

# Forgotten Links: Leonard Cuff and The Olympic Movement in Australasia, 1894-1905<sup>1</sup>

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The affiliation of Australasia with the Olympic Movement pre-dates the staging of the first Olympic Games in 1896. Among those selected by Baron Pierre de Coubertin to comprise the original International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894 was Leonard Albert Cuff, a prominent athlete and sports administrator from New Zealand. Cuffs appointment as the IOC member in Australasia is the region's first identifiable link with the modern Olympics, yet his ten year membership on the IOC has remained an enigmatic episode in the common Olympic history of Australia and New Zealand.<sup>2</sup> Cuffs IOC membership has become Australasia's forgotten link with the embryonic Olympic Movement, with a lack of information about his role in Australasian sport perpetuating the belief that he was a member of the IOC in title only. This evaluation of Cuffs membership is, however, problematic. This paper examines the facts behind Coubertin's nomination of Cuff to the IOC and investigates the nature of his involvement with the IOC, the conclusions of which have implications for understanding the development of the Olympic Movement in Australasia, as well as the participation of Australian and New Zealand athletes in the Olympic Games.

## Initial links: Cuff, Coubertin and The New Zealand Athletics Tour of 1892

As a founding member of the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA) in 1887, Leonard Cuff was the driving force behind the development of inter-provincial amateur athletics in New Zealand and the creation of inter-colonial championships involving New Zealand and Australia.<sup>3</sup> Cuffs position as the Honorary Secretary of the NZAAA between 1887 and 1896 allowed him to assist the expansion of the colony's athletics.<sup>4</sup> In 1890 Cuff organised and managed New Zealand's first international amateur athletics tour, which competed in Sydney at the Australian Championships being contested between representative teams from the New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland colonies. Comprising just eight athletes, including Cuff who was New Zealand's premier long jumper, the team achieved seven firsts, five seconds and two thirds in the twelve championship events.

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After this unprecedented success of the NZAAA team, there was strong support for sending a team to the British championships.<sup>5</sup> Several New Zealand athletes were expected to compete strongly in the championships, particularly the hurdler, Harold Batger, who had equalled the English record of 16 seconds for the 120 yards hurdles during a competition in New Zealand. The fact that colonial sporting performances and records were occasionally treated with scepticism by the English sporting public evoked nationalistic sentiments, with the trip to England being deemed necessary to prove the validity of colonial sporting achievements.<sup>6</sup> Even the victories of the NZAAA team in Australia were seen as proof that “there was no finer race under the sun than the New Zealand-born Englishman” and that the colony produced “men of stamina.”<sup>7</sup> More than an assertion of colonial self-confidence, the “national” meaning attached to sport was a manifestation of the changing identity of the colonists. Scott Crawford characterised this process as an evolution where “second generation New Zealanders began to express feelings of self-respect and growing national pride” through the colony’s sporting performances.<sup>8</sup> The English Championships were seen as the most prestigious amateur athletics event in the British Empire, and the presence of a New Zealand team was perceived as a demonstration of the colony’s separate identity, yet also a celebration of the “Englishness” of its amateur athletes.

The NZAAA decided that a team with a manager would be selected to travel to the 1892 English Championships. The team was comprised of Harold Batger, Jack Hempton, Peter and Derisley Wood and Leonard Cuff, who was both a competitor and the team manager. The NZAAA team was received with interest in England. The English paper, *Sporting Life*, commented, “Who could not but admire their gallantry and pluck in travelling so many thousands of miles in order to test their power against the cream of athletic England.”<sup>9</sup> When the team arrived in England, Cuff wrote to F. Wilding, President of the NZAAA, notifying him of the team’s arrival, its preparations and itinerary of competitions before and after the English Championships on 2 July 1892.<sup>10</sup> Although the team had not been in England long, Cuff stated, that in addition to the three competitions previously scheduled for the NZAAA team in England, “it is probable that we will compete in Paris on 7 July and Manchester on 13 July.”<sup>11</sup> The inclusion of the Paris competition was not mentioned prior to the team’s departure from New Zealand.<sup>12</sup> As the manager of the team, Cuff was responsible for planning the team’s engagements on tour,<sup>13</sup> so it appears he took the decision to compete in Paris after the NZAAA team had left for England. In the same letter to Wilding, Cuff stated that Charles Herbert, Secretary of the English Amateur Athletic Association, had been assisting the team in London since their arrival in England ten days earlier.<sup>14</sup> Herbert, a friend of Baron Pierre de Coubertin, had already planned to attend the athletics competition in Paris.<sup>15</sup> It would, therefore, seem likely that it was on Herbert’s suggestion that Cuff committed the New Zealanders to compete.

It was at this athletics competition in France that Cuff and Coubertin met for the first and only time. Coubertin, as General Secretary of the *Union des Sociétés Françaises Sports Athlétiques* (USFSA), played a leading role in the organization of the Paris athletics festival, which included an athletics competition and a conference to celebrate the Union’s fifth anniversary. Clubs from France, Belgium and Great Britain, as well as the small NZAAA team, attended the event staged by the Racing

Club of Paris.<sup>16</sup> In addition to managing the team, Cuff also competed in the sprint and hurdles events. No evidence exists to determine how Coubertin and Cuff interacted during the NZAAA team's two day stay in Paris, except that Coubertin and Herbert met the New Zealand team at the train station on their arrival and that afterwards Coubertin and Cuff inspected the venue for the next day's competition.<sup>17</sup> On the day of competition, Coubertin and Herbert acted as judges. The New Zealanders performed well winning three events. Harold Batger set a French record for the 400 metres hurdles.<sup>18</sup> In Cuff's later letters to Coubertin, dated 24 April and 4 September 1894, his references to the NZAAA's time in Paris paint a very positive picture of the episode, at least from his perspective. He reflected that "my visit to Paris in 1892 will always live in my memory as one of the pleasantest times of my life,"<sup>19</sup> and he asked Coubertin to "remember me kindly to all those who showed me much kindness in Paris in 1892, a kindness that can never be forgotten."<sup>20</sup> Through Cuff's desire to have New Zealand represented internationally in sport, and via the intervention of Charles Herbert, Cuff was introduced into the extended network of friends, acquaintances, sporting officials and dignitaries known to Coubertin. It was from this network that Coubertin drew in his project to revive the Olympic Games and which dominated those invited to the International Congress of Amateurs in 1894, at which the Baron announced the revival of the Olympic Games and nominated the personnel of the International Committee to oversee its realisation.

### **Coubertin and the selection of the 1894 IOC**

Throughout his involvement in sport and physical education, Coubertin utilised conferences and congresses as a forum through which he could publicise his various reform projects.<sup>21</sup> During 1893, Coubertin began to organise the International Congress of Amateurs sponsored by the USFSA, which was to be held at the Sorbonne, Paris 16-23 June, 1894. At this Congress, Coubertin formally announced the revival of the Olympic Games. The first invitations to the Congress were sent out in January 1894 to only a few individuals in America, South Africa and Australasia. Included with the invitation was the preliminary program of the Congress, with one of the eight topics to be discussed by the Congress members being "The possibility of re-establishing the Olympic Games. Under what conditions would it be feasible?"<sup>22</sup> Most of the associations and clubs that received the January invitations and the preliminary program were those suggested to Coubertin by Charles Herbert, as Coubertin had inquired of Herbert about the names of sporting bodies in the British Empire that might be interested in participating in the Congress.<sup>23</sup> In reply to Coubertin, Herbert provided a list of colonial sports bodies and administrators which included Leonard Cuff. Herbert commented about Cuff at length, stating:

He will front to all the best clubs in Australia and New Zealand if you ask him. He is the hon. sec. of the NZAAA you remember him that tall nice looking fellow over with us in 1892. I have written him to tell him you are sending over [programs and an invitation]. He will do anything you want in that way. That will cover Australia and New Zealand...<sup>24</sup>

On Herbert's recommendation, Coubertin wrote to Cuff and invited him to participate in the Congress. Enclosed with Cuff's invitation was a request to distribute a circular to a number of sporting newspapers and associations throughout Australasia.<sup>25</sup> While unable to attend, Cuff distributed the information to "various athletic associations" as well as "to those Australasian papers that take an interest in athletics."<sup>26</sup> Thus, even before his selection as part of the first IOC, Cuff was working for the dissemination of information about the Games, if only in a limited capacity.<sup>27</sup> Despite declining Coubertin's invitation, the Baron added Cuff to the long list of "Honorary Members" of the International Congress of Amateurs.

When the Congress convened in June 1894, its seventy-nine members divided into two groups: one to discuss the definition, regulation and application of an "amateur," the other to discuss the revival of the Olympic Games.<sup>28</sup> When the two groups reconvened, the Congress passed several resolutions in support of Coubertin's project to revive the Olympics Games, including a resolution that an international committee should be constituted to facilitate the staging of the Olympics and to promote the aims of the Olympic Movement. Coubertin's close association with the Congress' Olympic agenda and his passionate advocacy of the Olympics' revival allowed him a free hand in the nomination of the original International Olympic Committee.<sup>29</sup> Coubertin nominated the following honorary and attending members of the Congress, all of whom were elected unopposed: Lord Amthill (England); Colonel Victor Balck (Sweden); General de Boutowsky (Russia); Leonard Cuff (New Zealand); Jiri Guth-Jarkovsky (Bohemia); Charles Herbert (England); Franz Kemeny (Hungary); Count Lucchesi-Palli (Italy); William Sloane (USA); Demetrius Vikelas (Greece) and Professor Jose Benjamin Zubiara (Argentina). With some pre-planning, Vikelas was elected the first President of the IOC, while Coubertin preferred to assume the position of General Secretary of the Committee.<sup>30</sup>

Only five of the fourteen nominated by Coubertin to the IOC were present at the Congress; the remainder were merely included in the long list of "Honorary Members" in the Congress program.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the Committee chosen by Coubertin, which he envisioned to be "permanent in its principle and stable in its composition - whose members would be representative of Olympism in their respective countries,"<sup>32</sup> left him principally in control of the fledgling Olympic Movement. As he later admitted:

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.<sup>33</sup>

Coubertin had not consulted the "absentee" members before the Congress about their willingness to join the IOC. A few of those nominated were friends of Coubertin, but all were known to him, either through personal contact or correspondence, and it was through these pre-existing relationships that Coubertin imposed on them to accept their selection retrospectively. Coubertin wrote to Cuff the day after the Congress had concluded, informing him of some of the outcomes with

respect to the revival of the Olympic Games and his selection as a member of the IOC. In his reply, Cuff commented that “it must have indeed been gratifying to yourself and your co-workers, as it must have been to all those who take an interest in amateur sport, to see the revival of the Olympic Games settled.”<sup>31</sup> On the topic of his selection as part of the IOC, Cuff stated that he deemed it a “very great honour being appointed to represent Australasia,” telling Coubertin, “you (can) depend on my doing everything in my power to assist you.”<sup>35</sup>

There is little evidence of reaction to Cuffs selection within Australasia, primarily because press reports on the proceedings of the Congress were limited.<sup>36</sup> It is clear that the Australasian press was not particularly interested in “Olympic Games,” the scheme to stage a “Pan-Britannic Festival” being of greater significance. This festival, proposed by Englishman, J. Astley Cooper, involved an amateur athletic contest to be staged at regular intervals. Designed to secure “a thorough representation of the athletes of the British Empire, as well as of English speaking race,”<sup>37</sup> in Australasia the Pan-Britannic Festival was a metaphor for the desire of the colonies to maintain their strong sense of identification with England.<sup>38</sup> While the organisation of the Pan-Britannic Festival proved difficult because of resistance to the scheme within the administration of English amateur athletics,<sup>39</sup> support for the scheme remained strong in Australasia, particularly in the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria.<sup>40</sup> Cuffs position on the IOC and the NZAAA was perceived as disrupting a unified trans-Tasman approach to the Pan-Britannic Festival.<sup>41</sup> The concerns about Cuffs election were summarised by a comment in the Australian newspaper, *The Australasian*:

As the Australasian associations are pledged to Mr. Cooper’s scheme, and Victoria and N.S.W. are now trying to frame suitable athletic contests in connection with it, I hope Mr. Cuff will decline the proposed honour until it is shown whether and why this new scheme is intended to supersede that of Mr. Astley Cooper.<sup>42</sup>

Despite concerns over Cuffs selection because of the potential competition that the Olympic Games presented to the organisation of the Pan-Britannic Festival, his appointment to the IOC established a link between the supporters of the Olympic Games in the region and the body responsible for their management. The role of Charles Herbert was central to Cuffs appointment. Herbert was responsible for bringing the two men into contact in Paris in 1892, and again in 1894, by recommending Cuff highly to Coubertin in connection with the Paris Congress and the administration of sport in Australasia. While explaining how Cuff became known to Coubertin, these facts only partly account for Cuffs nomination to the IOC.

### **Interpreting Cuff’s Selection to the IOC**

**W**ithout evidence concerning Coubertin’s motivations for specifically choosing Cuff, his selection remains open to interpretation. While some authors have concluded, somewhat questionably, that Cuff was selected because he and Coubertin were “friends,”<sup>43</sup> Cuffs selection might best be contextualised with respect to Coubertin’s vision of the IOC and the obstacles facing the Olympic Movement

between 1894 and the staging of the first Olympic Games in 1896. The selection to the IOC in 1894 of so many absent Honorary Members of the Congress was proof that one of the primary objectives was for Coubertin to maintain control of his Olympic enterprise. John MacAloon has suggested that "several of these [IOC members] were paper members only; they hadn't even been present at the Paris Congress, and Coubertin neither required nor desired them to play an active role in the IOC decision making."<sup>44</sup> Can it be assumed then that Cuff, because he was an Honorary Member of the Paris Congress, was always intended by Coubertin to be a member of the IOC in title only? Coubertin's intention to maintain proprietorship over the Olympic Movement was reflected in his selection of IOC members, but it is potentially misleading to suggest that there were not several reasons for the selection of Cuff or any other IOC member. Cuffs inclusion was certainly advantageous to Coubertin in maintaining control of the IOC and the Olympic Movement. Coubertin was aware that Cuffs isolation meant that he did not present an obstacle to his domination of the IOC. Even if Cuff became an active member in Australasia, the New Zealander's absence from the Paris Congress also meant that he did not possess the personal contacts with other members of the IOC, with the exception of Coubertin and Herbert, to be influential in the committee's decision making.

Coubertin's impression of Cuff when they met in Paris in 1892 may also have been influential in the New Zealander's selection two years later. Coubertin endeavoured to select members with whom he held common interests and concepts of amateur sport, so that he would be free to make decisions about the Olympics without encountering strong opposition from within the IOC. Both Cuff and Coubertin were young and accomplished secretaries of national sporting associations and each had firm objectives in the field of international sport.<sup>45</sup> Cuffs interests, like Coubertin's, included a wide range of sports. If Coubertin did indeed select IOC members for their allegiance to "all sports for all,"<sup>46</sup> and not just one sport, then Cuffs involvement with amateur athletics, cricket, baseball and rugby while in New Zealand closely reflected the attitude to amateur sport Coubertin sought to promote through the philosophy of the Olympic Movement. Thus, Coubertin's personal impression of Cuff in 1892, while not necessarily being a "friendship," was most likely a factor in his nomination two years later.

Cuffs location in Australasia was also a useful tool in promulgating the Olympic Movement internationally because it contributed to a certain impression of the IOC which Coubertin could use in the Movement's promotion. In "*Olympic Memoirs*," Coubertin elaborated on his conception of the IOC's membership, describing it as comprising three concentric circles:

...a small nucleus of dedicated and active members; a nursery of willing members capable of being educated along the right lines, and finally, a facade of people of varying degrees of usefulness, whose presence would serve to satisfy national pretensions while lending prestige to the whole<sup>47</sup>

If one supports the interpretation that Cuffs selection was only the conferring of an honorary title, the "prestige" that Cuff added to the Olympic Movement might best be described as a form of "geographic propaganda." Cuffs membership on the IOC,

along with members from the USA, Argentina and Russia, helped create an impression of a truly global organisation. An example of Coubertin's use of geography to promote international enthusiasm for the Games was also evident in his recollections of the support for the 1894 Congress. Despite the fact that by April 1894 Coubertin had "hardly advertised his Congress and almost no delegates had signed up for June,"<sup>48</sup> he later stated:

I never thought of giving up however. It would have been difficult anyhow, for applications to join, without being numerous enough or firm enough, were coming in from all over the world, from New Zealand and Jamaica. as well as Amiens and Bordeaux.<sup>49</sup>

Clearly, Coubertin's use of the New Zealand example is false. Cuff was explicit in his 24 April 1894 letter to Coubertin regarding his attendance, stating "I am sorry that this Association cannot be represented, except through Mr. Herbert."<sup>50</sup> Coubertin's "geographic propaganda" also occurred in his references to other IOC colleagues, namely Herbert (Great Britain) and Sloane (USA), in which he commented that their involvement in the Olympic project did much to "simplify propaganda"<sup>51</sup> because of their nationalities. The fact that Cuff was a New Zealander contributed to the IOC's image as an international body.

While Cuff's nationality was useful to demonstrate the international diversity of the IOC, having an active member in the distant region of Australasia could have been seen by Coubertin as a measure to assist Australasian participation in the Games. Given that Coubertin had little more than "the hope that Congress delegates would return to proselytise for the Games on their return to their respective countries,"<sup>52</sup> an important consideration in selecting the composition of the first IOC was the likely participation of athletes in the inaugural Olympics. The geographic isolation of Australasia proved problematic, however, Cuff's reputation as a dynamic administrator, which was illustrated by his organising of the NZAAA tour of Europe in 1892, would have no doubt been appealing. Coubertin could have been confident that Cuff's inclusion would ensure that athletes from the region would compete in 1896. Lending support to this interpretation is that Coubertin, despite his enthusiasm for the revival of the Olympics and the ideals of Olympism, relied heavily on others for the practical organisation of the 1896 Athens Olympics.<sup>53</sup> As the facts of Cuff's IOC membership reveal, he was active in assisting Coubertin, but the style of Cuff's involvement and external factors that had an impact on his membership meant that the development of an Australasian Olympic team did not eventuate until after his resignation from the IOC in 1905.

### **Cuff's IOC Membership, 1894-1905**

**W**hile Cuff's selection to the IOC linked Australasia with the institutional beginnings of the Olympic Movement, how his membership should be characterised remains debatable. Cuff never attended a Congress or meeting of the IOC, nor an Olympic Games. There are records of Cuff writing exactly five letters to Coubertin during his ten years as an IOC member, all of which were replies to the Baron's correspondence,<sup>54</sup> and only one of which concerned Australasia's

participation at the Olympic Games.<sup>55</sup> He 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. Correspondingly, the early minutes of the New Zealand Olympic Association (NZOA) make no mention of Cuff.<sup>56</sup> Rather, it is Cuffs successor on the IOC, Richard Coombes of Australia, who figures prominently in the NZOA's early minutes and who is identified as having initiated pioneering<sup>57</sup> contributions to the development of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand. While these facts might prompt the conclusion that Cuff was a member of the IOC in title only, he was active during the first few years on the IOC. These efforts were, however, insufficient to fully capitalise on the link that he had established with Coubertin. During his ten years on the IOC, Cuff moved from being an active member in the early years to one who was completely absent from Australasia's participation in the Olympic Movement. Inevitably, this translated into the poor organisation of the Olympic Movement in Australasia and the squandering of opportunities for better Australasian representation at the early Olympic Games.<sup>58</sup>

Between 1894 and the staging of the first Olympic Games in 1896, Cuff made his most active contribution to Coubertin's "grand revival." He assisted Coubertin in making contact with associations and clubs in Australasia that might have been interested in competing. In January 1895 Coubertin reported on Cuffs acceptance of his position as an IOC member and his enthusiasm for the Olympic project in the *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*:

A letter from Leonard A. Cuff, secretary of the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association, member of the International Committee, had just arrived at the general secretariat since the publication of the last number of the Bulletin. The letter gives warm adherence to all the decisions of the Paris Congress and the promise of Australian collaboration which will be as complete as the enormous distance that separates us from the great ocean continent. Mr. Cuff has drawn up a list of Australian Clubs likely to participate in the Olympic Games and has communicated to them the general lines of our project, while waiting to receive the detailed programme that we have announced.<sup>59</sup>

Coubertin's description of Cuffs activities, which portray Cuff as a committed IOC member acting on his own initiative, does not exactly reflect the text of Cuffs letter. Statements such as "you may depend on my doing everything to assist you" and "I have written to obtain the names of Sports Secretaries you require"<sup>60</sup> give the impression that Cuff only intended to respond to specific requests from Coubertin. These requests led Cuff to disseminate information about the Games to officials in the sporting community of Australasia. The most important recipient of Cuffs limited information about the staging of the Olympics was Richard Coombes. Coombes, the President of the New South Wales Amateur Athletics Association (NSWAAA) and the editor of the Sydney-based sports weekly, *The Referee*, received information about the upcoming 1896 Olympics from Cuff, including copies of the Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques, which Cuff received from Coubertin. The involvement of Coombes meant that one of the most influential members of

Australia's amateur athletics community received regular information directly from the region's IOC member. This relationship was significant, since the program of the 1896 Olympics was dominated by athletics events. Thus the responsibility for sending competitors to the Games lay primarily with the colonial amateur athletics associations of Australia and New Zealand.<sup>61</sup> The creation of an information flow to Coombes by forwarding information gained from Coubertin ensured that Cuff gained wider exposure for the Olympics in the short term, as well as involving one of the most prominent figures in Australasian amateur athletics in the Olympic Movement.

The problems associated with Cuffs stewardship of the Olympic Movement in Australasia became evident in the lead-up to the 1896 Games, as he did not exert himself within Australasia towards fielding an official Australasian team for the 1896 Games. For an official team to be sent, strong support was required from within the colonial amateur athletics associations. As Secretary of the NZAAA, Cuff possessed the contacts within amateur athletics to develop a trans-Tasman approach to sending a combined team, which would at least represent the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and New Zealand. While support for Australasian participation in the Olympic Games was growing, early in 1895 Coombes identified the need to address the practical aspects of colonial sporting cooperation if the chance to send a team to Athens was not to be missed, stating:

The project is becoming daily more popular. Our Associations must not altogether lose sight of this great festival. It will follow closely on the second Australasian Championship meeting, and if Australasia is to be represented a team will have to be directly selected from the battle at Christchurch.<sup>62</sup>

The Australasian Amateur Athletics Championships were staged in Christchurch, New Zealand, in January 1896, with the NZAAA hosting teams from the Australian colonies. These championships proved an ideal opportunity for Cuff, as Honorary Secretary of the NZAAA, to organise Australasia's amateur sports administrators to discuss the logistics, finances and selection of an Australasian team for Athens. Yet, as the championships approached, Cuff made no overtures to the region's sports administrators. By June 1895, Coombes expressed frustration in his column in *The Referee*, warning that "if Australasia is to be represented at these Games [Athens 1896] it is about time that something in the shape of a pow-wow was decided upon."<sup>63</sup> Although Coombes directed his comments towards the athletic associations in Australia and New Zealand, it was Cuffs responsibility as the IOC member in Australasia to convene such a meeting. The meeting sought by Coombes never occurred.

Nevertheless, Cuffs efforts to draw up a list of potentially interested sports associations led to Timoleon J. Philemon, the General Secretary of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, inviting the NSWAAA to attend the Athens Olympic Games. Through Coombes, the NSWAAA's President, Philemon requested that a number of invitations be distributed to other sports organisations in Australia that were interested in taking part in the Olympics.<sup>64</sup> Although Coombes received this invitation in October 1895, he deferred any action on organising participants, awaiting action from Cuff as the region's IOC representative. With the passing of the

Australasian Championships in January, Coombes and other sports officials still interested in the Games were left just three months before the Games commenced in April 1896. The result was that no official team from Australasia was dispatched to the Athens Olympics. On 28 January 1896 Cuff replied to Coubertin's letter of November 1895, in which Coubertin inquired about Australasian participation at the Athens Olympics. Cuff stated, in part:

I am sorry to say that I do not think there is any chance of Australasia being represented at the games in Athens. Probably in 1900 when Paris is the scene of the meeting an effort will be made to send a number of competitors.<sup>65</sup>

Cuffs comment that "an effort" would be made for the 1900 Olympics implies that very little effort had been made to secure Australasian participation at the 1896 Olympics. It is unclear whether Cuff was referring primarily to his efforts, or the efforts of the region's sports administrators. The region was, however, represented by a sole competitor, Edwin Flack of Australia.<sup>66</sup>

In trying to reconcile Cuffs apparent helpfulness in compiling the list of sports secretaries for Coubertin in 1894 with his lack of leadership towards the 1896 Olympics, the impact of several factors must be taken into account. First, how did Cuff conceive his role in the IOC and the Olympic Movement? Perhaps Cuff envisaged his position on the IOC merely as an intermediary for Coubertin, rather than an independent member motivated to generate support for the Olympic Games through his own initiatives. Cuffs statements in his 1896 letter to Coubertin that "I have distributed the circulars as requested,"<sup>67</sup> and his regrets that "we cannot do more than wish you every success in your undertaking"<sup>68</sup> reflect Cuffs lack of proprietorship of the Olympic project. His language suggests that he did not have a sense of personal commitment to the Olympic Movement; he assisted Coubertin in "his" project rather than looking for success in "their" shared efforts at staging the Olympics. With the invitations going to Coombes, and subsequently to the other sporting associations in Australia and New Zealand, Cuff may have believed that he had fulfilled the requirements of his position. Similarly, Cuff may have been of the opinion that sending athletes to the Olympics did not require his intervention, since he himself did not intend on competing. This is one feature of Cuffs involvement in the Olympic Movement that separates it from his efforts in the administration of sport, both in New Zealand and later in Tasmania. Cuff may have felt that those who wished to compete had to approach their own sporting associations and develop their own plan for attending the competition, as Cuff had done with the 1892 NZAAA team's tour. What remains an interesting question is why Cuff did not seize the opportunity of the Olympic Games to continue to expand New Zealand's international sporting contacts and reputation, even if he was not competing.

The events of Cuffs life before the 1896 Australasian Championships provide some insight. Captaining New Zealand's first national cricket side against New South Wales in its inaugural international match until the day before the commencement of the Australasian Amateur Athletics Championships would have made it difficult for Cuff to take on any additional responsibilities prior to the Championships. The fact that while he was one of the key figures behind organising this important match, he

was also responsible for the NZAAA hosting the championships as the association's Honorary Secretary, and this would have compounded the restraints on his time. While important in understanding his failure to organise the colonial athletics officials to create an Australasian team for Athens, these events account for one incident, albeit a crucial one, in the lead-up to the 1896 Games.

The lack of information available to the colonial associations to make decisions concerning their participation was a problem for Olympic supporters in Australasia. It was also a reason for Cuffs ineffectiveness as an IOC member. Heavily committed to his ongoing responsibilities in New Zealand sport, Cuff may not have had the time to acquire sufficient details regarding the Games. Instead, he relied on Coubertin to provide the necessary information to facilitate Australasian participation. This information was not forthcoming from Coubertin, the contents of his Olympic Bulletins being designed primarily for the promotion of the Olympic Games rather than supplying information to associations about technical requirements. As David Young has noted, Coubertin became occupied with other things in the months preceding the staging of the Olympic Games in Athens and was not deeply involved in the staging of the first Olympics.<sup>69</sup> Cuff, who was himself busy with the administration of cricket and athletics in New Zealand, appears also to have been a victim of Coubertin's lack of practical involvement prior to 1896. With insufficient time to make the necessary enquiries before the Games commenced, Cuff conceded in January that the region could not attend in 1896. Coubertin must be at least partly accountable for this outcome, as Cuff relied exclusively on Coubertin for information and direction of his actions.

Basically, athletics associations had insufficient detail to commit themselves and their resources to such a substantial and unknown undertaking. Cuff had adopted an intermediary role only between those interested associations in Australasia and Coubertin. Cuffs inactivity left the colonial associations with a lack of detailed information and insufficient time to acquire it before a team would have to depart for Europe to compete. While it had taken the NZAAA over a year to organise the tour to England in 1892, the lack of progress at the Australasian Amateur Athletics Championships in Christchurch left just three months before the opening of the Olympic Games in Athens. Cuffs relevance to the Olympic Movement in Australasia was diminished because he was a poor source of information about the practical organisation of the Olympics; this deficiency contributed to his increasingly marginal position in the Olympic Movement in Australasia.

The factors which compromised Cuffs capacity, or willingness, to organise an Olympic team for the 1896 Games became accentuated after the Athens Olympics. Relocating from Christchurch to Auckland in April 1896 for business reasons, Cuff resigned from the NZAAA and from several other prominent New Zealand sporting organisations based in Christchurch. Eighteen months later, Cuff moved again, this time to Australia. After participating in the Amateur Athletic Conference in 1897, which resulted in the creation of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia (AAUA), Cuff moved to Melbourne in October of that year before finally settling in Launceston, Tasmania in 1899. The request of the NZAAA for Cuff to be the Association's delegate at the conference illustrates that he was still an influential and respected figure in Australasian amateur athletics. Cuffs decision not to take an

active role in the AAUA left Coombes to assume the pivotal role in Australasian amateur sport as the President of the newly formed AAUA. The creation of the AAUA was significant for the development of the Olympic Movement in Australasia because, for the first time, the amateur athletics associations of the region, which were the main organisations that would field representatives for the Olympics, were now members of one umbrella organisation. However, by this time, Cuff had withdrawn completely from the administration of amateur athletics, although he retained his position on the IOC for another six years.

The simultaneous creation of the AAUA and Cuffs withdrawal from amateur athletics changed the significance of Cuff to supporters of the Olympic Movement in the region. By 1897 Coombes was President of the AAUA and the NSWAAA, and in conjunction with his position as the editor of *The Referee*, began to take an active role in the management of Australasia's early association with the Olympic Games. When Archie Baird, Honorary Secretary of the NSWAAA, travelled to Europe on business in 1898, Coombes used the opportunity to ask Baird to obtain practical information regarding the organisation of the next Olympic Games in 1900. There is no evidence to suggest that Cuff was involved in this process, except for providing Baird with a letter of introduction.<sup>70</sup> Baird used his travels to "glean all the information he could about the Olympian games in Paris,"<sup>71</sup> making representations on behalf of the NSWAAA and the AAUA. Reporting on a letter from Baird in his athletics column in *The Referee*, Coombes related that:

Mr. Baird is willing to go into the matter thoroughly with the authorities in Paris, and glean all possible particulars for the benefit of the A.A.U. of Australasia, but requires official authority to act before doing so.<sup>72</sup>

Baird's correspondence with Coombes highlighted that it was Coombes, and not Cuff, from whom Baird's authority came to make inquiries on Australasian participation at the 1900 Olympics. One month later, Baird wrote again to Coombes discussing his role in acquiring information on the 1900 Olympic Games for the AAUA. Reproduced in *The Referee*, Baird's letter illustrated that inquiries concerning the participation of both Australia and New Zealand at the 1900 Olympic Games were being conducted by Baird and directed to Coombes as President of the NSWAAA and the AAUA, rather than to Cuff as Australasia's IOC member.

Baird's trip highlighted several trends that were emerging during the first two years of Cuffs IOC membership and which became accentuated in the years following the 1896 Olympics. By 1898 Coombes had become impatient with the lack of leadership and information provided by Cuff to those interested in the Olympics. While Coombes had deferred taking any action because of Cuffs position on the IOC, it was clear that changes in the management of the Olympic Movement in Australasia were required if the region was to be represented in Paris in 1900. The expectations of interested parties in Australasia had not been met by Cuffs efforts as a member of the IOC. Therefore, after the 1896 Games, Coombes, on behalf of the amateur athletics associations of the region, began to establish his own links with Coubertin, the IOC, and the Organising Committee for the 1900 Olympic Games. The changing circumstances of Cuffs own life, which saw him relinquish his

influence in amateur sport in New Zealand, contributed to his decreasing position within the supporters of the Olympic Games in the region. By 1898, Cuff was superfluous to the development of the Olympic Movement in Australasia and irrelevant to its management. Residing permanently in Tasmania from 1899 onwards, he made no active contribution to the Olympic Movement or Australasian participation at the 1900 or 1904 Olympic Games. This inactivity, while perhaps reflecting Cuffs belief that he had achieved his primary function of connecting the amateur sports association's of Australasia with Coubertin, proved to be a point of frustration for Coombes, who had become the central figure in the Olympic Movement in Australasia because of Cuff's inactivity. Yet Cuff remained an IOC member.

Before the 1900 Games, Coombes began to articulate his unhappiness with the situation, protesting that "all the nations of Europe are represented, but Australia and South Africa appear to be out in the cold."<sup>73</sup> Although Cuff was originally from New Zealand, his move to Australia did not jeopardise his position on the IOC as he was nominated as the member in Australasia. Evidently, Coombes viewed Cuffs continuance on the IOC as being detrimental to Australian interests in the Olympic Movement and through separate representation, he sought to gain the access needed to the IOC and to by-pass Cuffs ineffectiveness to secure greater Australasian involvement in the Olympics.

Possibly with a little prodding from Coombes, Cuff finally decided to relinquish his position on the IOC.<sup>74</sup> On 18 January 1905, Cuff wrote to Coubertin offering his resignation: "It has been my intention for sometime back to write and resign my position as a Committeeman on the International Olympic Committee for Australia, owing to having dropped out of Athletics."<sup>75</sup> Reflecting on his ten years as an IOC member, Cuff concluded his letter of resignation: "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 courtesy (sic) you have always shown."<sup>76</sup>

Coubertin replied to Cuffs letter, asking him to reconsider, but Cuff reaffirmed his decision and offered his recommendation of Richard Coombes as his successor on the IOC. As the President of the AAUA, related Cuff, Coombes was "in close touch with officials of affiliated Associations, the active members and the likely competitors"<sup>77</sup> for the next Olympic Games in London, 1908. Cuffs long overdue resignation and recommendation of Coombes as his successor was, however, little more than a nominal change. Through the AAUA, the sporting body that Cuff had helped to establish, Coombes had managed the Australasian support for the Olympic Games during the final seven years of Cuffs membership, encouraging the region's participation at the 1900<sup>78</sup> and 1904<sup>79</sup> Games. Although one of the initial objectives for the creation of the AAUA was to send a combined Australasian team to the British Championships in 1898, under Coombes the AAUA became the organisational structure for the development of the Olympic Movement in Australasia. The features of Coombes' management, which evolved in response to the events and deficiencies of Cuffs IOC membership, shaped Australia and New Zealand's participation in the Olympics into the 1920s and the structure of Australia's NOC into the 1980s.

Cuffs role as the “link” between Australasia and the Olympic Movement is important in understanding some of the difficulties the IOC had in translating its objectives into the participation of athletes throughout the world in the early Olympic Games. Communication between Cuff and Coubertin was sparse and it is clear that the links, although established, were insufficient to have had a significant impact on the spread of the Olympic Movement in Australasia. Clearly, had Cuff taken a more active and positive approach as the IOC member in the region, the history of the Olympic Movement in Australasia might have been radically different.

## Notes

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2. Stated simply, and for the purposes of this article, the Olympic Movement is the effort to spread knowledge of the Olympic Ideals, or Olympism, throughout the world. The Olympic Games are only part of the Olympic Movement.

3. Prior to Australian Confederation in 1901, representative teams from the Australian colonies of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, and the colony of New Zealand, competed in Australasian Athletics Championships which were staged biennially under the terms of the “Australasian Amateur Athletics Agreement” signed between the colonies’ Athletic Associations in 1893. As Honorary Secretary of the NZAAA, Cuff was one of the architects of this agreement, which evolved into the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia (AAUA) after the Agreement had run its term in 1897.

4. Cuff was an influential member of the amateur sport community of New Zealand. His efforts in the Canterbury Amateur Athletics Association, the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association (NZAAA), the Canterbury Cricket Association and the New Zealand Cricket Council (NZCC) transformed the colony’s inter-provincial and international cricket and amateur athletics from sporadic occurrences to regular and well-organised events. His support for sending representative teams in the NZAAA and the NZCC resulted in athletics teams touring Europe (1892) and competing in Australia (1890, 1893, 1897) and the first overseas tour by the national cricket team to Australia (1899).

5. Newspaper clipping from *The Christchurch Press*, 1890, date unknown. From the collection of Margaret Fraser, Palmerston North, New Zealand. Ms. Fraser is a descendant of Derisley and Peter Wood, who were New Zealand athletics champions and teammates of Cuffs on the NZAAA tour of 1892. Fraser’s collection of original newspaper clippings, photographs and memorabilia is based on her personal interest in intercolonial athletics in the 1890s.

6. The comments of “Vanderdecken” in the *Sunday Times* (London), which challenged the validity of Harold Batger’s hurdling performances, were reproduced in the New Zealand press. Comments such as: “that the particulars of the number and

height of the hurdles were not given, and without these comparisons might be more than usually odious” were reflective of the scepticism of colonial records and the attitude to colonial sport as being technically inferior to English sport. *The Christchurch Press*, 1892, date unknown. From the collection of Margaret Fraser.

7. *The Christchurch Press*, 1890. Date Unknown. From the collection of Margaret Fraser.

8. Scott A.G.M. Crawford, “Athletic Images and the Cultural Canvas of New Zealand Sport,” *Sporting Heritage*, 1, 1994, p. 58. For a discussion of the significance of colonial sporting tours to England on the development of national identity in the antipodes, see also Scott A.G.M. Crawford, “Rugby and the Forging of a National Identity,” in John Nauright (Ed.), *Sport, Power and Society in New Zealand. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ASSH Studies in Sport History, 11 (Sydney: Australian Society for Sports History, 1995), pp. 5-20; and John Nauright, “Colonial Manhood and Imperial Race Virility: British Responses to Post-Boer War Colonial Rugby Tours,” in John Nauright and Timothy J. L. Chandler (Eds.), *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 121-139.

9. As quoted in *The Christchurch Press*, 19 July 1892. From the collection of Margaret Fraser.

IO. Letter from Cuff to F. Wilding, President of the NZAAA, 13 May 1892. Copies of Cuff's Letter Book from the 1892 NZAAA tour of Europe were provided courtesy of Margaret Fraser.

11. Letter from Cuff to Wilding, 13 May 1892. Fraser Collection.

12. *The Christchurch Press*, 9 March 1892. From the collection of Margaret Fraser.

13. *The Christchurch Press*, 9 March 1892. From the collection of Margaret Fraser.

14. Letter from Cuff to Wilding, 13 May 1892. Cuff and Herbert had been in communication prior to the NZAAA team's arrival in England, as they were the Secretaries of their respective amateur athletics associations and were responsible for organising the NZAAA team's engagements during the 1892 tour. The fact that Cuff nominated Herbert to be the NZAAA representative at the International Congress of Amateurs in 1894 (since no one from the NZAAA was attending) is further evidence that the two men communicated and collaborated on the organisation and regulation of amateur athletics within their respective spheres of the British Empire. The most logical interpretation on the NZAAA team competing in Paris is that Herbert proposed the competition to Cuff once the New Zealanders had arrived in England. Had he suggested it to Cuff when he was still in New Zealand, then it would probably have been reported in the correspondence at a NZAAA's Committee meetings and in press statements.

15. Herbert was acting as a judge at the competition in Paris, but his attendance was also based on the fact that two of England's most prominent amateur athletics clubs, Oxford University and the London Amateur Athletics Club were competing. The fact that two such prominent clubs were competing may have given Cuff additional motivation to attend the Paris competition.

16. Programme de Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques, 3e Grande Reunion Internationale, Paris, 9 July, 1892.

17. Harry Gordon, *Australia at the Olympic Games* (Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1994) p. 17.

18. Gordon, p. 17.

19. Letter from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 24 April 1894. International Olympic Committee Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland. (Hereafter cited as IOC Archives, Lausanne.)

20. Letter from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 4 September 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland.

21. See Dietrich Quanz, "Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism: Framework for the Founding of the International Olympic Committee," *Olympika*, 2, 1993, pp. 1-23.

22. *The Referee*, 31 January 1894, p.7.

23. Herbert discussed clubs and officials from Port Elizabeth in South Africa, Calcutta in India, Toronto and Montreal in Canada, South America and Australasia, and commented on their possible invitation to the Congress. Letters from Charles Herbert to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 10 January 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne. David Young refers to some of these clubs, stating that they were contacted despite being too far away to attend the Paris Congress. See David C. Young, "The Origins of the Modern Olympics: A New Version," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 4, 3, 1987, p.296.

24. Letter from Herbert to Coubertin, 10 January 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

25. Although none of the letters from Coubertin to Cuff have survived, the content of Coubertin's requests can be inferred from the text of Cuff's reply, dated 24 April 1894.

26. Letter from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 24 April 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne. The athletic associations to which Cuff refers were presumably the other major colonial amateur athletics associations in Queensland (QAAA), Victoria (VAAA) and New South Wales (NSWAAA). References to Cuff in the athletics column of *The Referee* prove that Cuff at least contacted this publication in connection with his undertaking to Coubertin on the distribution of information. *The Referee*, 20 March 1894, p.3.

27. Exactly how much Cuff knew about Coubertin's revival of the Olympic Games when he was initially contacted about the Paris Congress cannot be determined. Given that Cuff only received the preliminary programme of the Congress (which had only one agenda item related to the Olympics as opposed to the three in the final version received by most delegates) and that he made no mention of the Olympic Games in his reply of 4 April 1894 suggest that Cuff may not have had a full understanding of Coubertin's main objectives at the Paris Congress.

28. For elaboration, see John MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981); Young, *op.cit.*, "The Origins of the Modern Olympics: a New Version," pp.271-300.

29. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Paris Congress and the Revival of the Olympic Games", *Olympic Review*, Nos. 101-102, 1981, p. 163.

30. David C. Young, "Demetrios Vikelas: First President of the IOC," *Stadion*, XIV, 1, 1988, pp.85-102; and Young, "The Origins of the Modern Olympic Movement: A New Version," pp.271-300. It should be noted that in the second Bulletin of the IOC

(October 1894) a modified list of members was published: Count Lucchesi-Palli was replaced by Count Andria Carafa, and Count Max de Bousies (Belgium) was added. Norbert Müller, *One Hundred Years of Olympic Congresses, 1891-1991: History-Objectives-Achievements* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1994), p.36.

31. Of the fourteen original IOC members only Coubertin and Callot (France), Lucchesi-Palli (Italy), Sloane (USA) and Vikelas (Greece) were present at the Congress. See Müller, p.36.

32. Coubertin, p. 163.

33. Ibid.

34. Letter from Cuff to Coubertin, 4 September 1894, IOC Archives, Lausanne

35. Ibid.

36. Ian Jobling, "Australia and the 1896 Olympic Games," Unpublished paper presented at the Fifth International Seminar for Educationalists, International Olympic Academy, Ancient Olympia, Greece, 1982.

37. *The Referee*, May 15, 1895, p.7.

38. Katharine Moore, "One Voice in the Wilderness: Richard Coombes and the Promotion of the Pan-Britannic Festival Concept in Australia, 1891-1911," *Sporting Traditions*, 5,2, 1989, pp. 189-190.

39. One of the reasons the Pan-Britannic Festival encountered resistance in English athletics was that Charles Herbert, Secretary of the English Amateur Athletics Association, was a key supporter of Coubertin's project to revive the Olympic Games and was a member of the 1894 IOC. As a consequence, Herbert was not enthusiastic about the Pan-Britannic Festival, fearing that it would run in opposition to the Olympic Games at the very time when Coubertin and the IOC were trying to promote international participation in the Olympics.

40. *The Referee*, 12 January 1898, p.7. Moore also identifies this strong support in the Australian colonies, Moore pp. 190-192.

41. Cuffs acceptance of his position on the IOC was seen to jeopardise the future of the Pan-Britannic Festival by weakening Australasia's support for the scheme. As Honorary Secretary of the NZAAA, as well as an IOC member, Cuffs membership was seen as having a detrimental impact on Australian support for the Festival as the NZAAA was the only amateur athletics association in the region officially affiliated with the Amateur Athletics Association in England. *The Referee*, 26 January 1898, p.7.

42. *The Australasian*, 4 August 1894, p. 194. As quoted in Ian Jobling, "The Crumpled Laurel Wreath: International Sport in Disarray, Australia and the Olympic Movement, 1894-1936," *Sport and the Elite Athlete: Proceedings of the 50th ANZAAS Congress*, Adelaide, May 1980, p. 121.

43. Harry Gordon's assumption that Cuff and Coubertin were "friends" is potentially misleading as no evidence exists to substantiate the qualitative nature of the relationship between the two men. Cuffs references to his time in Paris illustrates that this was a pleasant experience for the New Zealander and that he was grateful to Coubertin for his hospitality, but to conclude there was friendship is dubious. See Gordon, pp. 15-24.

44. MacAloon, p. 180.

45. In 1894 Coubertin was General Secretary of the USFSA while Cuff was the Honorary Secretary of the NZAAA.

46. MacAloon, p. 160.

47. Coubertin, p.292. Coubertin's Olympic Memoirs were published in 1931. Clearly, some allowance should be made for comments which occurred nearly forty years earlier. Jean Leiper has stated: "Coubertin conceded, 'I had full liberty in the composition of the IOC. The list proposed was elected without alteration'. When this was written in 1931 his memory must have told him that the candidates names had been put forward to the Congress and accepted, but no other document of proof could be found." Jean Leiper, "The International Olympic Committee: The Pursuit of Olympism , 1894-1970," PhD Dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1976, p.75.

48. Young, "Myths and Mist Surrounding the Revival of the Olympic Games," in Fernand Landry, Marc Landry and Magdeleine Yerles (eds.), *Sport: The Third Millennium: Proceedings of the International Symposium* (Sainte-Foy, Presse de l'Université Laval, 1990) p. 108

49. Coubertin, p. 161.

50. Letter from Cuff to Coubertin, 24 April 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

51. Coubertin, p. 160.

52. MacAloon, p. 179.

53. Young, "The Origins of the Modern Olympics: A New Version," p.286.

54. Of the five letters Cuff wrote to Coubertin during his ten-years as an IOC member, two were regarding Cuffs election to the IOC, and two were in relation to his resignation from the IOC in 1905. In only one letter, in 1896, did Cuff actually discuss subjects relating to the Olympic Games. In that letter Cuff stated that Australasia would not be able to send a team for the 1896 Games, but that he hoped that Australasia would participate in the 1900 Games in Paris. The list of associations forwarded to Coubertin is not located in the IOC Archives.

55. Letter from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 24 January 1896. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

56. Although the New Zealand Olympic Association was not formed until 1911, had Cuff been active in the development of the Olympic Movement in New Zealand, it is likely that his efforts would have been acknowledged in the Association's first meetings. See New Zealand Olympic Association Minute Book, 1911-1912, 1920, New Zealand Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.

57. New Zealand Olympic Association Minute Book, 1911-1912, 1920; Further examples are cited in Gordon Craig, *The Olympic and British Empire Games Association: New Zealand Participation in Each and the History of the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Games Association* (Wellington: NZOBEGA, 1954), p.3.

58. During the period of Cuffs membership on the IOC, the following Australian athletes competed: Edwin Flack (1896), Fred Lane, Donald Mackintosh, Stan Rowley

(1900), Corrie Gardiner, Leslie McPherson (1904). Athletes from New Zealand first competed in the Olympic Games in 1908.

59. Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques, Janvier, 1895, p.2. Translation, A. Rivard, 1995.

60. Letter from Cuff to Coubertin, 4 September 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

61. The expense confronting amateur athletes who were interested in competing in the Olympics reinforced the necessity of the Amateur Athletic Association to become a sponsoring agency. For example, the cost of single passenger berths from Sydney to London ranged from 35 to 70 pounds, and 65 to 105 pounds return. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 January 1896, p. 1.

62. *The Referee*, 20 March 1895, p.7.

63. *The Referee*, 3 July 1895, p.7.

64. *The Referee*, 16 October 1895, p.7,

65. Letter from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 28 January 1896. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

66. Edwin Flack, at the age of twenty-two, had been sent from Melbourne to London by his father to gain further experience as an accountant. He travelled to Athens for the Olympic Games and, after winning the 800 metres and 1500 metres track events, both the press and sporting organisations in Australia gave greater significance to this first multi-nation, multi-sport event. It should be noted, however, that Flack's presence in Athens was not the result of specific efforts of athletic clubs or associations within Australia or New Zealand.

67. Letter from Cuff to Coubertin, 24 April 1894. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

68. Letter from Cuff to Coubertin, 28 January 1896. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

69. Coubertin was occupied with his forthcoming marriage and the writing of a book on French history. Young, "Demetrios Vikelas: First President of the IOC," p.85.

70. Baird subsequently used this letter to arrange a meeting with Charles Herbert. Although Herbert was also an IOC member, Cuff's influence was from his former position as Honorary Secretary of the NZAAA, which unlike the NSWAAA, was officially affiliated with the English AAA of which Herbert was the Secretary.

71. *The Referee*, 11 May 1898, p.7.

72. *The Referee*, 7 September 1898, p.6.

73. *The Referee*, 19 April 1899, p.6.

74. Gordon, p.46.

75. Letter from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 18 January 1905. New Zealand Pierre de Coubertin Committee, Report to the International Olympic Committee, Wellington, New Zealand, 1991. Cuff did refer to himself as the IOC representative for "Australia," not "Australasia," probably because he had been residing in the Australian state of Tasmania since 1899.

76. Letter from Cuff to Coubertin, 18 January 1905. IOC Archives, Lausanne.

77. Personal correspondence from Leonard Cuff to Baron Pierre de Coubertin, 17 April 1905, New Zealand Pierre de Coubertin Committee, Report to the International Olympic Committee, Wellington, New Zealand, 1991.

78. *The Referee*, 26 January 1898, p.7.

79. *The Referee*, 2 July 1902, p.6.