 2008). Lovelock was born and raised around Timaru, educated at Timaru Boys High School, and later attended the University of Otago. In 1931 Lovelock left New Zealand, like his mentor Arthur Porritt (discussed in chapter six), to take up a Rhodes Scholar in medicine at

Oxford (Woodfield, 2008). In addition to excelling in his studies at Oxford, Lovelock maintained an extensive diary of national and international sporting engagements, eventually using his athletic success to gain entrance into and maintain affiliations with the “upper-class Oxbridge sporting set” (Colquhoun, 2008, p.22). Throughout England, Europe and America Lovelock’s social networks and growing profile in international athletics enabled him to enjoy the first class travel, media attention and upper-class social engagements. Indeed, Lovelock, himself, referred to it as “a grand life” (Colquhoun, 2008, p.13).

Lovelock has predominantly been remembered for his athletic prowess, his academic excellence, his gentlemanly upper-middle class affectations, his insular nature and his untimely death in a New York subway in 1949. As one commentator in New Zealand later remarked, “Lovelock did more than win an Olympic title, he won the admiration of the sporting world for his attitude to sport” (Ingram, 1937, p.55). Yet, Lovelock was no amateur. At a time when his New Zealand contemporaries had to conform to the stringent criteria of amateurism laid down by NZOBEGA and NZAAA, Lovelock enjoyed a lavish lifestyle. Lovelock may have competed as an amateur, but his extensive travel opportunities, correspondence with professional coaches, and the social accoutrements (e.g. entrance into the upper echelons on international sport) reflect more the traits and lifestyle of a consummate professional. As Colquhoun (2008) reminds us, Lovelock was a man obsessed with training and performances. He was intensely preoccupied with his sport and the insular highly competitive, ego centric, and self-conscious world of elite athletics. Like many professional athletes of the era, he “clearly got much satisfaction from compiling as complete a record as possible of his

sporting life" (p.26). This ambiguity over Lovelock's athletic status is important as his identity as a successful gentlemanly amateur was inherently a part of NZOBEGA's strategy to promote its significance as a successful national sporting organisation.

Following his gold medal win in Berlin, Lovelock embarked on a tour of America, the Pacific, and New Zealand. At a time when New Zealand was still recovering from the effects of the Depression, Lovelock's tour provided NZOBEGA, and local politicians, with an excellent opportunity to bask in reflected glory. Referring to Lovelock's academic prowess (Lovelock, 1935), Joseph Heenan, a senior public servant who headed the Department of Internal Affairs and NZOBEGA member, proclaimed,

this is a matter of policy. If it were simply a matter of giving a great athlete a free trip I would unhesitatingly recommend against it. But Lovelock is more than merely the greatest mile runner the world has yet produced. I feel sure he is of great physical and educational value, for Lovelock has made a really scientific study of sport (in Woodfield, 2008, p.94).

Acting in his capacity as a public servant, Heenan's comment came as a direct response to the NZOBEGA's request for the Government to assist with some of the expenses of Lovelock's trip. Indeed, throughout the exhaustive tour Lovelock generously proffered his athletic and academic expertise to many members of the country's athletic, educational, and scientific communities. He had, of course, competed at a number of invitational and exhibition athletic meets, toured many local schools, and spoken at a variety of public and private events (NZOC, 1933-1964; Woodfield, 2008). As one commentator remarked, "New Zealand's most famous track athlete aroused great enthusiasm, and wherever he appeared to give exhibition runs the attendance

were excellent. Lovelock gave we New Zealanders much good advice" (Ingram, 1937, p.54). The attention he received, Woodfield (2008) recalls, was overwhelming, "the public response was remarkable. Large, enthusiastic crowds welcomed him wherever he went" (2008, p.97)..

The fervor generated by Lovelock's trip is perhaps unsurprising. As Woodfield (2008) has commented, in an era of economic uncertainty, events such as the Lovelock tour afforded New Zealand citizens respite, relaxation, and camaraderie. However trivial Lovelock's heroism may have seemed to some, his visit was indeed a matter of national significance. The intense interest in Lovelock during his visit, and the iconography of Lovelock as a 'national' figure, is interesting when we consider Lovelock left New Zealand in 1931. He returned to New Zealand just once for this short tour, then after he returned to England moved to America, where he and his wife resided until his death. While Lovelock had family in New Zealand, and recalled fondly the time he had spent here, he, like Porritt, was relatively content to live his life abroad and agreed to come to New Zealand and partake in an organised tour if all the required travels costs could be arranged (NZOC, 1933-1964).

Whatever Lovelock may have personally felt about the trip, his homecoming was clearly a meaningful event for NZOBEGA. Lovelock's gold medal undoubtedly meant something quite significant for the public, least of all to New Zealand's athletic administrators. This was not the first time that a New Zealand athlete had won an olympic gold medal. Boxer Tom Morgan won the country's first gold at the 1928 Amsterdam olympics. Morgan was greeted triumphantly upon his return, but his experiences, and the subsequent public, media, and NZOBEGA interest pale in

comparison to that of Lovelock. The evidence reveals NZOBEGA were keener to use the exotic, internationally acclaimed, genteel Lovelock, rather than the local resident, rugged, working-class Morgan, to advocate the benefits of health and physical activity to New Zealand youth. Given how NZOC had used olympians in the past, (e.g. see the case of Porritt in chapter six), it seems Lovelock's trip also presented them with another vicarious opportunity to generate public support and media interest in the organisation and the local olympic movement.

Lovelock's achievements on the world stage made him a paragon of colonial virtue. That is, Lovelock's corporeal politics - his identity as a successful, white, educated male athlete - personified the very ideals the agents of NZOBEGA sought to promote in and through amateur athletics. At the time, Lovelock epitomised the very best of New Zealand sport. As such, he cast a positive reflection to New Zealand citizens (least of all the wider world) about the vitality of the country's way of life. Of course, all this was despite the fact Lovelock had already lived a considerable number of years abroad and his success was rather the product of a narcissistic obsession with personal performance. Irrespective of the peculiarities of his personality, NZOBEGA and politicians touted Lovelock as one of the New Zealand's most beloved sons. Yet, Lovelock was much more than this.

In essence, Lovelock was the sporting manifestation of a white masculine, pioneering, 'New Zealand' identity; an imagined sense of belonging that had emerged in the country over the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (e.g., Belich, 2001; King, 2003). Although the country had achieved some significant milestones in its independence, who New Zealanders were, and who they were not, were questions that

still seemed to matter. To this end, Lovelock was ample evidence that New Zealand life was good and that the nation could produce healthy stock (King, 2003; Belich, 2001). However, more significantly, at a time of nascent nationalism, Lovelock was a tangible representation of New Zealand's dominant colonial heritage of white privilege and a marker of its destiny as a successful autonomous nation and the ultimate embodiment of the successful consolidation of the Olympic Council.

The success of Lovelock's tour may have confirmed NZOBEGA's consolidation, but, as I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, the future is rarely secure. Over 25 years, events such as the postwar restoration, entrance of the empire games, the Berlin olympics, and Lovelock's tour had all helped fortify NZOBEGA after its hesitant beginnings. However, a fresh series of events would pose new challenges and new concerns. World War Two, for example, caused the cessation of the 1940 and 1944 olympic games. Like the First World War (see chapter one and four), the Second World War would alter New Zealand's sporting cultures by removing a significant proportion of the athletic population for military service. New obstacles in the proceeding decades of the consolidation would also come in the form of local events such as alterations in the national political and economic climate (see chapters one and five), continued changes to NZOBEGA's executive leadership (see chapters two and six) and ideological shifts in government and sport policy and administration (see chapters three and seven). Notwithstanding the uncertainty that lay ahead for NZOBEGA, by the mid-to-late 1930s the organisation was politically, economically, culturally, and ideologically different to that which formed in 1911 and whose members had only a vague understanding of the olympic movement and who lacked a clear vision for New Zealand olympic future.

Part Three

Remembering olympic history

Sporting fraternities like to remember. At the start of the 2008 rugby union test season, for example, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) celebrated the country's history of test rugby by awarding ceremonial rugby caps to several former test players. The caps, designed to replicate those worn in the early twentieth century, supposedly drew a direct link between contemporary professional rugby culture and its amateur, gentlemanly antecedents. The caps also helped soften criticisms levelled at the NZRFU in the lead up to the 2011 Rugby World Cup regarding venue selections and passing to local tax-payers of the anticipated debt from the tournament. The caps, along with other clever advertising and marketing campaigns, tried to capitalise on the power of social memory and nostalgia. In effect, the caps enabled the NZRFU to (re)create its legacy and legitimise its historical significance within New Zealand.

New Zealand's olympic committee is no different. It too is a group seduced by the memories of its own past. Most recently, the olympic committee has attempted to identify and celebrate New Zealand's 1,111 former olympians. In a process extending over four years, each olympian has been alphabetically ordered by surname then numbered accordingly.⁶⁹ At seventeen events held recently throughout the country each living olympian, except eight who could not be located, have been given a specially crafted olympic pin and commemorative certificate signed by International Olympic

⁶⁹ There have, of course, been some mistakes. Such as when in the lead up to the Beijing olympics rower Hamish Bond was named the country's 1000th olympian. A recheck revealed Bond to be athlete number 1002!

Committee (IOC) President Jaques Rogge and New Zealand Olympic Committee (NZOC) Secretary and 1976 olympic gold medallist Barry Maister.

The pins, Maister commented, represent New Zealand's enduring and exceptional olympic history. "We've had 580 New Zealand Olympians honoured and celebrated within their communities", Maister gushed,

it's been a wonderful opportunity for their inspiring stories to be retold. We have a rich and unique Olympic history and numbering our Olympians has been a wonderful opportunity to acknowledge this (NZOC, 2009).

The commemorative events enabled a diverse cross section of athletes to "share stories, re-live their achievement and remember those who had gone before them" (NZOC, 2009). For Maister, "honouring the Olympians was both timely and important" (Seconi, 2009) – essentially, the official welcoming of the country's olympic athletes into an elite club. "These special people", Maister continued, "have created history and inspired generations of New Zealanders. Sir John Walker, Mahe Drysdale, Alison Shanks and others make up the fabric of our society and we're proud to honour them within our communities" (ibid).

Maister's experiences and memories of the country's olympic history are of course deeply personal. And, it would be all too easy to criticise Maister's romanticisation of New Zealand's olympic history. As a white male olympic gold medallist, Maister embodies the pervasive masculine and nationalist discourse of success that has long marginalised the voices and experiences of others within New Zealand olympic history. Maister is also, by virtue of his position on NZOC and long term service to sport and the olympic movement, a member of the very institution that

has wielded unprecedented power over world sport and, as Lenskji (2002; 2008) reminds us, caused turmoil and upheaval for more than a few local communities. While this is important history, my focus is different. Here, I address three themes: the function of memory in making and remaking of historical narratives, the continual investment in making and remaking New Zealand's olympic histories (e.g., the frequent remaking of Jack Lovelock), and, the possibilities for 'making' new olympic histories.

In response to concerns I had about the need for New Zealand sport scholarship to address the broader historical context and embrace new directions in historiography, I set out to write a new, alternative, history of the olympic movement in New Zealand. My approach employed a systematic model of context based on Marwick's (1998) examination of the 1960s to excavate and analyse New Zealand's olympic histories. Adapting Marwick's framework, I focused on the major forces, agents, ideologies and events that effected the conception (1890-1911, or thereabouts) and consolidation (roughly spanning 1911-1936) of the olympic movement in New Zealand. Marwick's model is, however, flexible to the extent that it requires historians to make judgments about events, ideologies, and forces. In so doing, a reflexive historian should logically recognise that so many of their choices are to varying degrees interchangeable. This was certainly the case in this thesis.

My history, thus, had two aims. The first aim was to assess whether a broader contextualised historical analysis, following the conventional protocols and styles of the discipline, could reveal anything new about New Zealand's olympic histories. The second aim was to investigate whether I could at the same time, follow Booth (2005; 2009), Phillips (2001a; 2006), and Munslow's (1997; 2007) encouragement to flirt with

deconstructionism and engage in an innovative reflexive history project. My dalliance with deconstructionism primarily entailed foregrounding the limitations of my sources and analysis, outlining my own subjectivities, and explicating some of my narrative decisions.

This has been an ambitious project. Over eight chapters, I argued that contextualising the history of the olympic movement in New Zealand is a fruitful academic exercise not merely because it germinates fresh understandings, but because I challenge dominant ways of writing about olympic history and its use for political purposes in the present. That is, by revealing aspects of the lives, experiences, interactions, and ideological persuasions of agents, the events they were a part of, and the forces that acted upon them, I uncover a more complicated, contested, and nuanced version of olympic history than has previously been imagined. Moreover, by adopting a post-modern sensibility toward authorship and reflexivity my project also posited possibilities for how historians, more generally, might go about their work.

In Part one of my thesis, I focused on the conception of the olympic movement and the establishment of NZOC during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. I began in chapter one by arguing that the conception was influenced by particular major forces. These forces included New Zealand's liberal-leaning political climate, relative economic prosperity, and increasing urbanisation. Although effecting sports such as rugby and cricket (Ryan, 2004), I argued that in New Zealand's athletic cultures these forces were tempered by a strong prevailing provincial parochialism. In chapter two, I revealed agents who I believed played politic roles in the conception of olympic movement. Primarily these were individuals associated with the New Zealand Amateur

Athletics Association (NZAAA). I questioned the alleged legacy of 'key' agents, such as Leonard Cuff, and I investigated the influence of lesser-known agents, such as Arthur Marryatt, Arthur Davies, and Reg McVilly. I also queried the absence of Māori athletes and females. I argued the actions of key agents, and their capacity to contour the consolidation, invariably stemmed from the peculiarities of the particular social, political, and economic ideologies they adhered to.

Thus in chapter three I looked specifically at key ideological systems pertaining to New Zealand's early sport cultures. These ideologies were primarily athleticism, amateurism, and an embryonic form of nationalism. I also recalled early points about provincial parochialism. To recall, I argued ideologies – as distinct systems of beliefs – are inherently grounded in the meanings and interactions that constitute peoples' daily experiences, and thus are lived out in common social practices. The specific ideologies I identified above were inextricably coupled to colonial economic relations, particularly in that they helped construct and perpetuate social power dynamics (Belich, 2007; King, 2003; McAloon, 2004; McLellan, 1986). In regards to the conception of the olympic movement in New Zealand, I specifically argued that while working-class athletes were able to affect some ideological resistance – namely by continually challenging the principles of amateurism – the NZAAA, and latterly NZOC, remained determined to preserve amateur sport, and to participate in the olympic games which they deemed their bastion of middle-class interests.

In chapter four I chose four 'key' contextual events that I believe best demonstrated the peculiar conception of the olympic movement in New Zealand. These events were class and amateur sport, female political franchise, Māori non-participation,

and federation. I employed Fairburn's (2008) thesis of exceptionalism to argue the conception was entirely *unexceptional*. While replete with interesting moments, the history of the olympic movement in New Zealand is *unexceptional* because it unfolded in ways comparable to other western nations, particularly white commonwealth nations, and because this history did not set the NZOC and the olympic movement in New Zealand on a radically different trajectory.

I concluded that the conception of the olympic movement was not linear or predetermined, but rather, involved a fraught, haphazard, and complex interplay of forces, agents, ideologies, and events. I demonstrated that the conception was not manifest destiny, but rather, entirely contingent on the whims of a few fortuitous individuals. These individuals initially showed no great interest in an international olympic project, but possessed the right cultural capital and social resourcefulness that enabled them to benefit from the contemporaneous local and global material conditions. Namely, this meant preserving and simultaneously advancing their social status by administering amateur athletics and latterly the inaugural NZOC.

In Part two I focused on the consolidation of the olympic movement. I analysed the transition of NZOC from a small, obscure, subsidiary of the NZAAA to a largely independent organisation who proved particularly adept at appropriating the success of the country's olympians to promote a national profile. This profile however, relied heavily on the creation, and continuation, of a legacy of national olympic participation. A key strategy of NZOC was to promote relationships with expatriate New Zealand olympians, such as Jack Lovelock and Arthur Porritt. Invariably, NZOC believed these athletes, as respected citizens, would not only increase interest and participation in the

olympic movement, but also reaffirm the organisation's political identity as propagator of an exclusionary, if albeit tentative and imagined, form of New Zealand nationalism. Notwithstanding NZOC's consolidation in this period, a number of administrative, political, economic, and ideological issues presented the council with numerous challenges. These challenges included negotiating the politics of female participation and the ambiguities of amateurism.

The consolidation was also contoured by significant major forces. In chapter five, I delved deeper into three key forces: empire, economic prosperity in the 1920s, and the Great Depression. Each affected NZOC in particular ways. The empire, for example, extracted many of New Zealand's athletes for military service. The lack of quality athletic competition as a result, coupled with the cessation of the olympic games, inevitably curtailed the expansion and development of the olympic movement in New Zealand. During, and after the war, NZOC was quick to capitalise on nationalistic sentiments and promote a sense of New Zealand identity within a broader (British commonwealth) collective. On the other hand, the essentially conservative and patriarchal NZOC did not easily or readily adapt to new dynamic global and local economic, political and social forces, nor the cultural turns in class and gender politics.

In chapter six, I gave a voice to unheard agents. I continued the story of those agents who had been introduced in chapter two (e.g. Arthur Marryatt and Arthur Davies) and introduced new ones (e.g. Harry Amos and Arthur Porritt). I suggested that the actions (and inactions) of these agents, their personal agendas, and political relationships with one another shaped, and at times retarded, the consolidation of NZOC and olympic movement. When placed in a broader historical context, the

narratives of these particular agents, each of which are invariably fraught, disrupts any notion of a 'shared' olympic history. I stressed, however, that I chose these specific agents because they help me critique conventional olympic imaginaries. That is, they challenge the notion of NZOC as a unified organisation with strong leadership and a clear vision for the local olympic movement.

To further understand the consolidation period, I revisited ideology. I took up Callinicos' (1989) articulation of ideological *collectivities* to describe how ideologies of athleticism, amateurism, nationalism/imperialism, and political and cultural liberalism were inculcated in the social relations of NZOC. I contend NZOC is a collective of male middle-class administrators with a vested interest in a popular national sport culture. As evidenced in their policies and practices, they invariably subscribed to certain beliefs that while privileging and legitimising their own interests and social positions also served to subordinate the needs and experiences of athletes, the often excluded and marginalised working classes, females, and non-Anglo ethnic groups. As with agents, I chose to examine these ideologies not only because they are useful in analysing the empirical material but also because they aid my thesis of creating an alternative history of the olympic movement.

In chapter eight I brought together the forces, agents, and ideological threads of consolidation. To demonstrate the coalescence of these components, I chose World War One, the Great Depression, the introduction of the Festival of Empire Games (FEG), the 1936 olympics, and Lovelock's olympic gold medal as key events. In their own ways these events challenged and changed NZOC and the olympic movement in New Zealand. The FEG, for example, raised questions about the role of nationalism

is seminal in that it signalled a need to think, write and conceive of history in new and innovative ways.

Calls for a new historiography for sport historians (e.g. Munslow, 2007; Phillips, 2006, and Booth, 2005; 2009) provides a useful segue into rethinking this thesis and understanding why it might be necessary to remember and remake olympic history. The politics of memory, thusly, are an integral part to this rethinking. As I foregrounded in the introduction to this chapter, in addition to my contextual framework and deconstructionist sympathies, my thesis is inevitably still a product and producer of olympic memories. That is, I have created a narrative of New Zealand's olympic history with which some readers might identify. Nevertheless, as I explicate in this last chapter, in the creation of this thesis, and indeed again in your consumption of it as readers, there are selective practices of remembering and forgetting at work.

Chapter 9

Making olympic memories

In this last chapter I reflect on the making of this thesis in relation to the politics of memory. I take into consideration the works of Bell and Anderson and I address some of Ricoeur's (2004) concerns with memory, specifically, 'what is the memory?' and 'whose memory is it?'. To NZOC, for example, the notion of 'our olympic history' matters. The idea of a collective olympic history – a history that is allegedly shared, celebrated, and endorsed by all New Zealanders helps NZOC, and agents like Barry Maister, promote an antiquated sporting idealism and reinforces its position as a predominant player in the national sporting landscape. By recalling, recreating, and ritualistically celebrating a particular version of its own past, NZOC essentially solidifies its status as a key cultural institution, its role in nurturing New Zealand's iconic sporting history, and its place in a grander national narrative about 'New Zealand', 'the nation', and its way of life.

At the simplest level then, artefacts such as pins and certificates, and events like the numbering of athletes, I mentioned above are thus significant in that they anchor the present NZOC, and New Zealand olympians, to its own past. The act of remembering then becomes an important way for NZOC to craft an identity in the present. Put another way, for NZOC it matters that it is not seen merely as a jingoistic advocate of sporting idealism, but, through endorsement of elite national sporting achievement, as a group closely aligned with nomenclature of New Zealand as a 'sporting mad nation' and 'the proud legacy' of the country's sporting pasts. As NZOC head toward its centenary in

2011 (the same year that New Zealand will host the Rugby World Cup), these particular political agendas assume further saliency.

NZOC's recent fascination with its past, and my creation of an alternative olympic history, is a reminder that memory, and of course history writ large, is subjective and, often, superficial. Hence, the significant differences between NZOC's version of its history, mainstream replications, and my version. In other words, *what* is remembered is contingent upon *who* is remembering, *when* they are remembering, *why* they are remembering, and *what* they are forgetting. In this thesis, for example, I wrote a particular type of olympic history. That is, a history that appeared conventionally constructionist, but which exhibits deconstructionist sensitivities and sensibilities. To do so, I adhered to most of the conventional protocols of the discipline regarding archival empiricism and analytical rigor, but I also explicated my subjectivities as an author-historian. My purpose was twofold. Firstly, I set out to help readers make meaning out of a selection of fragments, or memories, from the past by placing them within a broader historical context and tying them together in a logical, insightful, and coherent ways. In this, I believe I satisfy the primary aim of mainstream modernist-inspired history. Secondly, I acknowledged, specifically in the text, that I created a particular narrative that utilised language, imagery, metaphors and tropes in order to resonate with, and draw sentiment from, my readers. However, while my thesis opened up fresh possibilities to think about sport, national identity, and the olympic movement in New Zealand, my narrative was still constrained by processes of remembering and forgetting.

I was the architect of a specific olympic narrative. Where mainstream New Zealand olympic histories emphasised celebration, sporting success, and national unity, I made choices as a historian to create a tale about an organisation disrupted by petty personal politics, contested ideologies, and broader contextual forces. In so doing, I challenged common assumptions about olympic memory, but, by revealing unknown aspects of olympic histories, I also produced fresh memories. That is, I encouraged readers to think differently about the past, and most importantly, the need to challenge historical discourses of the present.

The seductiveness of memory

The turn toward memory and remembering within historiography is not entirely new. Indeed scholars such as Maurice Halbwach ([1950] 1980) were writing in the early half of the twentieth century about the specific utility of collective memories and remembering. They argued in particular, that memory acted as an important heuristic device through which to understand the significance of the past in, and for, the present. More recently, Ricoeur (2004) has added that in collective history writing project(s), the social acts of remembering coalesce as memory – selective recollections, recreations, and reimagining of fragments of the past for the political purposes of, and public consumptions in, the present. In the context of contemporary historiography, Klein (2000) too reminds us, memory - as a collective social phenomenon - has gone from being popularised as an anti-historical concept “to an identifying feature of new historicisms” (p.129).

The appeal of memory to historiography, Bell suggests, has largely to do with its seductive nature. Recalling Halbwach's thesis, Bell reminds us that collective memory is powerful because it is "the result of the process whereby individuals interact socially to articulate their memories – of lost relatives, of protest and dissent, of days gone by" (2003, p.72). Or, as Nathan (2003) adds, "collective memory is a way of expressing sets of ideas, images, and feelings about the past that resonate among people who share a common orientation or allegiance" (p.60). Crystallizing the current centrality of memory within historiography, and reiterating the need to understand memory as a socialised and socialising practice, Bell adds that the creation of memory is a highly politically and emotively charged process, and thus "needs to be understood within a framework of human interaction" (2003, p.72).

Before I proceed, it is worth acknowledging Bell's (2003) underlying concerns about memory and the need for contextualisation. "Memory is a concept", Bell argues, "...readily employed to represent a whole host of different social practices, cognitive processes and representational strategies" (2003, p.71). However, it is often – particularly in historiography – rarely contextualised or politicised. "What gets submerged, flattened out" is, Bell reminds us, "the nuance, texture, and often-contradictory forces and tensions of history and politics" (Ibid). Bell's (2003) point here is to remind us firstly that memory is an inherently social construct of particular groups at particular times, and secondly, to differentiate between organic memory (the simple act of remembrance), myth, and the politicised act(s) of memory making. Recognising the failures of current theorising on memory, Bell offers the concept of the historical 'mythscape'. A mythscape "can be conceived as the discursive realm, constituted by

and through temporal and spatial dimensions, in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, reconstructed and negotiated constantly" (Bell, 2003, p.75). Falcous and Newman (2009) illustrate the turn toward mythscapes in their recent work on uses of memory in the (re)creation of New Zealand sporting imaginaries for the purposes of the present. Falcous and Newman argue that rugby history in New Zealand has become a veritable political football; that is, commercialised (and sanitised) for the corporate purposes of the present. Falcous and Newman contend that the contested terrain of the country's rugby history, in this case discourses, myths, stories, and rememberings about the 1905 All Black rugby union team (known as 'The Originals') and their captain, Dave Gallaher, form a constructed mythscape. This mythscape, they argue, has subsequently been utilised by the contemporary NZRFU to promote a particular legacy of rugby and its white, masculine, and jingoistic ethos.

Bell's, and Falcous and Newman's, conceptualisations of collective memory recall Benedict Anderson's (1991) thesis on the imagined nation. For Anderson, the very idea of a unified and unifiable nation was entirely contingent on whether people could engage in, or at the least identify with, allegedly shared cultural practices, ideologies, and institutions, and thus 'imagine' themselves as a collective. Within a particular collective – in my case, NZOC - memory thus becomes both a fundamental component of identity formation, and, a way for members to (re)produce narratives about their existence, and thus maintain and perpetuate the fundamental fabric of that very identity. Although Anderson was not primarily concerned with sport, it is clear that the creation and utility of specific 'shared' sporting memories within and for nation-making purposes, are included in this process of imagining. Consider NZOC numbering

national olympians. Recall also an earlier example. In the introduction of this thesis, I outlined how historians of the olympics in New Zealand whitewashed their history by drawing on particular memories – namely golden stories of successful white, largely masculine, elite sportsmen – to produce a sanitised olympic story. Indulgent gluttons of their own pasts, NZOC and the architects of dominant olympic narratives in New Zealand feast on a buffet of memories, but only savour salacious rememberings that help it recreate, and thus reproduce, seductive narratives about a shared legacy of olympic participation and success. To paraphrase more simply, the members of the olympic family in New Zealand work in unison as the architects of a collective olympic history.

Needing to remember olympic history

Ricoeur (2004) reminds us that frequently collective memory projects, particularly those based on aspects of national culture and politics, entail both remembering and forgetting. That is, Ricoeur argues, there has been an overwhelming public preoccupation with indulging in, what he terms, “an excess of memory here, and an excess of forgetting elsewhere, to say nothing of the influence of commemorations and abuses of memory – and of forgetting” (xv). Ricoeur’s concern stems from his desire to question the use of memories as a way to (re)present the past. For Ricoeur, what we choose to remember stands in juxtaposition against what we choose to forget. Memory, particularly the decisions over what to remember and what to forget, becomes most important when constructing and contextualising specific historical moments. Hence, following this logic, it matters then that in my own history project I reflexively engage

with and explicate the limitations of my own memory and the effects this had on the production of this thesis.

Yet, historians engaging with context need to exercise caution when dealing with the memory industry. "Collective memory, with its implied consensus", Nathan suggests, "is a dubious phenomenon" (Nathan, 2003, p.60). Specifically, recalling his own narrative on the Black Sox scandal (see introduction), Nathan argues that all history is contextual and thus all memory, collective or otherwise, must too be understood as contextual. That is, memory does not exist in the ether, or in a socio-historical vacuum. "As always", Nathan adds, "context matters" (p.90). McDonald and Birrell (1999) also foreground this point in their work on examining power relations in sport cultures. Thus, historians must conceive and conceptualise memory as a dynamic, pliable, yet entirely fallible entity. Reminding us of Halbwach's ([1950] 1980) earlier musing on memory, Nathan sees memory and the making of memory as an invariably complex ongoing process, fragmented, provisional, dynamic, and slippery. Most importantly, as highlighted by NZOC's recent historical projects, particular individuals and groups construct and utilise memory as a response to the needs of the present.

I have done the same in this thesis. I have arranged the memories (historical fragments) I have at my disposal (retrieved through searching both archives and my own cognition) to tell (and sell) a story of the olympic movement in New Zealand. My story – driven by a concern about previous historicising - has been to situate the olympic movement in New Zealand's broader sociocultural, political, and economic context(s) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Essentially, it is, for the most part a drama; primarily, though not exclusively, a tale of insular (and at times

insolent) middle-class New Zealand men and the absurdities and peculiarities of their collective sporting lives eked out in a country, Belich (2001) would term, a troubled paradise. It involves characters (agents), acts (chapters), plots, text and subtext, events, story-line developments, and narrative turns. While I have provided a logical and coherent narrative of the conception and consolidation of NZOC, both concepts are quite arbitrary points in space and time.

Of course, readers are rarely docile and play active roles in the making of history. For the most part, I forewarned my readers of what was to come (either in the introduction, or throughout the text). At other times, I wanted readers to make inferences, to speculate, recreate for themselves, and engage in what Vico referred to as 'fantasia' or 'imaginative insight' (in Berlin, 1990). Then through my reproduction and the readers' consumption, we engage in a repartee with the past. This reciprocal relationship is an important one. Because, like Nathan's (2003) memories on American baseball culture, my memories (readings) were "eclectic, wide-ranging, fragmentary, and necessarily conditional; [for] such is the nature of memory, private and collective" (p.59). Therefore, I need readers to be a part of my narrative; to draw their conclusions about New Zealand's olympic past(s) and thus recreate olympic memories.

Forgetting olympic history

My thesis has been about remembering New Zealand olympic history in particular ways, this remembering would not have been possible without some forgetting (both on my part and the readers). Forgetting, Nathan (2003) reminds us, "is a vital, inevitable, and underappreciated feature of memory. Most often frustrating, but sometimes deliberate

and convenient, forgetting is as unavoidable as it is necessary” (p.84). What Nathan means is that it is through forgetting – the selective and unselective omission and absence of historical features (agents, forces, events, ideologies, and alternative narratives) – that we imbue what remember with significance and meaning. For example, in this thesis, I remembered a select few key NZOC agents. However, readers may not have perceived their contributions to be as salient to the history of the olympic movement if I had not also forgotten the stories of other agents, which were perhaps no less interesting or important. In this history, remembering certain individuals and their roles, at the expense of forgetting others, aided my thesis of challenging the influence of human agency. To reiterate, “memory without forgetting would be unbearable...forgetting, in short, makes remembering possible” (Nathan, 2003, p.84).

Forgetting is as an integral part to this history as the remembering. Forgetting happens of course, Bale and Vertinsky (2004) remind us, because our memories are not fixed, but fractal and fleeting. They disunite as much as they unite, and they can be remade, redefined, and can disappear altogether. We actually have already forgotten olympic history, its only through forgetting the majority of olympic history that certain parts (namely, the golden victories) can be remembered. It is only through forgetting about olympic histories, that we come to value the importance of remembering it. Once we forget it is then possible to *remember anew*.

There are already encouraging signs for *remembering anew* on the horizons of New Zealand olympic history. They have not come from within the discipline, but from the innovation of a contemporary playwright, Dean Parker (2008). In his recent play entitled '*The man that Lovelock couldn't beat*', Parker offers his audiences a fresh

perspective on 1936 olympic medallist Jack Lovelock. The life of Lovelock has been an ongoing fetish for many New Zealand sport historians and writers (for example, Palenski & Maddaford, 1983; McNeish, 1986; Palenski, 2000; Woodfield, 2007; Colquhoun, 2008). However, Parker's approach in his play is different to previous rememberings of Lovelock. Parker's opinion of Lovelock, as expressed through the voice of the narrator, is worth detailing here:

I never liked Jack Lovelock. Oh, I know, I can hear you all: What sort of an attitude is that? What sort of a kiwi are you? Jack Lovelock! That hair! That smile! That "fey reticence"—or was it "alluring grace"? One or the other... That rare and perfect beauty! That dedication! That control! That sublime judgment, the "meticulously crafted sudden, destructive strike!" ... Spare me... Such a head prefect... Dux... Scholarship here, scholarship there... next to no time he's at Oxford... I hated Oxford. All those born-to-rule pricks of both sexes, languidly flopping their floppy hair and talking like the Queen, or even worse like Nigel Kennedy or Malcolm McLaren, prolier than thou... Couples punting on the Isis; he in fawn bags, open-necked shirt, she in silk, silk knickers, silk everything. A pint of cider and a jar of pickled onions, a mutton chop and a glass of sherry...All that. The stink of honeysuckle and a hint of Shakespeare: "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day...?" Vespers and mulled wine to follow... Fuck off...

To personify this opinion, Parker presents the audience with a new athletic figure and hero, that of Tommy Morehu. The antithesis of Lovelock, Morehu is a young Māori raised in Christian orphanage in Timaru who eventually demonstrates excellence as a middle distance runner. Morehu's athletic abilities eventually see him race alongside,

and beat, Lovelock on several occasions. However, Morehu's background and life circumstances put him on a different track and prevent him from sharing in the luxuries and opportunities afforded to Lovelock during his illustrious sporting and academic career. Morehu eventually dies in Madrid in 1936 fighting with the Spanish Worker's Militia against Franco's fascist forces. In the final scenes, Parker reveals the possibility that Morehu also broke the four-minute mile barrier 19 years before Roger Bannister.

Parker brings Morehu to life. That is, he gives a voice to Morehu's experiences and contextualises his life within broader historical, social, and political forces. But, Morehu is an entirely imaginary historical character – merely a figment of Parker's imagination. Parker's intention is to use Morehu as a means to disrupt conventional historical knowledge. The underlying premise of Parker's work is that characters (or agents to use the parlance I have used in this thesis) such as Morehu could have, and possibly did, exist. Morehu's 'existence' is important because it is through such stories and experiences that we can be caused to rethink aspects of the dominant narrative. In Parker's case ideas about 'the nation' and its ideological sporting heroes. Like aspects of my thesis, Parker's work raises the 'what if' questions of history. Such questions encourage scholars, and in Parker's case spectators, to consider the fickleness of history and the realm of alternative possibilities. Yes, Parker does create new olympic memories by introducing the character of Morehu to the historical stage, but his contribution to rethinking sport historiography is more important than this. Parker succeeds in two senses. First, he offers an artistic critique to tendencies of conventional olympic historiography to overplay the role of the sporting hero. Second, he blurs historical empiricism with creative artisanship.

In *The man that Lovelock couldn't beat*, Parker effectively twists the imaginary with contextualised historical memory. He essentially forgets' Lovelock and his hagiographic status, so that Morehu can be remembered. This is, I believe, the possible answer to the call for new alternatives to dominant olympic historiography. To engage creatively with the past, but by no means, abandon context. I am not saying that historians (especially those of New Zealand sport) create new fictional characters, but that they recognise the necessity of forgetting dominant narratives and popular agents in order to play in unchartered historical terrain. That is, historians need to *remember anew*. However, *remembering anew* can only happen if historians abandon the very ideas, preconceptions, and assumptions that have been the very characteristics of the old-rememberings. That is, ideas such as nation, sport heroes, shared identity, 'our' legacy. *Remembering anew* would also entail historians working in ways where they engage in reflexivity and acknowledge the politics of memory in their work.

History is a subjective practice of remembering and forgetting, and through the very act of remembering entrench what we remember with significance. I wrote my thesis using a particular structure that helped create a logical narrative that 'made sense' and gave particular weight to my arguments about the various component of history (agents, events, forces, and ideology). However, if we accept my interpretation is just another remembering then we can read my thesis in a much different way. That is, what I have really done is, loosely, bind together fragments of memory. In this binding, I have also discarded (or 'forgotten') other memories. I could, of course have shifted, adapted, changed, and reordered particular parts to create an entirely different narrative. I chose certain memories because they helped me craft a particular analytical

argument about history. If my narrative worked, then I hope I have convinced readers that New Zealand's early olympic history was fractured, contested, and not all that profound.

While this thesis has been a task in contextualisation and contextual analysis, it has also, at a subliminal level, been about me remaking and playing with olympic memories. It is not necessarily about the end product than it is about the process by which the memories are made, that is, essentially the choices I make along the way and how I choose to shape them into a particular discursive narrative about New Zealand olympic history. Memory is then a significant heuristic device in historiography, meaningful yes, but entirely malleable, messy, and influenced by power relations and political discourses. If we accept this thesis about the complexity of memory, then we might open up the possibilities and opportunities to play with history in new ways.

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