

ONE VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS: RICHARD COOMBES AND THE PROMOTION OF THE PAN-BRITANNIC FESTIVAL CONCEPT IN AUSTRALIA 1891-1911

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The celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, which saluted the splendour of the Empire, can be seen as the ceremonial apogee both of her reign and of the massive Empire. Since the Queen's accession in 1837, the area and population of the Empire had increased dramatically. One result of this process was the regular airing of the desire for closer relations between Britain and her far-flung colonies, particularly the so-called self-governing dominions whose inhabitants were predominantly of British descent. Throughout the nineteenth century many proposals, both formal and informal, were put forward as methods to create closer ties within the Empire. Some plans were political in nature, others involved potential economic and commercial unions and agreements, but all inherently supported the belief that increased links among its constituent members would strengthen the Empire. One suggestion, and its long-standing promotion in Australia, is the centre of examination in this article.

In 1891, John Astley Cooper proposed the establishment of a periodic festival to celebrate the industrial, cultural, and athletic prowess of the Anglo-Saxon race. The scheme was one of many designed to strengthen links within the Empire, but its uniqueness lay in the fact that it included a major sporting component. Indeed, the athletic portion soon overshadowed the other two aspects, and Cooper's Pan-Britannic Festival concept was the first detailed plan of a multi-sport gathering for the Empire to appear in print. Its impact within Australia was quite marked; what follows is an initial inquiry into why Richard Coombes championed this cause, and what effect Coopers suggestion had on the social history of Australia between 1891 and 1911.

Coombes' own background is a key to understanding his devotion to the Pan-Britannic Festival idea. Born in England in March 1855,

Coombes completed his grammar school education while active in running, sculling, walking, and bicycling.¹ After emigrating to Australia in 1886, Coombes immediately became involved in the administration of sport, and the next year helped to found the New South Wales Amateur Athletic Association. He was its vice-president for six years, and thereafter served as president until his death in 1935. In the late 1880s Coombes began to contribute articles to the *Referee*, Sydney's largest sporting newspaper. He joined the staff in 1890, and later became editor. Coombes wrote on a variety of sports using several pen-names, and it was from this influential position that he was able to promote the Pan-Britannic Festival with regularity. Mandle states that Coombes never lost his English accent,² and his support for the sentiment of cohesion within the Empire remained firm throughout his life. As his obituary notice described Coombes, "Dick might have become an Australian, but in spite of every temptation, including a job as jackeroo...he has remained an Englishman"³ The debate and discussion about the Pan-Britannic Festival provided Coombes with the opportunity to promote Australian sport while at the same time pursuing Empire unity.

The imperialist periodical *Greater Britain* contained an anonymous article in mid 1891 which argued that the Empire needed a more visible British bond and a nationally recognised, and nationally subsidised, contest of the British race.⁴ The importance of sport was stressed clearly from the first. "Athletic exercises", it stated, "should have a place, for before we are a political, or even a commercial and military people, we are a race of keen sportsmen".⁵ Although the article was full of sentiment but short on specific detail, the idea of a multi-sport contest captured the attention of many newspapers and periodicals around the Empire. A column in *The Cape Times Weekly Edition* marked the first of many colonial opinions on the feasibility and usefulness of a Pan-Britannic contest. Published on the last day of an English rugby team's tour of South Africa, the article is a typical example of the fusing of sporting competition with the acknowledged superiority of the British. In this regard, the multi-faceted proposal (which soon would be credited to John Astley Cooper) was viewed as an ideal vehicle since it would allow for both rivalry in mental culture and athletic exercises, while also providing a forum, for the display of the various resources of the British dominions.⁶

It is evident that Cooper's scheme had caught the interest of many individuals, but he had presented just enough information to cause considerable confusion and speculation as well. On 30 October 1891, the *Times* published a letter in which Cooper sought to present his concept in a more precise form. The industrial and culture sections of the proposal were outlined in some detail, but this article will concentrate on the sporting suggestions. The future relationship of the various portions of the Empire, wrote Cooper, rested chiefly in the hands of the young men of the Empire, including young England, young Australia, young South Africa, and young Canada, and an Imperial athletic contest would be very attractive to most Englishmen whether settled in the United Kingdom or resident beyond the seas.⁷ This certainly proved to be true in the case of Richard Coombes. The proposed athletic contests initially included rowing, running, and cricket, that great Imperial link. The argument for Cooper's Pan-Britannic Festival was strengthened by his perceptive comment that the cultural, industrial and athletic links already were in existence, and he was merely identifying some funding schemes whereby those ties could be made firmer by coming together periodically for a celebration of Imperial achievements.

The nineteenth century concept of Imperial Federation had met with a mixed reception in Australia, and the Pan-Britannic Festival may have been seen as a more acceptable alternative. Although Cooper insisted that his Pan-Britannic Festival was not a direct response to Imperial Federation, many Australian newspaper articles implied or stated that it was - or could be. Blackton has concluded that by the end of the century, "affection remained, but loyalty, the mark of the Briton in 'the colonies' was in decline".⁸ One sport which demonstrates this attitude clearly is cricket. The summer of 1891-2 saw a tour by Lord Sheffield's team which included W.G. Grace among its members. Mandle claims this tour rekindled flagging interest in cricket in Australia, and it also helped to reduce some of the inter-colonial conflict which had influenced the sport for many years. The decade leading up to political federation saw Australian cricket teams consolidate themselves as a national unifying force, directed much of the time to beating England.⁹

Throughout 1892 it was the athletic portion of the Pan-Britannic Festival movement which received the most attention in the press. In Australia, the proposal was debated and discussed by men of position and influence. A letter printed in the *Times* from the Hon. James Service, former premier of Victoria, reiterated the belief in the strength of sentiment as a bond in the Empire. Service noted that Cooper's idea had obvious and powerful reasons behind it, and anyone who had the permanent unity of the British people at heart would support it." The Hon. J. Ballance, Premier of New Zealand, wrote to Cooper commenting on his proposal, and the *Times* reprinted the correspondence in June 1892. The theme of the value of unity was carried on by the statesman, and he concluded Cooper's games were calculated to establish that unity of sentiment without which no political compact was likely to endure.¹¹ Sport was seen as a convenient vehicle to pave the way for more practical agreements.

Coombes entered into the debate, via the *Referee*, in the middle of 1892; the issue of 17 August contained an extremely long article which filled much of the front page of the paper. The contribution was essentially a justification for the scheme, but it also contained one prophetic comment; Coombes wrote that "the signs of the times are that athletics will have a more powerful effect upon the Empire in time to come than has been the case for centuries".¹² He went on to say that the suggestion reminded him of the Olympian games of old - this statement made two years before Coubertin's Sorbonne gathering to discuss his plans to "revive" the ancient Games. The appeal of sporting links rather than political ones was common to most Australians, Coombes concluded, for "while politics estrange friends, athletics widen and warm the circle of friendship on every hand".¹³ Coombes soon struck up a prolific written relationship with Cooper, and although the rate of communication between Great Britain and Australia was relatively slow, the *Referee* published any items it was sent concerning the Pan-Britannic idea, and Coombes regularly took the opportunity to editorialise on the subject.

It is clear that Cooper had proposed a plan which was very popular in theory, but its translation into practical reality proved to be somewhat difficult. The idea of a periodic multi-sport

gathering for the Empire was widely accepted in principle; however, as time passed and no precise details about staging the event were forthcoming, many parts of the Empire appeared to lose enthusiasm for the project. Coombes was one of the last to admit that the suggested proposal had failed, and even then he considered it postponed rather than abandoned. Throughout 1892, 1893 and 1894 a precise record of events and discussions about the Pan-Britannic Festival were prominent in the *Referee*, entries which reveal a fair degree of activity in Australia related to the proposal. More than one athletic traveller to England during 1893 was deputed to seek out Cooper and obtain details as to where and when the great gathering was to take place. The request for more information was regularly printed in the *Referee*, and one can sense the frustration of a far-off colony pleading for further details from one excerpt: "What we want is a clearly drawn outline of the scheme. To all intents and purposes we are in accord with the principle of Mr. Cooper's idea".¹⁴

In spite of the lack of precise information made available to them, the athletic associations in Australia and New Zealand proceeded to plan for a trip to compete in the home country. By May 1893 it was reported in the Australian press that Pan-Britannic Games were to be held in London in 1894, and that a representative Australasian athletics team was being formed. In July the *Referee* reprinted parts of a letter from Cooper to the secretary of the Victoria Amateur Athletic Association in which Cooper stated that South African and Canadian athletes were pledged to come to London in July 1894, and that enthusiastic support for the competition was now of the utmost importance. In conclusion, Coombes also noted that the details of the athletic programme should come properly from the Amateur Athletic Association in England, but apparently no governing body in that country was willing to undertake the practical initiation of the project.¹⁶ Although the excerpt should be regarded primarily as Coombes' personal opinion, it is interesting that the same hint about the AAA not doing all it could to promote the Pan-Britannic idea appeared in print in several newspapers throughout the Empire. The exact nature of the role of the AAA in connection with Cooper's scheme has been difficult to assess, but it is very clear that most colonial athletic bodies, as well as many in England itself, looked to the AAA for leadership in promo-

ting and establishing the Pan-Britannic Festival; it did not materialise.

One example of practical support for the proposal came from Sir E.T. Smith, former mayor of Adelaide, who offered a contribution of £100 towards the Australian team for the Pan-Britannic Games providing nine other residents gave the same amount. Smith wrote directly to Cooper with his offer, and the letter was printed both in the *Times* and the *British Australasian*.¹⁷ The promise of financial support came at a time when travel costs loomed as a major obstacle to the successful initiation of the festival, but the continuing uncertainty about precise arrangements led to the failure of this offer being taken up. However, Coombes remained loyal to Cooper's plan, and was a central figure in a meeting of delegates invited to Melbourne in November to discuss the subject. Representatives from the Victoria Amateur Athletic Association, Victoria Rowing Association, New South Wales Amateur Athletic Association, and New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association passed two resolutions: the first warmly approved of the scheme, and the second proposed communicating with the different English Associations, asking whether any concerted action could be expected from them in the event of an Australian team being sent to England.¹⁸ After the conference Coombes rightly noted that without the cooperation of the various sporting organisations in England, Cooper's scheme would collapse regardless of support from the colonies.¹⁹

The momentum surrounding the Pan-Britannic Festival ebbed as the months of 1894 passed. Few tangible developments occurred which moved the proposal towards fruition, and even the faithful *Referee* reluctantly printed a statement by Coombes in October declaring that the Pan-Britannic Olympiad scheme was dead, and that no further effort would be made in Australia to arouse any interest in it.²⁰ Although Cooper had written widely about his plans, it appears he actually did little in a practical way to advance his own cause; he clearly saw himself as the inspirational promoter of the Pan-Britannic scheme, not its practical administrator. Cooper's idea had a significant amount of theoretical support, but its practical details were never worked out. By 1894 another idea for a worldwide multi-sport gathering was attracting attention in many quarters, and its increasing popularity contributed directly to the

demise of Cooper's proposal: the 'revival' of the Olympic Games, spearheaded by Baron Pierre de Coubertin.

Despite the mounting support for the Olympic Games movement, Australia continued to reveal its sentimental backing for Cooper's proposal from time to time. In August 1894 *The Australasian* reiterated the widespread public support for the Pan-Britannic Festival, and queried "whether and why this new scheme [Coubertin's Olympic Games] is intended to supersede that of Mr. Astley Cooper".²¹ The *Referee* reinforced the point early in 1895: "...some of the newspapers are confusing the establishment of these Olympian Games with the "Pan-Britannic" movement, which is quite a different idea, and which was started in 1892". It went on to speculate that Cooper's plans may have influenced Coubertin to a considerable degree. "The most striking features of the proposed Olympian Games, no doubt, are borrowed from the "Anglo-Saxon Olympiad" and "Pan-Britannic" scheme".²² The two initiators of these movements present an intriguing contrast: Cooper was an imperialist dreamer who wrote extensively but did little in the practical promotion of his ideas; Coubertin was an active aristocratic idealist who wrote, spoke, and travelled widely, spending money tirelessly in the pursuit of his dream.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was one of immense political importance for Australia. The path had been a particularly tortuous one for the champions of federation among the various states; one author has described the domestic situation as one in which "there was no overriding motive for unity to counteract provincialism and rivalries".²³ At least two sports stand as an exception to this statement. Mandle argues that "clearly Australian cricket was, by the 1890s, a successful symbol of what national co-operation could achieve".²⁴ The formation of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia, proposed by Coombes in 1897 and officially constituted in 1899, allowed for serious discussion, among several states and New Zealand, about a representative athletics team travelling to London for the 'record reign' festivities associated with Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. The celebration appeared to be another good opportunity for the initiation of a Pan-Britannic Festival, but again the chance was lost.²⁵

Early in 1899 Cooper's proposal again received considerable press coverage in the *Referee* when its possible staging was linked to the Australian cricket tour of England.²⁶ That idea produced discussion in the media but no tangible competition. When the Commonwealth of Australia was officially created on the first day of the new century, 'Commonwealth Games' were held in Sydney on 4 January as part of the festivities, bringing together competitors from Western Australia (in its first national appearance), Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria, and New South Wales in several sports. The historic occasion of political federation was commemorated by sporting contests, something Coombes had long desired and promoted.

The next several years saw Coombes concentrate more on domestic sport, although by 1905 he had succeeded L.A. Cuff of New Zealand as the International Olympic Committee representative in Australasia. The physical remoteness of Australia meant that Coombes relied heavily on personal correspondence for his information about sport in various parts of the world, and he regularly published excerpts of his mail in the *Referee*. But in December 1910 a visit from William Henry, general secretary of the English Life-Saving Society, gave Coombes cause to believe that his promotion of Cooper's Pan-Britannic Festival had not been in vain. The coronation of King George V was scheduled for June 1911, and Henry was organising an Empire Sports Carnival to be included in the events.²⁷ Discussion about the Festival of Empire sports would take up a significant amount of space in the *Referee* throughout 1911. As always, concern about financing a representative team was paramount.

Although the actual structure and format proposed by J. Astley Cooper for his Pan-Britannic Festival was not reproduced in the Festival of Empire, the powerful sentiment of lavishly proclaiming the achievements of the British Empire survived the twenty year gap between suggestions. Cooper had called for a celebration of the Empire's industry, culture, and athletic ability, and although the media promoted the sporting aspect almost to the exclusion of the other two, he felt all three areas had important contributions to make to his plans. When the Festival of Empire did take place in 1911, the cultural and industrial aspects were accompanied by a small but significant sporting programme, and the balance which Cooper had desired was approached. The athletic portion of the Festival evolved into a three team contest with representatives

from Australasia, Canada, and the United Kingdom competing for the Lonsdale Cup in athletics, swimming, wrestling, and boxing. There is no evidence of any consideration being given to having female competitors in the sporting events, nor of including non-whites in the contests. Certainly the invitations did not extend beyond adult males in the white dominions.

In mid February 1911 a meeting of interested amateur sportsmen was convened in Sydney to discuss New South Wales representation in London, and the financing of such a venture. The ubiquitous Richard Coombes noted that both Victoria and New Zealand had pledged to support their representatives financially, and he highlighted the announcement that the Dominion government had agreed to give a subsidy of £ for £ up to £500 towards the cost of sending New Zealand amateur athletes to the Festival of Empire.²⁸ After a lengthy discussion, the members agreed to open a public subscription list first, and then, if necessary, to seek funds from the state government. Not a lot of sympathy was anticipated if the latter course had to be taken. Although the team in London would be called Australasia, each state and New Zealand was responsible for selecting and funding its own representatives. Coombes presided over the Australasian Festival of Empire Committee which attempted to coordinate team travel and accommodation, and was asked to be honorary manager of the team on 23 February. Time was of the essence, for the Australasian representatives would have to leave for London in March or April, and each issue of the *Referee* from this date on carried news and information about the team.

On March 15 the *Referee* reported that the premier of New South Wales had been convinced to provide a subsidy of £ for £ up to £200 to assist the state's representatives,²⁹ and the final composition of the Australasian team was announced: Tennis - A.F. Wilding (New Zealand); Swimming - H. Hardwick (New South Wales), M.E. Champion (NZ); Running - G.A. Wheatley (Victoria), G. Haskins (NZ), W.A. Woodger (NZ); Hurdles - F.P. Brown (Vic); Wrestling - W. Smythe (NSW), F.W. Schneider (NSW); Boxing - H. Hardwick (NSW); Hon. Manager - R. Coombes (NSW).³⁰ Coombes himself sailed for London on 11 April, and continued to provide reports for his newspaper while en route; one competitor, the wrestler Smythe, travelled with Coombes, but the rest of the team members made their own way to

England. Only one Australasian representative would be allowed in each event, so it was important that members kept in training during their long voyages.

The King and Queen officially opened the Festival of Empire on 12 May 1911 "amid manifestations of enthusiasm it would be found difficult to equal", an occasion which embodied "the hopes and sentiments of so many of Their Majesties' subjects in England and in the self-governing Dominions abroad".³¹ All the Australasian team had arrived in London by the end of May, including the late addition Ronald Opie of New Zealand who went on to win two medals in the sprints. The Council of the Festival of Empire hosted a banquet for the overseas athletes on 22 June, at which Lord Desborough, president of the Council, emphasised the value of athletic contests in furthering goodwill and friendship between nations and other parts of the Empire. Richard Coombes responded to the toast to "The Visitors".³²

At the athletic events on 24 June, Wheatley claimed the silver medal in the 880 yards race, Guy Haskins placed third in the mile, and Frank Brown won a bronze in the 120 yard hurdles to join Opie as medallists. The strong showing by Canada came as a surprise to Coombes, who had fully expected his team to be battling the United Kingdom for top honours on the track. In the two swimming events, Malcolm Champion placed third in the one mile race, while Harold Hardwick finished first in the 100 yard sprint. Hardwick completed a unique swimming/boxing double victory by also taking the gold medal in heavyweight boxing, and William Smythe was the third place wrestler at middleweight. The fate of lawn tennis, twice removed from the official programme and reinstated once, was of great concern to Coombes, but he dropped his quest for its inclusion when it became obvious that Australasia had been relegated to third place in the final standings, and could not claim the Lonsdale Cup even if tennis were played.

The Inter-Empire Games concluded on a unifying note when Lord Desborough hosted a dinner on 21 July at which all competitors and officials were presented with medals. Several speakers alluded to the benefits of interaction among Empire members both on and off the field of play, and Lord Desborough referred to the series of discussions among representatives of the competing countries which

could lead to increased cooperation in sport. One result of these meetings was the proposal, put forward by Richard Coombes and James Merrick of Canada, that the Empire countries should assemble in London for a week before departing for the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm, train together as an Empire team, and travel as a unit to the Games.³³ Coombes expounded the thinking behind his philosophy further in the *Referee*: "This is surely the very ideal of Empire - the forces of the Mother Country and her children, the Colonies, congregating on the shores of Britain to concentrate the forces of Empire, and then voyaging to the battleground of Stockholm to challenge in friendly warfare the best of the world's athletes" .³⁴

While in London, Coombes took the opportunity to discuss the state of sport in the Empire with several officials, and he was not shy about expressing his lack of satisfaction concerning certain aspects. The *Referee* contained an extensive article in which it was concluded that "it would appear to be due to a lack of interest by Englishmen in sport beyond England, and even within England itself a casual interest"³⁵ which resulted in a dearth of British athletic visitors to the colonies. The modest attendance at the various sporting events during the Festival of Empire had prompted Coombes to record his displeasure, and he was particularly critical of England's apparent lack of support for the athletic events of 24 June: "All the enthusiasm on Saturday was shown by the Colonials... The British public did not take the meeting seriously - and they could scarcely be expected to do so, in view of the manner in which the authorities dealt with it".³⁶

Although the Australasian team placed a disappointing third in the competition, several lessons were learned which Coombes outlined in his manager's report. The team had been dogged by injuries to Haskins, Woodger, and Opie, and was considered by the other participants to have been unlucky after travelling thousands of miles to compete. Coombes was clearly impressed with the performance of the Canadian team, both in management and training, and cited that country's preparations as an example for Australasia to follow; their Victory [in claiming the Lonsdale Cup] was thoroughly merited, and well won by athletic ability and thoroughness of method combined".³⁷ Coombes emphasised his belief that it would be

far better not to be represented at such gatherings than to be represented by a team, the component parts of which are more or less 'on their own' owing to force of circumstances. "In my opinion it is absolutely imperative that in future all members of teams leaving these shores should travel together and remain together at least until the Games to be participated in are over".³⁸

Because the various states and New Zealand had selected and supported their representatives separately, there was no joint fund upon which to draw when expenses incurred by the team as a whole had to be met, and Coombes felt this financial arrangement had to be changed for future Games. The management structure of the team put Coombes, as Hon. Manager, under considerable strain, and he recommended that in future it was imperative to have a captain or director of the team quite apart from the manager or secretary. While in London Coombes felt obliged to take on all the official duties for the team, and he was assisted by J. Waterhouse, who acted as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer. But even two men could not properly supervise all aspects of the presentation of a small but widely scattered team with diverse training needs. In spite of these difficulties, however, there was no doubt about the value of the multi-sport competition to the Empire. Coombes began his Festival of Empire report with the statement that "...much and lasting good will be the outcome of our participation therein, despite our want of success".³⁹ It was a graceful gesture, in the best tradition of British sportsmanship.

A series of Colonial and Imperial Conferences, dating from 1887, had periodically brought the self-governing parts of the Empire together to discuss common concerns. As Hancock described it, "many people in 1911 saw the futility of advocating political union and yet...wanted to arrest the drift towards greater independence".⁴⁰ The Imperial Conference held in May and June 1911 presented its delegates with the complex task of finding a place within the framework of 'Empire both for local autonomy and the kind of authority and dignity the Foreign Office and Colonial Office were determined to retain'.⁴¹ Multi-sport competition emerged as one possible solution. The notion of family unity began to be applied more to the world of sport than to political philosophy.

Support for the Festival of Empire Games came primarily from Canada and Australia, not from the home country, and the two dominions saw a way to retain a degree of cohesion within the Empire through regular private sporting festival where various members would get to know one another better.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Cooper when unveiling his Pan-Britannic Festival plans in 1891, and Coombes' loyalty to this plan was finally rewarded in London in 1911. Coombes had remained an Englishman in Australia, and his loyalty to the concept of Empire was unyielding. A statement about his unique role in Australian sport was made in 1924 where Coombes was described as "this living link between the finest traditions of English sport at its most romantic period, and the actual accomplishments of Australian sport at its most businesslike period".⁴² In the decade leading up to political federation in 1901, many sports in Australia were becoming more organised on a national basis, and certainly in the case of athletics the possibility of representation at Pan-Britannic Games led to the creation of a national governing body.

The promotion of Cooper's plan in Australia allowed Coombes to stimulate sport on a national level while also demonstrating his unfailing belief in the value of the Empire. The Pan-Britannic Festival did not have a more loyal supporter than Coombes, and the broader impact of the movement on Australian history reveals more to us than has previously been acknowledged. The multi-sport movement in Australia gave the young country the opportunity to show a degree of independence while at the same time pledging itself to the ideals of the Empire. For Richard Coombes, there was no difficulty with these apparently conflicting objectives. He saw sport as a means of creating a national identity as well as an increasingly important factor in the cohesion of the Empire. The promotion of the Pan-Britannic Festival concept between 1891 and 1911 gave Coombes the chance to consolidate both these beliefs.

FOOTNOTES:

1. P. Serle, 'Richard Coombes (1855-1935)'. *Dictionary of Australian Biography*, Volume 1 (Sydney: Angus & Robertson 1949), p.193.
2. W.F. Mandle, 'Richard Coombes'. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol.1, 1891-1939, "C1-Gib: General Editors: Bede Nairn and Geoffrey Serle (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1981), p. 104-05.
3. "Grand Old Man of Amateur Sport Passes - Death of Richard Coombes". *Referee*, Thursday April 18 1935: 3.
4. "Many Lands - One People. A Criticism and a Suggestion". *Greater Britain*, No.9 (July 14 1891, p.461.
5. *ibid.*
6. "A Britannic Olympiad". *The Cape Times Weekly Edition*, September 16 1891: 17.
7. "The Proposed Pan-Britannic or Pan-Anglican Contest and Festival". Letter to the Editor by J. Astley Cooper. *Times*, October 30 1891: 3.
8. C.S. Blackton, 'Australian Nationality and Nationalism, 1850-1900'. *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand* (May 1961), p.365.
9. W.F. Mandle, 'Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.59, Part 4 (December 1973), p.239.
10. "The Proposed All-English-Speaking Gathering". *Times*, May 27 1892: 4.
11. "The Pan-Britannic Festival". *Times*, June 15 1892: 8.
12. "Our Notebook - The Proposed Pan-Britannic Festival and Athletic Contest". *Referee*, August 17 1892: 1.
13. *ibid.*
14. *Referee*, February 8 1893: 3.
15. *Referee*, May 24 1893: 1.
16. *Referee*, July 12 1893: 1.

17. "The Proposed "Pan-Britannic" Gathering". *Times*, July 26 1893: 9; and "The Proposed "Pan-Britannic" Gathering". *The British Australasian*, July 27 1893: 895.
18. "The Pan-Britannic Olympiad". *Referee*, November 22 1893: 1.
19. *ibid.*
20. *Referee*, October 24 1894: 3.
21. *The Australasian*, August 25 1894: 326.
22. *Referee*, May 8 1895: 7.
23. W. David McIntyre, *Colonies into Commonwealth* (London: Blandford Press 1974), p.88.
24. W.F. Mandle. "Cricket and Australian Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century", *op.cit.*, 241.
25. As expected, Coombes made this point clearly in the *Referee*. See "Our Notebook - A Pan-Britannic Festival". March 31 1897: 1.
26. See "Prodigal's" column in: *Referee* January 4 1899: 6; *Referee* January 11 1899: 5,6; *Referee* January 25 1899: 5,6; *Referee* January 25 1899: 10.
27. "The Festival of Empire - Australasian Representation". *Referee*, December 7 1910: 9.
28. "Festival of Empire Games - The Australasian Team". *Referee* February 22 1911: 9.
29. "The New South Wales Section of the Australasian Team". *Referee*, March 15 1911: 9.
30. "Festival of Empire Games". *Referee*, March 15 1911: 9.
31. "Their Majesties Open the Festival of Empire at the Crystal Palace." *Our Empire*, Vol.II, No.8 (June 1911), p.202.
32. "Festival of Empire Sports". *Referee*, June 28 1911: 9.
33. "Empire Olympic Team". *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada* held at The King Edward Hotel, Toronto, Nov. 23rd 1912: 8.
34. "Olympic Games of 1912 - Empire Team to Mass in London". *Referee*, September 27 1911: 9.

35. "Why is England So Apathetic in Reciprocating in the Matter of Inter-Empire Visits?" *Referee*, August 9 1911: 1.
36. "Empire Festival Championships". *Referee*, August 2 1911: 1.
37. R. Coombes, "Festival of Empire Games London, 1911: Report of the Tour of the Australasian Team." Issued by the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia, 1.
38. *ibid.*
39. *ibid.*
40. I.R. Hancock, 'The 1911 Imperial Conference'. *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol.12, No.47 (October 1966), p.364.
41. *ibid.*, 372.
42. J. Drayton and R. Moses, "Smith's Weekly", January 26 1924, quoted in *Referee*, April 18 1935: 3.