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Sport in the Waikato, c. 1897–1974: Narratives of Play, Identity and Belonging

A thesis

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Abstract

Regional identities and allegiances in New Zealand have most often been revealed at sporting events. From the colours worn, the slogans chanted, and even the ringing of cowbells, players, teams and supporters have presented facets of their collective character. This thesis engages with narratives of sport in the Waikato region over a period of eighty years to examine these representations as they produced meanings of sporting activities for local people. Informed by competing ideas about historical truth, the thesis interprets printed media as reconstructions of both recurring events, and belonging and membership, to investigate the place of sport in the region, and to decode the ways these stories of drama and contest contribute to the development of some components of a local identity.

Historically, the area now known as the ‘Waikato’ was part of the Auckland Province. The thesis argues that sport is at the centre of a notion of separation from the urban metropolis, and provided opportunities to demonstrate a growing independence. By examining examples of recurring sporting events such as the annual Ngāruawāhia Regatta, regular Auckland/Waikato rugby matches, Empire and Commonwealth Games participation, and regular lawn bowls tournaments, the place and function of sport in a regional space is able to be, in part, exposed. Uneven, often subtle, changes, both in aspects of these events and in the representations of them, reveal underlying tensions and power relationships.

Local, if not exclusive, understandings of the place and role of Māori, and depictions of normative gender roles, are central to the analysis of these relationships. Sport is most often a social activity, and dissection of the newspaper texts has enabled the formation of ideas about the ways sports-men, and sometimes women, are collectively presented and organised. In much of the material used, these men and women are also the most recognisable and celebrated ‘heroes’. Consideration of the role of heroes in the formation of culturally constructed group identities informs the thesis, and the relationships between local sporting participants and groups are also important. Divisions, dissension, and competition for resources are all revealed in the reported activities

of sports organisations, and changes in the importance afforded these endeavours are also apparent.

The focussed, critical use of a local media source provides a consistent, if sometimes homogenous, group of historical narratives. The inclusion of local club and association histories, often produced with extensive use of newspaper archives, changes the perspective and enables a more nuanced examination of the place of different types of heroes, of gender norms and, most importantly, of the ways sporting organisations see and project themselves as part of the region. The stories they collectively choose to remember and tell are central to this narrative of the place of sport in the Waikato.

Acknowledgements

The production of this thesis has been a lesson in the importance of sustained belief and support. I would first like to thank the University of Waikato for awarding me a doctoral scholarship which not only provided financial backing, but also gave me the confidence to take up the challenge of doctoral study.

This has been a long and arduous process – with an accompanying narrative that has often moved between hope and despair. I absolutely would have not arrived at this point without the efforts of my supervisors. I am grateful to the original team of Professor Giselle Byrnes and Associate Professor Toni Bruce, especially for their enthusiasm for the topic, and their patience as I organised my initial thoughts. Of the current panel, Dr Rowland Weston, has continued to express faith in my ability to complete this thesis, and his unfailing support and considered feedback have been invaluable in sustaining my confidence. Associate Professor Holly Thorpe has so willingly and generously given me the benefit of her considerable expertise in sports studies. Holly has challenged me to look at the topic and material from a number of different angles, and I greatly appreciate all her guidance. Professor Catharine Coleborne has, without fail, been supportive and enthusiastic. As an exceptional historian, she has been an invaluable role model and mentor, and this thesis is ready for submission as a direct result of her outstanding coaching and tenacity. I am more grateful that I could ever convey for the time and effort Cathy has given to this project, and for her consistently positive encouragement.

I first studied history at the University of Waikato over twenty five years ago, and my abiding interest in, and enthusiasm for, the ‘past’ is a result of the teaching of Peter Gibbons. His knowledge and intellect continue to inspire me. The History Programme at the University of Waikato has produced a number of exceptional PhD theses in recent years, and I have enjoyed the time spent in the tearoom with my fellow students. My wonderful friends and colleagues at the University of Waikato Library have kindly provided assistance with locating resources, particularly Kathryn Parsons and her New Zealand Collection team, and with last minute formatting - thanks Hinerangi. Many more of the Library staff have enthusiastically followed my progress and helped to sustain me when the going got tough. Carla Jeffrey and Lois Park, in particular, have been supportive and encouraging.

This thesis is, in large measure, the result of a happy childhood spent watching and playing sport. I am very thankful to my parents, Neil Blackburn and Mary Blackburn for providing those experiences, and for their love and support. I would

also like to thank my mother-in-law Dulcie Buckley for her continued faith that I would get finished, and for the shared laughter I so sorely needed at times. I am very grateful to my wider family and friends who have put up with me talking about Waikato sports history for the past seven years, and helped me to see the bigger picture.

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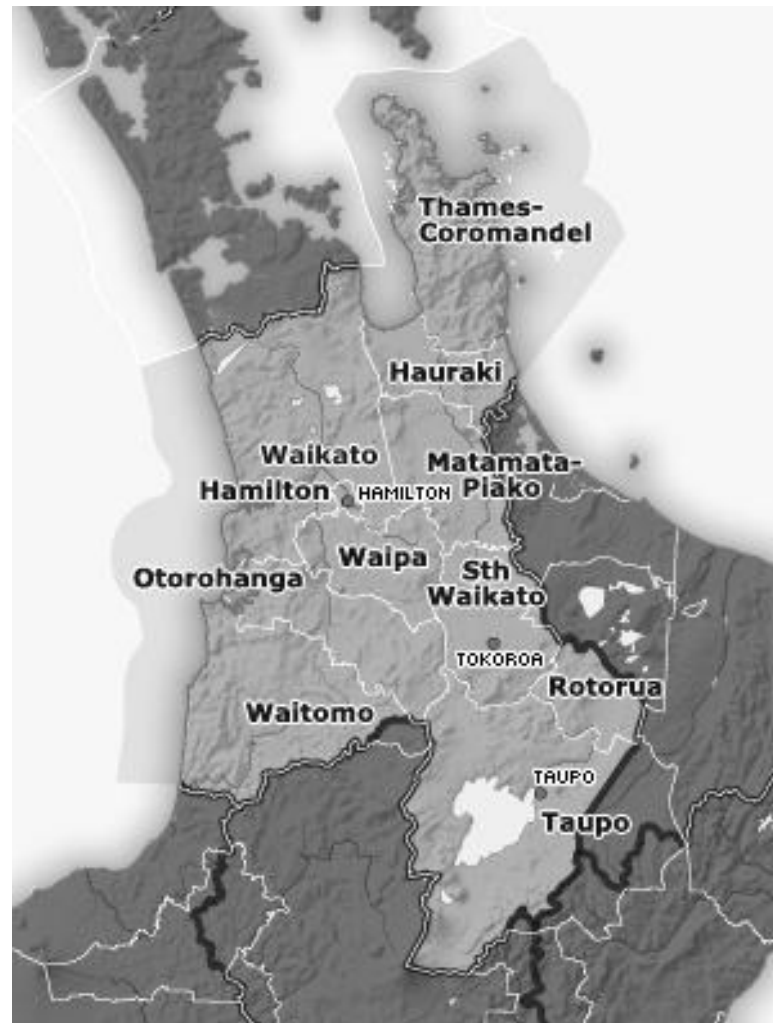
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Map of the Waikato Region



Map sourced from:
Local Government in New Zealand
<localcouncils.govt.nz/lcip.nsf/wpg_url/Profiles-Councils-by-region-Waikato> [accessed 20 February 2106]

Introduction

As a child, I spent many winter Saturdays at rugby grounds in Hamilton and other Waikato towns. The other rugby kids and I would watch parts of the game, responding to the ebb and flow of the excitement of the adults. We would smell the wintergreen-scented liniment, look around the grounds and stands for empty bottles that could be exchanged for the sizeable sums of 2 or 5 cents, and pester our parents to buy us a Big Ben pie. When the game was finished, we would go back to the 'club' and, if we were lucky, have a lemonade and some potato chips while our Dads (and sometimes our Mums) sat and drank draught beer shared out of cold glass jugs. They would talk about the game, arguing the merits of 'keeping it in the forwards' or 'kicking for touch', and the mood usually depended on whether our team had won or lost. Sport was the central focus of this small community. It provided the reason for our gathering and whether it was watching rugby, or the netball I played in the mornings, sport was a normal and integral part of my ordinary life. I also knew that there were times when sport, again usually rugby, was a much more important 'event' for the Hamilton and wider Waikato communities. On 15 July 1961, the Waikato rugby team defeated the touring French team by 22 points to 3. The radio commentary of that game was pressed onto a 45rpm vinyl record and, as I grew up, I could listen to the back line moves that resulted in my father scoring two tries for the Waikato team. While touring sides didn't come every year, we were often able to go with our red, yellow and black colours and our cowbells, to watch Waikato take on another provincial side, sometimes our despised northern neighbours, Auckland. These were times that we saw our community together and we knew that we belonged.

Sport and Memories in the Waikato

This thesis situates and interprets my personal recollections of sport in the Waikato inside a larger intellectual framework. It argues that 'sport', in many and varied forms, is a central feature of Waikato communities. In particular, by

looking at the production of narratives of a range of local and international sporting events, and of club histories, I contend in this body of work that the represented place of sport in the Waikato over time tells us about communities, group ties, and notions of identity and belonging. Sport becomes a codified way in which events provide places for communities to gather, create and relate stories, and for imagined and real group bonds and norms to be made, reinforced or disrupted. The analysis of newspaper coverage of regular sporting events provides insights into the discourses surrounding sport, but also allows historians to examine the ways in which these mediated narratives illuminate gradually changing cultural norms.

Sporting activities have long been integral in the creation of individual, local and regional identities. This thesis reveals and excavates these layered identities, using related aspects of ethnic representations, group and gender definitions, hero creation, and collective memory as narrative axes. It has, at its core, the premise that sport has historically functioned as a foundational scaffold upon which ideas of 'the Waikato' have been composed, represented, and sustained.

Nationwide stories can, while having more constituent parts, provide neater lines, clearer boundary definitions. However, placing a spotlight more closely on regional sporting stories allows me to move away from the idea of 'national' and 'New Zealand' history, or to complicate the stories told within that paradigm, in ways that follow recent scholarly works.¹ Tony Ballantyne has challenged the focus on 'New Zealand', and the use of local histories as constituent parts of a compiled national narrative.² He advocates for the centring of attention on 'local life' that enables a 'close scrutiny of patterns of sociability, institutional development and cultural practice'.³ He also emphasises the importance of 'place' in the development of historical narratives.⁴ The 'local' is an enduring foundation

¹ One prominent local call to look beyond, or within, 'New Zealand' is from Peter Gibbons in 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37.1 (April 2003), 38-49. The idea of 'New Zealand' and New Zealand histories is also problematised in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009).

² Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), pp. 268-269.

³ Ballantyne, pp. 262-263.

⁴ Ballantyne, p. 246

in this thesis, and ‘place’, both with regard to the physical location and the represented construction, is a pivotal concern. This results in a narrative that is both more layered and nuanced than a broad national study would allow.

Historical ‘evidence’ is fragmentary; only a small amount of what has actually happened in the past remains either in texts or in memory, and any records, in this case primarily newspaper archives, provide a small, filtered slice of the sum of human activity. In this thesis, published material is approached critically and with due attention both to the subjective constitution of the product, and the selected nature of the data compiled for this study. Each chapter begins with a small piece of my personal history, and in this way, my relationship to, and knowledge of, the subject matter of each chapter is framed by narrative. This is included to provide an explicit acknowledgement of the reflexive nature of this work, not as a claim to, or marker of, authenticity.⁵ It is also to underscore the importance of storytelling in the creation and reinforcement of communities, and to promote the role of narrative as a conduit through which ideas of place might be revealed.

At the end of *The Field*, a detailed study of the writing of sports history, Douglas Booth concludes that there is a need for:

Self-awareness within the historian that she or he plays a creative role in the production and presentation of history and that this role even extends to gathering and interrogating the remnants of the past.⁶

The obvious, but sometimes overlooked, place of perspective in the research and writing of historical narratives is a feature of this study.

This thesis is primarily composed of the examination of the printed media representation of a number of recurring sporting events: the Ngāruawāhia Regatta, an annual, albeit changing, occasion and festival which has included rowing and other sporting competitions; a provincial rugby match held each year in Hamilton between Waikato and Auckland men’s teams; the local and national presence at

⁵ Caroline Daley, “‘The Ref’s Turned a Blind Ear’: The Cultural Paradigm and New Zealand’s Sport History”, *Sporting Traditions*, 27.2 (2010), 15-27 (p. 18).

⁶ Douglas Booth, *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (Oxford & New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 221.

the Commonwealth Games; and a selection of Hamilton and Cambridge lawn bowls tournaments. The first event, the Regatta begins in 1897 and, although some of these competitions are ongoing, the end point of most of this thesis is 1974, which coincides with the British Commonwealth Games held in Christchurch. In addition, by this time, control of the Regatta had moved away from the Regatta Committee and the public representation of the relationship between the Waikato and Auckland rugby teams was clearly established. The final major chapter interrogates local club and association histories to provide a different perspective on identity creation and historical memory, and to promote these published narratives as valid and rich public representations of belonging.

The focus on these events allows the development of a narrative in which I recognise, and reveal, subtle and uneven changes in the representation of the Waikato, and in the operation of sport in this area. Other, also changing, contextual backgrounds, are employed to further enable the construction and place of sporting narratives to be explored.

Sport and the local – the Waikato Region

The title and subject matter of this thesis contains an inherent geographical limitation, a sense that the subject of ‘writing sport’ in this area might somehow be dependent upon the features and geography of this particular region. I do not claim any particular variance between the basic experiences of sport for this area, as opposed to other parts of New Zealand, or further abroad. However, as noted above, this is my ‘place’ and, moreover, a physical boundary enables a more focussed historiographical survey.

What is, or constitutes, ‘the Waikato’ is fluid in terms of both time and physical definitions, and the naming and mapping of physical spaces is an artificial and socially contingent construction. By placing a boundary, imagined or real, around a particular geographical place, and therefore separating it from ‘other’ places, the possibility is created for an assumption of difference, and/or, uniqueness. However, if the implications and potential limitations of a prescribed physical space are put aside, any definition of ‘Waikato sport’ changes depending on the

Netball New Zealand, Regions

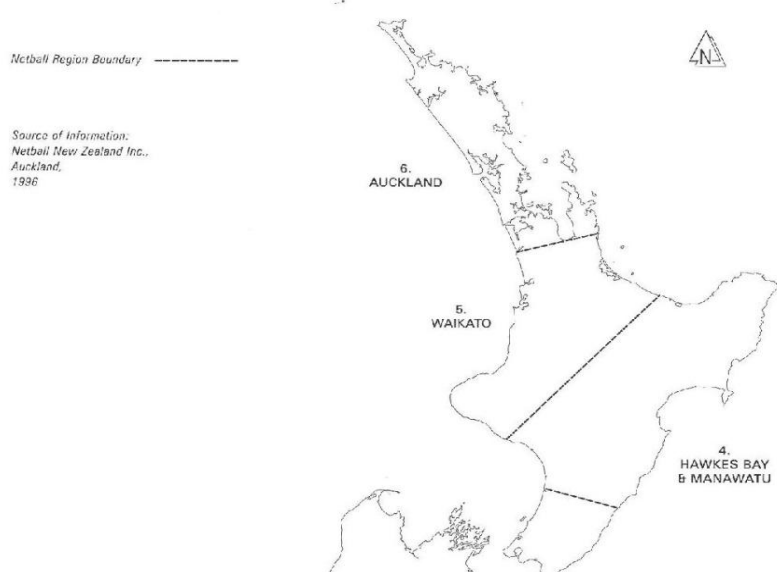


Figure 2: Netball New Zealand, Regions, Jan Kelly & Brian Marshall, *Atlas of New Zealand Boundaries* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), Plate 14.12.

As with the organisation of sporting activities, the broader histories of the Waikato region are a series of changing and contested texts always dependent upon the perspective and attitudes adopted in their construction. In very simple terms, the Waikato in 2016 is seen as a fertile, dairy farming, provincial place, in contrast with the more sophisticated urban sprawl to the north in Auckland, and as a newer/more recent ‘development’ than the early European settlement areas in other parts of the country, including the Canterbury and Otago regions in the South Island of New Zealand. In the current professional sporting era, it is also increasingly portrayed as the place where high-performance athletes, including rowers and cyclists, congregate. The central physical feature of the area is the Waikato River which runs from Lake Taupo up to the Tasman Sea at Port Waikato, and which was (and is) vitally important spiritually, socially and economically to the Māori people/tāngata whenua of this area.⁸ The river has

⁸ The Māori peoples of Aotearoa/ New Zealand are the original/indigenous inhabitants of this country. The term ‘tāngata whenua’ (translated as ‘people of the land’) places emphasis on their

provided a way into, and through, the often swamp filled lands of the central parts of the region, for as long as human beings have inhabited this place. Apart from very minor adjustments following the creation of the Auckland ‘supercity’ in 2010, the current Waikato regional boundaries are determined by the catchment area of the Waikato River.⁹

A number of intersecting and fluid Maori iwi and hapu groupings lived in the Waikato area before the arrival of Europeans.¹⁰ Most shared a heritage which linked them to the Tainui waka (canoe) which travelled from the ancestral Pacific home Hawaiki, although some groups in the east and south of the area were affiliated with the Te Arawa waka.¹¹ By the late 1840s, local hapu were producing and supplying food and various agricultural products to Auckland and further afield.¹² This use of the fertile Waikato soil for food production would be a continuing defining feature of the region.

One of the other significant aspects of the early history of the Waikato is the process by which it was ‘settled’ by Europeans/Pākehā in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹³ In Phillippa Mein Smith’s *A Concise History of New Zealand*, the only indexed reference for the Waikato is subtitled ‘Invasion of’.¹⁴ This invasion of parts of the area by colonial and British troops in July 1863, and the subsequent initial confiscation of 1.2 million acres (480,000 hectares) of land following the defeat of Māori resistance, is a major historical event that provides

symbiotic and historic relationship with the land of their birth and their ancestors. See <<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/papatuanuku-the-land/page-4>> [accessed 17 February 2016]

⁹ *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas: Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, ed. by Malcolm McKinnon with Barry Bradley & Russell Kirkpatrick (Auckland: D Bateman in association with Historical branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1997), Plate 98; and *Belonging to the Land - Te Hononga Ki Te Whenua: People and Places in the Waikato Region*, ed. by Evelyn Stokes & Margaret Begg (Hamilton: Waikato Branch, N.Z. Geographical Society, 1997), p. 215.

¹⁰ See Appendix 1, the Glossary, for a translation and explanation of Maori words.

¹¹ Evelyn Stokes, ‘Te Whenua Tautohetohe: Land in Contention The Waikato Region in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Belonging to the Land - Te Hononga Ki Te Whenua: People and Places in the Waikato Region*, ed. by Evelyn Stokes & Margaret Begg (Hamilton: Waikato Branch, N.Z. Geographical Society, 1997), p. 4.

¹² Stokes, p.10.

¹³ The Māori term Pākehā, includes all New Zealand inhabitants with European ethnic backgrounds or heritage. ‘Settler’ is another term used throughout the examined archive.

¹⁴ Phillippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, Cambridge Concise Histories Series (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 301.

background for this thesis.¹⁵ Other publications also foreground this historical episode, and the enabling legislation including the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, noting both the scale and seemingly arbitrary nature of the confiscation.¹⁶

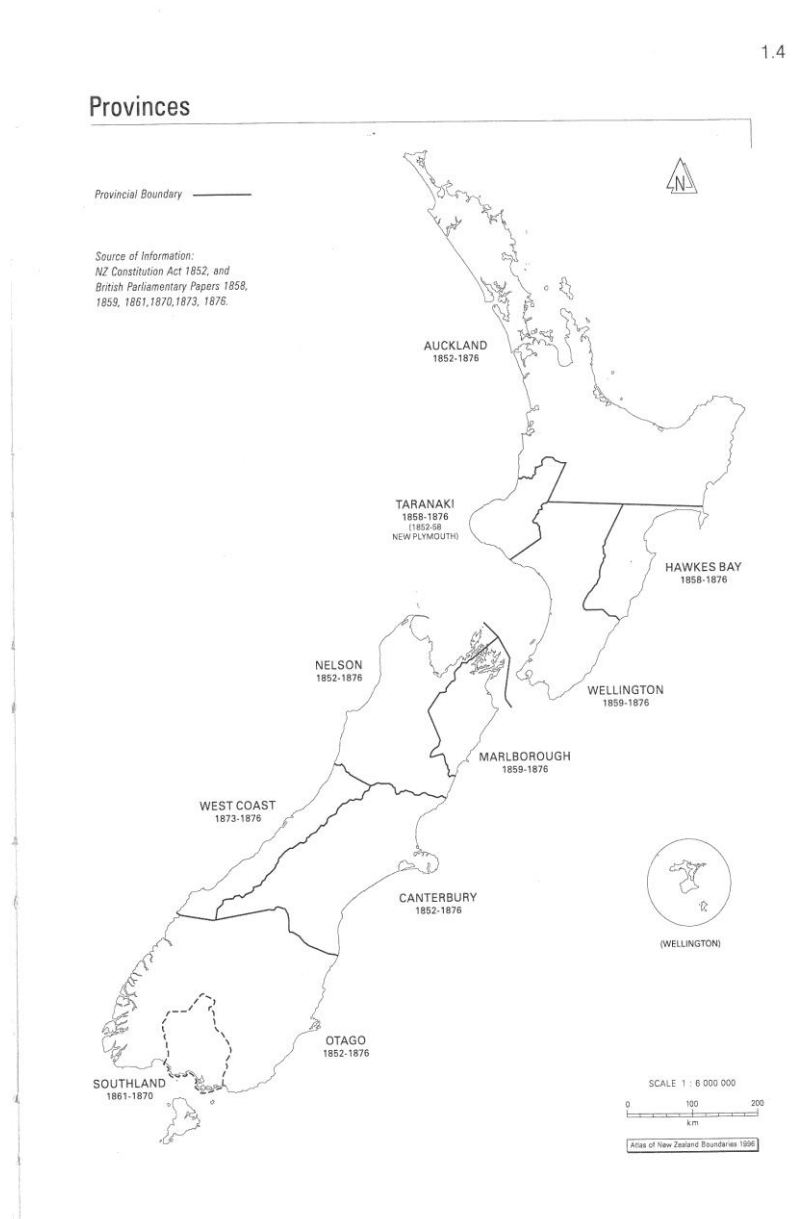


Figure 3: Provinces, Jan Kelly & Brian Marshall, *Atlas of New Zealand Boundaries* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996), Plate 1.4.

It is likely that the early (and some subsequent) relationships that developed between the city of Auckland and the more rural Waikato stem, in large part, from

¹⁵ 314,000 acres (125,600 hectares) were subsequently returned to some Māori by, although not necessarily to those hapu and iwi who had traditionally lived there.

¹⁶ *New Zealand Historical Atlas: Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, Plates 38, 39.

this invasion, confiscation, and subsequent occupation and settlement by armed militia. The Waikato area was formally part of the Auckland Province until the disestablishment of the provinces as political entities in 1876. (Figure 3). Many later maps still designated much of the northern part of the North Island of New Zealand as the Auckland Province well after this date, and the Waikato Region was not officially separated from Auckland until the establishment of the Waikato Regional Council in 1989.¹⁷ This area appears to have been seen as an extension of greater Auckland, and a sense of ownership extended both to the land and the sporting arena. In his history of Hamilton, Peter Gibbons discusses the land speculation that occurred in the 1870s, noting that ‘the acreages controlled by these [Auckland] investors were vast’.¹⁸ The Auckland connection is also obvious in other areas, particularly in the administration of public institutions. While government departments often had local branches in the Waikato, the impression that ‘Auckland’ still controlled many central concerns was conveyed in the naming of administrative areas. In education matters, for example, the schools in the Waikato area were administered by the South Auckland Education Board until the widespread changes brought about by the ‘Tomorrows Schools’ reforms in the 1988/89.¹⁹

Against this background, and considering the perceived sense of economic ownership by and considerable influence from the north, it appears to have taken some time for the Waikato region to be seen as a separate entity. This thesis contends that the development of sporting activities and organisations provided a number of opportunities for the creation and reinforcement of a regional identity.

As noted earlier, the events described above provide a series of fragmented tales of sport in the Waikato and have been selected to enable detailed consideration of the central thematic concerns. It follows that large number of sporting activities have not been included in this thesis. Horse racing coverage was extensive in the media archives used, and this sporting endeavour was very important, both in

¹⁷ The Waikato Regional Council was established following widespread reforms of the organisation of local government in New Zealand that occurred in the mid to late 1980s. See <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/local-and-regional-government/page-5>

¹⁸ Peter Gibbons, *Astride the River* (Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1977), p. 85.

¹⁹ Minister of Education, *Tomorrow's Schools: The Reform of Education Administration in New Zealand* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1988).

economic terms, and in the place it commanded in the leisure time of local people. I acknowledge the place this activity had in the Waikato but, for much of the selected time period, the focus of the public narratives was on the horses, and sometimes the trainers, but not usually on the jockeys as sportsmen. In addition, there was little evidence that Waikato people supported horses based on where they were born or trained; support was much more likely to be dependent on which horse they had bet money on. Thus, while of significant importance to the Waikato economy at times, horse racing did not appear to add a great deal to any public display of belonging, and it fell outside the parameters of sporting participation and community involvement found in the featured events. It was also an almost exclusively male domain, like rugby but given the lack of description of particular masculine traits, a consistent absence of any ideas of ethnic diversity, and heroes that were horses rather than humans, I have chosen not to include it in this thesis.

Other sports, particularly those played predominantly by women, have also regrettably not been included. While I searched for an on-going netball/basketball event, or coverage of an annual women's hockey tournament, reports of these kinds of regular events were either not found at all, or they were consistently small and sparse. Locating and deconstructing silences is a focus of this thesis. However, the consistent significant underreporting of these women's sports over time was unfortunately an absence too great to overcome.

Sport in National and Local Perspectives: Historiographical Backgrounds

This section highlights those works that provide insight into the writing of reflexive historical sporting narratives, and that foreground the place and critical examination of media sources. It includes examples of the types of historiography most relevant to the thesis methodology, and canvasses both central thematic categories and ways of examining 'socially constructed' ideas about sport.

Modern sport is generally said to have begun in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is usually associated with the increased urbanisation and

other social changes that accompanied the ‘industrial revolution’, the involvement of the leisured upper classes, and the English public school system.²⁰ There are many, and contested, definitions of sport. In his discussion of the history of sport Allen Guttman calls sporting activities ‘autotelic physical contests’, where autotelic is defined as ‘from auto, “its own,” and telos, “goal, end, or purpose”’.²¹ This characterisation separates games/sport from other human behaviours such as work, which are more necessary for survival, and as activities which are chosen rather than obligatory. However, Guttman notes that this is not always a clean division, using the example of children made to play sport by their parents or at school.²² His definition also ignores the economic effects and discursive implications of these kinds of activities, particularly when considering professional sport, and the wider impact of the provision of space, equipment and services that accompany these types of endeavours.

Charlotte Macdonald emphasises the ‘codified’ nature of sporting activities that have ‘consistent rules, conditions of play and regular competition’.²³ While it has an inherently physical/embodied core, sport has been collectively constructed in many different ways and the ‘behaviours and practices’ that are recognised as sport have most definitely altered and developed over time.²⁴ Structures and forms of sport are also different in different places, and the discourses that have inscribed, and have been inscribed by, sporting activities are fluid. The significance of the inherently competitive nature of sport, and the centrality of records and record keeping, is considered by Andrew Tudor when he emphasises the importance of competition, winning and losing, and states that ‘Sport is about difference [...] between the skills of individuals, the styles in which people play

²⁰ Greg Ryan, ‘Sport in 19th-century Aotearoa/New Zealand: Opportunities and Constraints’ in *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, ed. by Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, 2nd edition. (Auckland: Thomson, 2007), pp. 96-111 (pp. 97-100).

²¹ Allen Guttman, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst & Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), pp. 1-2.

²² Guttman, p. 3.

²³ Charlotte Macdonald, ‘Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand history’ in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 269-296 (pp. 270-271).

²⁴ Booth, p. 13.

the game, the character and distinctive attributes of teams'.²⁵ This part of Tudor's argument highlights the physical actuality of sporting activity that can be lost when layered narratives are produced to explicate other possible meanings.

A central feature of early sporting life in Britain was the notion of the 'amateur'. As Richard Holt contends, while this meant, on one level, that sportspeople were not paid for their participation, it also carried with it ideas of 'fair play'.²⁶ This aspect of sport, particularly with regard to payment, and the related voluntary nature of sporting organisations, was transplanted to New Zealand with those colonists who arrived in the nineteenth century and became a feature of the development of early sporting activity.²⁷ The amateur ethos as described by Holt is pervasive, if assumed and therefore not often overtly stated, throughout the material studied in this thesis.

Sport is most often a social activity and, as stated above, has been a constitutive factor in the creation and revelation of Waikato communities. In his discussion of 'imagined community', Benedict Anderson contends that, as most members of a community will never meet, these groupings are more distinguishable by 'the style in which they are imagined'.²⁸ While the playing of sport implies physical proximity, the supporters of sports teams, and individuals, can form part of a more virtual alliance. Anderson's notion of 'style' can be located in the outward display of connections – through the wearing of colours, for example – but also through the organisation of sporting activity, and the writing of sports competitions. This is most evident in the development of regional identity discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis but is also a feature of the connections through time that are found in the club chronicles in Chapter Five. He promotes the concept of a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' which, while he is discussing ideas of the 'nation' rather

²⁵ Andrew Tudor, 'Sports Reporting: Race, Difference and Identity' in *The Media in Question: Popular Cultures and Public Interests* ed. by Kees Brants, Joke Hermes and Liesbet van Zoonen (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1998), pp. 147-156 (p. 147).

²⁶ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 98.

²⁷ See Greg Ryan, 'Sport in 19th-century Aotearoa/New Zealand: Opportunities and Constraints', pp. 100, 108.

²⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Editions and NLB, 1983), p. 15.

than region, is relevant to discussions of local communities.²⁹ Jason Smith and Alan Ingram also place emphasis on the idea of ‘closeness and camaraderie’ in their 2003 consideration of the connections between community and sporting activity.³⁰ This aspect of the relationship between sport and community is evident throughout the following discussion; as part of the public representations of support for sporting heroes for example, and certainly in the ways club members present their organisations.

The concept of community, like sport, is arguably most often represented as intrinsically positive.³¹ The material discussed throughout this thesis certainly provides support for this position; the Regatta, for instance, is consistently portrayed as a constructive part of maintaining good community relationships. Other writers consider the ways communities are formed and perpetuated. Of particular relevance to this thesis, Daniel Nathan foregrounds ideas of communal stories or narratives.³² He employs Peter Dahlgren’s argument that communities are ‘in part built upon members sharing the same stories’ to support the centrality of layered storytelling.³³ My findings strongly support the connections Nathan makes between sport, community, and identity, through notions of definition and representation. He also suggests that the bonds formed through sporting participation and support can continue through time as well as across different, usually separate, groups in society.³⁴ He does not, however, consider these ongoing attachments to be uniformly positive, but stresses that ‘[P]laying together, playing apart, and rooting for the home team are complicated, multilayered lived experiences’.³⁵

²⁹ Anderson, p. 16.

³⁰ Jason M. Smith and Alan G. Ingham, ‘On the Waterfront: Retrospectives on the Relationship Between Sport and Communities’ in *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20 (2003), 252-274 (p. 253).

³¹ See Grant Jarvie, with James Thornton, *Sport, Culture and Society: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 166 -167.

³² Daniel A. Nathan, Introduction: Sport, Community and Identity, in *Rooting for the Home Team: Sport Community and Identity*, ed. by Daniel A. Nathan (Urbana, Chicago & Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013), pp. 1- 15 (p. 5).

³³ Peter Dahlgren, ‘Introduction’ in *Journalism and Popular Culture*, edited by Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (London: Sage 1992), pp. 1-23 (p. 15) as quoted in Nathan, p. 5.

³⁴ Nathan, pp. 7, 8.

³⁵ Nathan, p. 8.

The linking of community-based sport and social capital are a central feature of a collection of essays edited by Matthew Nicholson and Russell Hoyer.³⁶ In Part Two of this book, community and sport are combined in a discussion of sporting activity mostly undertaken and organised by amateurs and volunteers. Alison Doherty and Kate Misener emphasize the importance of the *engagement* of participants in sporting organisations, while Chris Auld looks specifically at the place and role of clubs.³⁷ Auld considers the way such organisations contribute to the construction of identity and, like Nathan, includes discussion of the negative aspects of this type of communal association including notions of exclusion.³⁸ These concepts provide background for the consideration of the varied ways sports groups operate in the Waikato. While most obviously applicable to the clubs chapter, ideas of exclusion are also found in the manner by which other sports organisations and committees are structured, and in the selective and selected nature of the newspaper reports.

In this thesis, sport is presented as an integral part of the ‘imagined community’ of the Waikato. It follows that other constructions and categories that are evident in social and physical settings, including ideas about gender, ethnicity or ‘race’, and identity, will shape, and be shaped by, sporting activities.

A number of historians have emphasized the gendered nature of sport, and much of the available critical sports history produced in New Zealand is located in publications which have, as their basis, the analysis of constructions of gender. For example, in his chapter in *The Gendered Kiwi*, Jock Phillips compares the differing sport and leisure opportunities for men and women and their links to the construction of ideas about femininity and masculinity.³⁹ Sport is also included as a leisure activity in the social history of south Dunedin that centres on

³⁶ The concept of ‘social capital’ is further discussed in the section titled Theoretical Approaches in this thesis introduction.

³⁷ Alison Doherty & Kate Misener, ‘Community Sport Networks’, in *Sport and Social Capital*, ed. by Matthew Nicholson and Russell Hoyer (Oxford & Burlington MA: Elsevier/Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008), pp. 113-142; and Chris Auld, ‘Voluntary Sport Clubs: The Potential for the Development of Social Capital’, in *Sport and Social Capital*, ed. by Matthew Nicholson and Russell Hoyer (Oxford & Burlington MA: Elsevier/Butterworth-Heinemann, 2008), pp. 143-164.

³⁸ Auld, pp. 154-156.

³⁹ Jock Phillips, ‘Men, Women and Leisure Since the Second World War’, in *The Gendered Kiwi*, ed. by Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), pp. 213-234.

constructions of gender⁴⁰, and in Caroline Daley's examination of gender definitions of the inhabitants of Taradale.⁴¹ These studies, to varying degrees, locate sporting activities as sites in which gender norms are both developed and performed, and provide background for, and examples of, ways of approaching the depictions of men and women.

Writers including Camilla Obel, Shona Thomson, and Toni Bruce have paid focussed attention to the place of women and sport in New Zealand. Their 2008 collection includes discussion of aspects of gender configuration, and the media representation of women, and provides inspiration for parts of this thesis,⁴² Bruce, in collaboration with other scholars, has produced a number of studies primarily examining the types and amount of media coverage of women in sport, providing a needed focus on the ways women are portrayed, if often ignored, by mainstream media.⁴³ While much of this is based on current, rather than historical, material, Bruce's body of work reveals relative invisibility of women in sport in ways which underpin, and are supported by, this thesis. This is particularly evident in Chapter Four as the place and visibility of women lawn bowlers is considered. While the overall amount of coverage of sportswomen generally remains consistent, the results of the analysis of the lawn bowls reports provide some evidence of change over time. Further investigation which considers the levels and types of reporting for different sports complicates and enhances understanding of the representation of gender in a sporting context.

International historiography that foregrounds the construction and place of gender norms is extensive. The history of women's sport was summarised and dissected by Jennifer Hargreaves in 1994.⁴⁴ Her work which, in the early chapters, centres

⁴⁰ Barbara Brookes, Erik Olssen, and Emma Beer, 'Spare Time? Leisure, Gender and Modernity', in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men & Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890 – 1939*, ed. by Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp.151-189.

⁴¹ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886–1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), pp. 151-189.

⁴² *Outstanding: Research About Women and Sport in New Zealand*, ed. by Camilla Obel, Toni Bruce and Shona Thompson (Hamilton: Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, 2008).

⁴³ For example, see, *Sportswomen at the Olympics: A Global Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage*, ed. by Toni Bruce, Jorvid Hovden and Pirkko Markula (Rotterdam, & Boston: Sense Publishers, 2010).

⁴⁴ Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London: Routledge, 1994).

on theoretical ideas about sport and argues for a feminist approach, provides scaffolding for related discussions of power and the constructions of gender roles and norms in later thesis chapters when the changing place of women in the sporting landscape is considered. Other scholars, including Susan Birrell and Cheryl Cole, also apply feminist theory to an examination of the participation of women in sport, and their edited book includes some emphasis on the discriminatory gendered nature of organised sport.⁴⁵ However, a later work edited by Carol Osborne and Fiona Skillen, provides an alternative, perhaps more positive attitude towards women in sport, while lamenting the lack of women's sport historiography in ways which mirror the concerns expressed about the dearth of critical sports history in New Zealand.⁴⁶ As noted earlier, I have not included a detailed discussion of an on-going women's sporting event in this thesis. This absence would seem to confirm the lack of visibility that is a feature of the concepts advanced by these scholars. However, a feminist perspective that highlights the operation of power, underpins the consideration of gender depictions and relationships found in the regatta, lawn bowls and clubs sections of this thesis. The findings mean that, particularly in the latter part of the period, a more nuanced approach to concepts like control and access to resources is supported.

The development of forms of masculinity is emphasised in this thesis, particularly with regard to depictions of rugby players, but also when discussing the representation of male heroes in the Games chapter. When developing his pioneering concept of hegemonic masculinity – meaning a system of dominance of male traits and female subservience – R.W. Connell did not include a discussion of sport.⁴⁷ However, his named concept permeates much of the examination of this connection by other scholars, often in concert with other theoretical approaches. For example, in 1990, an edited volume by Michael Messner and Donald Sabo includes consideration of varying parts of this connection, and their descriptions of hegemonic masculinity with a basis in

⁴⁵ Susan Birrell and Cheryl L. Cole, eds., *Women, Sport and Culture* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1994).

⁴⁶ See Carol Osborne & Fiona Skillen, 'Introduction. The State of Play: Women in British Sports History', in *Women in Sports History* (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-6.

⁴⁷ R.W Connell, *Gender and Power* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987).

sporting performance provide some framing for this thesis.⁴⁸ In addition, notions of difference, of the complicating of gender norms with consideration of other social constructions, including ethnicity, are introduced in this work and are relevant to my study.

In a New Zealand context, Jock Phillips has discussed the role of sport in the formation of gender ideals, with a focus on the development of notions of the 'Pākehā Male' in New Zealand.⁴⁹ Phillips specifically links the image of the 'hard man' to the influence of rugby and notes the apparent importance of persistence, loyalty to the team and 'character'.⁵⁰ While some of these direct associations have been challenged in more recent scholarship, the idea of controlled strength in a game of violent confrontation is still valid, if only becoming overt in the *Waikato Times* in the later part of the period I cover. Different depictions of men, especially the local Games competitors, complicate and disrupt Phillip's overarching version of a New Zealand masculine stereotype centred on frontier mentalities and hardness. Other writers, including Richard Pringle, also make specific connections between sport and ideas of masculinity.⁵¹ Pringle's chapter discusses the ways in which the role and performance of maleness is related to sport, and the normative nature of a specific forms of masculinity. The idea of performance is important in this thesis; the public nature of the representations of particular ways of being a man is central.

The deconstruction of the public narratives that underscore and reveal the creation of gender norms is, therefore, a fundamental feature of the following discussion of sport in the Waikato. The wider relationship between the media and the presentation of particular, dominant ideas of masculinity is key and has been explored in various ways. For example, Shari Lee Dworkin and Faye Wachs have considered the interplay between the media coverage of sport and male sexuality,

⁴⁸ Michael Messner and Donald Sabo, eds., *Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives* (Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics Books, 1990).

⁴⁹ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987).

⁵⁰ Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 103.

⁵¹ Richard Pringle provides a comprehensive summary of concepts of masculinity by writers including M. Messner, R. Sabo and R. Connell, in 'Sport, Males and Masculinity', in *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, ed. by Chris Collins and Steve Jackson (Auckland: Thomson, 2007), pp. 355-371.

and notions of morality.⁵² In the material I examine, heterosexuality is the default setting, and the absence of any challenge to this supports the dominance of this gender norm.

Ideas of femininity and masculinity are often explored as two sides of a binary relationship. However, they should not be considered as separate, contained sets of concepts; rather examinations of other social constructions need to be involved, including the production and performance of ideas of ethnicity or race. While a substantial amount of work has been carried out on the discursive inscription of gender norms, others have noted that discourse analysis is particularly suited to deconstructing ideas of 'race'.⁵³ Negative images of particular ethnic groups, and the stereotypes that inform those images, are relatively easy to spot. However, writing about sporting activity often provides positive commentary on perceived particular physical attributes of different peoples. Deconstructing these types of narratives reveals a complex and more finely nuanced description of the ways in which racially delineated groups are constructed and defined. While understandings of those depictions which emphasize ideas about racial groupings are most evident in the Regatta chapter, they are also important in other parts of the thesis, if only because of an absence of material which acknowledges cultural difference.

Locating definitions of concepts like ethnicity or race is very difficult. However, a post-structuralist approach that emphasizes the contingent aspect of such categorisation has been helpful. As Stuart Hall states:

[t]he term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact

⁵² Shari Lee Dworkin & Faye Linda Wachs, 'The Morality /Manhood Paradox: Masculinity, Sport and the Media', in *Masculinities, Gender Relations, and Sport*, ed. by Jim McKay, Michael A. Messner and Don Sabo (Thousand Oaks CA, London & New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 47-66.

⁵³ Donald Matheson, *Media Discourses: Analysing Media Texts*, Issues in Cultural and Media Studies Series (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), p. 139.

that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated and all knowledge is contextual.⁵⁴

Consideration of postcolonial theories have been useful given the colonial history in New Zealand and, in particular, in the Waikato.⁵⁵ There is a tendency to consider groups other than European/Caucasian/white as 'ethnic', which emphasises their otherness. Biological division, the naming of some people as Māori or Pākehā, all contribute to the accumulated meanings given and, in this thesis, I assert that such arbitrary categorisation is prevalent throughout the sports narratives I examine. Definitions of particular ethnic groupings are for the most part unchallenged, or at least generally presented as absolutes.

The place of sport in the construction of this part of identity is noted in a summarising article by Geoff Watson and he contends that there is 'no systemic scholarly assessment of the connections between sport and ethnicity in New Zealand'.⁵⁶ The treatment of Māori in historical sporting contexts has also been underexplored. However, Brendan Hokowhitu has published a number of journal articles and book chapters which deal with aspects of the connections between Māori and sport, including the relationship between the development of masculinity and sports including rugby.⁵⁷ Using a postcolonial framework, he considers the representation of indigenous sportsmen and their formation within a colonial knowledge/power framework. More recently, Hokowhitu has applied Michel Foucault's theories to support a view of the discursive formation of the indigenous athlete 'as neither oppressive nor emancipatory'.⁵⁸ Hokowhitu's work highlights the need to examine operation of the relationships that have developed between sport and ethnicity. However, the overarching finding of this thesis is of

⁵⁴ Stuart Hall, 'New Ethnicities' in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 223-227 (p. 226).

⁵⁵ I use the term 'postcolonial' as a theoretical framework that enables an assessment and destabilisation of colonial narratives and colonisation as discussed in Giselle Byrnes and Catharine Coleborne's 'Editorial Introduction: The Utility and Futility of 'The Nation' in Histories of Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45.1 (2011), 1-14.

⁵⁶ Geoff Watson, 'Sport and Ethnicity in New Zealand', *History Compass*, 5.3 (2007), 780-801.

⁵⁷ Relevant publications by Brendan Hokowhitu include 'Rugby and Tino Rangatiratanga: Early Māori Rugby and the Formation of Māori', *Sporting Traditions*, 21.2 (2005), 75-95; and 'Tackling Māori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 15.2 (2004), 259-284.

⁵⁸ Brendan Hokowhitu, 'Foucault, Genealogy, Sport and Indigeneity' in *Examining Sport Histories: Power Paradigms and Reflexivity* ed. by Richard Pringle and Murray Phillips (Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, 2013), pp. 225-248 (p. 226).

the absence of public representations of multiple ethnicities in a sporting context, apart from the controlled and consistent depiction of Maori men and women in the Regatta setting. Sport is almost always wholly presented within a European paradigm.

The place of ideas of race and ethnicity also features in articles by sports historian Gary Osmond. Given the close geographical and cultural proximity of Australia and New Zealand, much Australian sports history can provide insight into and/or contrast with events on the other side of the Tasman Sea. Osmond's discussions of the concept of the 'nimble savage' are particularly relevant to this thesis as they highlight the seemingly positive, but often limiting, ways Polynesian sportspeople have been configured.⁵⁹ His investigation of the 1914-1915 tour of Australia and New Zealand by Hawaiian surfer Duke Kahanamoku primarily focuses on the differences in attitudes between Australians and New Zealanders, and notes the contingent nature of racial stereotyping.⁶⁰ This type of construction is further explored in Chapter One of this thesis.

Aspects of New Zealand's and the Waikato's colonial past inform ideas about ethnicity and identity, and related international trends become relevant – particularly the changing relationships within the 'British Empire'. The development of an organised sporting ethos in nineteenth century England coincided with a large amount of immigration to New Zealand and other parts of the world. J.A. Mangan makes explicit the links between colonization and sport, calling it a 'cultural association' and noting that it 'provided the means for the unity and solidarity of the British Empire'.⁶¹ Any alterations and disruptions to power and other colonial relationships have a direct impact on those parts of this thesis which involve the consideration of ethnic representations and Empire/Commonwealth competitions.

⁵⁹ See for example, Gary Osmond, 'The Surfing Tommy Tanna: Performing Race at the Australian Beach', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 46.2 (2011), 177 -195.

⁶⁰ Gary Osmond, 'Honolulu Māori': Racial Dimensions of Duke Kahanamoku's Tour of Australia and New Zealand, 1914 -1915, *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 44.1 (2010), 22-34 (p. 22).

⁶¹ J.A. Mangan, 'Britain's Chief Spiritual Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond' in *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, ed. by J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1992), pp. 1-9 (p. 4).

Harold Perkins argues that sport has a prominent and positive role in the ‘decolonisation’ of the British Empire.⁶² This echoes much of the rhetoric around sport and international sporting competition but any move to change the inherent power structures are not, however, evident in the material I have examined. In contrast, other writers including John Bale and Mike Cronin have highlighted the ‘colonizing mission’ of many international sports organizations when writing about sport in a postcolonial framework.⁶³ Not only is control over the rules and regulations of many global sports, including football, still mostly maintained by former colonial powers, but sports that receive widespread media coverage, and therefore funding, are often those which originated in Europe and were exported to many parts of the world via colonisation. Changes in perceptions and representations of ‘other’ groups in sports events frameworks, and with regard to sporting ability and competitions, is a major consideration in future thesis chapters, not only when I locate any differences in attitude and discursive practices over time, but in the creation and or representation of localized ‘colonial’ and ‘postcolonial’ values and identities.

Concepts of gender and ethnicity are integral parts of ideas of identity, both collective and individual. As a way of enabling geographical separation from the larger and more politically powerful region of Auckland, I contend that sport has provided a conduit for the people of the Waikato region to imagine a separation from a larger collective grouping. As John Bale states, the intersection between geography and sport is centrally important and ‘[S]port has become perhaps, the main medium of collective identification in an era when bonding is more frequently a result of achievement’.⁶⁴ He goes on to reference Eric Dunning by concluding that, given the state control over physical power, sport enables large geographic entities to combine and compete against their neighbours and/or rivals.⁶⁵ While there has been some investigation of the link between sport (particularly rugby) and a New Zealand identity, there is less focus on the

⁶² Harold Perkin, ‘Epilogue: Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth’ in *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire Society*, ed. by J.A Mangan (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1992), pp. 211-219.

⁶³ John Bale and Mike Cronin, ‘Introduction’ in *Sport and Postcolonialism*, ed. by John Bale and Mike Cronin (Oxford: Berg, 2003), pp. 1-13 (p. 3).

⁶⁴ John Bale, *Sports Geography*, 2nd edition (London & New York: Routledge, 2003.), p. 15.

⁶⁵ Bale, p. 15.

development, through sport, of a sense of region.⁶⁶ Identity is also symbolic, or at least can be presented in symbolic ways. While a sports person might be described in relation to the connotations attached to the physical or embodied display inherent in sporting activities, the identity of communities can also be exhibited. For example, as noted by MacConnell and Edwards, group membership can be made obvious by the wearing of team colours/clothing.⁶⁷ These ideas are sustained by the explication of the development of a Waikato identity, with colours and other symbolic paraphernalia, that is a central feature of Chapter Two.

A further way of creating or sustaining group identity is through identification with a hero or heroes. This aspect, which brings together the creation of individual and collective identity, also leads to a discussion of the role of the media in the representation of sportswomen and men. Heroes are created both by their efforts but, more importantly, by the stories told about their achievements.

Richard Holt and John Mangan have noted that successful athletes have long been considered to be heroes and role models in many societies, and that the ways this has occurred is an important area of study for sports historians.⁶⁸ These heroes have been able to gain social status and wield influence in their communities, and sometimes beyond, primarily as a result of the amount of media coverage they have received. The recognition of sports stars as role models for New Zealand teenagers, and the importance of the visibility of international sporting activities in the development of this connection has recently been studied by Melnick and Jackson.⁶⁹ While this study considers the effect of televised events, there are some helpful parallels with the portrayal of local heroes following success in overseas

⁶⁶ Ideas about a limited focus on finding a 'New Zealand identity' have been clearly challenged by *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, edited by Giselle Byrnes. However, for earlier examples of the links between sport and national identity see Geoff Fougere, 'Sport, Culture and Identity: the Case of Rugby Football' in *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, ed. by David Novitz and Bill Willmott (Wellington: GP Books, 1989), pp.110-122; and Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987).

⁶⁷ Robin McConnell and Margot Edwards, 'Sport and Identity in New Zealand' in *Sport in New Zealand Society*, ed. by Chris Collins (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 115-129 (p. 115).

⁶⁸ Richard Holt and J.A Mangan, 'Prologue: Heroes of a European Past' in *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* ed. by Richard Holt, J.A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1996), pp. 1-11.

⁶⁹ Merrill Melnick & Steven Jackson, 'Globalisation American-style and Reference Idol Selection: The Importance of Athlete Celebrity Others Among New Zealand Youth', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37,3 (2002), 429-448.

competition. I explore this further in the Empire/Commonwealth Games chapter. In particular, the construction of narratives that feature and celebrate sporting heroes who succeed in other places provides ways of considering the role of sport and sports people in the relationships between local communities and international settings.

The role of the press as a primary source of sporting information is a central focus of this thesis. While large volumes of sport history have been produced using newspapers as primary evidence, much of this appears to have been less than critical, as narratives that describe events and outcomes without analysis of any potential underlying meanings or wider representations of, for example, prescribed gender roles or the operation of power structures. In contrast, publications including Michael Oriard's *Reading Football*, provide useful insight into the tangled relationship between sport and the press in America.⁷⁰ In a later study, Oriard connects community identity, the press, and sport by detailing the central linking role the newspapers played in associating sporting teams, in this case high school American football teams, with the communities they were from and represented.⁷¹ These connections mirror the function of the media, and rugby, in the development of a Waikato identity.

Other works add weight to the following discussion of hegemony and discourse that is central to this thesis, particularly in relation to the representation of sportspeople in print media. As Gerlinde Mautner notes, 'the print media ...very much reflect the social main stream' and '[I]f you are interested in dominant discourses [...] the major dailies and weeklies are obvious sources to turn to'.⁷² Norman Fairclough contends 'media texts function ideologically in social control and social reproduction; but they also operate as cultural commodities in a competitive market'.⁷³ This work reinforces ideas of circularity, particularly of the

⁷⁰ Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

⁷¹ Michael Oriard, 'A Linguistic Turn into Sport History', in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. by Murray C. Phillips (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 75-94 (pp. 81-82).

⁷² Gerlinde Mautner, 'Analyzing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media' in *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michal Krzyzanowski (Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.30-53 (p.32).

⁷³ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), p.47.

ability of the people and institutions that comprise the media to create and sustain certain cultural and societal norms, coupled with the commercial need to reflect dominant community ideals. Therefore, any challenges to, or changes in, these norms are likely to be small, subtle and uneven. With specific reference to sports reporting, John Hargreaves has argued that:

Sports tend to be presented in the media as symbolic representations of a particular social order so in effect they become modern morality plays, serving to justify and uphold dominant values and ideas.⁷⁴

While relevant for much of my analysis of sports narratives, Hargreaves' featuring of morals and values is very pertinent to the consideration of the representation of heroes.

This thesis is primarily an examination of the relationship between the print media and sport, and the effects of that relationship. David Rowe has provided a detailed examination of the development of modern sport and public communication methods including newspapers.⁷⁵ His descriptions and analysis of the place and functions of sports journalists are particularly significant for this thesis as, while structures including the media, and community are named, it is ultimately the writers and editors that produce the narratives. In a New Zealand setting, structural aspects of the basic relationship between sport and newspapers have been discussed by Patrick Day, who maintains that the reporting of sport was a major part of the development of mass circulation daily newspapers, particularly in that these publications could 'represent everyone in the community.'⁷⁶ Day argues that the promotion of regional identity was an integral part of the print media's attraction to, and use of, sport.⁷⁷ He notes the importance of sports reporting in the definition of 'audience' for mass-marketed newspapers, and that this is linked with geographical location. Given that I champion the importance of

⁷⁴ John Hargreaves, 'Sport and Hegemony: Some Theoretical Problems' in *Sport, Culture and the Modern State*, ed. by Hart Cantelon and Richard Gruneau (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp.103-140 (p.127).

⁷⁵ David Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity*, (Maidenhead, England; Open University Press, 2004).

⁷⁶ Patrick Day, 'Sport, the Media and New Zealand' in *Sport, Society and Culture in New Zealand*, ed. by Brad Patterson (Wellington: Stout Research Centre, 1999), pp. 93-101 (p. 151).

⁷⁷ Day, p.98.

the place of mediated sport in representations of the Waikato, Day's contention that 'Sport, more than any other single aspect of our social life, has been used to promote [...] regional identification' is central.⁷⁸ This connection is also discussed by Toni Bruce, Mark Falcous and Holly Thorpe who describe the 'sport and media relationship [as] initially conceptualized as 'symbiotic', and therefore that there were benefits for both media outlets and for those sports included in newspaper and radio coverage.⁷⁹

The title, organisation and approach taken by Charlotte Macdonald in the chapter 'Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History' is an important, recent example of ways sporting activity, sites and texts have been examined in this thesis.⁸⁰ There is, as Macdonald claims, a decided lack of 'analytical' sports historiography in New Zealand.⁸¹ Sport has been afforded scant space in general New Zealand histories and there are few sports histories publications outside what she calls the 'massive body of popular and chronicling works: club anniversary booklets, rugby biographies and tour accounts'.⁸² However, the club histories that she dismisses occupy a central place in this thesis as a collection of the memories and mythologies of sporting communities. These narratives are examined to provide further ways of understanding ideas of structured, collective, local, and layered identities.

As noted earlier, Jock Phillips has spent time considering the place of sport in New Zealand's history. More recently, a desire to challenge and complicate dominant sporting narratives, including some proffered by Phillips, is found in the approaches used by Greg Ryan and Caroline Daley, among others, in *Tackling Rugby Myths*.⁸³ Ryan offers this text as the beginning of a more 'rigorous and critical' approach to rugby and sports history.⁸⁴ In particular, in the deconstruction

⁷⁸ Day, p.98.

⁷⁹ Toni Bruce, Mark Falcous and Holly Thorpe, 'The Mass Media and Sport' in *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, ed. by Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, 2nd edition (Auckland: Thomson, 2007), pp 93-101 (p. 97).

⁸⁰ Charlotte Macdonald, 'Ways of Belonging', p. 271.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005).

⁸⁴ Greg Ryan, 'Introduction', in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp.9-11 (p.10).

of the representations surrounding the 1905 All Blacks, Caroline Daley argues that historians have used only positive media reports and have created a 'partial tale' by ignoring the coverage that was not so flattering.⁸⁵ Her final admonition to 'give sport its due regard' provides a complicating challenge my work, by suggesting that the histories of sporting activities should not simply be used to reinforce other historical narratives including ideas of nationhood and national identity.⁸⁶

I have, therefore, drawn guidance from a large number of different secondary sources. In particular, as will be shown in the next section, Jeffrey Hill's article in *Deconstructing Sports History* provides direction for the ways material from my archival sources has been approached.⁸⁷ Hill's more substantial works, including *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* and *Sport in History* both contain rich discussion of the role and places of sport in British cultural settings, and are instructive with regard to the production of complex and nuanced narratives.⁸⁸ The title of Hill's first chapter in *Sport in History*, underlines both his argument, and the central theme of this thesis; that 'Sport Matters'.⁸⁹

Archive and Methodology

In this thesis, sport is situated at the centre of a conceptual maze which is used to tease out meanings and understandings of its 'place' in the Waikato.

The basis of much social and cultural history, and the 'evidence' from which histories are constructed, are the stories that appear and grow around human interaction. This is certainly true for the production of sports history, although it is

⁸⁵ Caroline Daley, 'The Invention of 1905', in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 69-88 (p. 87).

⁸⁶ Daley, 'The Invention of 1905', p. 87.

⁸⁷ Jeffrey Hill, 'Anecdotal Evidence: Sport, the Newspaper Press, and History', in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. by Murray G. Phillips (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 117-130.

⁸⁸ Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave, 2002); and Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2011).

⁸⁹ Hill, *Sport in History*, p.1.

often underpinned by the records and statistics that are a central part of the fundamental nature of competitive sport. However, the mythology that surrounds sporting events, the creation through representation and memory of individual and collective identities, are themselves, I argue, a valid basis for study. The consideration and unravelling of these stories, with due regard for their background of layered communities, is the main focus of this thesis. By looking at accumulated narratives mostly found in print media, and applying ideas of a type of hegemonic agreement with the norms and communal discourses they represent, some idea of the perceived and varied place of ‘sport’ in the Waikato can be revealed.

The Newspaper

Almost complete holdings of the *Waikato Times* are held on microfilm in the Hamilton Public Library, and provide a rich trove of local narratives from the beginnings of the Waikato. *The Waikato Times and Thames Valley Gazette* was first published on Thursday May 2, 1872 in Ngāruawāhia, and thereafter tri-weekly until the late 1890s. It eventually became a daily evening paper. Proprietor George Jones, and editor Henry Holloway, made the social and spatial ‘place’ of this new publication very explicit in their first editorial column by noting that while the *Waikato Times* was to have no particular political allegiances, it would have a regional focus. They wrote:

It will, of course, be our special duty to jealously watch over the interests of the Waikato settlers, and to point out the public works or legislation required either to develop the resources of the district, or to remove any obstructions on the road to prosperity along which it is travelling with such rapid strides.⁹⁰

This initial editorial provides insight into some of the themes examined in this thesis. The centring of Pākehā interests in the newspaper is obvious. The overt reference to the ‘settlers’ and omission of any mention of the *tāngata whenua* gives a good indication of the overall focus and direction taken by this publication at this time. This is reinforced by the implication that ‘progress’ was

⁹⁰ *Waikato Times*, 2 May 1872, p. 2.

based around the settler economy and, given that it was written only eight years after the widespread confiscation of land in the Waikato area, this focus is arguably logical within its historical context. That this publication would promote the interests of the 'Waikato' is repeated later and the associated commercial nature of the enterprise is made clear when readers are strongly encouraged to purchase and, 'promptly' pay for, both advertising space and subscriptions. The tone throughout this first editorial claims authority and is patriarchal. Not only is it addressed to local men, but there is an implied belief that the writer 'knows best' and therefore is able to provide accurate and considered commentary on all the matters he believes important. The assumption of power in relation to local discourses is also overt.⁹¹

Patrick Day has argued that there were two 'areas of concern, organizational and political' for newspaper proprietors in nineteenth century New Zealand.⁹² The extract above is an explicit example of a belief in the political nature of this endeavour, and an earlier exhortation to buy subscriptions and advertising underlines the need for commercial success. Peter Gibbons noted the importance of newspapers in nineteenth century provincial New Zealand and that, 'in favour of financial speculation and social conservation, [the *Waikato Times*] helped to shape and maintain the local ethos that included those attitudes'.⁹³ This supports the following examination of role of the newspaper in constructing a Waikato identity.

Methodologies

The *Waikato Times* was, therefore, a major public voice of the Waikato region, and is the main source of primary material for this thesis. An examination of selected newspapers from throughout the defined period has been completed,

⁹¹ When discussing the provision of a 'public opinion' column, the writer noted that: '[b]y the concentration of thought upon any subject, and the consequent unanimity of action and opinion, all great social and political reforms have been brought about. To this fact is owing the great power the Press exercises throughout the world. A well-conducted journal cannot fail to confer great benefit upon the people of the district in which it circulates. It exposes all social and political abuses; by the former it improves the tone of society, and by the later acts as a wholesome check on those who undertake the government of the country'. *Waikato Times*, 2 May 1872, p. 2.

⁹² Patrick Day, *The Making of the New Zealand Press: A Study of the Organizational and Political Concerns of New Zealand Newspaper Controllers 1840-1880* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990), p. 4.

⁹³ Gibbons, *Astride the River*, p. 82.

centring on recurring sporting events that took place mostly in the twentieth century. As already introduced, the events are the Ngāruawāhia Regatta, held annually from March 1897; the Waikato/Auckland rugby match played (almost) every year on King's/Queen's Birthday Weekend from 3 June 1926; the British Empire/Commonwealth Games, usually held every four years; and selected lawn bowls tournaments, mostly played at or just before Easter. Every available copy of the *Waikato Times* containing mention of these events has been examined, but not all are explicitly mentioned in this thesis.

The other major daily newspaper sold in this area during the time period covered has been the *New Zealand Herald*, which is available on microfilm in the University of Waikato Library, and also now in the online repository *Papers Past*.⁹⁴ Where available, coverage of the selected events in the *Herald* has been assessed, to give a view from 'outside' the area, in contrast with the more 'inside' view of the *Waikato Times*. Reports from other publications from the wider provincial Auckland area have been also included to provide contextual layering. Searches have been carried out on *Papers Past* to capture any relevant supporting material, but the main process has involved the examination of whole newspapers on microfilm. This process has allowed a more complete contextual picture to emerge, but also remains a highly selective and fragmented process.

This collection of primary material is not an archive, in the accepted sense of that concept as a 'repository of historical material'.⁹⁵ While I have utilised some documents, including club records and annual reports held in the New Zealand Archives, I have not aimed to provide a complete historical picture. A fuller use of other archived material might well have resulted in a more empirically 'provable' history.⁹⁶ However, this was not my goal and, in addition, such a desire to look for completeness potentially disregards ideas of selection and exclusion, the exercise

⁹⁴ Papers Past is a searchable digital repository of New Zealand newspapers, periodicals and other archived material created and maintained by the National Library of New Zealand. See <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/>

⁹⁵ Booth, (Note 19), p. 255.

⁹⁶ See Booth, *The Field*, for a discussion of the ways histories are constructed and justified by the use of a wide range of different sources. (pp. 82-84)

of power, in the compilation of an archive or its use.⁹⁷ By employing a focussed use of local newspaper sources, I have been able to consider and highlight the central role of local public representation, and the related operation of control over discourse. In particular, subtle and sometimes inconsistent change over time in the place of sport in the Waikato has been able to be teased out of the concentrated dissection of the selected material.

The inclusion of some material from a range of newspapers loosely emulates Caroline Daley's previously referenced example as she unpicked the mythology surrounding the 1905 All Black tour of Great Britain based, in part, on a closer and more thorough reading and deconstruction of a variety of newspaper articles about the same events. In doing so, Daley was able to present a more complex picture of the narratives surrounding the 1905 All Black tour than had previously been constructed, and perhaps more importantly for this thesis, underline the very 'invented' nature of that history.⁹⁸

While a study involving all of the sports stories published in the *Waikato Times* and other local newspapers would have been ideal, time constraints required that selections be made. I have chosen to cover specific events for a number of reasons. Most obviously, looking at regular happenings over a number of years provides some evidence of change over time of the representation of the event and the communities involved, and of the event itself. The regatta and the rugby game presented opportunities for large groups of people to come together and be a part of a community occasion, and content and textual analysis of the narratives about and around such sporting activity reveals wider norms and discourses. International competitions like the Empire/Commonwealth Games are enduring examples of the ways in which local, national and overseas sportspeople are represented. The inclusion of reporting that highlighted regular local bowling competitions allows discussion concerning sporting activities of (usually) older members of the community, and provided a new way of looking at gender relationships.

⁹⁷ Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris & Graeme Reid, 'Introduction', in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Michelle Pickover, Graeme Reid & Razia Saleh (Cape Town; David Philip Publishers, 2002), pp. 7-17 (p. 9).

⁹⁸ Daley, 'The Invention of 1905', pp. 69-87.

This thesis moves chronologically from 1897 through to 1974; however the inclusion of different occasions across this period is not uniform. By being responsive to the material collected rather than simply imposing an artificial time frame, I am also more able to rise the call to ‘write theoretically informed histories of sport that are sensitive to multiple and uneven paths of change’.⁹⁹ This produces a thesis which goes beyond the simple recitation of facts and re-imagines the events of the past to foreground and sometimes re-position the place of sporting activity in the Waikato community. Given this challenge, the overarching process I have used has been to interrogate the texts to identify and dissect narratives, and where pertinent, apply a light filter of thematic concerns to discern possible wider meanings. Instead of measuring and counting articles, I have concentrated on understanding the language, and chosen particular instances that reveal particular discursive threads and imagery. This approach creates a cumulative series of stories or images that does not attempt to provide completeness but rather conveys the complicated, fragmentary nature of both the ‘operation’ of discourses, and of historiography in general. Such a methodology is highly subjective. Although each chapter moves forward in time, I have not selected texts to explore on a regular or structured basis.

The arguably uniform gender norms and expectations that appear embedded in the descriptions of rugby matches (for example) mean that the selection of material from the large volume of reporting available is able to be made without the need for statistical framing. A search for absence, for the lack of overt articulations of difference, provides a form of contextual layering. The consistency which holds this thesis together is, therefore, based on the ways in which the selected texts are approached, deconstructed and presented, and the literary and theoretical scaffolding that the results of this dissection are framed within. As already noted, it should not be expected that some kind of ‘truth’ is sought or will be revealed, rather that a number of ‘truths’ might be imagined, or meanings elicited.

One aspect of the representation of sport in newspaper, which became more obvious and important over time, was the production and inclusion of

⁹⁹ Grant Jarvie with James Thornton, *Sport, Culture and Society: An Introduction* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxford & New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 54.

photographs. As John Bale notes, photographic images provide different types of information that can be ‘read’ in many ways.¹⁰⁰ They are iconic; are most often seen or read as literal representations of sporting events or people. However, as Bale contends, they contain other meanings; can be deconstructed to provide information about the construction of gender norms, of ideas about ethnicity or sexuality, for example. I have, unfortunately been unable to include many visual images in this thesis – for the most part because I was unable to reproduce the published photographs to an acceptable standard, or obtain original prints.

The deconstruction of discursive examples and representations has been performed in a large number of ways since the so-called ‘cultural turn’. My approach is relatively simple in many respects. While I sometimes utilise linguistic terms including, for example, some discussion of the lexis, tone or modality of particular reports, I have more often modelled my discussion on parts of the accumulated wisdom present in *Deconstructing Sport History*.¹⁰¹ This 2006 work, edited by Murray Phillips and including historians and theorists such as Douglas Booth, John Bale and Jeffrey Hill, purports to move the writing of sports history from an empirically-based, un-reflexive form, to ‘critical, reflective, and innovative examinations of the past’.¹⁰² In his chapter, Hill looks at an anecdotal press report of a trip to a football match and, without too much recourse to theory or technical language, unpeels various layers of possible meanings and attitudes to complicate as well as begin to understand the story of this journey or event.¹⁰³ He uses knowledge of other historical events to provide context, and perhaps substance, but focuses on the narrative. He also notes the difficulty of calculating possible reader responses as very difficult and subject to ‘a spot of imaginative reconstruction, to be blunt, intelligent guesswork’.¹⁰⁴

In this thesis, I am actively promoting the social primacy of the press as an important site where information about sport is collected, selected and recorded,

¹⁰⁰ John Bale, ‘Partial Knowledge’ in *Deconstructing History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. by Murray Phillips (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 95-115.

¹⁰¹ *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. by Murray Phillips (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006) .

¹⁰² Murray Phillips, p. 249.

¹⁰³ Hill, ‘Anecdotal History: Sport, the Newspaper Press and History’, p. 119.

¹⁰⁴ Hill, ‘Anecdotal History: Sport, the Newspaper Press and History’, p. 127.

and where community narratives are created and sustained. The efficacy of the resulting reporting is generally unchallenged, and has been used as the basis for the production of sports histories both in New Zealand and throughout the world. As Hill notes, 'the press report [...] is seen as a point of access to a knowable past'¹⁰⁵, and this comment is echoed by Booth.¹⁰⁶ Such an approach is obvious in the club and association histories examined in the final major chapter of this thesis. I read and decipher this different source material with the same benevolently critical eye, and with the same methodological techniques, as used in the other chapters. Examined both as primary texts, and as accumulations of other historical and historicised records, these chronicles offer a further layer to the narratives in this thesis. I look, for example, for the place of heroes and achievements as revealed from even closer perspective. The dissection of multiple, connected meanings is again pivotal, and the ways club historians have used print media sources enables an understanding to be gained of possible responses from the community to the newspaper narratives.

In her discussion of 'epistemological scepticism', Jaime Schultz ably articulates the underlying premise of this thesis when she states:

Those who approach these accounts with a postmodernist sensibility read not for the verities of what "really happened" but for the ways in which journalists expressed contemporary mentalities and made events meaningful for the public. Reading against the grain, between the lines, into the silences, and through the contradictions, scholars look for material to cobble together plausible suggestions about the past.¹⁰⁷

Print media sources are, therefore, approached as artefacts, as portals through which some idea of the possible meanings attributed to sporting activity might be imagined, rather than as representative of a wholly knowable past. Investigation of the other texts they contain, the editorials, national and international 'news',

¹⁰⁵ Hill, 'Anecdotal History: Sport, the Newspaper Press and History', p. 119.

¹⁰⁶ Booth, *The Field*, p. 94.

¹⁰⁷ Jaime Schultz, 'Sense and Sensibility: A Pragmatic Postmodernism for Sport History', in *Examining Sport Histories: Power, Paradigms, and Reflexivity*, ed. by Richard Pringle and Murray Phillips (Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, 2013), pp. 59-76 (p. 67).

and the ever present commercially important advertising, also enables the creation and exploration of a story about sport in the Waikato.

However, the reception of the news stories and other texts is less clear and if the resulting discourses are reinforced and modified, circular and/or reciprocal, then it would appear that by concentrating on only the texts contained in these sources and not their reception or any responses they might invoke, I am only providing half of the picture. By adapting Hayden White's stress on the importance of the 'form' with respect to the content and comprehension of the message/discourse, this lack of information about the reception of the texts can, in part, be overcome.¹⁰⁸ The 'forms', in this thesis predominantly non-fiction reporting, both imply truthfulness and an acceptance by the reader as reality rather than fiction. In the case of the print media, some reader response can be found in 'letters to the Editor' sections (although there is, of course, a selection process for the publication of these), and can perhaps be partly assumed simply by the existence and commercial success of the newspapers studied. Robert Ferguson argues that readers are active participants in the creation of ideas and cultural norms, that they 'negotiate socially their relationship with their newspaper' based on many other aspects of their 'lived' experiences.¹⁰⁹ However, while this negotiation is remembered and acknowledged within the confines of this thesis, discussion of it is generally kept to the chapter which deals with club histories.

Finally, in this thesis I interrogate groups of stories and, in turn produce a narrative with a beginning, middle, and a conclusion. By looking to uncover representation of a Waikato identity, I create a tale in a form that White contends, 'transforms [...] events into intimations of patterns of meaning that any literal representation of them as facts could never produce'.¹¹⁰ Much of the material covered also presents as various types of narrative tropes, particularly notable in the representation of the 'hero', and Gary Whannel contends that 'the process of

¹⁰⁸ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 42-43.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Ferguson, *Representing Race: Ideology, Identity and the Media* (London & New York: Arnold, 1998), p. 132.

¹¹⁰ White, p 45.

narrativisation is particularly striking in the coverage of the events of sport'.¹¹¹ The deconstruction of these stories is, therefore, a process of decoding the writing to reveal layers of the meaning of sport in the Waikato.

Theoretical Approaches

A number of essential concepts and theoretical frameworks provide a light framing for the elucidation and discussion of various parts of the source material, including notions of discourse, power, capital, hegemony, and representation. These theoretical constructs are used, often in concert, as the basis for an array of interpretive methods in response to the material found.

In this thesis, sport is presented as a 'discourse', particularly as this term was understood and described by Michel Foucault. Foucault argued that discourses, or bodies of knowledge, both enable and constrain what can be said.¹¹² He complicated the concept by attributing different 'meanings' and by emphasizing that he 'allowed' it to change depending upon the context of its use.¹¹³ His diagnosis of 'discourse' as complex and multi-layered has been taken up by more recent scholars including Kathleen Canning who described it as a 'convergence of statements, texts, signs and practices', and noted that there are 'singular discourses' within 'wider discursive systems'.¹¹⁴ Canning also noted that:

Implicit in the term discourse as both a textual and a social relation, is a certain expertise, the power and authority to speak, and the existence of a public sphere that transcends local settings.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Gary Whannel, *Media Sport Stars: Masculinities and Moralities* (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), p.54.

¹¹² Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith (London & New York: Routledge Classics, 2002).

¹¹³ Foucault stated that he used the word 'discourse' to describe 'the general domain of all statements', and 'an individualizable group of statements; and a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements'. (p. 90).

¹¹⁴ Kathleen Canning, 'Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historizing Discourse and Experience' *Signs*, 19.2 (1994), 368-404 (pp.370 -380).

¹¹⁵ Canning, p. 380.

It follows that different discourses operate in societies at various levels and times, and with varying degrees of success. The dominance of particular discursive ideas and practices relies on the ability of certain groups within communities to control others. An integral part of this concept is that discourse requires communication, social interactions and engagement.

‘Discourse’ can also refer to semiotic elements of social practices.¹¹⁶ Including ‘language’, ‘non-verbal communication and ‘visual images’, ‘[t]he concept of discourse can be understood as a particular perspective on these various forms of semiosis - it sees them as moments of social practices in their articulation with other non-discursive moments’.¹¹⁷ The socially interactive aspects of discourse were emphasised by John Richardson as he promoted the centrality of the actions of people in relation to the analysis of discursive texts.¹¹⁸ The importance of language in these definitions was further emphasised when he noted that ‘language represents and contributes to the production and reproduction (which discourse analysts usually label the ‘(re)production’) of social reality’.¹¹⁹

For the purposes of this thesis then, a synthesis of these conceptualisations of discourse has been necessary, given that all are relevant. While a semiotic approach was too constrained, some way of approaching the revelation of underlying ‘bodies of knowledge’ was needed, and an understanding of the implicit operation of power within discursive systems has had to be incorporated. As Pirkko Markula and Richard Pringle stated ‘[d]iscourses transmit and produce power, reinforce power, expose it and make it possible for an individual to advance or reverse power relations’.¹²⁰

Sport in the Waikato tells us about power. Definitions of this concept that are relevant to a study of the ways sporting activities and relationships operate in communities include ideas of dominance and boundary setting. The view that

¹¹⁶ Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 38.

¹¹⁷ Chouliaraki and Fairclough, p. 38.

¹¹⁸ John E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 25.

¹¹⁹ Richardson, p. 26.

¹²⁰ Pirkko Marcula and Richard Pringle, *Foucault, Sport and Exercise: Power, Knowledge and Transforming the Self* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 215.

power is multi-dimensional is central to this thesis. Susan Birrell and Mary McDonald noted that the ‘power lines of race, class, gender and sexuality (and age, nationality, ability, religion etc.) do not work independently and thus cannot be understood in isolation from one another’.¹²¹ This aligns with my integrated approach to the dissection of textual material which looks for intersections between different social categories.

There is a tendency in Birrell and McDonald's work to portray the operation of power as essentially negative. Foucault's theories of power, however, are more encompassing. In *Power and Knowledge*, he argued for a notion of power that is everywhere and in all relationships. He stated that ‘[p]ower needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose focus is repression’.¹²² Thus, it is seen as an intrinsic, but not necessarily oppressive, force that operates in all human relationships, at different levels and in different forms. Power manifests, or is more visible, through the examination of certain structures including the media, and sporting organisations. This does not mean, however, that the agenda setting (for example) is obvious, nor that power relationships are necessarily stable and unchanging, but that particular ways of harnessing and disseminating information/knowledge can enable the retention and operation of forms of control. It also does not place the structures apart from the human agents, or consider that the media, for instance, has been simply a negative force.¹²³

The history of sport has a fundamental background in, and relationship with, social history and its related materialist concerns. Some sports historians have considered the role of the sport in the dissemination of discursive mores and the exercise of power in society. In his Marxist examination, *Sport, Power and Culture* (1986), John Hargreaves explicated the relationships between sports and power discourses, arguing that ‘sport is, above all, best categorized as a cultural

¹²¹ Susan Birrell & Mary G. McDonald, ‘Reading Sport, Articulating Power Lines’, in *Reading Sport: Critical Essays on Power and Representation*, ed. by. Susan Birrell and Mary G. McDonald, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), pp. 3-13 (p. 4).

¹²² Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p.119.

¹²³ Holly Thorpe asserted that the media was ‘not only repressive, but also enabling and productive’, in ‘Foucault, Technologies of Self, and the Media: Discourses of Femininity in Snowboarding Culture’, *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 32.2 (May 2008), 199-229 (p. 200).

formation, and that cultural elements constitute absolutely fundamental components of power networks'.¹²⁴ Therefore, sport is seen as part of wider systems in societies, not as a separate entity.

This thesis shows that the power networks located in Waikato communities are often revealed in print media reports, narratives that have highlighted particular activities and people. As will be seen in a number of the following chapters, the power to control the resources needed for sporting activity was considered socially important. In 2015, lisahunter, Wayne Smith and elke emerald, summarised Pierre Bourdieu's related concepts of social, cultural and symbolic capital.¹²⁵ Social capital is said to be a 'network of lasting relations, a belongingness or connectedness with others', while cultural capital is related to the 'culturally valued possessions and attributes' a person or persons might have or demonstrate'.¹²⁶ In addition, the 'symbolic capital' they generate is the power to influence or control others.¹²⁷ This aspect of the operation of power is shown in overt ways throughout this thesis as, for example, the actions of committee members are discussed, and also in the lauding of sporting heroes.

Bourdieu also examined ideas of political capital, which he linked, to the role of village petty-bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie in the organisation of sport.¹²⁸ This capital is 'always potentially reconvertible into political power'.¹²⁹ Whether or not Bourdieu's attempt to frame the development of sport into a *supply* and *social demand* paradigm is justified, consideration of the operation of types of capital is relevant throughout this study. In addition, his reported insistence on the need to understand sport 'as part of the social and cultural totality' supports both my

¹²⁴ John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), p. 8.

¹²⁵ lisahunter, Wayne Smith and elke emerald, 'Pierre Bourdieu and his Conceptual Tools', in *Pierre Bourdieu and Physical Culture* (Routledge Research in Sport, Culture and Society), ed. by lisahunter, Wayne Smith & elke emerald (London & New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 3-23 (p.13).

¹²⁶ lisahunter, Wayne Smith and elke emerald, p. 113.

¹²⁷ lisahunter, Wayne Smith and elke emerald, p. 113.

¹²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Sport and Social Class', *Social Science Information*, 17.6 (1978), 819-840 (p.832).

¹²⁹ Bourdieu, p. 832.

advocacy of the central position of sport in communities, and the need for contextual framing.¹³⁰

If capital is an accumulation of differing types and levels of power, then the concept of hegemony is perhaps a conduit through which the acceptance or even development of such influence might occur. In a discussion of the theories of Antonio Gramsci as they relate to sport, David Rowe notes that hegemony allows a view of the power relationships in society that involves communication and negotiation.¹³¹ In this configuration, ideas of dictatorship are replaced with a move to the contemplation of cultural contexts and relationships. While Rowe notes that the class based aspects of the original theories have come to be seen as outdated, and that Gramsci has fallen out of favour with many sports studies practitioners, it is apparent that the underlying idea of hegemony, that power is negotiated and ‘many-sided’ is still relevant.¹³²

Sport exists in its representations. This thesis is not a complete history of the selected sporting events or moments, although the inclusion of some historical narratives helps to provide a rich, layered outcome. Similarly, it is not simply a dissection of the ways in which sporting activities were depicted in the print media. Representation can be defined as to ‘re -present’, as in to present something again. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, this could refer to the presentation of a sporting moment in a changed form, by language/written text, rather than by physical re-enactment. This act of re-presenting implicitly involves change and context so that the very act of writing turns action into report or narrative. It is not only the mechanics of that change that are important, but the ideas and normative settings that are involved and revealed, and any changes in the underlying discursive environment that might be displayed.

It is also important to note that representation can be considered to imply a distortion from the ‘real’ event or situation it concerns. Thus, a sporting

¹³⁰ Alan Tomlinson, ‘Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociological Study of Sport: Habitus, Capital and Field’ in *Sport and Modern Social Theorists* ed. by Richard Giulianotti (Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 161-172 (p. 165).

¹³¹ David Rowe, ‘Antonio Gramsci: Sport, Hegemony and the National-Popular’, in *Sport and Modern Social Theorists*, ed. by Richard Giulianotti (Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp 97-110.

¹³² Rowe, p. 108.

competition might be represented as a 'battle', for example, placing it in a particular paradigm which provides a slant, or spin, on the actual events. This approach to the discussion of representation presupposes that there is a real or true version which is different from the reported account, and which can be compared with the representation. Given the fragmentary nature of historical evidence, and the underlying contingency or context associated with the fragments that remain, such an approach is fraught with difficulty. Hall, however, goes further when he notes that:

How things are represented and the 'machineries' and regimes of representation in a culture do play a *constitutive*, and not merely a reflexive, after-the-event role. This gives questions of culture and ideology, and the scenarios of representation – subjectivity, identity, politics – a formative, not merely an expressive, place in the constitution of social and political life.¹³³

This thesis considers and tests this expanded idea; that in both form and content, the representation of sporting activities is a creative, and not simply a reflective, action.

The theoretical concepts discussed above provide some ways of interpreting the material presented in the rest of this thesis. However, while understandings of power are important, some difficulty exists with theories that have been developed using 'class' as a central construction. While ideas of economic and social class cannot be completely dismissed, I contend that other aspects of hierarchical control, notably in relation to gender and ethnicity, are more significant in this thesis and are considerably more evident in the material discussed. Sport is most often divided on gender lines, and the background and development of the region, initially involving invasion and confiscation, meant that the representation of Māori in sporting environments need to be included in a discussion of local identity and belonging. Social class associations and divisions are much less obvious, which may have been partly as a result of the small population or its wide geographical distribution, at least in the earlier periods. Much of this thesis

¹³³ Stuart Hall, 'New Ethnicities', (p. 224).

involves the examination of silences - the gaps or lack of representation. The absence of displays of class-based interaction or activity was too consistent a silence to bridge. Therefore, the ideas detailed above are modified in future chapters to allow for understandings of power and capital primarily with regard to the representation of gender and ethnic relationships, and in particular, the development of connected identities.

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The Events and the Clubs

The four event based chapters form the foundation of this thesis. Through an examination of the contextual settings and narratives that frame these recurring moments, the representation of sport is shown both to be an important marker of wider discursive norms, and an intrinsic component of wider community life. Each chapter includes its own brief, focussed literature review and tackles the place of sport in the Waikato in a different, but thematically linked, way. In the final main chapter, I bring together the major themes to inform the dissection of a number of club and association histories.

In Chapter One, I focus on the Ngāruawāhia Regatta which was arguably one of the earliest truly Waikato sporting events. Given that the history of the Waikato region was so linked to the invasion and confiscation of Māori territory, an examination of this event provides entry into the varied relationships which developed in the area between the two most defined groups of people, Māori and Pākehā. This analysis reveals the ways in which cultural appropriation and the definition of physical activities occurred over time, and the changing aspects of power and control inherent both in the event, but more importantly, in its recording and representation. The circular and reinforcing nature of discursive practices, and later attempts to destabilise the hierarchy of control, are placed in a wider contextual pattern that reflects other ideas about Māori where agency is revealed both by absence and in subversive actions.

The recurring provincial rugby game played between Waikato and Auckland is the focus of Chapter Two. This event provides an obvious representation of the relationship between the powerful northern city, and the developing, more rural

Waikato. The display of collective regional identity, as symbolised by the wearing of colours and the ringing of cowbells, is therefore a central part of this chapter. In addition, the chapter explores the central place of rugby in narratives about masculinity in New Zealand. Normative gender discourses are featured, and any changes in the representation of rugby-playing men are explored.

Narratives of local sporting heroes and their place, function, and reflected success, are examined in Chapter Three. The British Empire/Commonwealth Games were established as an international competition beginning in 1930, and the development of this sporting competition is examined here in the context of changing colonial and imperial relationships. Identity is a central feature of this chapter as it primarily contains discussion of the representation of local heroes as they compete outside the region, and considers whether there are material changes in the tone and types of colonial identification. Examples of discursive gender marking are located in the reports of competitors, and local identities are promoted and sustained. Regional support for the Games held in Auckland in 1950 provides another facet of that relationship to be revealed and dissected.

The sport of lawn bowls is examined in Chapter Four, and a number of different narratives, and thematic concerns, including social capital and the construction of gender, are presented. This chapter includes consideration of the exercise of power in the relationships between different parts of the region, and the place of the local newspaper. Power is also a central feature of the examination of gender interactions, and the discussion centres on the accepted places of women; as bowlers and as supporters. The chapter reveals the importance of the social aspects of sporting competitions, as well as the organisation of small groups of people into communities.

The final major chapter of this thesis, Chapter Five, is a discussion of a particular type of sports history writing, the club or association history. These publications are not only examples of the narratives of sport in the Waikato, and therefore contribute to the multi-layered focus of this thesis, but also show changes in the ways such histories have been produced, and in the concerns and material chosen to be presented. The overarching themes of this thesis – of belonging and identity – are revealed in the examination of these texts.

This thesis is a focussed examination of the ways local groups and communities are constructed and revealed through the representation of their sporting activities and organisations. By moving away from the idea of the 'nation', a more detailed and nuanced story of the represented place and role of sport in the construction of communities can be written. I engage with, test and complicate the work of both New Zealand and international scholars. This tale contains heroes, enemies, contest, conflict and triumph. It places narratives of sport at the centre of a public Waikato identity that changes over time in an uneven, and often subtle and fragmented, fashion but that, in the period considered, is dependent upon sport as way of separating itself from surrounding areas. Ideas of belonging, and layered and connected identities, underpin a way of looking at this, my place, as a web of communities connected by sport.

Chapter One

Writing the Ngāruawāhia Regatta, 1897-1974: Displaying 'Traditional' Sports and Cultural Harmony

My mother, who was born in Ngāruawāhia and grew up in the adjacent coal-mining village of Glen Massey, remembered the annual Regatta as a highlight of her year – the train trip, food stalls, the taste of watermelon, and the carnival feel. I, on the other hand, don't recall ever knowing it existed until I was an adult and would read reports of it in the Waikato Times. My assumption then was that it had always been held at the Turangawaewae Marae, the meeting house and seat of the Māori royal family in the Waikato and I certainly didn't know that it was originally established as a rowing regatta. Therefore, unlike later chapters in this thesis, this section is not as informed by prior knowledge of the 'event'. It is, however, shaded by my understandings of the contested histories of both Ngāruawāhia and the Waikato, which can be located in the public narratives of these sporting moments.

The Regatta, held annually in the Waikato town of Ngāruawāhia from 1896, was shaped as an event which brought differing cultural practices into a sporting paradigm. Through narratives of control and assimilation, the Regatta has been publicly presented as a positive integration of Pākehā and Māori. Rowing races were held alongside Māori cultural activities that were converted into competitions, and a large festival was created, complete with sideshows and other attractions.¹ In the discussion that follows, the public representations of this event are examined to reveal aspects of the resulting cultural interaction and appropriation, and the varied, often contrasting depictions of Māori and Pākehā

¹ Macrons are used throughout the Māori language/Te Reo to indicate the use of long vowel sounds. They were not evident in any of the newspaper archives and I have not altered the directly quoted passages used in this thesis to include them. I have chosen to not use '[sic]' beyond the first, indicative occasions, as this would have become unnecessarily repetitive.

participants. In addition, there were uneven changes in the reporting of the sporting competitions and results, and in the representation of the differing roles of men and women, which provide the opportunity for varied examinations of the ways in which the writing of such sporting occasions can be dissected.

In 1996, a celebration of one hundred years of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta was held. A centennial history was produced which concludes with this comment:

Ngāruawāhia has seen a lot of water flow under the two physical and cultural bridges, the Waikato with the Waipā, and Māori and Pākehā, carrying with them the dreams and hopes for a better future. They meet at Ngāruawāhia, then flow on through life together.²

This observation reveals the place of this event, both physically at the meeting of the Waikato and Waipā rivers, and symbolically, as the joining of the two main ethnic groups. It writes the Waikato, and the Regatta, in positive harmonious terms, without regard for the power imbalances inherent in their construction.

Sports writing contains embedded cultural discourses which support ideas about the different physical, and other, attributes of particular ethnic groups. In the examination of newspaper reports of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta from the last decade of the nineteenth century through to late in the twentieth century, such discursive assumptions are revealed and placed in an intertextual arena that includes other examples of ethnic and cultural delineation, and identity creation. These contextual backgrounds feature various aspects of the written visibility of Māori including the return of the Kīngitanga to Ngāruawāhia, and the changes in awareness of ethnic relationship issues that began in the 1960s. I investigate the use and depiction of particular versions of Māori and their activities, and consider the role and power of the Regatta organisation in relation to the construction of, sometimes competing, public notions of both ethnic separation and assimilation.

It could be argued that in choosing this event and highlighting the representation of Māori, I am reinforcing the stereotypes found in the reports studied. In fact, I

² *One Hundred Years, 1896-1996: The Ngāruawāhia and Turangawaewae Regattas* (Ngāruawāhia, NZ: Ngāruawāhia/Turangawaewae Centennial Regatta Committee, 1996.), p. 26.

seek to identify and destabilise the essentialisation of the different groups and their activities: to complicate, not distil the imagery.³ The selection of the Regatta as one of the ‘moments’ covered was not made because there is a lot of easily accessible information about the event; in fact while a large volume of newspaper reporting is available, material about the workings of the committee, and other supporting documentation, has been difficult to obtain, and that which is included is very fragmentary at best. I have chosen this event because it has survived as a sporting occasion for over 100 years and provides a way of examining the changing discourses around ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’, and what has constituted ‘sport’ in this part of the Waikato community. The diverse and shifting nature of the relationships between different groups of people of this region are, in part, revealed on those occasions when they are shown to be meeting. The potentially constructive nature of such representation, therefore, enables an examination of the ways in which ethnic identities are formed and change, and are embedded in ideas of regional awareness.

Much has been written about the tendency to romanticise Māori as sensual and natural people, and in 1991, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku noted the ways in which photographs of Māori women tended to place them within a idealised erotic paradigm that combined ‘exotic sensuality’ and ‘sunlit innocence’.⁴ Examples of this type of imagery can be found in the descriptions of Māori participants in regatta activities. In addition, occasional versions of both the ‘noble savage’ and the ‘nimble savage’, and the sometimes concurrent idea of display, are found in the reports.⁵ However, these concepts, and the related depictions that celebrate Māori athleticism, are somewhat destabilised by narrative images that portray the

³ Douglas Booth has also noted that it is important to ensure that constructions like ‘race’ not be described in ways that portray such categories as ‘natural’ in his chapter ‘History, Race Sport: from Objective Knowledge to Socially-Responsible Narratives’ in *Sport, Race, and Ethnicity: Narratives of Difference and Diversity*, ed. by Daryl Adair (Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, 2011), pp. 13-40 (p. 20).

⁴ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Māori: Selected Writings on Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1991), p. 91.

⁵ Ideas of the pure and innocent noble savage – particularly with regard to colonial perceptions – are described by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: ZED, 1999), p. 50. The term ‘nimble savage’ has been drawn from the works of Garry Osmond including ‘The Surfing Tommy Tanna: Performing Race at the Australian beach, *Journal of Pacific History*, 46 (2011), 180 - 185; and ‘“Honolulu Māori”: Racial Dimensions of Duke Kahanamoku's Tour of Australia and New Zealand, 1914 - 15’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 44.1 (2010), 22 - 34.

‘native’ activities in ways that place emphasis on the comic nature of the events: ‘The canoe hurdle races were excellent fun. Though the men generally got over cleverly at the first attempt, some of the wahines tried and failed many times but the spectators appreciated their perseverance more than the skill of the others’.⁶ At all times, the crowd watching was comprised of both Māori and Pākehā peoples. However, descriptions of the crowds at early Regatta also made explicit mention of differences between the two identified ethnic groupings and noted that ‘[t]he Maoris, who were in strong force, added greatly to the life and colour of the scene, and their splendid capacity for enjoyment seemed happily infectious’.⁷ These reports emphasise the perceived childlike nature of a largely homogenised group, and the word ‘added’ places their attendance and contribution on the margins of the occasion. It also configures their participation as a sideline to the ‘true’ sporting events; the rowing races of the ‘regatta proper’.⁸

Sport in New Zealand has traditionally been regarded as egalitarian, as breaking down the barriers and inequities between class and ethnic groups, although not necessarily between genders. The Regatta was promoted, both in the news media and on advertising posters, as a place where the mingling of Māori and Pākehā was deliberately facilitated and where both groups could compete on shared ground and water. Brendon Hokowhitu argues against the assumption that sporting participation was a consistent site for equal opportunity. In particular, he notes the stereotypical ways Māori and Pacific peoples have been lauded for their physicality and sporting prowess, and that, while sport has been a conduit for the joining of different ethnic groups, this ‘relationship’ has ‘an undercurrent of racism’.⁹ Sporting representations, particularly when notions of physicality and natural talent are prevalent, can also have an undercurrent of ‘inferential racism’.¹⁰

⁶ Ngāruawāhia Regatta’, *Waikato Times*, 18 March 1904, p. 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ ‘Ngāruawāhia Regatta’, *Waikato Times*, 18 March 1904, p. 2.

⁹ Brendon Hokowhitu, ‘Māori Sport: Pre-colonisation to today’ in *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, ed. by Chris Collins & Steve Jackson, 2nd edition (Auckland: Thomson, 2007), pp.78-92 (p. 92).

¹⁰ Stuart Hall notes that inferential racism can be more insidious than overt discrimination when it includes ‘those apparently naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, whether ‘factual’ or ‘fictional’, which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestioned assumptions’. Stuart Hall, ‘The Whites of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and

Other scholars have lamented the lack of research undertaken to consider the connections between the colonisation process and sport in New Zealand.¹¹ The conjunction between the creation of ethnic identities and the reinforcement of race-based attributions has been compounded by the delineation of particular activities, including the use of waka, and haka and poi performances, as sport. Hokowhitu described earlier versions of this process as a form of authentication, whereby certain practices were translated, by colonisers, into understandable or acceptable forms.¹² In this thesis, the conversion through codification into competitions is shown to be, at least in part, a form of cultural appropriation, and the idea of fitting traditional activities into a European cultural paradigm is seen to be transformatory. While the Regatta was not the first site where this conversion occurred, it provided consistent reinforcement of this process. In addition, the inherent power to decide which activities were promoted, and which versions were accepted, is a central feature. However, this is not absolute; in later Regatta, some intimation of Māori agency and control is apparent.

These entangled power and agency relationships are also central to the consideration of the final relevant features of this type of event: the commercial nature and economic imperatives associated with sporting occasions, from the prize-money involved in these amateur endeavours, to the train excursion takings. Sideshow hawkers and other vendors also stood to profit from such community gatherings. The interrogation of this event in particular, reveals not only this aspect of the place of sport in the wider community, but the links between the press and the promotion of many different aspects of sporting competitions for their mutual economic benefit. Consideration of this aspect necessitates some understanding of the contextual background of the Regatta, and the development of the sport of rowing and aquatic competitions.

the Media', in *The Media Reader*, ed. by M Alvarado and J Thompson (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), pp. 7-23 (p. 13).

¹¹ H. Raima Hippolite and Toni Bruce, 'Speaking the Unspoken: Racism, Sport and Māori', *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 2.2 (2010) 23-45

¹² Brendan Hokowhitu, 'Authenticating Māori Physicality: Translations of 'Games' and 'Pastimes' by Early Travellers and Missionaries to New Zealand', in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25.10 (Sept 2008), 1355-1373, (p 1350).

Background and Beginnings

The Place - Ngāruawāhia

One of the concerns embedded in this thesis is the place of ‘history’ in the development of narratives about sport in the Waikato community. Initial human occupation of the wider Waikato region is traditionally linked to the arrival of peoples from the Tainui and Te Arawa waka. Evelyn Stokes described both the complex and changing tribal groupings in the area, and the different ways in which land occupation was organised and viewed.¹³ She also highlighted the economic activity of Tainui/Waikato hapu from the ‘Hamilton basin and Waipa Valley’ parts of the region as they responded to the arrival of Europeans in the wider Australasian area by growing and selling produce to those in Auckland and further afield.¹⁴ As colonial pressure, particularly with regard to land, spread throughout New Zealand, members of these iwi (and others from the wider Tainui waka grouping), were involved in the movement towards preserving their authority over and control of their territories lands that resulted in the creation of the Kīngitanga.

Ngāruawāhia has consistently been an important place for Waikato Māori and the greater Tainui iwi. The area surrounding the joining of the Waikato and Waipa rivers was inhabited by the descendants of the Tainui waka that become Waikato hapu and whanau, for many years prior to the arrival of Europeans.¹⁵ The rivers were both spiritually and economically central; they provided sustenance and a way through the region. Following the initial major battle of the Land Wars in the Waikato in 1863 at Rangiriri, (King) Tawhiao moved south to Ngati Maniapoto country and the area at the junction of the Waikato and Waipa rivers became a British militia/colonial settlement in 1864. Ngāruawāhiā became an important hub in an area that relied heavily on river travel for the transport of the incoming Europeans and their goods. The town suffered economically during the 1880s and '90s, and eventually, the building of the railway line from Auckland to

¹³ Evelyn Stokes, ‘Te Whenua Tautohetohe: Land in Contention, The Waikato Region in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Belonging to the Land -Te Hononga Ki Te Whenua: People and Places in the Waikato Region*, ed. by Evelyn Stokes & Margaret Begg (Hamilton: Waikato Branch, N.Z. Geographical Society, 1997), pp. 3-34.

¹⁴ Stokes, pp. 10–11.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Wellington, and the completion of roads through the central Waikato would contribute to the relative decline of the town.¹⁶

By 1896, it was widely believed and reported in New Zealand that the Māori people were destined to die out. In his *Waikato Argus* editorial column of 1 September 1896, George Edgecumbe noted that the 1896 Census figures had shown a drop of 2000 in counted numbers of Māori.¹⁷ I include parts of this column in some detail as it provides one contemporary example of attitudes involving ‘race’ directly prior to the establishment of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta Committee. Edgecumbe stated that:

It has been accepted almost as an axiom that a savage race must decay and die out before the advances of civilisation, but the Maori (sic) when we first settled in New Zealand were so far superior in intelligence, honour and courage to any other savage race, which the European has come in contact with in modern times, that room for hope was afforded that they would prove the exception to the rule.¹⁸

He went on to argue that the decline was due in part to the inability of Māori to adapt to European ways as they adopted the incoming ‘vices’ without a corresponding ability to adopt the ‘manners and customs’ that might combat the negative effects of new practices.¹⁹ He then called for the Government to organise instruction in ‘[C]leanliness’ and ‘the application of medical science’, and insisted that Māori not be able to continue to live in the unhealthy conditions which the ‘lower orders of white men’ were prohibited from inhabiting by local government orders.²⁰ Edgecumbe underlined his argument by writing that, ‘[W]e have usurped their country’²¹ This sentiment, particularly the choice of the word ‘usurped’ contrasts markedly with the discursive undertones of a newspaper which generally contained reports that implicitly, and often overtly, centred and promoted the concerns of ‘settler’ Europeans. Such dissonance may relate to a conflict between

¹⁶ For a historical review see A.M Latta, *Meeting of the Waters: The Story of Ngaruawahia* (Ngaruawahia, NZ: Ngaruawahia Lions Club, 1980).

¹⁷ *Waikato Argus*, 1 September 1896, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Waikato Argus*, 1 September 1896, p. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

the commercial imperatives linked to the belief that the buyers/readers of the paper were usually Pākehā, and a personal moral/ethical position which acknowledged the taking of land from the tāngata whenua as unjust.

Notwithstanding this, and the overtly altruistic tenor of the piece, that this column is replete with beliefs about the rankings of groups by ethnicity, and sometimes class, is as obvious as the paternalistic tone which seeks to help, but also to impose Pākehā/settler order. The pre-eminence of Māori over other colonised peoples, and the growing belief in the higher quality of 'race relations' in New Zealand are on-going themes in the coverage of both the Regatta and in other parts of the press. Māori were seen as superior to other indigenous groups, particularly to the American 'negro' or 'black cloud' who, in a column from 1895 were described as 'sensuous', with little 'ambition' or 'industry' and 'not a desirable inhabitant for any civilised country'.²² However, the use of contrasting terms 'savage' and 'civilisation' shows the underlying and enduring belief in the place of both defined groups of people in New Zealand, and in the inevitability of a desirable move towards a 'modern' state.

The opinions expressed about the apparently pending decline of Māori in the *Argus* in 1896 were mirrored to some extent in the aims of the committee who planned the first Ngāruawāhia Regatta. At this time, the organisation of most sporting and other public events was performed by largely unpaid committees, and the meetings of these committees were often held in public buildings, and usually advertised in local newspapers.²³ The ability to have the time and/or financial freedom to be a part of these committees was seen as a positive and desirable attribute, and the power these organisations assumed, albeit in localised ways, was also significant. Networking in a small colony was important both in personal and economic ways. It allowed those involved to develop and enhance their cultural capital, which could then be parlayed into other forms of influence,

²² *Waikato Times and Thames Valley Gazette*, 12 November, p.4.

²³ Many sporting committee meetings were noted in editorial columns and other parts of the paper. The Hamilton Athletic Club's committee meeting was mentioned, giving details of time and place, both in a column note and in the *MEETINGS, AMUSEMENTS, ETC* piece of the *Waikato Times*, 5 November 1895, p. 5.

including the assumption of different types of power.²⁴ Whether such control resulted in actual opportunities to acquire political positions or not, it seems apparent that it was one conduit through which influence over the prevailing discourses in communities was formed and maintained.

The Sport of Rowing

Regatta, or boat races, were some of the earliest recorded sporting events held in New Zealand following the arrival of Europeans. The competitions from which the sport of rowing eventually developed appear to have begun on the rivers of England as the large numbers of watermen who transported people and goods also occasionally raced each other, especially if a prize or other financial incentive was offered.²⁵ At times, large crowds gathered to watch, and wager on, such races and a large number of regular events, including many held in and around London on the Thames River, had been established by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁶ These races were still held predominantly between watermen and there is little evidence of other organised sporting competition until the mid nineteenth century.

The development of rowing as an amateur, more ‘modern’, sport followed in the wake of the rise of professional sculling throughout the major rivers of England, and in Australia, particularly New South Wales.²⁷ The professional rowers, many but not all of whom were watermen, were financially supported by wealthy patrons and sponsors who sought to make money, and sometimes accrue prestige, based on the prowess of their competitors, and the resulting races provided popular entertainment for massed crowds of spectators. The amateur, more ‘gentlemanly’, sport developed both out of Oxford and Cambridge Universities and a number of English public schools and, by the mid 1800s, through the formation of a number of amateur clubs including many based on the Thames

²⁴ As noted in the thesis introduction, see ideas about the links between control of sporting organisations and social capital in Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Sport and Social Class’, *Social Science Information*, 17,6 (1978), 819-840 (p. 832).

²⁵ Eric Halladay, *Rowing in England: A Social History: The Amateur Debate*, (Manchester, UK: Manchester Unity Press, 1990), p. 7.

²⁶ Halladay, p. 8.

²⁷ See Daryl Adair, ‘Rowing and Skulling’ in *Sport in Australia, A Social History*, ed. by W Vamplew & B. Stoddart (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 172-192 (p 173).

River.²⁸ While both the professional and amateur groups seemed to work together during the early period of development, this changed over time. The eventual divisions between the two groups which were primarily based on class lines but also apparently resulted in response to alleged ‘cheating’ and ‘fouling’, became very obvious and contentious over time.²⁹ Neil Wigglesworth notes that clubs were said to have been formed by and for ‘gentleman’ rowers not just as a result of fears of cheating but also to preserve ‘the ‘spirit’ of the sport’.³⁰ The perceived unfair advantage held by manual workers was also a factor, but Wigglesworth contends that it was class bias that underpinned the separations that occurred.³¹ Any divisions were less obvious in New Zealand where the lack of professional scullers and sponsors in New Zealand, at least until the late 1800s, meant the amateur form of the sport was more prevalent and the lines less obviously drawn.³² By 1887, when the New Zealand Amateur Rowing Association was established, most competition was organised within, and through, rowing clubs.

One aspect that was central to the organisation, dispersion, and popularity of the sport was the regatta.³³ While some early English versions were generally festive occasions and did not appear to feature races, other more commercial ventures developed in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as publicans, theatre owners and other entrepreneurs organised large regattas to ‘boost trade’ and for other commercial benefits.³⁴ They became large social events with crowds gathering to watch and wager on races, and to socialise and experience other amusements. Wigglesworth highlights the importance of the growing railway networks and the resulting increased opportunity for travel, including the

²⁸ See Halladay for a comprehensive listing of the numbers of rowers in England in the period from 1835-57. (pp. 28 - 38).

²⁹ Geoffrey Thomas Vincent, ‘Sport and Other Signs of Civilisation in Colonial Canterbury 1850-1890’ (PhD thesis, Canterbury University 2002), p. 41.

³⁰ Neil Wigglesworth, *A Social History of English Rowing* (London & Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1992), p. 117.

³¹ Wigglesworth, p. 118.

³² Vincent notes that there was an absence of professional scullers in Canterbury during the mid 1800s in large part because of a lack of backers but also due to a lack of suitable watermen (pp. 45-46). New Zealand did produce world champion professional scullers from 1907: William (Billy) Webb, through to 1925: Darcy Hadfield, ‘The World Professional Sculling Title’ <<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/rowing-in-new-zealand/world-professional-sculling-title>> [accessed 10 September 2016]

³³ The word regatta is originally based on a Venetian Italian word meaning a contest. <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/regatta>> [accessed 11 September 2016]. It has come to mean a boat race or races.

³⁴ Halladay, p. 8; Wigglesworth p. 36.

scheduling of special excursion trains to convey people to events like the ‘Grand Yorkshire Regatta’.³⁵ The use of a developing rail system, and of special trains, would also become a feature of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta.

Following the arrival of British colonists in New Zealand, boating and rowing competitions were adapted to local conditions, and as in Australia, regatta were often linked to the celebration of colonial milestones.³⁶ For example, Geoff Vincent discusses early events held in the Canterbury province including a series of races held on 24 May 1851 to celebrate Queen Victoria’s birthday.³⁷ The ‘Eleventh Anniversary of the Colony’ was also commemorated in Auckland in 1851 with a regatta that featured whaleboat and canoe races.³⁸ Separate races were advertised for ‘natives’ [sic] and these participants were not asked for an entrance fee.³⁹ The participation of Māori in these early events appears to have been encouraged but was somewhat sporadic. Vincent notes that local Māori were ‘a significant presence at the principal sporting occasion held on Banks’ Peninsula during the 1860s’, the Akaroa Regatta.⁴⁰ Not only did Māori men and women compete in aquatic and athletic events, but performances of waiata and haka provided entertainment.⁴¹ This participation did not continue however, and Vincent contends that this was caused by a decline in population numbers and in economic circumstances.⁴² Other regatta were held regularly throughout the country during the mid 1800s, and although the crews were generally called amateur, most involved prizemoney for the winners. Many of these events were promoted as multifaceted occasions that would appeal to rowers and spectators alike, rather than simply sporting competitions.

Regatta in the Waikato

Regatta were held in the Waikato before the creation of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta Association. The *Waikato Times* mentioned a number of meetings held in Ngāruawāhia featuring rowing and other aquatic sports, including ‘wahine’ canoe

³⁵ Wigglesworth, p. 38.

³⁶ Adair, p 172

³⁷ Vincent, p. 37.

³⁸ *New Zealander*, Volume 6, Issue 479, 16 November 1850, p.1.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Vincent, p. 37.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Vincent, p. 38.

regatta races. In addition, the Regatta Association would also have a local model on which to base their plans for an event that was more than just a rowing competition. From at least 1886 onwards, reports can be found in Auckland newspapers of a regatta held at Mercer some 50 miles downriver from Ngāruawāhia. An implicit separateness between the ‘citizens’ and ‘the Maoris’ can be found in the advertorial column of the *Auckland Star* for the first of these Mercer events.⁴³ Māori were portrayed as a distinct, homogenous group and the writer noted that:

the citizens will have an opportunity seldom presented, of experiencing in one day a journey of 50 miles into the country, and of studying the Maoris [sic] at their best, albeit in their truly native habits and pastimes, vieing [sic] in their healthy and exciting emulation.⁴⁴

The ‘Native War Dance’ and ‘Aquatic Sports’ were portrayed as a spectacle, a strange and separate thing, and the Māori as distinctly ‘other’. In a discussion concerning the ways in which a particular cultural practice – leaping over a very high bar – was recorded and decoded in Rwanda in the first decade of the twentieth century, John Bale stated that ‘[t]here seemed to be no way in which the European could see it as anything but a version of modern sport’.⁴⁵ In the same way, Māori cultural practices including the haka became, in this context, competitions that could be codified and judged, and a winner found. Racial delineation and categorisation is even more obvious in the news report of the following year when, in the results of the ‘European Canoe Hurdle Race’ (as opposed to the ‘All-Comers Canoe Hurdle Race’ and the ‘Maori Wahine Canoe Hurdle Race’), a ‘protest was entered that the winning crew were half-castes but

⁴³ *Auckland Star*, 11 March 1886, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ John Bale, ‘Partial Knowledge: Photographic Mystifications and Constructions of “The African Athlete”’, in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. by Murray G. Phillips (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 95-116 (p. 110).

the judges decided that they were able to compete as ‘Europeans’.⁴⁶ Such definition can be found in other reports and public documentation of the time.⁴⁷

Another distinctive and continuing aspect of the reporting of these early regatta was the role of the Pākehā organisers. It does appear that more Māori were involved in the organisation of later Mercer events than were reported as part of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta Committee. When the Mercer Regatta was revived in 1898, for example, the committee list was published in the *Auckland Star* and appeared to consist of a large number of local men.⁴⁸ The Patron was the local member of the House of Representatives, Mr F.W Lang and the President, probably for largely ceremonial reasons, was Mahuta, described as the ‘Maori (sic) King of Waikato’.⁴⁹ Of the rest of the Mercer Committee, the fifteen men with European names were listed first and included the real power brokers, the Chairman, Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Secretary. The final twelve members – those with predominantly Māori names – were then included although one man, with the name Moses Waller, likely had some European heritage.

In contrast, the Ngāruawāhia Committee listed in the *Waikato Argus* in 1897, was smaller and, while containing three names that were likely to belong to Māori men, more dominated by men identifying as Pākehā.⁵⁰ It is, of course, difficult, and very inconclusive, to attempt to make definitive comments about the ‘ethnic’ background of historical figures solely by their names. Given the need to have connections from within the local Māori communities to, for example, coordinate with participants, the inclusion of some Māori in the organisational structures was very likely. However, it appears from the reports studied that, in the beginning, most of the Ngāruawāhia Regatta Association members identified as European/Pākehā, and they operated in a cultural paradigm, and power hierarchy, that was inherited from English sporting and other systems.

⁴⁶ ‘Mercer Annual Fete’, *Auckland Star*, 27 February 1887, p. 5.

⁴⁷ In the 1896 Census, for example, Māori numbers are listed separately, but ‘half-castes’ living in Pakeha settlements are placed in a defined column and then included in the main body of the report.

⁴⁸ ‘Mercer Regatta’ *Auckland Star*, 28 November 1898, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ ‘St Patrick’s Day: Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 March 1897, p. 3.

The official codification and organisation of all the events, and the formal nature of the proceedings, meant that any participation – by Pākehā or Māori – would be controlled by members of the Regatta Committee, and that this was not questioned. Much of the actual administration appears to have fallen to the ‘Hon. Sec.’, in the early days a Mr T. U. Wells, who, with his assistants, ‘performed their manifold duties in a most assiduous manner’.⁵¹ The discursive norms established around the organisation of this type of event – that European structures and men were in control – may have meant that the involvement of Māori in the organisation was not consistently reported. As always, establishing absence in texts involves educated guesswork. In this instance, an entry in the *Centennial History of the Regatta* produced in 1996 by the organisers based at Turangawaewae Marae notes that ‘Sir Apirana Ngata from the Ngāti Porou tribe of the East Coast was on the regatta committee with Princess Te Puea, Tonga Mahuta and Brownie Paki’.⁵² It is difficult to find any of these names in the newspaper reports of the Regatta, where ‘executive committee members’ and ‘Hon Secs’, dominate.

Evidence of the early and abiding publicly stated purpose of the regatta was, however, more obvious than the ethnic backgrounds of its members, and the inaugural Ngāruawāhia Regatta Association had wider aims than simply organising rowing races and entertainment. Registered under the Incorporated Societies Act 1908, Rule Three stated: ‘The Object of this Association shall be to encourage Maori, Aquatic and other Sports and to hold an Annual Regatta at Ngāruawāhia on St Patrick's Day or such day as the Association may determine nearest to St Patrick's Day’.⁵³ Sport was, as in many other places, a central feature of a community celebration and, given that this was before regulated working hours, the holiday usually held on St Patrick's Day provided the opportunity for the congregation of people.

The inter-cultural heritage in this area was built, in part, around the confiscation of land and the consequent displacement of the tāngata whenua discussed earlier.

⁵¹ ‘St Patrick’s Day: Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 March 1897, p. 3.

⁵² *One Hundred Years*, p. 10.

⁵³ Ngāruawahia Regatta Association, *Rules of Incorporation 1908* (Archives New Zealand, Auckland), p. 1.

As noted, significant European occupation occurred following the battle at Rangiriri as the junction of the rivers became a strategically important location. In addition, given that Ngāruawāhia had been an important place for Waikato Māori and the Kīngitanga, the men involved in the Regatta Association were able to argue that the need to preserve ‘ancient’ traditions could be centred in this town even though the tangata whenua had been displaced following the invasion and would not return in large numbers until the building of Turangawaewae Marae by Te Puea in the 1920s.

Like the Mercer event, the Ngāruawāhia Regatta was, at least for the first years, more linked to Auckland and other centres than Hamilton. This was likely to have been because of the relative population numbers of each area but it also indicates the focus of the Association.⁵⁴ As noted earlier, a recurring feature of the Regatta for many years was the large numbers of people who arrived on special excursion trains from outside the Waikato district. Those people, of course, paid an entrance fee while, for some time people who walked in, arrived on horseback, or travelled on the river often entered without paying. While the Association was explicitly not-for-profit, they needed the fee-paying public and stallholders to make enough money to continue to hold the event and, importantly, to help fund the prize-money which attracted the competitors, both Māori and Pākehā.

The prize-money is an important aspect to unpack further, given that it underpins the entangled idea of ‘agency’ in this cultural setting. The 1897 *Waikato Argus* report gives details of the prizes awarded in some of the races and while the information is incomplete, some observances can be made. The prizemoney of £2.10s for both the ‘men’ and ‘wahine’ canoe hurdle races was the lowest amount offered, even bettered by the £3. 30s provided for the Ladies Paired Oars event.⁵⁵ The reasons for this difference are likely to be more complicated than simply the ethnicity of potential competitors; indeed it seems that there were both Māori and Pākehā competitors in the men’s hurdle event at this Regatta although this does not appear to be the case in later years. It is easy to assume that the use of ‘native’

⁵⁴ Census figures for 1896 indicate that 31,424 people lived in Auckland, 235 in Ngāruawāhia and 1284 in Hamilton. Potential inaccuracies aside, these figures strongly suggest that the vast bulk of the people in the ‘Auckland’ provincial area in 1896 lived north of the Bombay Hills.

⁵⁵ ‘St Patrick’s Day: Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 March 1897, p. 3.

events to attract spectators was somehow a cynical, exploitative activity, that cultural appropriation is simply the only narrative. However, this notion is complicated by the financial incentives involved and by the ongoing participation of, and enjoyment reportedly had, by Māori spectators and competitors. It is very likely that Māori groups gathered and trained for their Regatta competitions with prize-money and competition results in mind. That they also used this occasion to make contact and celebrate with whanau and friends is very probable.

1911 - The Festival

For many years, the Ngāruawāhia Regatta on St Patrick's Day was an important date in the Waikato calendar. As Elsie Fitz-William noted in her autobiographical *Life at the Oaks*, '[b]ecause organized pleasures were relatively few in those uneventful years at the beginning of the century, Regatta Day at Ngaruawahia (sic) ranked in our minds as only second to Christmas'.⁵⁶ Mrs Fitz-William was living with her parents and siblings in Hamilton in the years just before the beginning of the Great War (1914), and recalled in detail, a Regatta Day of around that time. Many of the comments and phrases she used to describe the Māori people, and the events of that day, echoed the descriptions given in newspaper reporting. When describing Māori, the overall tone was benevolent, if condescending:

[A]lthough their way of life seemed to us to be primitive, their clothes were often shabby and their homes little better than shacks, they were very jolly and laughed a lot; as they were fond of sitting around on the ground or on doorsteps, they always appeared to have plenty of time.⁵⁷

She wrote that this was a happy time for her, and when looking back, she saw and portrayed this time, and the people she represented, through a romantic and positive lens. Her descriptions of the waka races were replete with the same imagery found in press reports. She noted that she, and her family and friends

⁵⁶ Elsie Fitz-William, *Life at the Oaks: Memories of Raglan & Hamilton 1890-1912*, ed. by Joyce Neill (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1975), p. 60.

⁵⁷ Fitz-William, p. 60.

watched with tingling fascination as the long narrow, war-canoes flashed up and down the stretch of silvery water, driven forward by rhythmic paddle-work. This was a spectacle as splendid as anything I had ever seen and I had never before viewed such noble bare chests and shoulders as these Maori men showed, as with straining muscles they forced the great war-canoes forward.⁵⁸

These observations are very similar to those found in the *Waikato Argus* from March 1911. In the 18 March report of the Regatta, the writer also emphasised the celebratory atmosphere, noting that it is ‘the great reunion day; the picnic day of the calendar’.⁵⁹ Donald Matheson (following P. R. White) contended that the opening sentence in a news report is the part of the narrative around which the rest of the story is arranged.⁶⁰ In this report, the introduction portrayed the occasion as a ‘carnival’ and, in particular, promoted the Regatta Association as a central pivot of the event.⁶¹ The sports, both rowing and ‘Māori’ events, were depicted as somewhat secondary in this article; in contrast, the sideshows with attractions including a ‘Petrified Woman’, were highlighted.⁶² In some respects, this event, or at least its representation, presages ideas about sport as both a product, and the setting for consumption, seen in later, more professional, sporting eras.

As had become usual by this time, the events labelled ‘Māori’ provided entertainment, in contrast with the more serious, if less appealing, rowing races, and the ‘bare brown bodies glistening’ were emphasised, adding an voyeuristic accent to the report.⁶³ The writer also mentioned that a representative from the Tourist Board attended, ‘securing films of the Maori events for the amusement of people in other parts of the globe’.⁶⁴ Again, in this report, the use of images that accentuated the entertainment and amusement aspects of these parts of the Regatta are often in direct contrast with the more technical lexical phrasing selections made to describe the rowing. Tensions in the rowing fraternity were hinted at with

⁵⁸ Fitz-William, p. 61.

⁵⁹ ‘Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 March 1911, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Donald Matheson, ‘What’s Wrong With Narrative Models of the News’, in *Journalism and Meaning Making*, ed. by Verica Rupar (Cresswell NJ: Hampton Press, 2010), pp. 37-54 (p. 50).

⁶¹ ‘Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 March 1911, p. 2.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

the phrase 'it would be interesting to know the reasons for the defection of the Auckland Rowing men on this occasion'.⁶⁵ The somewhat constrained but definitely negative modality or emphasis denoted by the choice of the word 'defection' should be noted. Perhaps some regional bias can be inferred, underpinned by the sentences that followed which lauded the efforts and results of the Hamilton crews.

These results included mention of the girls hurdle race, and there does not seem to have been a Ladies Paired oar race on this occasion. The representation of Māori women, and the different roles they played in the Regatta at this time, also warrant examination. The canoe hurdle races, as noted almost always with Māori competitors only, were provided for the entertainment of the crowds, both Māori and Pākehā. In the case of the 'wahine' races, this resulted in an opportunity to watch women in an unusual situation. The physical/titillating nature of this event, with Māori women wet and partially disrobed, is not often described in great detail in newspaper reporting. While it appears to have been culturally acceptable for those women to compete in such a way for pride and prizemoney, this event and the Chase for the Bride competition, may have provided a hint or more of sexual frisson similar to the descriptions of the 'warriors', with 'glistening bodies'. Such images of Māori women appear to contrast markedly with descriptions of appropriate attire and behaviour of Pākehā women at this time, and with the ways in which European men and women were expected to behave towards each other. The sexually overt, stylised nature of the Chase for a Bride (He Kawhaki Tamahine) competition in which a Māori women in a canoe was chased by a number of canoes with six Māori men and then 'caught' and, if not captured by another canoe, taken to the finish line, reveals accepted beliefs about both the relationship of women to men, but also the ability to display culturally different ways of gender interaction. This race was said to have been based on a traditional indigenous story about a contested love match. Therefore, as well as upholding normative ideas about the place of women and the power of men to decide their fate, the construction and inclusion of this contest provides evidence

⁶⁵ Ibid.

of the use/manipulation of local history, and an attempt at the preservation of a perceived (at least by the Regatta organisers) tradition.

Other discursive ideas about the role of local Māori in both sporting and wider community affairs were depicted in the 1911 report. It is likely that the use of the word ‘carnival’ in this instance does not reflect the ideas of an upturned society that that word can imply in other contexts.⁶⁶ However, the portrayal of the Regatta as a ‘once a year’ event masked the complicit understandings of both the writer and their readers about the ‘normal’ places attributed to different ethnic communities on this occasion. Indeed, it was these infrequent, special events which often exposed those discourses which ordinarily were not so obvious. A close reading of the rest of the four pages of this edition of the *Waikato Argus* reveals no other overt mention of Māori, and the affairs of the Pākehā community, and news from other parts of the world, compete for space with the advertising necessary for the continued commercial success of this paper.⁶⁷ Such a ratio was common, and underpins the invisibility of public discussion about local cultural diversity at this time. With an advertised circulation of 8500 and, until 1915, in direct competition with the *Waikato Times*, it is likely that the readers both expected and accepted this type of news coverage.

These and other stories of the Regatta held at this time also allow the historian to gain some understanding of the ways various communities interacted. There was an obvious separation and for many, both Māori and Pākehā, this would have been one of the few times they had come into contact. The description, given by Elsie Fitz-William, that Māori were on the ‘other side’ was a literal portrayal of the other forms of division that likely existed.⁶⁸ This annual event enabled the presentation of a positive relationship which was not revealed in many other public narratives at this time.

⁶⁶ Peter Burke suggests that a ‘Carnival’, in European history, had a number of features, including a procession, a competition and a play or farce. He also noted that there were ‘three major themes [...] food, sex and violence’ and that there was a sense of the world inverted whereby the everyday order of the society was upset. See Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edition (Farnham, UK & Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp.255-286

⁶⁷ ‘Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Argus*, 18 March 1911, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Fitz-William, p. 60.

1929: A Visible Return

On 11 August 1921, Te Puea, granddaughter of King Tawhaio, arrived at the site in Ngāruawāhia she had arranged to be purchased for the building of a new marae, Turangawaewae. In his biography of Te Puea, Michael King suggested that her primary reason for establishing this pa, and thereby overtly signalling the return of the tāngata whenua to Ngāruawāhia, was to ‘make Waikato a people again’.⁶⁹ By March 1929, a meeting house/proposed hospital, Mahinarangi, had been constructed at the Marae, and a large celebration hui (meeting) was held, which brought together representatives from every iwi in New Zealand and to which a number of ‘important’ Pākehā were invited.⁷⁰

A *Waikato Times* column advertising the Regatta for 1929 highlighted the ‘native’ events.⁷¹ Once again, there were ‘Maori warriors’, ‘graceful...maidens’ and a ‘colourful history’ to enjoy, continuing the essentialised descriptions of these participants.⁷² While the rowing events were mentioned, they were apparently considered less of an attraction for the target audience. It is likely that the writer and editor of this advertorial column assumed that their readers were not part of the ‘native’ events, and that these displays were both attractive and exotic. The text once again provided an example of a discursive othering in the selection of words like ‘warrior’ and ‘maiden’, which continued to present a romantic and condensed portrayal of the supposedly separate Māori population of the Waikato. In addition, the reports continued to explicitly portray the organising committee’s desire and commitment to preserve the perceived, and constructed, ancient and traditional ways. It should not be supposed, however, that some form of these goals were not also important to local Māori given, for example, the extensive carving included in the building of Mahinarangi. Michael King also argued that Te Puea’s use of the ‘old days’, was a way of making ‘radical ideas more acceptable to the cautious element of Tainui opinion’.⁷³ However, there is little indication that the diversity in attitude asserted by King was acknowledged in public narratives.

⁶⁹ Michael King, *Te Puea: A Life* (Auckland: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd., 2003), p. 105.

⁷⁰ King, p. 149.

⁷¹ ‘Ngaruawahia Regatta, *Waikato Times*, 15 March 1929, p. 3.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ King, p. 147.

Given the importance of the building and on-going work at Turangawaewae to large numbers of Waikato Māori and the Kīngitanga movement, the newspaper reports published about the 1929 Regatta are worth looking at in detail. In the description found in the 16 March edition of the *Waikato Times*, the settler-centred discourse attributed a pre-eminent place in proceedings to the Regatta event itself, noting that the opening of Mahinarangi was a ‘special draw this year’.⁷⁴ The Regatta was considered to provide a venue for the ‘unique blending’ of Māori and Pākehā, and the writing reveals a continuing paternalistic motivation for the Association as it emphasized the ‘accommodation’ made for the ‘natives’ and their events.⁷⁵ Māori were again peripheral and colourful as ‘[t]he picturesque garb of the natives gave a kaleidoscope effect to the regatta’.⁷⁶ The choice of the word ‘effect’ helps to confirm their represented place on the margins. The efforts of the executive committee to organise the day were lauded, and committee members and other officials were listed in the report.⁷⁷ There is a dislocation or misunderstanding evident; certainly in this report there appears to be a focus on the relative importance of the Regatta in comparison with the activities of the people of Turangawaewae.

In contrast, a column published two days later gives a fuller description of the meeting and celebrations at the Marae.⁷⁸ The tone of this second piece is supportive of Te Puea and positive about the work at Turangawaewae to support local Māori, which might indicate an understanding of the importance of the occasion as evidenced by the attendance and support of senior politicians, including former Prime Minister Gordon Coates. However, as Michael King noted, the *Waikato Times* appeared to ignore much of the work of Te Puea to effect an economic and cultural renaissance for the Waikato Tainui people.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ ‘Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Times*, 16 March 1929, p. 8.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ ‘For Indigent Maoris’, *Waikato Times*, 18 March 1929, p.7.

⁷⁹ King notes that Te Puea was adept at using newspapers to ‘do battle with protagonists and win public support’, but that she tended to be ‘most frequently reported in the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Auckland Star*’ while ‘Hamilton’s *Waikato Times* seemed relatively unaware of her by comparison, and of the Māori renaissance taking place on their doorstep’, King, p. 203.

By this time, the publication of photographs in newspapers from New Zealand sporting and other happenings was established. The *New Zealand Herald* published three photographs of the 1929 Regatta on Monday 18 March which are an early example of what would become the recurring photographic legacy of the Regatta.



Figure 4: 'A Haka By Maori Warriors At The Great Native Gathering at Ngaruawahia on Saturday'; 'At The Regatta'; 'Taking A Hurdle In One Of The Canoe Races'; *New Zealand Herald*, 18 March 1929, p. 8.

These images depict Māori in three different but related settings. The first shows a group of male Māori described as performing a 'haka', another a 'wahine' and 'babe', and the third is of one of the 'canoe' events.⁸⁰ This emphasis on the publication of images of Māori participants, attendees, and competitions, rather than rowing events, could be considered in a number of ways. These aspects and events were constantly touted as the unique aspects of this Regatta. They were marketed as the central attraction and were, therefore, believed to be of more interest to readers than the rowing contests that could be found and watched elsewhere. These photographs also served to locate Māori in particular roles and places, as entertainment and, in the example of the baby on the back of an adult,

⁸⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 18 March 1929, p. 8.

as still a 'natural' or 'primitive' people. The *New Zealand Herald* report of the Regatta later in the paper echoes the tone and themes of the *Waikato Times*, noting the successful, celebratory nature of the event, and the enjoyment of all participants.⁸¹ The results of the competitions are divided into 'Rowing events', 'Pipe and Highland Dancing' and 'Maori Events', indicating that the first two were not for Māori but, by not specifying the nature of these sports, reinforcing the accepted default position of such events as Pākehā. In addition, the absence of reference to women's rowing events indicates that there were none, as 'male' was also the unwritten norm.

The thirty-fifth annual Ngāruawāhia Regatta was held on 14 March 1931. In the report of this event from the *Waikato Times* published on the same day, the writer described it as 'time-honoured', 'picturesque', 'unique' and noted that the 'site is steeped in history'.⁸² The 'Quaint Maori Races' or 'native events' provided entertainment for the estimated crowd of 15,000 people who travelled to Ngāruawāhia on trains, in cars and buses.⁸³ The article included mention of the attendance of '"King" Mahuta', with speech marks around the word 'King' to perhaps convey the contentious notion of a native sovereign.⁸⁴ In contrast, the rowing events were described in ways which indicate they were not so entertaining but considered more serious sporting competitions, and brief details of the crew's training regimes were provided. The results of these races were given in greater detail, and the language used reflects other sports reporting of this time, as a narrative of what took place and often emphasizing the writer's opinion of the various abilities, strengths and tactics of the participants.

1948: Dissension and change?

While the Regatta survived the Slump (in the early to mid 1930s) and the Second World War – when at least two similar events were held at Turangawaewae for

⁸¹ 'Ngaruawahia Regatta: Pageant on the Waikato', *New Zealand Herald*, 18 March 1929, p. 17.

⁸² 'Picturesque Regatta', *Waikato Times*, 14 March 1931, p. 6

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

fundraising purposes – by 1948, some cultural tensions had appeared.⁸⁵ The writer of the Annual Report of the Association for that year noted that, ‘The Maori events were acceptable [...] but the poi and haka are losing much of the original Maori interpretation and adopting modern innovations’.⁸⁶ The Chairperson also suggested ‘that the leader of the team giving the best exposition of true Maori Pois and Hakas receive some form of acknowledgement as an inducement to preserve the ancient form’.⁸⁷ These sentiments indicate that the Regatta was still intended to be a standard for traditional or ‘real’ forms, and that there was a marked resistance to change in Māori cultural expression. By prescribing the form of the activities, control over content was maintained. Some local Māori resistance to, or perhaps disinterest in, continuing to play a part might be signalled by the perceived changes in the performance. The Association’s concerns were also noted in a small report in the *Waikato Times* of 22 March 1948 titled ‘Maori Interest Diminishing in Regatta Events?’⁸⁸ The tone of this piece at first appears sympathetic, as the writer relayed comments made by an association member concerning the changes in ‘Māori events’. The member was reported as arguing that:

to perpetuate the traditional poi, haka and canoe events of the Maori people had been one of the chief aims of the association since its inception. It could justly be claimed that but for the work of the Regatta association, these forms of Maori customs and crafts would have disappeared from New Zealand’s rivers many years ago.⁸⁹

The member went on to note how much money had been granted to Māori to help build canoes and how much had been given to the ‘Ngaruawahia Pa’. The controlling/proprietary tone in the article continued:

Regret has been expressed that the Maori youth of today was displaying a decreasing interest in the permanent preservation of his forefathers

⁸⁵ The Slump was a colloquial term for the Great Depression which began in 1929 and lasted for several years.

⁸⁶ Ngaruawahia Regatta Association, *Fifty-Second Annual Report, 1948*, (Archives New Zealand, Auckland).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ ‘Maori Interest Diminishing in Regatta Events’, *Waikato Times*, 22 March 1948, p. 4.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

craftsmanship, and it was a matter of deep regret that in spite of the Ngaruawahia Regatta Association's sympathetic policy towards the Maori people, the association was experiencing difficulty in maintaining the high standard of Maori events.⁹⁰

The reporter's apparently sympathetic attitude was then completely overturned in the last paragraph, as he/she noted 'Regular regatta patrons who were in attendance on Saturday, however, were of the opinion that the Maori events this year were a decided improvement on recent years'.⁹¹ Not only does this contrast directly with the Regatta Association member's position but it likely reveals the presence of other subtexts and the close nature of reporting in a relatively small provincial newspaper. The perceived need to maintain distance, and provide seemingly balanced copy, appears to have competed with the local knowledge and sympathies of the reporter, and his or her editor. The arrangement of information in this article was deliberately created to undermine the complaining person and, it could be argued, was at no point intended to be unbiased, even though it appears that the reporter is presenting both sides of the story. By providing the association member's complaints in such detail, and then undercutting them in a brief but emphatic way, the reporter's position is made clear.

The report of the Regatta appears two pages later, amongst other 'sports' news. Two photographs accompanied the text; one of the canoe hurdling races captioned 'Canoe hurdle races cause excitement as Maori compete in this traditional sport at the Ngaruawahia Regatta on Saturday' and the other of a group of young women apparently performing with poi and with a caption beginning: 'Singing and dancing by Maori girls delight a large crowd at the Ngaruawahia Regatta'.⁹² The adjacent text contained mention of the success of the day, although it was noted that the infantile paralysis epidemic adversely affected proceedings and then provided detailed reports of the rowing results. This piece sits in the sports reporting area and genre of the time although, in this instance, there is a lack of technical analysis of the rowing. The results are given accompanied by a brief description of the race – how close it was, for example. In the Senior Fours, the

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² 'River Regatta at Ngaruawahia', *Waikato Times*, 22 March 1948, p.6.

distance covered, and the first second and third place getters were listed, with the names of the rowers in the first placed boat provided. The reporter then noted that 'Waitemata recorded the easiest win of the day in this event in which the placed boats were the only starters. Although sinking, Auckland completed the course'.⁹³

This reporting also reveals the transformation, through practice and narrative, of cultural practice into sporting competition. While most obvious in the coverage of the 'traditional sport' of waka racing, the codification of haka, for example, into a competitive activity, reflects Hokowhitu's concept of authentication discussed at the beginning of this chapter. While the configuration of such traditions into a recognisable form meant that they could be understood by European observers, it also provided an ongoing means of power and control over cultural expression.

1950: Local Representations and Tensions

By 1950, the Chairperson was pleased to report that the Māori events were 'well up to their former standard' and did not include any modern changes but 'kept to the correct technique'.⁹⁴ Once again, the *Waikato Times* gave detailed reports of the rowing results, but published photographs showing Māori events. The caption notes that there was a 'pre-war flavour in the well-organised Maori events', also indicating that they had returned to an acceptable standard.⁹⁵ Other overt mention of Māori in the paper at this time is limited and, most often, a sense of the contextual environment is provided by absence. However, on 14 March 1950, two articles contain discussion about Māori, and one of these has discursive elements that diverge in some way from the tenor of the Regatta reporting.⁹⁶ A report of a debate concerning land use between the Minister of Māori Affairs, Mr Corbett and members of the 'Maniapoto tribe' begins with a quotation from the Minister; 'If either Maori or the Pakeha fails to cultivate the land, then he cannot expect to

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ngaruawahia Regatta Association, *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report, 1950* (Archives New Zealand, Auckland).

⁹⁵ 'Ngaruawahia 53rd Annual Regatta', *Waikato Times*, 20 March 1950, p. 6.

⁹⁶ These articles are easily identified as containing discussion about Māori as this is signalled in each headline.

get the kumara'.⁹⁷ Here, a different, contrasting, attitude about progress has been displayed in which Māori landlords were being admonished to make their land productive in modern ways or be subject to the 'penal clauses in the Rating Act'.⁹⁸ Traditional ways of using and perceiving land and its value were discouraged, and had been legislated against.⁹⁹ When the Maniapoto spokesperson asked for exemption from this type of pressure, he was told by the Minister that they should make land 'productive through the Maori Affairs development scheme'.¹⁰⁰ Some tension was also apparent with regard to leases of Māori land; with the state of the land returned to iwi owners obviously a problem as these leases expired. However, the overall tone of this report is that modernisation and development were necessary and desirable, and that the use of land was to operate within a Pākehā defined paradigm.

Another article, titled 'Maori Not Being Given Fair Deal, Says Magistrate' appeared at first to be sympathetic towards the tāngata whenua. However, it is quickly apparent that, while speaking to the Whangarei Rotary Club, Mr Harley, a retired magistrate, is represented as having a particularly discriminatory attitude.¹⁰¹ He is reported as saying that 'The Maori is regarded as being just a nuisance or a source of tourist trade or else the bulk of the people are completely indifferent to him'.¹⁰² Mr Harley then apparently argued that 'The education of the Maori in the sense of civilising him would take perhaps hundreds of years and infinite patience'.¹⁰³ He contends that the European was a superior race and that the Māori were not suited to 'Western Civilisation' and were unable to plan for the future, living only in the present. The underlying tone is as paternalistic as much of the earlier reporting of the Regatta. In this article, Māori are once again essentialised, and shown as needing help from the benevolent, controlling Pākehā.

⁹⁷ 'Maoris' Rights to Ownership of Land Not To Be Molested', *Waikato Times*, 14 March 1950, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Such legislation included the Rating Act 1925 and the Maori Affairs Act 1953.

¹⁰⁰ 'Maoris' Rights to Ownership of Land Not To Be Molested', *Waikato Times*, 14 March 1950, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ 'Maori Not Being Given Fair Deal, Says Magistrate' *Waikato Times* 14 March 1950, p. 7.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

The continuing impression gained from these types of reports is of separation and containment. A Māori ‘community’ was still imagined and written as a distinct, homogenous, group, as apart from other communities, including most sporting collectives. These public narratives may not have always reflected the lived reality of the relationships between, and within, different ethnic groups but they continued to situate the power and control as firmly within the hands of Pākehā men. They also did not differentiate between different iwi or sub-iwi groupings. While the preservation of prescribed ‘Māori’ ways and traditions were supported and celebrated, little public consideration of the place or needs of local Waikato/Tainui peoples was evident. Such absence or silence could suggest that the different iwi affiliations were not understood, or if known, not considered important. It might also be a conscious negation of any on-going tension over the confiscation of land.

1965-1967: Changing Community Relationships

The tendency in New Zealand to laud our ‘outstanding’ inter-ethnic relations was signalled early in this chapter. By 1965, articles and reports specifically about Māori seem more likely to have been published. These stories do not, at first, always appear to offer homogenous ways of presenting Māori people. On March 10, a description of a tourism based development in Rotorua underscored the continuing connections between tikanga Māori and economic interests in this part of the country.¹⁰⁴ This article echoed sentiments expressed earlier of the desire to retain supposedly authentic Māori culture, and to promote the activities and attitudes considered traditional rather than modern.¹⁰⁵ A few days later, the front page of the *Waikato Times* carried a report of a very successful Regatta. It was estimated that ten thousand people from throughout the upper North Island had attended, and the photograph attached to this report showed a large crowd watching a waka paddled by men and women.¹⁰⁶ The story underneath noted that

¹⁰⁴ ‘Improvement Plans For Pa At Whaka’, *Waikato Times*, 10 March 1965, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ ‘10,000 flock to see Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Times*, 20 March 1965, p. 1.

‘the canoe hurdling seems to become more and more difficult, even for the Maoris’.¹⁰⁷ The writer went on to report that:

In another canoe race, the 102-year-old- canoe "Punga" paddled by women, beat off two other canoes paddled by men. All the women in the canoe were descendants of early settlers in the area.¹⁰⁸

There is obvious surprise at this outcome, and some dissonance between the evidence of the photograph which shows at least one man also in the boat, and the prose which does not mention men. It is apparent that this occurrence – of women beating men – was seen as unusual and therefore noteworthy. What is harder to decipher is the identification of the women as ‘descendants of early settlers’.¹⁰⁹ My assumption could be that these are European ‘settlers’ – the choice of this word would be very unusual if applied to Māori. However, these women obviously also had Māori ancestry. So, is the implication that it is their European heritage that has enabled them to beat the Māori men? The apparently positive gender message may well have been undercutting the narratives about ethnicity or ‘race’. This way of writing Māori could also be part of a tendency to highlight stories of the migration to Aotearoa of their ancestors that placed emphasis on the idea that they, like Europeans, had come to New Zealand from other places.¹¹⁰ Later in this article, the writer notes that ‘Huge crowds lined the river to watch rowing and water events’.¹¹¹ Despite the emphasis earlier on the ‘Māori’ events, there is somewhat less differentiation between the sporting competitions, and the results of different races are listed in a more homogenous way.

The practice of foregrounding Māori issues and events continued to be evident the following year. On 12 March 1966, a separate page of the *Waikato Times* was dedicated to ‘Te Reo o te Maori.’ Written in English and edited by Anne Fisher, it contains articles about a Māori arts festival, new accommodation for Māori girls in Christchurch administered by the Department of Māori Affairs, a report about a

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Nepia Mahuika noted that Māori have been cast as migrants in cities during times of increased urbanisation which ignores previous links to these areas. Nepia Mahuika, ‘Revitalising Te Ika-a-Maui: Maori Migration and the Nation’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 43.2 (2009), 123-132.

¹¹¹ ‘10,000 flock to see Ngaruawahia Regatta’, *Waikato Times*, 20 March 1965, p. 1.

branch of the Māori Women's Welfare League and a large piece which gave details of the health problems purportedly specific to this ethnic group.¹¹² There is also a detailed announcement of the engagement between Miss Faith Panapa and Mr Denis Turnbull – with a picture.¹¹³ The article and photograph could be understood as showing overt acceptance of interracial relationships, or at least displayed approval. There is still, in this page, a discursive undercurrent that emphasizes assimilation; of the normality of Māori operating in Pākehā or Western ways. The arts described include a pop show, operatic music, drama and poetry, and a 'day of football'.¹¹⁴

The publication of this type of story indicates that there was cultural movement towards more inclusive practice with regard to the visibility of local Māori activities, albeit not as hard news but almost as a narrative aside. An editorial published in May 1966 was, however, more direct.¹¹⁵ The writer discussed a book published by a Wellington librarian, Harry Miller, entitled *Race Conflict in New Zealand*, which 'shows what really happened' during early contact between Māori and the colonial Europeans, including the conflict in the Waikato.¹¹⁶ The editor noted, as had earlier commentators, that the 'technologically superior people' who colonised other parts of the world had treated other indigenous peoples far worse than the tāngata whenua experienced in New Zealand. He/She did however, concede that the events detailed in the book 'explain[ed] a lot of what is otherwise quite inexplicable in the ambivalent attitude of some Maoris to the Pakeha'.¹¹⁷ There are echoes in this article of the sentiments expressed by the early editor of the *Waikato Argus*, George Edgecumbe.

The public narratives indicated by these types of representation provide evidence of the continuing foregrounding of ideas of assimilation, and of harmonious relationships between Pākehā and Māori. They also show that the content and form of such discussion was still firmly encased in a controlled paradigm that allowed some approved, or at least explained, dissension, but which consistently

¹¹² *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1966, p. 13.

¹¹³ 'Engaged', *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1966, p. 13.

¹¹⁴ 'Maori arts festival plan for August', *Waikato Times*, 13 March 1966, p.13.

¹¹⁵ 'No punches pulled here', *Waikato Times*, 20 May 1966, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

tried to maintain the status quo. The inclusion of this type of dialogue, however, also reveals that challenges to the dominant subtexts and discourses regarding these relationships were becoming apparent. Large numbers of Māori had moved from rural areas to the city by this time, and this resulted in a heightened awareness of their presence and the perceived need to address issues, including housing.¹¹⁸ In addition, partly in the wake of international developments including the black civil rights movement in the United States, Māori activism regarding land and resources in particular, was slowly beginning.¹¹⁹

These developments were, however, probably not the cause of the apparent problems faced by the Regatta Association. Annual Reports of this time lamented the dwindling numbers of local Māori in parts of the event and were thankful for the participation of groups from the 'L.D.S'.¹²⁰ In 1966, Mr B Paki, called by *The Weekly News* 'an official in the Maori Events section' noted that participation in these events had decreased over the previous 20 years but that there was a sudden influx of competitors which might be attributed to the involvement of people from the Church of the Latter Day Saints in Tuhikaramaea.¹²¹ This is one of the few times that I have found mention of a Regatta Association representative with a Māori name, and I assume this is Brownie Paki who was named in the Centennial booklet mentioned earlier. This is an indication that, over time, some Māori were an integral part of the Association and the organisation of the event. Such involvement was significantly underreported in the *Waikato Times*, as was the continuing decrease in interest from Maori competitors, if not attendees. While potentially beginning to be in response to the aforementioned growing Māori activism, such change over time more readily invites a conclusion that there was some on-going resistance to the control of the Regatta committee, particularly to their insistence on the style and form of the haka and poi competitions. It is also

¹¹⁸ For more detailed discussion of these developments see Richard S. Hill, 'Māori and State Policy' in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 513 - 536 (pp.529 - 534)

¹¹⁹ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane & The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 477

¹²⁰ Ngāruawāhia Regatta Association, *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report, 1965* (Archives New Zealand, Auckland)

¹²¹ 'Regatta at Ngāruawāhia' *The Weekly News*, No. 55 (June 1966), p. 33
<<http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao55TeA/c20.html>> [accessed 1 October 2014]

possible that the continuing assimilation narratives, which encouraged or supported participation in European/Pākehā activities, made the performance of ‘traditional’ cultural activities less attractive or important to younger Māori.

By 1967, further examples of an increase in representation of Māori in the *Waikato Times* were evident. The first was the publication of *Te Manu Korero*, a weekly supplement distributed with the *Waikato Times* every Friday beginning 17 February of that year.¹²² The development of this supplement seems at least initially to have been linked to what was happening at the recently established University of Waikato, in particular the proposal (at this time) to set up a Centre for Māori Studies and Research.¹²³ In the first editorial, published both in Māori and English, Bush set out the goals for the publication. He began by asserting that he had sought and received validation from ‘many community (sic), many Maori leaders’ for the establishment of the newspaper and that it would be produced in accordance with ‘fair journalistic practices’ and in a ‘fair and objective manner’.¹²⁴ This publication was obviously intended to highlight separated Māori concerns, but it is notable from the first page that the targeted readership would not necessarily have been Māori themselves. An article describing a visit by Te Atairangikahu to Waihi Marae near Taupo provided details of the significance of the site. This marae was the site of the hui which resulted in the acceptance of the role of Arikiniui by the first Māori king, Potatau/Te Wherowhero. It is most likely that local tāngata whenua would already understand the significance of this place and this event.

In this publication, Māori were still written as a singular community, with little mention of iwi or hapu divisions, and in many respects as still a ‘problem’ that needed to be solved. Indeed, it was argued in the first editorial that there were

¹²² *Te Manu Korero* was published 42 times – every week except 24 March 1967. The editor of this four page tabloid style publication was Dick Bush who was advised by a named group including Dr Henry Bennett, Mrs Wetere Paki, Mr Moana Raureti, Dr James Ritchie, Mr M R Jones, Rev Wi Huata and Mrs Ruiha Sage. The majority of this advisory group were prominent members of Māori communities with Ruiha Sage at that time President of the Māori Women’s Welfare League/Te Ropu Wahine Māori Toko I te Ora. Dr, later Professor, James Ritchie was teaching psychology at the University of Waikato and was to become a close ally and friend of Sir Robert Mahuta and parts of the Tainui iwi.

¹²³ There were a number of articles published in *Te Manu Korero* regarding this proposal and lamenting the delay in the establishment of this Centre. It was finally opened in 1972. *The University of Waikato: Twenty Five Years* (Hamilton: The University of Waikato, 1989), p. 44.

¹²⁴ ‘Editorial’, *Te Manu Korero*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 17 February 1967, p. 2.

‘practically no issues dealing with Maori affairs upon which everyone agrees’.¹²⁵ Particular emphasis was given to ways in which Māori might ‘develop’ and ‘progress’ throughout the year long publication of *Te Manu Korero* and, as before, there were almost constant undertones of integration. However, what this brief foray into overt discussion of Māori activities might indicate is a tentative acknowledgement of their central, if still contested, place in the Waikato region. It was not to last, and the subsequent drive to establish a dedicated Māori studies part of the University perhaps took precedence for those who were looking to foreground such issues.

Unfortunately, this supplement was not published on 24 March 1967 following that year’s Regatta. The upcoming event was signalled on the front page of the 17 March edition and the writer noted that Mr Paki, the organiser of the ‘Maori events’, had reported that there was significant interest among competitors and spectators alike, although not as great as thirty years prior when there were less ‘distractions.’¹²⁶ The published advertisement for that year also emphasised that it was ‘The Greatest Māori Aquatic Carnival’ and the first report of the Regatta in the *Waikato Times* showed that editorial attitudes to the description of the Māori competitors had not changed as ‘Maori warriors, as well as their womenfolk’ competed in the ‘traditional Maori events on which the Regatta is based’.¹²⁷ The 1967 event attracted over eleven thousand visitors, reportedly down on previous years and the lower attendance was attributed to the draw of the Auckland Easter Show and a tangi (funeral) being held at Turangawaewae Marae.¹²⁸ Other reporting of the event was located in the sports section where a relatively small, two column article included the results of the rowing, woodchopping and speedboat events.

The Regatta Association's control lasted a further four years. Reports of the 1971 Regatta again gave details of the rowing results, and noted the popular and entertaining nature of the canoe events. The cancellation of the 1972 Regatta due to flooded river conditions marked the end of the road for the Association. In

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ ‘Interest High for Regatta’, *Te Manu Korero*, Vol 1, Number 5, 17 March 1967, p. 1.

¹²⁷ *Waikato Times*, 18 March 1967, p. 1.

¹²⁸ *Waikato Times*, 20 March 1967, p. 1.

1973 they decided they could no longer afford to stage the event, and the organisation and venue changed.

1973-1974: Change in venue equals change in control?

The Great Ngaruawahia Regatta at Turangawaewae was held in 1973. Both this occasion and the description of it continued to centre Māori events. A feature article printed in the *Waikato Times* on 15 March gave details of the unique attractions of the day. There was no inclusion of the results of the rowing competitions in this report although it appears they still occurred. At this point, control and agency seems to have mostly shifted to Turangawaewae Marae, although there was a great deal of emphasis in the newspaper reports on the role of Ngāruawāhia mayor, and later historian, A. M. Latta. The economic benefits were also stressed, and raising funds for the Kimikimi Hall was a central motivation. The preservation and transmission of traditional tikanga was still a central theme with a prominent photograph captioned: ‘It was a day for the old to reminisce and the young to learn’, and the imagery continued to foreground pageantry and display, with the sporting competition relegated to the margins.



THESE YOUNG WARRIORS were in fine fettle at Ngāruawāhia's Turangawaewae Marae on Saturday. As one elder commented, it was a day for the old to reminisce and the young to learn.

PRINCESS ANNE WATCHES MARK

Cirencester, England (NZPA). — Princess Anne went up an unexpected walkabout among hundreds of spectators at the Ambler Horse Show here today — to see her friend Lieutenant Mark Phillips ride in the cross-country event.

Family size restriction advocated

Cannberra (NZPA Reuter). — Australia was morally obliged to help solve the world population problem by restricting family size, a Government Minister said last night.

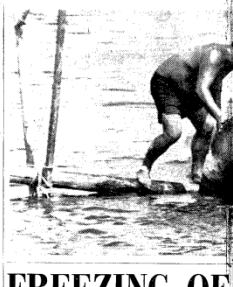
She left her own horse and walk half a mile across Cirencester Park here in Gloucestershire to the cross-country course to watch Mark jump two fences. With her was her only pet dog, Baskerville.

The Princess and Mark made no attempt to speak to the thousands of people who were there to see the show.

Technique used here

Auckland (PA). — Surgeons at Green Lane Hospital, Auckland, began using the freezing technique for babies having heart operations in July, 1969. Since then they have performed 163 such operations.

The Green Lane cardiac surgeon, Sir Brian Barrett-Boyes, said



CANOE OVER, crews under. There's more than one way of crossing a hurdle in a canoe it seems.

MAORI CULTURE ON SOUND FOOTING

Spectacular regatta attracts 'big guns'

Maori culture is alive and well if the spectacular displays seen at Ngāruawāhia's Turangawaewae Marae on Saturday are any indication.

An estimated 12,000 people came to the marae to watch the first regatta held there for many years. Until last year the regatta were held on the opposite bank of the river, and were run by the people of Ngāruawāhia.

However, support for the event dwindled until last year when no regatta was held at all.

'BIG GUNS'

This year the people of Ngāruawāhia decided to give it a go themselves — and they were not disappointed.

They were invited to display of written songs and dances throughout the day but it was the canoe which drew the large crowd.

The 'big guns' of the regatta were the four war canoes, Te Whaka, Te Whaka, Te Whaka, and Te Whaka.

These four craft presented a picture of the past, sweeping down the river with the blades of their paddles dipping and catching in unison and wa-

rior chants echoing from the banks.

Equally inspiring was the haka performed by one crew which came from Te Whaka. The thunder created by 60 pairs of feet clumping on the deck of a hollow steel barge used as a stage would have done their ancestors proud.

The hoped-for canoe race test between the mavericks of Auckland, Tairāpapa, and Ngāruawāhia did not come about.

The mayors were to have each crewed a canoe in a race, but Ngāruawāhia's Mr A. M. Latta was the only one to turn up.

He took the place of honour in Tahere Tikihihi as the new war canoe event is for the salute.

The Māori for Western Maori, Mr K. T. Wooten, and the Māori for Eastern Maori, Mr P. B. Reweti, made a set of underwater hurdles but did not get very far.

Mr Latta said he was tremendously proud of the success of the regatta. He considered it the best he had ever seen, and said it boded well for the future of the Maori arts.

On Sunday Tairāpapa's war canoe received its first visit from the Govern-

ment-General, Sir Denis Blundell, and Lady Blundell.

After an official welcome by representatives of the Maori Queen, Dame Te Atairangiaki, the couple was taken on a guided tour.

At one stage they found themselves dancing with a group of Maori elders, to the delight of the crowd.

Earlier Sir Denis had said that it was everybody's task not just to have Maori and Europeans living harmoniously side by side but to get the two living well, each other.

Sir Denis said that before going overseas he had known Maori people, and that it was not until he came back as Governor-General that he fully realised how much more he had to learn.

"It is the case for me, it must be for tens of thousands of others. We live in harmony, but there is still much to be done. It cannot be done by government, however well intentioned, it cannot be done by a group of leaders, and it cannot be done by a few young people. It can only be done by everybody."

The statement was issued here after a week-long conference of police commissioners from New Zealand, Australia and the south Pacific region.

Chairman of the conference, Mr J. M. Davis, Commissioner of the Australian Federal Police, said: "Positive measures will now be taken to analyse and exhibit current exercises to counter hijacking in the south Pacific region."

He said the use of explosives by criminals and minority extremist groups was gaining momentum throughout the world.

The police forces of this region are pooling their operational and administrative resources to ensure the swiftest possible action is taken to stamp out these practices," he said.

FATHER RESCUED BY SON

Whangarei. — A Waipā Surf Club member rescued his father from a steep rip at Waipā yesterday. Gregg Sharpe, 21, Waipā Surf Club member for the past eight years, was competing in the Northland surf lifesaving championships at

Figure 5: 'Spectacular regatta attracts 'big guns'', *Waikato Times*, 19 March 1973, p. 28.

The published photographs continued to show Maori in perceived customary ways; the young boy is shown in a warrior-like pose, and the men are competing in the 'traditional' (and still comical?) canoe hurdling competition. However, examination of these post-association texts provides a way of upsetting the idea of a type of stereotypical 'Maori' involvement in this event. Even given the obvious probability that the advertisements and narratives were still produced within Pākehā-constructed institutions and paradigms, the apparent importance to the marae-based organisers of the preservation of 'traditions' undermines the notion of an essentialisation of this perceived racial grouping. This emphasis on retaining cultural traditions within a European structure is part of a rich, often contrast-laden discursive landscape at a time when some social change was becoming apparent — the hīkoi (march) led by Dame Whina Cooper from Te Rerenga Wairua (Cape Reinga) to Wellington took place only two years later as part of a renaissance in concerns about the continuing alienation of Māori land.¹²⁹ The

¹²⁹ Philippa Main Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 228.

narrative representation of the Regatta also promoted Māori ways but without the potential for conflict of other cultural expression. The positive nature of this sporting event was still publicly extended to the interactions of the communities involved.

Change in discursive representation can be small, subtle and inconsistent. A report of the 1974 Regatta on the front page of the *Waikato Times* still labelled the Māori men ‘warriors’, but this time there were speech marks around the word.¹³⁰ This difference may indicate a shift in approach or attitude, a realisation that such a term might no longer have been appropriate, or that more thought had gone in to the implications of this word choice.

Treaty settlement and the Centennial Regatta

The most obvious difference between the Regattas run by the original association and those held from 1980 onwards were the changes in the main sports included. The emergence and development of the sport now known under the umbrella name of ‘waka ama’ could be seen as a continuation of the ‘canoe’ races that were held at all the previous Regatta. Waka ama are known in other parts of the Pacific as outrigger canoes and the waka ama races began to be included at the Regatta programme, along with the established waka kopapa and waka taua events, in 1980. However, waka ama itself is a relatively new sport in New Zealand and the development of this competitive activity, originally mostly based in Hawaii and Tahiti, could be seen an example of a move by some Māori to adopt and adapt a sport that was based in an accepted Polynesian tradition, and was culturally separate from previous European established and controlled sporting activities.

The Centennial Regatta held in 1996 was very much a Marae driven event. Many aspects of the history were included; for example, American marines who had been part of regatta held at Turangawaewae during World War II were represented. The preservation of tradition was still emphasised by the *Waikato Times*, with the sentiments now consistently attributed to Māori. Perhaps the

¹³⁰ ‘Regatta crowds gather early’, *Waikato Times*, 16 March 1974, p. 1.

paper was simply following its own tradition of centering this aspect of the event; centennials are, of course, designed for looking back. Perhaps there was a meeting of sentiment, a common idea of the importance of preserving and furthering traditional activities and values and an understanding of the economic potential of this type of attraction. There is an important shift, however from writing that emphasised the need to preserve 'their' traditions to one which includes comments about the importance of passing on 'our' heritage.

Later Regatta have continued to include waka kopapa and waka ama competitions and the control of separation, if it exists, is now in Waikato Māori hands. It is still a community occasion and that assembled community still includes people from outside the Waikato, but they are now more likely to be coming for the sporting competitions than the spectacle. The gathering of community remains a constant attraction.

Conclusion

During the period from 1896 to 1971, the Ngāruawāhia Regatta was a vehicle through which prescribed performances of acceptable ethnic identities were promoted. The consistently represented structural format which divided the sporting competitions into ethnically unspecified and therefore normative European/Pākehā (and mostly male), and Māori, categories, reveals a powerful control over the wider discursive framework. By providing an accepted way of configuring cultural practices, as sport or at least competition, there is an on-going sense of imposed categorisation of these activities that sits within a context of ethnic assimilation. The question becomes, however, whether this event, and the narratives that represent it, were predominantly creating, or simply reflecting, societal understandings.

While I argue that the ideas of agency and control surrounding the Ngāruawāhia Regatta provide a way of looking at the particular ethnic identities, relationships, and changes in those relationships, between Māori and Pākehā in the Waikato, it is less clear whether the reports of the Regatta support Hall's idea that

representation creates discursive norms.¹³¹ It is possible that the writing of this event reflected and reinforced trends rather than necessarily initiating them, but the divide between these forces is uneven, and occasionally porous. For much of the earlier era, Māori were largely invisible in the *Waikato Times* (unless a problem) except at such times as the holding of the Regatta. Such absence or silence served to sustain a homogenous representation which was somewhat, if sporadically at first, changed later in the twentieth century when other Māori activity began to be more publicly evident. The return to Ngāruawāhia by the Kīngitanga and Waikato/Tainui peoples is evident, if somewhat downplayed at times, and there is little to suggest in the early years of the Regatta reporting that the pre-European history of the region is treated as important or shown to be distinct from the rest of New Zealand. The portrayal of a harmonious relationship in fact, consistently ignores the contentious beginnings of the Waikato following the invasion.

It is apparent that the theories propounded by John Bale and Brendan Hokowhitu that describe the ways in which cultural activity has been displayed and authenticated within a sporting paradigm, were upheld by the narratives discussed in this chapter. In particular, the desire to continue to have control over forms, and the ranking through competition of haka and poi performances, supported the transformation of those activities into shapes that fitted with other sporting competitions. Framing was key and while there were obvious, if passive, challenges as participants refused to engage, and more overt attempts to change or modernise the style or conformation of those activities, they still occurred in a competitive environment. Therefore, change occurred in participation levels but not in the fundamental delineation of cultural performances as sports-like contests.

Ultimately, as an annual moment, the Regatta has represented or written an ideal Waikato identity based on controlled harmonious ethnic interaction, where the 'sports' were central but mostly ethnically divided. Much of the reporting has been positive and supportive in tone, and coverage of the Regatta, and the actual

¹³¹ Stuart Hall, 'New Ethnicities', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 223 -227 (p. 224).

sporting competitions themselves, have been a way of presenting part of the Waikato to the outside visitors as a place which valued and supported Māori tradition. In addition, the writing of the Regatta has provided a vehicle for creating difference for the Waikato area that placed emphasis on the Māori heritage and history, without a corresponding acknowledgement of the contentious beginnings of European occupation, or of the particular place and characteristics of the Tainui peoples. Finally, the move to Turangawaewae and the change in the sporting competitions have also shifted control over the display of cultural traditions and practices. It is possible that the event is now more 'Waikato' than the Regatta Association ever intended.

Chapter Two

Narrating Rugby in the Waikato, 1926-1972: Regional Allegiances and Constructions of Masculinity

When I was about thirteen years old, I knitted a long red, yellow and black scarf to wear to Rugby Park on those occasions when I went to see the Waikato team play. I also wore it at other times to, I guess, show my allegiance to the local team, and to continue our family ties to this sport. Usually, the first game of the season was the Queen's Birthday weekend match against our bitter rivals, Auckland. We would stand at the eastern end of the field – or sometimes sit on the hard red, yellow and black terraced seats – and ring our cowbells to ‘cheer’ on our players as they ‘fought’ to overcome the odds of greater players numbers and perceived arrogance. This was the beginning of the season, the start of winters full of sport, fun and rugby stories, and when we won, we celebrated and hoped the result would be the harbinger of a successful year.

The place and function of rugby in the formation of a Waikato collective identity is evident not only in the colours that have become an integral part of the physical representation of this region, but in the ways the different levels of this game were afforded a preeminent position in local sporting mythologies. In 2009, Charlotte Macdonald attempted to ‘dethrone’ the sport of rugby ‘to reveal a wider perspective on the part sport has played in shaping New Zealand society’.¹ When planning this thesis, I also initially planned to move away from rugby, and focus on other sports, less canvassed in both popular and academic domains. However, given my personal history, and the prevalence of rugby reporting in my main archival sources, such an omission would have left a large, rather glaring space in

¹ Charlotte Macdonald, ‘Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History’, in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 269-296 (p. 271).

a narrative about the place of sport in the Waikato. In this thesis, the function of rugby in stories about New Zealand and nationhood are put aside and instead I follow Caroline Daley's admonition to 'explore the local and provincial'.² I examine the representation and operation of this sport in a smaller geographic space, and as well as investigating the formation of regional identities, I consider the part the reporting of rugby played in the construction of other discursive norms, including ideas of masculinity.

To reveal some of the ways this most re-presented of sports both incorporated and reinforced community and regional discourses, this chapter includes selections from the vast amount of coverage of rugby in locally available newspapers. The focus here is again on narratives of an event – a usually annual game played between Waikato and Auckland beginning in 1926 – to enable an exploration of its changing role in the creation of the Waikato. I conclude the chapter in the early 1970s as by this time, the formation of a separate Waikato identity through this avenue appears established, even if there are still obvious ongoing changes in the game itself and the representations of its participants. Following a brief discussion about the creation mythologies of the game of rugby in general, and New Zealand and Waikato backgrounds in particular, coverage of the annual provincial game is considered through a reading of the patent demonstrations of regional allegiances and potential tensions. This recurring sporting spectacle is one of the portals through which the relationships between the 'urban metropolis' and 'rural hinterland' were constructed in the past. John Bale's contention that sport, as well providing a way of producing 'collective identification', is a 'world of territoriality', is applied and tested using the ongoing extensive coverage of this sporting code.³

The connection between support of a local team, and ideas of community and belonging are the focus of the 2013 book edited by Daniel Nathan briefly

² Caroline Daley 'The Ref's Turned a Blind Ear': The Cultural Paradigm and New Zealand's Sport History', *Sporting Traditions*, 27.2 (Nov 2010), 15-27 (p. 26). Recent works which focus on regional experiences of rugby include Mark Falcous, 'The Paradoxes of Provincialism, Nationalism and Imperialism: Otago Rugby Union(s) League and Amateurism', *Sporting Traditions*, 30.2 (December 2013), 15-31.

³ John Bale *Sports Geography*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 14, 2.

discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.⁴ A number of the contributors to this work make explicit the place of sporting allegiances in the creation and maintenance of group ties, albeit in American contexts, and often with allegiance to professional, rather than representative, sports teams.⁵ However, these examples echo some of the findings in this chapter, of the role of narrative in the creation of identity for example. In addition, Nathan notes that a number of the writers in this text have used their own experiences, as I have in part, which he contends ‘enriches their storytelling and analysis’.⁶

Other scholars have examined the place of rugby in the development of notions of place and identity in a number of different localities. Peter Horton considers the rise of this form of football in the context of the cultural construction of Brisbane and Queensland, Australia.⁷ The links between rugby, regional identity and the press in France are discussed by Philip Dine. He places rugby in the midst of the rise of regionally based identities and cultural expression.⁸ Liam O’Callaghan also promotes the role of the media in the creation of local rugby traditions, this time in Munster Ireland, and examines the use of narrative and mythology in this context.⁹ The findings of these scholars support the connections made between rugby and local identity found in this chapter. In addition, O’Callaghan’s approach with regard to the sustained constitutive nature of press and other media reports in this context resonates in this thesis.

This chapter studies media narratives to investigate the ways rugby players are presented as particular male types; how ideas of masculinity are imagined,

⁴ *Rooting for the Home Team: Sport, Community and Identity*, ed. by Daniel A. Nathan ((Urbana, Chicago & Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

⁵ For example, Daniel A. Nathan ‘The Baltimore Blues: The Colts and Civic Identity’, pp. 108-124; and Amy Bass, ‘We Believe: The Anatomy of Red Sox Nation’, in *Rooting for the Home Team: Sport, Community and Identity*, ed. by Daniel A. Nathan (Urbana, Chicago & Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013), pp.139-156.

⁶ Nathan, ‘Introduction: Sport, Community, and Identity’, in *Rooting for the Home Team: Sport, Community and Identity*, ed. by Daniel A. Nathan (Urbana, Chicago & Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2013), pp. 1-15 (p. 7).

⁷ Peter Horton, ‘Football, Identity, Place: The Emergence of Rugby Football in Brisbane’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23.8 (December 2006), 1341-1368.

⁸ Philip Dine, ‘Une certaine idée du rugby: Sport, Media and Identity in a ‘Glocalised’ Game’, *French Cultural Studies*, 25.1 (2014), 54-69.

⁹ Liam O’Callaghan, ‘The Red Thread of History: The Media, Munster Rugby and the Creation of a Sporting Tradition’, *Media History*, 17.2 (2011), 175-188

assembled, and presented. Given that the place of rugby in the construction of gender norms in New Zealand, and other nations, has been well canvassed, the deconstruction of the representation of accepted roles over time provides a way of further examining the central place this sport has been afforded. Ideas of manliness, perseverance and team work have been central to the discussion, as have modesty and fairplay.¹⁰ The related examination of the media representation of particular male types and narratives of gender is also pertinent, and Donald Sabo and Sue Jansen's work, if again from an American context, is helpful, particularly when discussing media constructions of masculinity.¹¹ In particular, their identification of the silences, of the invisibility of those men who would challenge this dominant version of manhood, reminds us to interrogate the purported normality and universality of the represented versions.

These studies help to provide the background and support for the discussion of the representation of rugby men in this chapter. The playing, administering and reporting of rugby during the period under consideration in this thesis was an almost exclusively male domain –not just the players but the coaches, managers and the reporters – and therefore, the stories recorded need to be teased apart to reveal small, rather than grand, change and difference. There is a homogenous feel to the material; a lack of women, of acceptance of difference, that requires a measured approach not unlike that attributed to boot of the great Don Clarke as he kicked goals for both the Waikato team and the All Blacks.

The Origins of Rugby Football

The sport of rugby, like almost all human activities, has been subject to change in both form – the rules and regulations – and function. The mythology surrounding the beginnings of the changed game of football includes stories about William Webb Ellis, a pupil who attended Rugby School in Warwickshire, England from

¹⁰ See chapters by Timothy Chandler, John Nauright, Jock Phillips and others in *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, (London & Portland, OR: Frank Cass & Co, 1996).

¹¹ Donald Sabo and Sue Curry Jansen, 'Images of Men in Sport Media: The Social Reproduction of Gender Order in *Men, Masculinity and the Media*, ed. by Steve Craig (Newbury Park, CA, London & New Delhi; Sage Publications, Inc, 1992), pp.169 -184.

1816 to 1825.¹² Webb Ellis is said to have picked up the ball in a game of football and, contrary to the accepted custom, run with it. While this story has been heavily debated, its origins often dissected and debunked, and other ‘truths’ revealed, this revision has not completely eliminated the central narrative. Indeed, the trophy presented to the winners of the four yearly Rugby World Cup is named after Webb Ellis, and extensive use of the mythology could be seen in television coverage of the recent 2015 World Cup played in the United Kingdom.

The likely origins are much more fragmented and uneven. There appear to have been a large number of varied ‘folk’ ball games that foreshadowed the game of rugby played today. Many of these included large groups of mostly boys and men competing through towns to gain control of a ball and, by carrying, passing and/or kicking it, they tried to place it at a designated spot, the ‘goal’.¹³ These games are said to have been violent and destructive, and many rulers and local authorities in England, and Scotland enacted laws against them.¹⁴ Timothy Chandler notes that, in addition to these large occasional events, there were children's games which were played with a ball and their feet.¹⁵ Chandler contends that it is the latter games which were transferred to the growing number of public schools in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁶

While the games played at English public schools were most likely a form, or even a combination, of these earlier pastimes, the sport that became known as rugby, and the distinction between rugby football and association football, or soccer, arose as one of the consequences of a ‘games’ movement. This was, in part, the result not only of the changes in British society related to the industrial

¹² K.G. Sheard, ‘Ellis, William Webb’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.waikato.ac.nz/view/article/50315>> [accessed 5 September 2015].

¹³ Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football*, (London & Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998), p. 1.

¹⁴ For a comprehensive description of these early games and their purported relationship to latter forms of football, see Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players. A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (Oxford: Martin Rutherford and Co., 1979), pp. 21-45.

¹⁵ Timothy J. Chandler, ‘The Structuring of Manliness and the Development of Rugby Football at the Public Schools and Oxbridge, 1830 - 1880’ in *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, ed. by John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler (London & Portland: Frank Cass, 1996), pp 13-31, (p. 15).

¹⁶ Ibid.

revolution but also of the related move to control and direct the perceived natural urges of men into disciplined physical activities.¹⁷ An early version of rugby, and the school that gave it a name, were popularised in the book *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes first published in 1857.¹⁸ This may have contributed to the spread of the Rugby School game to other schools, but the rules were constantly altered and debated. Dispersal outside the schools occurred when old boys either at University or in other places wanted to continue playing; clubs were formed and rules again discussed. While there were attempts by followers of the two main forms of football to continue playing against each other, the greatest division occurred over the practices of running towards the goal with the ball and hacking, or kicking at, other players' shins.¹⁹ This was considered, by its proponents, to be an important part of the physicality of the game, the 'hardiness/manliness' aspect.²⁰ Eventually, in 1863, some clubs which followed the traditions of schools like Eton, decided to ban hacking and handling the ball, and formed the Football Association. Those clubs which preferred the other rules formed the Rugby Union in 1871.

The permanent division between association football (which came to be known as soccer in a number of places including New Zealand) and rugby football coincided with a heightened period of British migration to New Zealand, and the game of rugby was introduced here at around the same time as it was becoming codified in England. Another division occurred when the northern England Rugby League was formed. The central argument between the two groups, over payment for players and the amateur, gentlemanly ideals, also had on-going implications for the ways in which both games developed in New Zealand.²¹ While the proponents of rugby league had mostly working class backgrounds which

¹⁷ Timothy J.L. Chandler and John Nauright, 'Introduction: Rugby, Manhood and Identity', in *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, ed. by John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler (London & Portland: Frank Cass, 1996), pp 1-12.

¹⁸ Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London: Dent, 1949).

¹⁹ Chandler, p. 23.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*. An example of the strained relationship between the two codes in New Zealand can be found in a report in the *Evening Post* of 29 March 1923 where the decision of the Waikato Union to suspend players who had 'taken part in League football [was] endorsed.' (p. 3).

advocated payment for players, the more middle class supporters of rugby union emphasized the amateur ideals noted in the Introduction to this thesis.

Rugby in New Zealand

The mythology that surrounds the development of rugby in New Zealand has been well reported and examined.²² Most people write that the first game was played in Nelson in 1870 and that Charles Munro, who had returned from attending school in England, persuaded the Nelson Football Club to play rugby instead of the Association and Victorian rules football they were used to.²³ Other early proponents included an 'old boy' of Rugby School, George Sale.²⁴ By 1892, the New Zealand Rugby Football Association had been formed, and rugby had started to become a prominent sport in New Zealand. One of the more socially central roles often attributed to rugby in New Zealand communities examined in this thesis is well summarised by Finlay MacDonald. For New Zealand, MacDonald states, one of the 'crucial functions' of rugby was 'taking local rivalries at the club level and assembling them into a common cause at provincial level, and finally into mass allegiance to the national team (and icon), the All Blacks'.²⁵ Why this layering of unity was centred around this particular sport is harder to decipher.

A number of New Zealand historians have emphasised the place of rugby both in the development of a New Zealand identity, and in the related construction of masculinity in this country. Jock Phillips has promoted the prominent place of rugby in ideas of nationhood, and, in particular, compiled a stereotype of New Zealand men that is in large part based around the particular physical characteristics and moral attributes he argued were directly associated with

²² In addition to works by Jock Phillips et al, an early book by Arthur Swan, *History of New Zealand Rugby Football 1870-1945* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1948), is often cited in histories of rugby in this country as a foundational source of information.

²³ Swan, p.1.

²⁴ Geoff Vincent, "To Uphold the Honour of the Province": Football in Canterbury c. 1854 - c. 1890' in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854 -2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp.13-32 (p. 14).

²⁵ Finlay MacDonald and Bruce Connew, *The Game of Our Lives* (Auckland: Viking, 1996), p. 4.

rugby.²⁶ This included a frontier, open-air, rural background, and notions of determination, modesty, teamwork and the building of character.²⁷ Phillips also contended that, while skill and agility were important in the early part of the development of the game in New Zealand, by the 1950s and '60s, the 'huge tough forward' was becoming a preeminent male type.²⁸ However, as noted in the Introduction to this thesis, much of the accepted historiography around the emergence of rugby as New Zealand's national game was examined in the Greg Ryan edited volume *Tackling Rugby Myths*.²⁹ Ryan, and his fellow contributors, looked to challenge certain assumptions about the development and place of rugby, including those put forward by Phillips, and to 'question the ways in which its meanings have been distorted by these two layers of mythmaking'.³⁰ Ryan argued that not only should we 'better represent the importance of rugby, and sport generally, within the study of New Zealand society, but [...] do so in a rigorous and critical fashion'.³¹ In this thesis, I am cognisant of the need to consider the veracity of the claims made by Phillips, but also to remain aware of the need to involve the sometimes widely held understandings and mythologies that surround and inform the represented place of rugby men in the Waikato community. It may very well be important to debunk older historiography, to construct new ways of understanding, but space should be left for the cultural narratives, the discursive underpinnings, of local sporting histories.³² In essence, it matters what people perceive the place of rugby, or any sport, to be in their community.

²⁶ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History* (Auckland: Penguin, 1996); and *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity* ed. by John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler (London: Frank Cass, 1996)

²⁷ Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, p. 118

²⁸ Phillips, *A Man's Country?*, 120p. 120.

²⁹ Greg Ryan, 'Introduction', in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854 - 2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 9-11 (p. 9).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ryan, 'Introduction', p. 10.

³² This does not discount the problems recently raised by Mark Falcous and Joshua I Newman with regard to the mythologising and/or 're-historicizations' of sporting pasts for particular neoliberal purposes. I do, however, promote local mythology as a legitimate part of the creation of ideas about the place and meaning of sport. Mark Falcous and Joshua I Newman, 'Sporting Mythscapes, Neoliberal Histories, and Post-Colonial Amnesia in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 51.1 (2016), 61-77.

Waikato Rugby Beginnings

The foundation manoeuvres of the Waikato Rugby Union can be seen as an example of the ways the game became an important channel through which the people of the region separated themselves from northern controllers. Geoff Vincent linked the rise of rugby rivalries to the demise of the political control of the provinces and the centralising of power in Wellington that occurred in 1876.³³ Vincent notes that this change ‘prompted the middle classes in many parts of New Zealand to search for a new means of maintaining provincial identity and expressing civic pride’.³⁴ This, coupled with the rise in transport opportunities for sporting teams, lead to the facilitation of interprovincial competitions.³⁵ If such developments are paired with the idea of the symbiotic relationship between the press and sport mentioned in my introductory chapter, then the compounding social will and mechanisms are a legitimate way of understanding the growing importance of rugby football at this time.

However, such a structure based description of the development of the game does not adequately account for the input of individuals; indeed, Vincent goes on to discuss the roles and interactions of particular men, clubs and associations during the formative stage of the development of rugby football in the greater Canterbury area. The ‘club’ model is central, and not just for rugby. A fundamental part of the development of modern sport imported from England, it became what Charlotte Macdonald describes as New Zealand's unique ‘associational culture [that] grew up around the desire to play’.³⁶ The ideas around the notions of community and belonging will be further examined Chapter Five, but are also relevant to the narratives of the creation of the Waikato Rugby Union.

The importance of local connections should also be noted here, especially between newspaper staff and the coaches, administrators and players. In his 1996 history, *The Might of the Mooloo*, Winston Hooper began with a personal account

³³ Vincent, p. 19.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Macdonald, ‘Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History’, p. 270.

of his place as a chronicler of Waikato rugby.³⁷ Although he grew up in various parts of Auckland, and attended Mount Albert Grammar, he often visited the Waikato with family and told of spending a great deal of time as a child around 'rugby' men. Later in this autobiographical introduction, he revealed some of the nature of the relationships between the rugby men and the press. He became a reporter for the *Waikato Times* in 1960, and gives details of the 'Friday visits' to the paper's offices, of the Waikato rugby selector Has Catley. Catley, along with long-serving rugby reporter Andy Quick and others, would regularly debate the state of play.³⁸ Hooper listed other close contacts, in part perhaps to establish his own credentials, but which emphasised the types of relationships these rugby men had with the local newspaper. This might be considered a collective exercise of power, that it was the means by which these men utilised and enhanced their particular type of social capital as the gatekeepers of an important community activity. It was also a commercial convenience for the paper's publishers. Roger Fowler, noted that:

Stuart Hall and others have shown how production schedules and conventions for access to sources, affect the content and presentation of news stories. Because newspapers have to be written and produced very quickly, steps are taken in advance, as a matter of routine, to ensure a regular and plentiful supply of daily copy.³⁹

Therefore, the intertwined needs of both the newspaper, and the powerbrokers in the rugby community, served to create circular and sustained avenues for the exercise of control over the public rugby narratives.

The first reported rugby game featuring a 'Waikato' team was played on 26 September 1874, and involved a team of surveyors, Cussen's Elephants, and a team from Hamilton called the Waikato Bounders.⁴⁰ A few years later, the Auckland Rugby Union (established in 1883), covered the whole of the Auckland

³⁷ Winston Hooper, *The Might of the Mooloo* (Hamilton: The Waikato Rugby Union, 1996), pp. 3-5.

³⁸ Hooper, p. 4.

³⁹ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 21.

⁴⁰ 'Football Match', *Waikato Times and Thames Valley Gazette*, 29 September 1874, p. 2.

Province, including the Waikato. It seems that the difficulty in administering such a large area contributed to a number of attempts to establish a separate organisation south of the Bombay Hills. A Waikato Union was formed in 1887, and again in 1892, but neither succeeded in joining the various scattered clubs in the region into a sustainable organisation.⁴¹ Further attempts were made to get organised, including the establishment of a South Auckland Union in 1909 which included clubs and unions from Waihi in the north east to Waipa in the south of the province⁴² This grouping was also ultimately unsuccessful but, following the disruption of World War 1, an attempted revival lead to the eventual formation of the fourth and lasting Waikato Union in 1921.

One way of establishing a discursive background to the ways in which the Auckland/Waikato regional relationship developed, is to look at the ways geographical boundaries have been drawn. While the division of New Zealand into provinces had been abolished in 1876, in a number of ways, actual control of the previously mapped area continued from the top of the North Island and extended south past Taupo. This was a huge area to administer and control, but the naming of the province as ‘Auckland’ squarely centred power in the northern metropolis. Against this background, the establishment of a South Auckland, then Waikato, rugby union can be approached as both a need by the Auckland union to divest itself of the financial and administrative burden of organising the sport over such a large area, and the desire of rugby administrators and players to have a greater say in the game in their local communities. What this also indicates is that the differentiation of parts of this large area or ‘province’ into separate sections often occurred when sporting competitions were involved, and the growing importance afforded to the sport of rugby meant that the changing affiliations and local competitions became an obvious and public part of the definition of place.

The reported origins of the annual sovereign’s birthday game featured in this chapter were also included in Hooper's book. He noted that ‘The arrangements for the Auckland visit in June came through the goodwill of their Chairman, Mr

⁴¹ Hooper, p. 7.

⁴² Swan, p. 159.

Harry Frost, and Mr J G O'Brien [the] Auckland treasurer'.⁴³ The *New Zealand Herald* reported on 13 May that the Waikato Union had requested a match with an Auckland representative side.⁴⁴ While the Auckland players apparently objected, arguing that 'it was too early for a representative match', they are said to eventually have been willing to play when told about the state of Waikato's finances.⁴⁵ Hooper did not give details of his sources for this information, and it follows the positive tone of the rest of his publication. It is very possible that the Waikato union had money problems as a new ground, Rugby Park, had been opened the year before, complete with a grandstand and other facilities. However, regardless of the reasons for that first match on 3 June 1926, it eventually became the regular beginning of the representative rugby season in the Waikato. It should also be noted that an earlier President of the Waikato Rugby Union, Cecil McDavitt, was elected President of the New Zealand Rugby Union in May 1926.⁴⁶ It made sense then for the Auckland Union to show support, given the power someone in such a position would likely have.

1926: The Annual Game Begins

The first of the annual games was played on a Thursday. As King George V's birthday, 3 June, was celebrated as a holiday, many different sporting events took place. The *New Zealand Herald* of 1 June provides details of the various games and tournaments to be played, noting that the horse racing meeting at Ellerslie would be the '[m]ost popular, of course'.⁴⁷ The division of football into three codes is emphasised with a rugby league game mentioned, and a representative soccer game listed, also between Waikato and Auckland sides. Hockey and bowls tournaments rounded out the possible attractions for (male) players and spectators alike. The linkage of holidays to sport, seen throughout the early years of events like the Ngāruawāhia Regatta, gives some indication of another aspect of the place

⁴³ Hooper, p. 17.

⁴⁴ 'Rugby Football', *New Zealand Herald*, 13 May 1926, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Hooper, p.17.

⁴⁶ 'The National Game', *Auckland Star*, 7 May 1926, p. 10.

⁴⁷ 'Waikato Representatives', *New Zealand Herald*, 1 June 1926, p. 5.

of sport in these communities at this time. It was positive, recreation, different from the everyday and, for those present, able to be re-lived by reading the newspaper reports. For those unable to physically attend, including historians, the newspaper provided a way of vicariously experiencing, and perhaps understanding, the events.

On 1 June 1926, the second page of the 16 page *Waikato Times* had a large banner titled 'World of Sport'.⁴⁸ Half of the page contained reports of sporting events, both up-coming and already played. Under a title 'Sporting', details were given of those horses entered in the Otaki Māori Racing Club's planned meeting.⁴⁹ Indeed, in the newspapers studied, the word 'Sporting' (by itself) almost always meant horseracing at this time, and the previews and results of various race meetings were prevalent in the newspapers of this period. This page also included a 'Rugby Football' report which gave details of the Auckland teams chosen to play on 3 June; no mention was made of the Waikato players involved. An advertisement for the game was published in the editorial page of this edition – readers are exhorted to 'See Your Boys in Action against The SELECT OF AUCKLAND'.⁵⁰ The choice of words 'boys' against the 'select' and the use of capital letters for the latter part of the sentence gives the impression that the Waikato players were not as accomplished or experienced as their opposition. This was a forerunner of the tendency to portray the local players as the 'underdogs', and indicate the apparent relative power of the northern visitors.

The *Waikato Times* of 2 June shows that there was another representative game to be played at Rugby Park the following day between the 'New Zealand Dairy Company Employees' and 'Hamilton'.⁵¹ This match is described as 'annual' and the writer adds that there will be 'local representatives' playing. Some continuing dissension within various parts of the Waikato Union might be inferred from this small piece. The relationships between various components of the wider regional sporting associations were not always harmonious. This layering of levels of

⁴⁸ 'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 1 June 1926, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ 'Rugby, Rugby, Rugby', *Waikato Times*, 1 June 1926, p.4.

⁵¹ 'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 2 June 1926, p. 2.

power will be explored in the lawn bowls chapter, but there were also indications of manoeuvring for control in the Waikato rugby community.

The advertisement for the Auckland versus Waikato match was again published in this paper but the most prominent feature of the news in this edition was the coverage of the Waikato Winter Show.⁵² This annual event featured numerous displays and stands touting agricultural and household goods and, the results of competitions for various kinds of baking, preserved fruit, hand crafts, flower displays, photographs and even the artistic talents of Sunday School children. The importance of this event in the Waikato calendar was constantly underlined in the press, and it seems to have involved most parts of the community, although any overt mention of Māori items or exhibits is not apparent.

Near the back of this paper was a preview of the Waikato/ Auckland game. The sub headings, under 'Rugby Football' read 'Waikato's Opening Game' in bold type then, 'Meet Auckland Tomorrow'.⁵³ 'Dropkick' was the penname of the reporter designated to write the rugby commentary and analysis pieces at this time, and the tone of their writing was always authoritative. The small article began by noting that it was the start of 'big football' for the season. He/she (probably he) went on to reinforce the impression given by the advertising, that the Waikato team would be 'playing under the handicap [of] being drawn from a scattered area, with the consequent disadvantage to attaining cohesion', and were likely to be beaten.⁵⁴ This piece, therefore, continued to employ an 'under dog' trope.

The *Waikato Times* of 3 June provided some hint about the ways the associational nature of sport was operating in the community at this time. There were detailed reports of the regular committee meetings of the Hamilton Rugby Union, the Waipa Rugby Union and the South Auckland Association Football Committee.⁵⁵ These appear to have been taken straight from the minutes of these meetings and gave a sense of transparency of decision-making. They also showed that such

⁵² 'The Great Show', *Waikato Times*, 2 June 1926, p. 6.

⁵³ Dropkick, 'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 2 June 1926, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ *Waikato Times*, 3 June 1926, p. 2.

power networks operated in very similar ways, regardless of the sporting code involved. The tone is formal and these were projected as important matters to be taken seriously. The role of the newspaper in distributing this information is also relevant and implies power of selection, including which reports to print, and where they were placed.

The report of the rugby match was published in the *Waikato Times* the following day. It ran for almost a full column and the writer began by noting that an estimated 3,500 people attended. If this is even close to an accurate number, some indication of the social 'place' of rugby at this time might be gleaned. The estimated population of Hamilton as of 1 April 1925 was 17,070; unfortunately the population figures for the Waikato were not given separately from the Auckland province at this time.⁵⁶ There were special trains and buses provided to transport people to and from the game, but the number of attractions available, particularly the horseracing at Ellerslie and the Winter Show, would have provided substantial competition. It was most likely a predominantly local crowd; the reporter noted that a 'rush to Auckland's line' by the Waikato team gave the crowd a 'thrill'.⁵⁷ By this time, the Auckland team played in blue and white, and Waikato was, that day, in yellow and black. The report of the match provided details of each scoring movement, with little criticism. The language used gives some feeling of impetus; the term 'swept down field' was used several times and the ebbs and flows of the game are described in short sentences that enable the reader to picture the movement of the players. The score line was inserted after each scoring play and there was a feeling that the win, 36 points to 3, by Auckland was inevitable.

The *New Zealand Herald's* report of the game was very similar in structure although it had a larger introduction. The writer of this article was clearly happy with the result, with the 'brilliance' of the Auckland team putting paid to some apparently 'destructive criticism' before the match.⁵⁸ The superiority of the

⁵⁶ *The New Zealand Official Yearbook*

<http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1926/NZOYB_1926.html#idsect1_1_23182> [accessed 10 September 2015]

⁵⁷ 'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 4 June 1926, p. 2.

⁵⁸ 'Aucklanders in Form' *New Zealand Herald*, 4 June 1926, p. 12.

Auckland players is mirrored by a superior tone, and this report is somewhat more descriptive; ‘A pretty passing rush by the Auckland backs capped off by a clever kick’ moved the Auckland team forward towards the goal.⁵⁹ It is possible to detect some difference in attitude at the beginning of the report of this game to be found in the *Auckland Star* edition also published on 4 June. The headline reads Auckland v. Waikato Country Team Badly Beaten.⁶⁰ The main body of this report appears to simply be a slightly altered summary of the piece from the *Waikato Times* – the *Star* obviously did not have their own reporter at the match.

These initial newspaper reports are narratives of contest, with almost battle-like overtones. In contrast, a more analytical tone was adopted by ‘Drop Kick’ in the summary and analysis printed in the *Waikato Times*’ Saturday Supplement on 5 June.⁶¹ While he (probably) noted that the Auckland team might not be as good against a ‘big Pack’, he stated that ‘Nevertheless, they must be given credit for a brilliant exhibition and moreover one that the public enjoys’.⁶² It could be that ‘Drop Kick’ was, possibly inadvertently, signalling a difference between the entertainment factor of, and a more ‘purist’ attitude towards, sport, an approach that can be found in later reporting. Given the substantial loss, the tone of this report is relatively positive, and the target audiences were the Waikato public and perhaps other rugby followers from around the country. The focus was on the players’ actions on the field; no mention of anything but their performance in the game can be found. It finished with the notion that this was an opportunity for the Waikato players to learn, and that they were only really beaten in the last quarter of the match.

A further summary of the game found in the *New Zealand Herald* five days later concentrated on the Auckland side’s prospects for the season after their defeat of a reportedly inferior Waikato team. Several Auckland players were lauded, and

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ ‘Rugby Football’, *Auckland Star*, 4 June 1926, p.10.

⁶¹ Dropkick ‘Rugby Football’, *Waikato Times*, 5 June 1926, p. 20.

⁶² Ibid.

some balance was attempted by mention of a ‘sound’ Waikato forward pack, but this report was squarely aimed at the supporters of the Auckland team.⁶³

As might be expected, the ways in which the players are described are relatively similar in all the reports – particularly in terms of their skills. While, as noted, there are phrases that have echoes of the recent war, including ‘invaded’ and ‘charged’ any overt mention of aggressively masculine body movement is missing at this point. The overall impression is of lithe, skilful, activity. The *New Zealand Herald* reporter describes one player ‘dashing through well’ and there is an absence in the reporting of examples of hard or tough physicality. Whether this is simply because the Auckland backs were the obvious stars on the field, it also indicates an attitude towards the way it was believed the game should be played, and what was exciting for the crowd to watch, at that time.

So began the annual game, although the two teams did not compete in 1927, most likely as a result of continued trouble between the Hamilton and Waikato Unions. However, from 1928 onwards, Auckland and Waikato were to meet at Rugby Park in Hamilton almost every June until 1981. The extensive coverage of this, and most other rugby matches and competitions also continued and was, I argue, fundamental to the on-going construction of rugby's central place in community, regional, and national, sporting discourses.

1932: Depression Narratives – Rugby During Troubled Times

By the beginning of June 1932, the economic Slump, or the ‘Great Depression’, was causing widespread distress in many parts of New Zealand society. Earlier in the year, the frustration, hunger, and fear experienced by large numbers of desperate people had resulted in several riots throughout the country with the largest of these occurring in Auckland on 14 April.⁶⁴ A demonstration by postal workers, objecting to a salary cut of ten percent, escalated into an ultimately

⁶³ ‘Rugby Football’, *New Zealand Herald*, 9 June 1926, p. 18.

⁶⁴ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane & The Penguin Press, 2001), pp. 257-258.

violent and destructive rampage as thousands of unemployed men and women joined the protestors in their march down Queen Street and vented their anger.⁶⁵ While there was not a corresponding disturbance in Hamilton, large numbers of people were without sufficient work to be able to consider spending money on leisure activities. Gibbons describes the dire circumstances of the unemployed, relief workers, and the working poor alike.⁶⁶ However, other parts of the community apparently continued to follow established patterns of life, including playing and watching sport.

By the time of King George V's birthday in 1932, the Waikato team were well used to wearing their red, yellow and black colours.⁶⁷ On 1 June, the *Waikato Times* contained a short piece promoting the upcoming match.⁶⁸ By calling it an 'annual' occasion, and noting that it 'is' played on 'Rugby Park', the writer established both the regular nature of the fixture and assumed their readers knew that the game was usually played in Hamilton.⁶⁹ In the following days, both the *Waikato Times* and the *New Zealand Herald* carried stories which continued to underline the coupling of holidays with sporting events; indeed, the *Waikato Times* published details of the 'Branches of Sport' available for 'Hamiltonians' in an article on June 2.⁷⁰ In addition to the rugby match, and the Waikato Winter Show which again provided various entertainment opportunities, there were golf and hockey tournaments and an association football match. The winter meeting at the Ellerslie racecourse was advertised, reinforcing the continuing importance of horse racing to the Waikato economy, and indicating the mobility of some sections of the local community.

Comparisons of the content and language of the previews to, and reports of, the 1932 match in the *Waikato Times* and the *New Zealand Herald* also reveal more

⁶⁵ James Edwards, son of the leader of the Unemployed Workers' Movement Jim Edwards, provides a firsthand description of the events of that day, and the background to it, in *Riot 1932: An eyewitness account of the social upheaval in New Zealand in 1932* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1974).

⁶⁶ Peter Gibbons, *Astride the River* (Christchurch: Whitcoulls Ltd, 1976) pp. 186 -192.

⁶⁷ The Waikato colours of red, yellow and black were adopted at the 1928 annual meeting of the Waikato Rugby Union, and were a combination of the Hamilton Colours of yellow and black, and the Hamilton Old Boys Club colours of red and black. See Hooper, p. 20.

⁶⁸ 'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 1 June 1932, p. 13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ 'Holiday Attractions', *Waikato Times*, 2 June 1932, p. 10.

similarities than differences. Regional partiality and rivalry is subtle; in the *New Zealand Herald's* published list of well-known players in the game, the first two named Waikato men were described as 'ex-Auckland representatives' and some protection was afforded against any high expectations Auckland readers might entertain by the comment that there were members of the Auckland team making their representative debut.⁷¹ While detailed circulation figures for this time are difficult to uncover, the bulk of the readership of the *New Zealand Herald* was in Auckland. However, the number of reports about Hamilton and Waikato matters suggests a need to include, or service, areas outside the metropolitan area both for financial gain and the related establishment of regional dominance.⁷²

In contrast, the *Waikato Times*, while including articles and reports received by telegraph from around the country and the world, was more obviously local and, by 1932, was able to publish a small report of the rugby match on the day it was played.⁷³ While this piece only gave details up until half-time, at which point the Waikato team was ahead, a 'stop press' notice in the same edition relayed the sad news that Auckland had, once again, proven victorious. Waikato was not to win one of these annual sovereign's birthday holiday exchanges until 1941 although they did prevail in a game played on September 6, 1933. More detailed descriptions of the 1932 occasion were provided in both the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Waikato Times* the following day.

Live radio broadcasts of sporting events were becoming established in some areas by the early 1930s and at least parts of the match reports in the newspapers were styled in a fashion which mimicked the commentary style of the new medium.⁷⁴

⁷¹ 'Rugby Football' *New Zealand Herald*, 3 June 1932, p. 13.

⁷² Editions of *New Zealand Herald* published on 3 and 4 June 1932 contained a number of reports about events in Hamilton and the Waikato. Details of the Waikato Winter Show were given in two articles carrying a by-line '(From our own correspondent)' suggest a reporter, either contracted or directly employed by the *Herald* was based in Hamilton. One article entitled 'Hamilton Weather' provided information about average May temperatures. Information about sporting competitions from Waikato clubs were sometimes included with the results of Auckland associations - 'Our own Correspondent' compiled draws and results from the Cambridge Ladies, Otorohanga and Thames clubs at the end of a column simply headlined 'Golf' (3 June 1932, p. 13).

⁷³ 'Rugby Football', *Waikato Times*, 3 June 1932, p. 4.

⁷⁴ The first broadcast of a game in Hamilton occurred in 1930

<<http://www.mooloo.co.nz/history/timeline/1930-39/>> [15 June 2014]. The radio broadcasting of sport had begun in the 1920s and coverage of rugby matches, and horse races, was central to the development of this medium. Early contentions, however, included the effect the 'live'

After an opening paragraph in which the *Waikato Times* reporter noted that the crowd was large, and the weather and ground perfect, the progress of the match and the points scoring moments are described in detail, but most often without an overt local bias.⁷⁵ The following one and a half page column provides a description of the game which reads even more like a live audio commentary than in 1926; short, sharp sentences with very few descriptive phrases:

Stuart made progress for Auckland, but an infringement stopped the backs at the twenty-five. Auckland were awarded a free, but Heazlewood failed. Carlson found the line at half-way, Davies earned applause with a great line kick.⁷⁶

The final long paragraph at the end of the report subtitled 'Notes and Comments' was a more analytical, subjective summary.⁷⁷ The approach was positive; while Waikato were 'unlucky to lose', once again going down in the 'last minute', many of the players on both teams were singled out and praised for their endeavours. None were criticised but the message appears to be that, ignoring the final result, the Waikato players were slightly better; fullback Davies was promoted as the best back on the field that day, with no mention, however, of his former affiliation to Auckland.

The *New Zealand Herald* provided much the same type of account, although the first half of the column was a descriptive discussion of the game and the writer more critical of the Auckland players, as much was made of the failings of the Auckland side and their good fortune in winning right at the end; '[e]specially in the first spell it was noticeable that when opportunities did come the way of the Auckland backs they were mostly found lacking'.⁷⁸ The initial superiority of the Waikato forwards was noted, and Davies was again singled out as an outstanding player. It is possible that the Auckland players were subject to the sort of scrutiny shown in this piece because they were expected to be better than their provincial

broadcasting of games had on crowd attendance. See Patrick Day, *The Radio Years; A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand* Volume 1 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994).

⁷⁵ 'Big Rugby', *Waikato Times*, 4 June 1932, p. 6.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ 'Representative Rugby', *New Zealand Herald*, 4 June 1932, p. 11.

neighbours. This game was touted the day before as always providing a pertinent indication of the preparedness of the Auckland players for the up-coming season.⁷⁹ The rest of this report follows a similar pattern to the *Waikato Times* coverage with details of scoring opportunities taken.

The 1932 match was played during a time of great difficulty for many people in New Zealand. However, there was no indication of any effect of the Slump on this match. A large crowd apparently paid their entrance fee to attend, and were entertained by a reportedly high scoring, fast-paced game. The final result would once again have underlined the ability of Auckland to ‘play to the end’, and a ‘we were robbed’ sentiment would have travelled home with the Waikato supporters. Differing reasons for playing these annual games can be found in the reports. As noted, the Auckland union appearing to use it as a gauge of their readiness for games ahead, while for Waikato it meant an holiday occasion, an opportunity to gain revenue and a chance to challenge, if not yet overcome, their bigger neighbours. Evidence of new, perhaps already competing types of sports reporting in the form of live radio transmissions, can be teased out of these articles but most people would still be getting their sports news, and analysis, from their daily newspaper.

The representation of the players also continued to provide subtle indications of the underlying, unspoken ideals of accepted masculinity, although this again is inferred through absence; of overt mention of women, and of any kind of difference from hetero-normative ideals. Their bodies were not described in detail; even the size of these men is unknown from the published reports examined. As usual, their overall conformity to community standards was assumed, and they were primarily judged by their actions in the field of play. As noted by Phillips, skill and the ability to play as a team were important⁸⁰ However, in this instance, the other character traits he described were absent.

These men were consistently watched, and generally supported, by large crowds of spectators. Like the Ngāruawāhia Regatta, such occasions enabled the

⁷⁹ ‘Rugby Football’, *New Zealand Herald*, 3 June 1932, p. 13.

⁸⁰ Phillips, p. 120.

gathering of a usually 'imagined' Waikato community. This grouping was likely to be more sport focussed than the Regatta crowd, given the lack of other entertainment at the matches of this time, and their sense of belonging perhaps stronger, considering the higher frequency of representative rugby games. This shared communal focus, which continued through the difficult years of the 1930s, would also be sustained in the troubled times ahead.

1942-43: Writing Rugby During the Second World War

A decade later, another major crisis dominated the lives of Waikato people and their newspapers. By early June 1942, World War II had been the central concern of everyone in New Zealand for nearly three years. Not only were many local men fighting in Europe, North Africa, and the Pacific but the resulting effects of the cost of war in human and financial terms were compounding. Both Royal New Zealand Air Force and Army training and supply bases had been established in and around Hamilton by the end of 1942, as the perceived threat of an attack on New Zealand by Japanese invaders was seen to necessitate the relocation of some critical military structures away from the main centres.⁸¹ The King's birthday was now celebrated in New Zealand on the first Monday in June, following the passing of the Sovereign's Birthday Observance Act 1937.

Austerity measures are evident in the size of the papers, and in 1942 and '43, most copies of the *Waikato Times* were only 6 to 8 pages long. It is possible to uncover small changes in the public representation of gender groups in the *Waikato Times* of this time. In particular, most editions of the paper had a section entitled 'Women's World' and there appears to be more advertising directed at women, and more reporting of women's sports. This, perhaps, reflects the commercial reality of a period in which many men were away fighting in Europe and the Pacific. By this time, the 'Women's World' page, while dominated by the advertising of clothes and domestic goods, and most usually providing 'Social Notes', also gave details of the offerings from local cinematic theatres and the

⁸¹ Gibbons, *Astride the River*, pp. 219-221.

radio programming to be found on two radio stations, 1YA Auckland and 2YA Wellington.⁸²

Another feature found in newspapers at this time is the frequent reporting of cases before the Hamilton District Manpower Committee as men who were called up for war argued that their profession was an essential service, or that their wives needed them, or indeed in the case of the local Hansen family and others, that they conscientiously objected to fighting. While it seems that the essential services were never completely defined, those most relevant to the Waikato area would have included farming, mining, forestry work and power supply.⁸³ Some difficulty would have been experienced by those able bodied men who stayed at home during this time but I have not found any indication that their participation in sport, particularly rugby, was challenged. Including the obvious contribution of local airforce and army men, there appears to have been enough rugby players around at this time to play club games. The weekend 'draw' on 5 June 1942 indicates that there were at least four local senior teams and that other clubs were still fielding teams in the lower/younger age groups.⁸⁴

The place and role of sport was discussed in newspapers during this period as sporting organisations continued to try and maintain recreational facilities when the financial, and other, impacts of the war effort made this more difficult. In late May 1942, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr W. E. Parry, visited the Waikato region, and met with a number of groups, including the Waikato Federation of Sports Bodies.⁸⁵ Parry appears to have supported the idea that people needed sport and recreation to divert them from the stresses of war, and was reported as arguing for 'the importance of maintaining reasonable recreation for the people during wartime'.⁸⁶ He did, however, stress that this should not be to the detriment

⁸² In the *Waikato Times* of 28 May 1942, the 'Woman's World' page also contained an advertisement for a '5-Valve Pacemaker Broadcast Radio' and a small advertisement for a radio repair business operating out of the 'Times' building. *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1942, p. 5.

⁸³ A discussion giving details of the nature of essential work can be found at 'War work', *New Zealand History/Nga korero a ipurangi o Aotearoa* <<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/second-world-war-at-home/war-work>> [accessed 14 July 2014]

⁸⁴ *Waikato Times*, 5 June 1942, p. 4.

⁸⁵ 'Personal', *Waikato Times*, 27 May 1942, p. 2.

⁸⁶ "'Most Stupid Thing'", *New Zealand Herald*, 28 May 1942, p. 2.

of the overall war effort.⁸⁷ Gibbons noted that ‘far fewer [horse] race meetings than usual were permitted between 1942 and 1944’.⁸⁸ Other discussion about the difficulty of maintaining sporting competitions and grounds can be found later that year. For example, the Auckland Council of Sport argued that the apparent commandeering of recreational facilities for war-related purposes was hampering their ability to ‘bring some recreation to break the strain brought about by toiling long hours’.⁸⁹ They offered to help the Physical Welfare and Recreation branch of the Department of Internal Affairs continue to support the population in this way.⁹⁰

There are indications of other sporting relationships that were affected by the war. In a small article from the Press Association on 6 June 1942, the tensions (particularly over the non-amateur status of the league players) between Rugby Union and Rugby League were ironically made clear by the concession given by the New Zealand (Rugby Union) Council that league players could play with, and against, union players for the duration of the war. However, it seems that they had to decide to only play one, or the other, during this time and it was noted that those rugby players who played with them would not suffer consequences. It was made clear that this arrangement would not continue after the war.⁹¹

The King's Birthday game played on 7 June 1943 was signalled on 31 May. The article listed the Auckland training team (many of whom were listed as ‘Army’, ‘Navy’ or ‘Garrison’) and contained a note that the Waikato team to meet the ‘city’ team would soon be revealed.⁹² It was duly announced two days later and contained players from Hamilton, Waipa, Morrinsville and Matamata, although unlike the Auckland list, it is not possible to identify those players who were serving in the armed forces from this report. Other sources indicated that two of the group were from the RNZAF base and one was from the Te Awamutu Home

⁸⁷ ‘Need for Sport’ *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1942, p. 4.

⁸⁸ Gibbons, *Astride the River*, p. 221.

⁸⁹ ‘People’s Sport’ *Auckland Star*, 7 August 1942, p. 6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ ‘Rugby Football’, *Waikato Times*, 6 June 1942, p. 6.

⁹² ‘Representative Fixture’, *Waikato Times*, 31 May 1943, p.4.

Guard.⁹³ By this point, non-essential transportation would have been severely curtailed by fuel rationing, and the fact that such events were still taking place indicates the continued emphasis on providing some sport and leisure ‘relief’ from the tribulations of the war and its consequences. Indeed, on 5 June, the *Waikato Times* noted that the holiday would be observed by the closing of most businesses and that the main sporting attraction would be the rugby match. Its main competition for punters would again be the Ellerslie Races and large crowds would use the trains, including special services run in the district and to Auckland.⁹⁴

Some indication of a further subtle change in editorial policy, this time of sports events in relation to gender, can be found in the paper at this time. The article published on 7 June also detailing the upcoming attractions mentioned the rugby and races but also included the women's hockey tournament held at Steele Park. However it is, perhaps, too easy to uncover occasional difference in representation and then to extrapolate from such small changes, an on-going increased visibility of women's sporting activities. Other community attitudes can be found in the reporting of this match. In a small piece in the daily editorial page, it was noted that ‘A native attired in white shorts and a thin singlet created a diversion during a pause in the representative Rugby match at Rugby Park yesterday afternoon’.⁹⁵ In addition to the obvious othering of the person involved, the tone of this piece seems to reflect the reported amusement of the crowd to this intruder who apparently wanted to help bolster the Waikato team. The referee was described as, at least initially, sympathetic, but the intruder was eventually escorted away by a police officer.⁹⁶ A continued patriarchal attitude to Māori is apparent in the attitudes expressed.

Auckland was again victorious (unlike a match held in 1941 which Waikato won for the first time). The report in the *Waikato Times* was headlined ‘Fine Display’, ‘Auckland Rugby Team’ and in much smaller type ‘Waikato Outclassed’.⁹⁷ Once

⁹³ Hooper, p. 129.

⁹⁴ ‘General Holiday’, *Waikato Times*, 5 June 1943, p. 4.

⁹⁵ ‘Diversion at Football’, *Waikato Times*, 8 June 1943, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ ‘Fine Display’, *Waikato Times*, 8 June 1943, p. 4.

again called the 'city team', Auckland were described as being better than Waikato in most, if not all, aspects of the game. This report did not follow the pattern of those from the early 1930s. The actions of individual Auckland players and groupings (forwards and backs) were first described without the story-like feel of previous descriptions. The Waikato players were then predominantly portrayed in ways that emphasised their lesser abilities or actions. A sense of disappointment permeates this report, as found in the phrase 'it was disheartening to note'.⁹⁸ Some Waikato players are praised but overall, the perceived brilliance of the Auckland team is the obvious message. The *New Zealand Herald's* (own correspondent) report, on the other hand, was brief and to the point. While Waikato was 'outclassed in every department', the Auckland team was described as 'a well-balanced side, with no one particularly outstanding'.⁹⁹ Ideals of teamwork were promoted and modesty underlined. With a reluctance to overly praise apparent; a matter-of-fact air dominates this short piece. It is notable that, given the time in which these reports were produced, there were no apparent metaphorical, or other, references to war. The inherent violence of the physical encounter continued to be understated, and the deft application of the skills required to play the game were still paramount.

This sport continued to be afforded a significant, visible and growing place in narratives about the Waikato. Therefore, if Waikato rugby was represented as weaker than, or subservient, to the greater northern power, the indication could be that that notion of inferiority was applicable to the wider relationship between the two regions. Certainly, the tone in some of the media reports studied could have given readers an impression of that type of correlation. However, a change, at least in the rugby arena, was soon apparent.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ 'Rugby Success', *New Zealand Herald*, 8 June 1943, p. 5.

The 1950s: Waikato's Glory Years

For many older Waikato rugby supporters, the 1950s are remembered as a time of glory. In the decade from 1951-1961, the Waikato team won the Ranfurly Shield, the symbolic pinnacle of provincial rugby in New Zealand, for the first time, beat the South African representative team (the Springboks) in 1956, and, in 1961, beat the French team in the game mentioned at the opening of this thesis. They were also victorious in seven out of the ten sovereign's birthday games played during this era. The place of this particular sport in this region was, by that point, unmistakable. After the austerity of the 1940s, there was a sense of stability and prosperity in the country as a whole, that was built on the back of growing markets for New Zealand exports and resulted in a population increase of well over a million people between 1945 and 1967.¹⁰⁰ Bronwyn Labrum makes a telling point when she destabilises the pervasive images associated with this time by, for example, noting the pressure on housing and certain social institutions including schools.¹⁰¹ However, the public perception, as mirrored in the media of the time, seems to have been positive and geared to a rise in consumption. Advertising for new and better consumer goods filled newspapers. As an illustration of the change, the number of cars owned in New Zealand doubled in the period from 1951 to 1960, the vast majority of which were privately owned.¹⁰² A corresponding increase in transport options meant that leisure activities were potentially more accessible, and weekends were a time for playing and watching sport, attending church, and family activities around the home. The post war prosperity, it was envisaged, would enable full employment for men/fathers, meaning women/mothers would stay at home and raise the next generation of happy and healthy New Zealanders.¹⁰³ Whether or not this was the reality for

¹⁰⁰ Bronwyn Labrum, 'Persistent Needs and Expanding Desires: Pakeha Families and State Welfare in the Years of Prosperity in *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, ed. by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), pp. 188-210 (pp. 189-190).

¹⁰¹ Labrum, p. 190.

¹⁰² For further statistics see 'Miscellaneous Transport'

<http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1951-52/NZOYB_1951-52.html#idsect1_1_12618> [accessed 30 March 2015]; and 'Transport'

<http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1960/NZOYB_%201960.html#idsect1_1_459999> [accessed 30 March 2015]

¹⁰³ For a concise description of the 'baby boom' era in New Zealand, see Belich, pp 489 - 493.

everyone is outside the scope of this thesis. It is important, however, to note that such gender norms were pervasive and can be found in the ways rugby players and organisations appear to have operated at this time. Rugby was a male domain and women were only seen as supporters and domestic enablers. They had very little place in the club outside of the kitchen, and no official place in the organisations.

As noted above, this was most definitely a successful era for Waikato rugby. Under coach Dick Everest, the Waikato team employed tactics and had players that would see them winning consistently, and often well. More importantly for this thesis, many uniquely Waikato things emerged during this time. Following the first Ranfurly Shield victory in 1951, a competition determined that Mooloo the jersey cow would become the Waikato mascot; at this time a real jersey cow draped in Waikato colours was paraded around Rugby Park before each representative game.¹⁰⁴ Mooloo was an obvious link to, and representation of, the farming/rural foundations of the region. In addition, many supporters from around the region began to bring their cowbells to games to ‘ring on’ their team.¹⁰⁵ This generally unashamed claiming of the rural nature of the Waikato was, therefore, most noticeably seen through a rugby medium at this time.

The Mooloo Club, an organisation apparently founded in 1952 to arrange an ‘invasion’ of Auckland in support of that year’s Ranfurly Shield challenge, was still operating in 1954, and further invasions were planned to support the rugby team’s endeavours.¹⁰⁶ It is possible to find here another example of the social, or more probably political, capital associated with rugby in the Waikato, particularly Hamilton, at this time. The *Waikato Times* reported that members of this committee would meet with the city council’s tourist and publicity committee which itself included a number of members of the Mooloo Club.¹⁰⁷ Rugby and civic power at this time were very intertwined and were seen to overtly wield their

¹⁰⁴ The story of the advent of Mooloo can be found in Hooper, *The Might of Mooloo*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁵ Gibbons, *Astride the River*, p. 267.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Mooloo Club Will Again Be Active During Winter’, *Waikato Times*, 7 May 1954, p.8.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

power to create and support the discourses around the centrality and importance of the game.

As usual, the central feature of the calendar in early June was the Waikato Winter Show. Unlike the Summer Show, when the local farming community brought their most highly prized animals to town, the Winter Show once again provided both town and country inhabitants with the opportunity to compete in various domestic and other competitions and, in this increasingly consumptionist era, to look at and covet, the newest modern appliances and gadgets. In fact, a *Waikato Times* reporter noted, almost apologetically, that ‘A complete stranger to the show could almost be forgiven for concluding that New Zealand was a land of milking machines, radios, refrigerators, wirelasses and tractors’.¹⁰⁸ For an increasingly urban society, this display and the Summer Show, provided a place for the varied parts of the regions to retain vital links to the rural ‘near past’ which was complemented by the growing attachment to the new Mooloo traditions.

A popular part of the build-up to rugby games at this time was the Mooloo parade down the main street of Hamilton, Victoria Street. On 1 June, the *Waikato Times* held a report noting that the Mooloo Club was planning a scaled down parade before the Queens' Birthday game, so as to not interfere too much with traffic destined for the Winter Show.¹⁰⁹ However, there would be Mooloo herself, ‘ancient’ cars, cheerleaders, and a composite band.¹¹⁰ It was also noted that the Club's ‘main objective’ that year was the planned invasion of Christchurch, again in support of a Ranfurly Shield challenge.¹¹¹ Gibbons highlighted the ‘festival’ flavour of these parades in a region, indeed a nation, which did not generally have a history of such overt displays of celebration or support, at least ‘among Europeans’.¹¹² For the Waikato, however, a successful rugby team allowed, indeed prompted, this type of display.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Waikato’s Wealth on Show’, *Waikato Times*, 1 June 1954, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Mooloo Club To Organise Parade Next Monday’, *Waikato Times*, 1 June 1954, p. 6.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Gibbons, *Astride the River*, p. 267.

The writing of Waikato events and celebrations mirrored the rugby narratives that constructed a positive and successful image of the region. In addition, the ever-growing importance of rugby to the Waikato community can be uncovered in the reports surrounding the opening game of the season on June 7, 1954. The editorial page of the *Waikato Times* – generally the central part of the paper – carried a prominent story detailing the season ahead for the representative team. To give an idea of the relative importance (as news) of rugby in this particular newspaper, this article sat amongst reports of radioactive Japanese ships, national preparation plans in case of an atomic war, and details of the on-going eruption of Mount Ngauruhoe in the central North Island.¹¹³ An acknowledgment that it was ten years since D-Day, and discussion of the large numbers of motor vehicles being imported, can be found in the editorial itself. The ‘latest news’ column gave details of horse racing results, golf scores and that, at 3.45pm, Waikato was winning the rugby by 18 points to 9.¹¹⁴ Two pages later, the first of the reports of this game was again prominent, on a page containing a photograph of a new school, but mostly filled with sports stories.

This report echoed many of those of the 1920s and 30s, with a running commentary style, giving details of the scoring moments.¹¹⁵ Rugby reporting of various different weekend matches and competitions was dominant, this time in terms of column space, rather than with central positioning on the page and large headlines. The full match report was published the following day and begins:

In the best and brightest Royal holiday fixture since 1948, the Waikato Rugby team began its big programme for the season on a happy note when it accounted for Auckland by 23-9 at Hamilton yesterday.¹¹⁶

The writer, ‘Factotum’ showed their understanding of the game by noting, and approving of, the impact of recent rule changes and added that the ‘very large crowd’ (the number given is 16,000) appreciated the resulting speed of the play.

¹¹³ *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1954, p. 6.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ ‘Waikato’s Half-Time Lead’, *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1954, p. 8.

¹¹⁶ Factotum’, *Waikato Times*, 8 June 1954, p. 5.

The report includes a summary of the game and gives details of each player's contribution, first Waikato men, then Auckland. However, apart from phrases like 'superior staying power,' skill and speed are, again, the dominant themes.¹¹⁷ Word choices including 'thrust' and 'sharpness' gave hints of the ways these men were described that can reveal the aspects of masculinity deemed important but given that rugby, like most sports, is primarily a combination of skill and physicality, the previously noted violent aspects of this game continued to be understated.

While the rules of the rugby have altered over time, it has always been a contact sport – the players tackle each other, throwing opposition players to ground in order to stop their forward momentum and to attempt to get hold of the ball. They combine in scrums, rucks and mauls, in direct physical contact with each other in ways which would be perceived as unusual in most other social settings, yet rugby players have consistently been portrayed as exemplars of an accepted, but perhaps by this time, subtly changing type of masculinity. It is again difficult to find any discussion of the physical features of rugby players in the editions of the *Waikato Times* of this period where the focus is very clearly on their playing abilities, not the way they looked. Therefore, masculinity in this context was about action: resolute defence, and sharpness on attack. However, Frazer Andrews contends that one of the noted rugby writers of this period, T.P McLean, wrote at length about the 'physicality and good looks' of the Springbok players that toured New Zealand two years later.¹¹⁸ McLean used terms like 'virile manhood' and Andrews states that this type of more overt descriptive framework became part of the discursive writing of players, and of corresponding portrayals of masculinity, during this tour, but that it was likely 'unusual in the context of the 1950s'.¹¹⁹ It was not part of the *New Zealand Herald's* report of the 1954 Queen's Birthday match which may have been written, or at least influenced, by Mclean at this time.¹²⁰ This article, written by 'Cantab' was headlined 'Waikato Rugby Team

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Frazer Andrews, 'Demonstrable Virility: Images of Masculinity in the 1956 Springbok Tour of New Zealand', in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854 - 2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 123-136 (p. 123).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ McLean was employed as a journalist by the *New Zealand Herald* for nearly 40 years. Paul Lewis, with Jock McLean, *TP: The Life and Times of Sir Terry McLean* (Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers, 2010), p. 97.

Scores Big Win', and in slightly smaller type 'Auckland's Untried Side Begins Well, But Fades'.¹²¹ Support for the Auckland side was summarised in the following paragraph:

For an untried combination, Auckland was by no means disgraced. The margin of the scores was not a real indication of the trend of play. However, Waikato was the better team and its victory was well deserved.¹²²

This article also gives an indication of the place of rugby in the Waikato noting the 'tremendous interest of the Waikato public in the match [that] was exemplified by the crowd of 16,000'.¹²³ In contrast to the *Waikato Times* report, there were more descriptions in this piece of the 'driving strength and hard rucking' of the Waikato forwards. The hardman motif promoted by Phillips was, therefore, a part of this report but skill and speed were still paramount, and remaining calm under pressure was lauded.

As noted above, this game was part of the first successful sporting era in the Waikato, or at least the first publicly celebrated time. Differentiation between Auckland and Waikato could be seen and reinforced in this arena, and representatives of each place were seen to do battle in actual physical ways without, of course, too much harm being done. This continued throughout the decade that followed, with close fought matches the norm. By the early 1960s, however, while the importance of the annual game continued, doubt in the Mooloo team appeared to be creeping in.

1961-62: Friends from the North?

Moves to create 'an independent province combining Waikato districts' were outlined in a prominent article published on 8 March 1961.¹²⁴ While it was felt to

¹²¹ Cantab, 'Waikato Rugby Team Scores Big Win' *New Zealand Herald*, 8 June 1954, p. 10.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ 'Boundaries of the Waikato District Defined', *Waikato Times*, 8 March 1961, p 2.

be too early for 'such a breakaway move', the suggestion had apparently promoted conversations about the district boundaries, and geographical mapping was produced.¹²⁵ The writer of this article noted that some places within the area had teams affiliated to other sporting associations, but that the Waikato had now been 'positively defined'.¹²⁶ The indication was that the new decade had begun with moves towards regional independence and away from the control of Auckland, even if it was felt to be not quite the right time to proceed with such a substantial change.

Local sentiment seemed to hold that the Waikato team might be beaten in the fixture to be played on 5 June 1961. In a large preview of the game, *Factotum* noted that it had been several years since both teams had been at full strength for this game, given various circumstances including having top players away on All Black tours, or at national trials. The writer stated that the Auckland supporters would be confident, but placated their local readers by stipulating 'that is not to say that the honours of the day would not be grasped by Waikato'.¹²⁷ The merits of a number of players from both teams were described, and this report demonstrated an even-handed approach. While this article was credited to the resident rugby reporter of the time, various other members of the Waikato community also felt the need to comment on rugby matters in a public forum.

From 30 May to 2 June, five rugby focussed letters were published, four specifically about the Waikato team and one deploring the lack of a public address system at a previous game. Most of these correspondent proffered opinions about the current players and the style of play, and three provided their own team selections, one noting that it 'seem[ed] to be the fashion to pick teams to represent province and country'.¹²⁸ Such letters showed knowledge of the game, but also a belief that this knowledge, and their judgements, was important enough to share – even if the authors invariably used aliases. One letter, in particular, appears to

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ 'Great Interest in Rugby Match Between Waikato and Auckland', *Waikato Times*, 3 June 1961, p. 9.

¹²⁸ Hopeful, 'Waikato Rugby Team', *Waikato Times*, 2 June 1961, p. 7. Other letters can be found on 30 May 1961(p. 7) and 31 May 1961(p. 9).

have been a joint effort; signed ‘Crown, Anchor and Prop’.¹²⁹ The interest shown with regard to the composition, merits and actions of the local team is obvious, and contrasts markedly with the lack of this type of discussion about other sporting activity.

The engagement of large sections of the local population in this annual game was also apparent. The reported crowd of 19,000 included a large number of people from ‘the Auckland Province’ who arrived by car, bus and special train services. The attraction of the Waikato Show was noted but the numbers of people attending the rugby game caused traffic issues. The reference to the Auckland Province again contrasts with earlier moves to distance the Waikato from its northern neighbour. This complicates ideas of regional separation, and a presentation to an Auckland player, H.L. White by the Waikato union on the occasion of his 150th game for Auckland adds to a tone of fraternal support, rather than inter-regional warfare.¹³⁰ The reporter and Waikato spectators had cause to be magnanimous of course. Despite the large number of naysayers, Waikato won 12 -6, although the standard of the game was described in a less than glowing manner.¹³¹

While such evidence of an apparently collegial regional relationship is able to be found in the *Waikato Times*, it is again difficult to find overt examples of hegemonic masculine norms in these reports, at least in relation to ideals of manliness and physical hardness. The bemoaning of bad sportsmanship by a number of the Waikato team indicates that fair play was still considered an important component of the game, and hard work was applauded. Skill, deftness and enterprise were again celebrated but mention of particular physical attributes continued to be noticeably absent, as was language which overtly revealed the hardman, or frontier stereotype proffered by Phillips. There is also little reference to the ethnic backgrounds of individual players, although some have Māori or Polynesian names. In other reports, those players who had been selected for Māori

¹²⁹ Crown, Anchor and Prop, ‘Spectacular Rugby’, *Waikato Times*, 30 May 1961, p. 7.

¹³⁰ Factotum, ‘Predictions Upset: Waikato Deservedly Beats Auckland: Royal Holiday Rugby Match’, *Waikato Times*, 6 June 1961, p. 7.

¹³¹ Ibid.

representative sides were celebrated but the assimilation narratives noted in the Regatta chapter, that prevailed in the *Waikato Times* during this time, appear to also be present in stories about rugby; if only again through an absence of difference. Later attributions to players from Māori, and other Polynesian backgrounds, of physical prowess but a lack of mental ability, noted by some, have not been found in the material examined at this time.¹³²

Further letters to the editor were published after the game – one written before the match predicted a loss for Waikato and pledged to ‘forever hold my peace’ if he/she was wrong.¹³³ Crown, Anchor and Prop produced a very fast review, and named their team for the next game.¹³⁴ Their contributions continued throughout the season, lending their support to the central place of rugby in the sports reporting sections of the paper. Such letters, and the on-going attendance of large numbers of spectators at rugby games, are examples of the community’s recognition of and response to, the place of sport, and rugby in particular. Any exercise of power was therefore represented at least as hegemonic, as acceptable to and accepted by, the community. While the selections of particular players and their actions, and the decisions of the rugby organisers, might be challenged, the place and importance of rugby was not publicly questioned at this time.

The game the following year was again popular – the front page report noting that while ‘thousands’ of people arrived to once again see the game and go to the Show, the ‘red, yellow and black streamers, hats and scarves naturally outnumbered the blue and white of Auckland’.¹³⁵ By this time, the ability to show support by the wearing of colours was well established, and holiday celebrations were still closely linked with a sporting/rugby/event.

¹³² For a detailed discussion of this type of attribution see Brendan Hokowhitu, ‘Māori Sport: Pre-Colonisation to Today’, in *Sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand Society*, ed. by Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, 2nd edition (Auckland: Thomson, 2007), pp. 78-95. Greg Ryan has discussed aspects of the early experience of rugby for Māori in ‘The Paradox of Maori Rugby’, in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854-2004*, ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp.89-103.

¹³³ Rugby Enthusiast, ‘Rugby Predictions’, *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1961, p. 7.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ ‘Queen’s Birthday Attractions Draw Crowds to City’, *Waikato Times*, 4 June 1962, p.1.

The review of this drawn match contained a greater amount of the vocabulary more generally associated descriptions of battles, than the previous year. A Waikato player was praised as he ‘tore upfield to cut a swathe in the Auckland defence’, but generally the lack of ‘devastation’ and menace by the Waikato forwards was lamented in contrast with the ‘Auckland machine’.¹³⁶ The physicality of the players is important in this piece, but mention of their actual physical features was still absent. The fraternal relationship was, however, more obviously one of contest – of us versus them. This game marked the beginning of a decline in the success of the Waikato team, if not a change in the place of rugby in the region. In addition, changes would soon become more noticeable in both the relationship with Auckland, and the position of rugby in New Zealand.

1972: A More Obvious Divide

By the mid 1960s, inter-regional rivalries, at least on the Hamilton (and Waikato?) side, were becoming increasingly obvious to outside observers. One wrote that:

the strident regional loyalties of the people of Hamilton smack a little of rural resentment against urban Auckland, a resentment taking its tone from Auckland as Hamilton attempts to compete with it culturally.¹³⁷

The Waikato's most obvious national role was as a primary produce provider, and its continued success in that area, coupled with on-going population growth at that time, may well have led to an increased push for independence. Certainly there appeared to be changes happening in the public sporting narratives that point to a move away from a collegial relationship.

Both the *Waikato Times* and *New Zealand Herald* reports of the earlier games discussed above show a continuing underlying bias towards their teams and their readers, but also show obvious attempts to provide balanced reporting. However,

¹³⁶ Factotum, ‘Match Comes To Life With Try By Kemp 10 Minutes From End: Waikato’s Draw With Auckland, *Waikato Times*, 5 June 1961, p. 6.

¹³⁷ W.J. Cameron, *New Zealand* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p.84, cited in Gibbons, *Astride the River*, p. 271.

by 1972, the editor and rugby writer of the *Waikato Times* appear much less concerned about any potential accusations of favouritism. The coverage of the game played on 5 June 1972 was comprehensive and a number of photographs were published. All of the photographs are of what John Bale would call ‘a striking image of the human body in action’.¹³⁸ They are not posed and are generally presented as truthful, a captured fragment of real life. For the purposes of analysing the discursive framework that they might sit in, they appear to be both of Waikato rugby players in controlling moments; as part of a game that Waikato lost. Contemporary readers would have required other cultural knowledge to decode the messages both of the image, and of the caption which

¹³⁸ John Bale, ‘Partial Knowledge: Photographic Mystifications and Constructions of “The African Athlete”’, in *Deconstructing Sport History: A Postmodern Analysis*, ed. by Murray G. Phillips (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), pp. 95-116 (p. 96).

directs them to the particular parts of the photograph deemed important.



Figure 6: 'Big game at Rugby Park', *Waikato Times*, 6 June 1972, p. 10.

In the first photo, the viewer is told how important this match is – it's the 'big game' after all.¹³⁹ The Waikato player shown is described in positive terms, showing his power and skill.

¹³⁹ 'Big game at Rugby Park, *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1972, p. 10.



Figure 7: 'Pinfold thrust', *The Waikato Times*, 6 June 1972, p. 12.

In the second, the viewer's attention is again drawn to the skill and physicality of the central Waikato player, and while his teammates are named, the Auckland players are not mentioned, and therefore are presented as not important. Both captions use active, positive terms to describe the local players and ignore the outsiders, the 'others' from the north. In the much publicised Andy Quick report, the reader was told that the Waikato team lacked decent forwards and could not get enough line-out ball, but that the 'run of play overall did not justify such a large margin'.¹⁴⁰ As with all previous reports, the assumption is that the reader will know what a forward, and/or a first five eighth, is, and will be familiar with the teams and their histories. These reports were, therefore, directed at a knowledgeable, interested public.

¹⁴⁰ Andy Quick, *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1972, p. 11.

Quick, for many years the acknowledged expert rugby reporter at the *Waikato Times*, was able to make these types of comments based on his reputation, his particular brand of cultural capital. His word choice and emphasis gave a more obvious indication of partiality than the previous columns discussed in this chapter as '[Auckland's] B.E. Williams interception from halfway and casual jog away to score the simplest of tries' paled in comparison to Waikato's own 'W.M Birtwhistle's interception and epic runaway try from near his own 25 at a crucial stage in the game two years previous when Auckland was crushed 16 -3'.¹⁴¹ Quick showed his bias in a report that, on the surface, is replete with praise for the dominating Whiting and the great Auckland pack, but is undercut with small comments noting that Waikato did not have to resort to 'importing players' to bolster its team. The implication is that the Auckland management had brought in team members from outside their area. As a local person, he would have known that many of his Waikato readers both understood, and would likely have agreed with his comments.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.



Figure 8: 'Sparkling try ends scoring', *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1972, p. 22.

The final picture was published on the back page of the newspaper.¹⁴² Again, a Waikato player, G.N Kane, was prominent, and is shown in the process of scoring a try. This photograph was framed to include the crowd, revealing the importance of this social activity in this community. The image can also be dissected to suggest that this game was important to both men and women, and that people of all ages attended, and were involved and entertained. The two children close to the sideline give an indication of the inclusion of family in the rugby world. Finally, the crowd and the reader could at least be satisfied that while Auckland beat

¹⁴² 'Sparkling Try Ends Scoring' *Waikato Times*, 7 June 1972, p. 22.

Waikato 30-14, Kane's 'Sparkling try' ended the scoring, and the local team had the last word.¹⁴³

These photographs, and the match reports, are examples of a change in local public narratives regarding the interregional relationship, at least with regard to rugby. The readers were presented with a more overt construction of separation and difference, and the imagery and mythology of contest and competition were established. Other changes, including the second-wave feminist movement that was becoming more prominent at this time, do not appear to have affected the ways rugby men were described, however.

Conclusion

The Auckland/Waikato matches held in 1961, 1962 and 1972 were played at a time of increasing change in the way rugby, and sports overall, operated in New Zealand and many other parts of the world. In particular, sporting contacts with South Africa became politically problematic based on their racially separatist system of apartheid and, for New Zealand, this meant uncertainty and difficulty in a very central way. The South African rugby team (the Springboks) were one of the All Blacks most traditional rivals, but from 1959 onwards, issues including the South African government's insistence on the exclusion of Māori players from All Black teams who travelled to South Africa, continued to be widely debated.¹⁴⁴ Some argue that the protests concerning sporting contact (in particular rugby contact) with South Africa were a feminist attack on the hegemonic masculinity that rugby symbolised.¹⁴⁵ This idea has been challenged by Charlotte Hughes among others and, while decisions and discussion were certainly reported in the

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ For a summary of the issues from 1959 onwards see, for example Richard Thompson, *Retreat from Apartheid: New Zealand's Sporting Contacts with South Africa* (New York & Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1975).

¹⁴⁵ See, for example J. Nauright & D Black, 'Hitting Them Where It Hurts': Springbok - All Black Rugby, Masculine National Identity and Counter-Hegemonic Struggle, 1959 - 1992' in *Making Men, Rugby and Masculine Identity* ed. by John Nauright and Timothy Chandler (London & Portland: Frank Cass, 1996), pp.205-226.

Waikato Times, there is little evidence up to 1972, that rugby itself was under attack or that gender norms with regard to this particular sport had changed.¹⁴⁶

The impact of these issues within the Waikato region would, however, become very prominent by 1981, but the implications for change in public narratives regarding regional and masculine identities are less clear from the primary source material used in this thesis. With that in mind, I have chosen to end this chapter at the point where regional allegiance is clear. Brief consideration of the impact of the 1981 Springbok tour in this region is left for the Epilogue.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, historians and commentators have argued that rugby is an important focus for ideas of national identity, and for notions of masculinity. It is apparent from my research that it was an important conduit for the development of a represented regional identity in the Waikato, which also corresponds with Daniel Nathan's conclusions about the connections between sporting teams and identity. There are obvious and continuing examples of the ways competition with the bigger, controlling city of Auckland enabled acceptable displays of separation and difference. This annual rugby match was a regular site where the development and embodiment of a growing and distinctive regional identity can be found, and where challenges to the power of the larger centre could be enacted. In many ways, John Bale's notion of territoriality is also supported as the ground gained and lost in a game, while not reflecting actual changes in geographical control, were symbolic of a contested relationship that would eventually lead to the formation of a separate Waikato region. The focus of this thesis is local and regional, and it is not necessarily true that the conclusions found here can be, or need to be, readily applied to ideas of a wider New Zealand identity. Certainly, the visibility and importance of rugby is obvious and this is unlikely to have been different in other parts of the country. The wearing of colours and the local support of a representative team was also apparent elsewhere. However, whether the use of perceived local characteristics and the

¹⁴⁶ Charlotte Hughes, 'Moir's Lament? Feminist Advocacy and the 1981 Springbok Tour of New Zealand', in *Tackling Rugby Myths: Rugby and New Zealand Society, 1854 - 2004* ed. by Greg Ryan (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 137-150.

effects of this game on interregional relationships and separation were played out throughout the nation, in this period, is not as obvious.

The physical representations of rugby players as examples of a hegemonic form of masculinity are also not always easily discernible. In fact, the embedded nature of a discursive form of maleness appears so entrenched in the rugby narratives that it is seldom overtly stated in the material examined. Here, masculinity is much more related to performance than physical appearance. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, there is an overwhelming lack of inclusion of women, and of anything other than heterosexual, physically willing men. Good teamwork is praised, and hard work and physicality appreciated, but it is skill, speed and deftness that are most often mentioned and expected, and descriptions of the stereotypical large physical forward that Jock Phillips describes as central in the 1950s and '60s are, for the most part, not found in the analysed texts. The prominence of rugby narratives in the representation of a 'New Zealand man' is, however, apparent. The vast amount of coverage of rugby playing men contrasts with other depictions of men in the papers; certainly few other heroes are found and most of those are also sportsmen, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Rugby players were, therefore, the pinnacle of represented masculinity in this archival source.

Chapter Three

The British Empire/Commonwealth Games 1930-1974: International Ties and Tales of Local Heroes

My earliest memory of watching a sporting event on television was the coverage of the 1974 British Commonwealth Games held in Christchurch. I particularly remember Richard (Dick) Tayler's thrilling win in the 10000 metres, and Jaynie Parkhouse's broad smile as she realised she had beaten the Australian world champion in the 800 metres freestyle. To be able to witness these events as they happened in another city was, for a sports-mad child, intoxicating. I was used to listening to radio broadcasts of rugby games and cricket matches with my father, and vividly remember hearing the New Zealand rowing eight win a gold medal at the Munich Olympics, but to be able to actually see sporting 'history in the making' was a new and exciting experience. Newspapers, however, were still the main source of detailed information about sporting contests and sports people in our house, and reading the detailed stories of 'our' men and women succeeding at home and in distant places, always resulted in a sense of shared pride. They were our people and, quite simply, my most reliable and visible heroes.

The British Commonwealth Games held in Christchurch, New Zealand from 24 January to 2 February 1974 were the tenth in a series of four yearly events which began as the British Empire Games in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada in August 1930. This chapter contains discussion of aspects of each of these ten events, focussing primarily on the representation of individual sporting achievements. The attention given to each occasion is linked to the amount of newspaper coverage afforded Waikato athletes, with particular concern to interrogate examples of the discursive narratives and identity constructions central to this thesis. Describing and unpicking events held, for the most part, outside the Waikato presents an opportunity to examine the ways local sports people were represented and

perceived when they competed away from home, in larger sporting, cultural and physical spaces. The idea of a sporting hero is central, but attention is also paid to the relationship between local 'Waikato' concerns, and national pride and/or interests. This international but exclusive (to countries colonised as part of the British Empire) sporting competition provides a backdrop for an examination of the ways in which the broader layer of the 'Empire' was brought back to a provincial level, and of how the representation of Empire changed when filtered through sport. In addition, as with the other chapters in this thesis, it has been possible to tease out a further layer in the Waikato/Auckland relationship.

In the Introduction to this thesis, I commented on the lack of critical histories written about many facets of New Zealand sport. In an issue of a focussed edition of the journal *Sport in History*, published in August 2014, Martin Polley lamented the 'lacuna' of historiography produced concerning the Empire/Commonwealth Games, particularly when compared to the amount of available literature examining other multi-national sporting events, including the Olympics and the Football World Cup.¹⁴⁷ Other articles in this issue provide an array of perspectives on various individual iterations of the Games, and a number include interwoven ideas of colonisation and imperialism, including a discussion by Greg Ryan of the event held in Auckland in 1950.¹⁴⁸ Jock Phillips had earlier dissected this event by examining aspects which have direct relevance for this thesis.¹⁴⁹ Michael Dawson has considered the place of 'the Empire' in the 1954 event held in Vancouver and, in a recent publication, has discussed the myriad connections between national identity and imperialism as revealed in the three events (1950, 1974 and 1990) held in New Zealand.¹⁵⁰ Yet, in general, there are few publications that are

¹⁴⁷ Martin Polley, 'Introduction: The Empire and Commonwealth Games and the Challenge of History', *Sport in History*, 34.3 (2014), 383-389 (p. 385).

¹⁴⁸ Greg Ryan, 'The Turning Point: The 1950 British Empire Games as an Imperial Spectacle', *Sport in History*, 34.3 (2014), 411-430.

¹⁴⁹ In his discussion, Phillips investigates the place of empire, identity, race and gender. Jock Phillips 'Sons and Daughters of Empire: The Meaning of the 1950 Empire Games', *Commonwealth and International Conference on Physical Education, Sport, Health, Dance, Recreation and Leisure*,: *Conference Proceedings*, Volume 2 (Auckland New Zealand, 19-23 January 1990) (Wellington: New Zealand Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1990), pp. 131-141.

¹⁵⁰ Michael Dawson, 'Acting Global, Thinking Local: 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire & Commonwealth Games', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23.1 (2006), pp. 3-27; and Michael Dawson, 'Official Occasions and Vernacular

concerned with critically examining the wider history of the participation of New Zealand athletes in this four yearly competition.

There are, however, a number of publications which are records and celebrations of each event, including souvenir booklets. These are invariably positive, reinforcing the success and importance of the occasion and include highlights of particular achievements.¹⁵¹ I include some of these as examples of contemporary historical narratives later in the chapter. The Ron Palenski/Terry Maddaford publication *The Games: The Pride and Drama of the New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games* is a comprehensive summary of the participation of mostly New Zealand athletes.¹⁵² This is a relatively straightforward description of the efforts, successes and failures of the participants, and it provides some background to the development of an understanding of meanings attached to these activities. Cleve Dheensaw's *The Commonwealth Games; the First 60 Years 1930 -1990* is also a detailed summary, and includes details of backgrounds, settings and notable performances in a very standard descriptive format.¹⁵³ Using these, and media sources, this thesis chapter contributes a new, focussed set of critically examined information about aspects of this regular sporting event, and, in particular, highlights the stories told about local participants.

One element of both the Empire/Commonwealth and Olympic Games, which sets them apart from other international sporting encounters that gain attention in New Zealand is the focus on individual achievement. An even cursory glance at media coverage of these events reveals that many sports were featured which would not normally attract as much attention as rugby or cricket for example, particularly when the participants were successful. Extensive research conducted by Toni Bruce and others has concluded that the relative visibility of sportswomen often

Voices', in *New Zealand's Empire*, ed. by Katie Pickles and Catharine Coleborne (Manchester: Manchester Unity Press, 2015), pp. 197-213.

¹⁵¹ See, for example *The Story of the British Empire Games (1950)*, *Silver Fern at Perth: the Highlights of New Zealand Participation*, and *Xth British Commonwealth Games, 1974*, Christchurch: Official Souvenir.

¹⁵² Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games* (Auckland: Moa Publications Ltd/Dominion Breweries, 1983).

¹⁵³ Cleve Dheenshaw, *The Commonwealth Games: The First 60 Years 1930 -1990* (Sydney: ABC Books, 1994).

increases during these times.¹⁵⁴ While much of this research is recent and does not contain data from before 1980, it is consistent enough to assume that the results would be comparable for earlier periods. Indeed, a small survey conducted of coverage in the *Waikato Times* from 1950 -1970, reveals similar statistics.¹⁵⁵

A feature of the representation of these events is the way narratives of struggle and triumph are used, and how tales of success and failure are created when local athletes represent their communities in other places. In this chapter, the creation and visibility of individual heroes when they appear on an international stage is central to this unpicking of local representation. The word 'stage' is significant; sport – particularly in organised competition – is inherently about performance, and whether the narratives constructed around that performance are transmitted through text or photograph, they are most often transformations of an inherently embodied social and cultural expression.

In the previous chapter, sporting action constructed and reinforced ideas and narratives of regional identity and of masculinity. Here, the contributions of individual character and personal attributes to the creation and support of masculine ideals are more prominent, and the related creation and claiming of heroes is central. Gary Whannel's summary of the place and role of the hero is useful, particularly with regard to ideas of departure from, and triumphant return to, ordinary life.¹⁵⁶ Whannel also makes explicit the links between the hero and narrative; that he or she is constructed through storytelling, and that concepts of the heroic are culturally dependent and change over time.¹⁵⁷ In a discussion of sporting heroes, John Hughson concludes that 'heroism involves the exhibition of

¹⁵⁴ For example, Toni Bruce, Mark Falcous and Holly Thorpe, 'The Mass Media and Sport', in *Sport in New Zealand/Aotearoa Society*, ed. by Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, 2nd edition (Melbourne: Thomson, 2007); *Sportswomen at the Olympics: A Global Content Analysis of Newspaper Coverage*, ed. by Toni Bruce, Jorid Hovden, & Pirkko Markula (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2010).

¹⁵⁵ Karen Buckley, 'Sport and Constructions of Femininity: An Assessment of the Representation of Sportswomen in the *Waikato Times* from 1950 -1980' (BA (Hons) dissertation, University of Waikato, 2007).

¹⁵⁶ Garry Whannel, *Media Sport Stars: Masculinities and Moralities* (London & New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 40 - 42.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

greatness tempered by a display of common humanity'.¹⁵⁸ It is the 'ordinary' that is important in a New Zealand context and, as Katie Pickles notes, the need for humility and to be a 'team player' is central.¹⁵⁹ Perfection is not always required, and some character or personality failings are often overlooked, except, of course, overt pride in his /her own achievements.

Given that New Zealand is a small country, it is impossible to separate out the types of people that might form the 'Waikato hero' as opposed to examples from other parts of the country. However, the ways in which local sporting heroes are shown to behave provides insight into how Waikato people were able to, as Holt remarks, 'define their identity and know themselves'.¹⁶⁰ Does representation of local athletes who proved themselves on an international stage provide ideas about the ways Waikato people saw themselves as subtly different from other people? We in the Waikato might believe that we are not as arrogant as Aucklanders, or as elitist as people from Canterbury, but such definitions are not necessarily helpful. However, claiming our local heroes is shown in this thesis to be a way of not only seeing these people as special, but as representative of local worth, and of basking in the reflected glory taken in their actions. The public celebration of these heroes revealed the dominant discourses that supported, and were supported by, their achievements. Their exploits enabled Waikato people to create stories that told of the hard work that led to measureable success, of victory in distant places, and of the importance of community ties and support.

The Games Begin: In Support of Empire and the Amateur

The first British Empire Games were held in Hamilton, Canada from 16 to 23 August 1930. A multisport event based on the model of the modern Olympic Games begun by Baron Pierre de Coubertin and others in Athens in 1896, the

¹⁵⁸ John Hughson, 'On Sporting Heroes', *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics*, 12.1 (2009), 85 -101 (p. 85).

¹⁵⁹ Katie Pickles, 'Colonialism, Empire and Gender', in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 219-241 (p. 237).

¹⁶⁰ Richard Holt, 'Cricket and Englishness: The Batsman as Hero', in *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport*, ed. by Richard Holt, John Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (London: Frank Cass & Co, 1996), pp. 48-70 (p. 48).

Games in Hamilton included competitors from 11 countries or territories. While this event was the first to be named this way, most histories of the beginnings of the Games note that the first imperial multi sports competition occurred 19 years before at the Festival of Empire held in 1911 in London.¹⁶¹

As a celebration of the coronation of King George V, this festival included four sports: athletics, swimming, boxing and wrestling, and featured competitors from Great Britain, Canada and Australasia (Australia and New Zealand).¹⁶² The idea of an imperial sporting event was reportedly first mooted by Englishman John Astley Cooper who, in 1891, proposed a 'Pan-Britannic Festival to celebrate the industry, culture and athletic prowess of the Anglo-Saxon race'.¹⁶³ Although foreshadowing the 1911 Festival, Katharine Moore notes that the establishment of the modern Olympics helped to put an end to Cooper's plans at that time.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Moore emphasises that there was a clear link between Cooper's ideas and the establishment of the Empire/Commonwealth Games in 1930.¹⁶⁵

The forces that lead to the holding of the 1930 Games were much more involved than the ideas of one Englishman. The decreasing political power of Britain in the former colonies is argued to have contributed to a need to retain imperial ties in other forms.¹⁶⁶ The connections between sport and empire, and the role of sporting forms and contact in the re-creation and perpetuation of colonial bonding, have been well canvassed.¹⁶⁷ Daniel Gorman notes that '[t]he Empire Games

¹⁶¹ The historical background of the Empire/Commonwealth Games has been taken from a number of sources including: Cleve Dheensaw, *The Commonwealth Games: The First 60 Years 1930 - 1990*, (Sydney: ABC Books, 1994); Ron Palenski and Terry Maddaford, *The Games: The Pride and Drama of New Zealanders at Olympic and Commonwealth Games* (Auckland: Moa Publications Ltd/Dominion Breweries, 1983); Katharine Moore, 'The Warmth of Comradeship': The First British Empire Games and Imperial Solidarity', in *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, ed. by J.A.Mangan, (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 201-210; and Daniel Gorman 'Amateurism, Imperialism and the First British Empire Games', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27.4 (2010), 611 -634.

¹⁶² Dheenshaw, p. 8.

¹⁶³ Moore, p. 201.

¹⁶⁴ Moore, p. 202.

¹⁶⁵ Moore, p. 208.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ See J.A. Mangan, 'Prologue', in *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, ed. by J.A.Mangan, (London & Portland: Frank Cass, 1992.); A Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

created a venue for the exercise of imperial citizenship through ritual'.¹⁶⁸ New Zealand was a very overt supporter of the Empire and the British at this time and while involved in the formation of the Balfour Declaration (1926) and the subsequent Statute of Westminster (1931) only signed the later in 1947.¹⁶⁹ As will be seen in this chapter, these colonial ties were made explicit during the representation of the Empire /Commonwealth Games.

Gorman discusses the growing importance of the 'internationalization' of sporting interactions both before and after 1930, and the increased role sport was playing in the expression of national and local identities.¹⁷⁰ The Olympic Games had been resurrected in 1920 after the interruption caused by the Great War, and grew in size and perceived importance during the following decade. However, there also appears to have been increasing concern both with the ways the Olympics were moving away from the ideals of 'British' sporting competition, and the related move towards the professional models similar to those seen in the United States.

Sport in this context, therefore, was amateur and a conduit for the maintenance of imperial ties. Against this background, representatives from Canada moved towards a goal of establishing an imperial competition during the mid to late 1920s. M. M. 'Bobby' Robinson, the sports editor of the *Hamilton Spectator* and the manager of the Canadian athletics team at the 1928 Olympics, brought sustained enthusiasm and planning to try and persuade Canada's colonial brethren that a British empire competition would succeed.¹⁷¹ The city council of Hamilton, Ontario supported these goals, most importantly by providing financial support, and eventually eleven countries, or 'colonies', sent athletes to compete in athletics, swimming, tennis lawn bowls, wrestling, boxing and rowing from 16 to 23 August 1930. Other sports competitions were held at the same time in, for example, canoeing and yachting, in some events against competitors from the

¹⁶⁸ Gorman, p. 616.

¹⁶⁹ For a discussion of these independence moves in the British Empire see James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, (Auckland: Allen Lane & The Penguin Press, 2001). p. 246.

¹⁷⁰ Belich, p. 614.

¹⁷¹ Dheenshaw, p. 10.

United States. Most of the Games competitors were men; women were only able to compete in swimming events. Aspects of this first iteration of the Games survived in later years; for example, the Hamilton organising committee, with financial backing from the local city council, provided funds for teams travelling from Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere to ensure their presence.¹⁷² Indeed, this was apparently the only way that the Australian and South African competitors could attend, having originally declined the invitation due to financial constraints. In addition, competitors and officials were given free accommodation, and most of the labour involved to plan, organise and run the Games was provided by volunteers.¹⁷³ The discursive emphasis on friendly competition and strict amateur ideals would also endure.

1930, 1934 and 1938: Reporting the First Three Events

The response of the New Zealand press community to the first three occasions of this sporting competition was muted. Greg Ryan noted that there was ‘relatively little interest’ in the Games, especially when compared with other sport news.¹⁷⁴ This lack of coverage is certainly apparent in the *Waikato Times*, particularly with regard to these first Games. Given the financial constraints imposed by the Slump (as described in Chapter Three of this thesis), all reports of results and other happenings would have come from the United Press sources, as the cost of sending reporters to Canada with the small team would likely have been seen as prohibitive and unnecessary. There is, therefore, an obvious homogeneity in the material found in many New Zealand newspapers of this time. On 5 August, for example, the same report of the arrival of the South African athletes in Ontario can be found in the *Evening Post* and the *Christchurch Press*, and a slightly altered version was published in the *New Zealand Herald*.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Moore, p. 208.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ryan, ‘The Turning Point’ p. 417.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Canada’s Empire Games’, *Evening Post*, 5 August 1930, p. 6; ‘Empire Games’ *Press*, 5 August 1930, p. 14; and ‘Empire Games’, *New Zealand Herald*, 5 August 1930, p. 9.

The opening of the Games was reported in the *Waikato Times* of 18 August. Again sourced from United Press, the article provided some detail of the dignitaries who attended the opening pageant, and focused on the success of the New Zealand athlete Savidan who won the first final of the day, the six-miles event, and on the ‘outstanding superiority’ of the English athletes.¹⁷⁶ The English Olympic athlete Lord Burghley's victory in the 440 yard hurdles was prominently featured. It was noted that the Australian and South African athletes refused to compete on the first day as they, like the athletes from the other participating countries, had taken part in the ceremonial opening parades. The writer of the article was diplomatic in his/her discussion of this withdrawal but mentioned that the Australian athletes were spectators on the first day and were ‘reported to be in good condition and feeling fit’.¹⁷⁷ Perhaps the most telling part of this piece was the discussion of reports from the North American press. An emphasis on the perceived democratic nature of the Games was apparent in the ‘victories of a nobleman [Burghley] and a builder [Savidan]’ on the same day.¹⁷⁸

Other news from these Games predominantly provided competition results which were stylistically in line with the sports reporting of the time. There was a focus on the New Zealand athletes, and this was often signalled in the sub-headings.¹⁷⁹ However, there is very little obvious local or regional emphasis; there were only three Waikato/Hamilton athletes: the rowers, B. Waters, R. Sandos and A. Ross (called an Auckland rower in the *New Zealand Herald*). While Waters and Sandos were in the gold medal winning four oar sculls event, references to their local allegiances have not been found in the *Waikato Times* – they were ‘New Zealand’ rowers, not Waikato, and this type of coverage is also consistent with other papers of this time.

The writing of Empire in a positive and supportive fashion is evident at this time. As a contextual background to this sporting event, it is possible to find a number of references to the Empire, and concerns about related political matters and trade,

¹⁷⁶ ‘Empire Games’, *Waikato Times*, 18 August 1930, p. 8.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ For example, ‘New Zealander Hurt’, *Waikato Times*, 15 August 1930, p. 7; and ‘New Zealander Breaks Record’, *Waikato Times*, 25 August 1930, p. 6.

in most New Zealand media outlets. A major editorial focus of the *Waikato Times*, in particular, seems to have been on the activities of the Imperial Royal family, and on other events in Great Britain. A narrative trend can be located which places the sporting competition in layers of discussion about the relationships within the British Empire/ Commonwealth. Examples of the perception of Britain as 'Home' are relatively easy to locate.¹⁸⁰ The writer of an editorial published on 4 August 1930 and titled 'Imperial Conference' noted that while some of the imperial regulations were outdated and irrelevant, their abolition was less important than drawing the Empire together. It was argued that, although the individual dominions which made up the Empire were relatively small, there was strength in numbers.¹⁸¹ Another editorial report of the Imperial Conference was published on 9 August just above a piece titled 'Waikato's Centenary'.¹⁸² The latter was an introduction to a series of articles about the Waikato published weekly in the *Waikato Times Supplement*, where the writer noted that it had been 100 years since the arrival of 'pioneering' Europeans. These articles were, it was stated, designed to 'stimulate interest' in celebrating this 'history'.¹⁸³ This approach provides insight into the attitudes towards the historical background and the ways in which race relations were perceived, and the emphasis placed on link with the Empire and colonial interests. There was also a small report, located at the far left corner of the editorial page of 19 August 1930, which described Hamilton, Ontario as a successful manufacturing town and explicitly linked its beauty to Hamilton, New Zealand and the other towns/cities of that name found in the 'Empire'.¹⁸⁴ This piece functioned as a way of connecting the Waikato city to, or placing it within, the imperial family.

The perceived success of the first games lead to a reported decision by delegates to hold the Games regularly, and that a 'four year plan' was likely.¹⁸⁵ This lead to

¹⁸⁰ 'Empire Trade', *Waikato Times*, 7 August 1930, p. 7. A report from a recent traveller to England argued that the British people at 'Home' wanted New Zealand goods and were supportive of free trade in the Empire.

¹⁸¹ 'Imperial Conference', *Waikato Times*, 4 August 1930, p. 6.

¹⁸² 'Waikato's Centenary', *Waikato Times*, 9 August 1930, p. 6.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ 'Hamilton Ontario', *Waikato Times*, 19 August 1930, p. 6.

¹⁸⁵ 'A Permanent Fixture', *Waikato Times*, 22 August 1930, p. 7.

the establishment of the Empire Games Federation after a meeting of officials at Los Angeles during the Olympics held in 1932.

The 1934 Games were held in London from 4 - 11 August. These Games were originally planned to be held in Johannesburg, South Africa but the delegates from Canada eventually persuaded the Games Federation to move them amid concerns over how the Black and Asian athletes would be treated.¹⁸⁶ The effect of South Africa's political policies on various sporting competitions would, of course, continue. New Zealand did not send many athletes to these Games; three competed in athletics, including runner Jack Lovelock, three swimmers and one cyclist. The only representative with any links to the greater Waikato area was W. 'Billy' Whareaitu, a swimmer from Rotorua. Described in the *Waikato Times* of 2 August as 'blessed with a placid disposition', Whareaitu competed in backstroke and the medley relay without success, and there is no further detailed mention of him. However, the first instance of an Empire/Commonwealth Games hero can be seen at this time, albeit on a national, rather than local, level. Jack Lovelock, the first of the famous New Zealand 'milers' won the only gold medal for New Zealand at these Games, and his deeds and photograph were featured in the *Waikato Times* of 8 August.¹⁸⁷

By February 1938, more interest in the Empire Games is visible. Whether this is because the Games would be held much closer to home, in Sydney, Australia, is speculative but there appears to be more overall New Zealand interest in this event than that seen in 1934, and more coverage can be found in the newspapers. In addition to summarising columns, the *Waikato Times* included results in its 'Stop Press' column for the duration of the event. However, only one competitor, the lawn bowler E. Jury was specifically named as from the Waikato region for these Games, although another athlete, A J Sayers, was most likely from the Hamilton Amateur Athletic Club. Therefore, while these Games are interesting for the much increased size of the New Zealand team, the inclusion of New Zealand women for the first time, and the beginning of the prominence of lawns bowls as arguably the

¹⁸⁶ Dheenshaw, p. 21.

¹⁸⁷ 'Empire Games', *Waikato Times*, 7 August 1934, p. 7.

Waikato's most successful Commonwealth sport, coverage is not discussed in detail in this thesis.

1950: Auckland, New Zealand –The Empire Comes to Play

In 1938, the members of the British Empire Games Federation had, of course, no real inkling of the huge disruption that would shortly be caused by war. It was decided that the 1942 Games would be held in Canada again as it was thought 'unwise to hold the Games in New Zealand so soon after the carnival in Australia'.¹⁸⁸ However, both these Games, and the event slated to be held in 1946, succumbed to the ravages of the ensuing global conflict, as did the 1940 and 1944 Olympic Games. By 1948, however, the world had recovered enough to gather in London for the 14th Olympiad and, at a meeting held there on 11 August, the British Empire Games Association chaired by New Zealand Olympic bronze medallist Arthur Porritt, decided that the next British Empire Games would be held in New Zealand. By this point, the terms 'Commonwealth' and 'Empire' were both used, often in the same report and this seems to have been another transition point in the relationships between Britain and the former colonies and dominions.¹⁸⁹ Greg Ryan argues that New Zealand was 'the most conservative and loyal of the white (sic) dominions', and that the Games' chief purpose was to demonstrate that allegiance as a form of 'pageant and spectacle'.¹⁹⁰ An examination of the rhetoric and tone of the reporting in the *Waikato Times* in the period from 1948 to 1950 supports this contention, and there is certainly continued strong allegiance shown to the British royal family.

Analysis of the coverage of the 1950 event provides the first opportunity to investigate the effect of the Games on notions of 'place'. The initial allocation of the 1950 event to New Zealand produced an unexpectedly heated situation, and this can be dissected to reveal intersections between different power vectors at

¹⁸⁸ 'Empire Games', *Waikato Times*, 4 Feb 1938, p. 7.

¹⁸⁹ For example, see report of games allocation to New Zealand where 'Empire' and 'Commonwealth' are both used to describe athletes: 'Gratification Expressed at Decision', *Waikato Times*, 12 August 1948, p. 6.

¹⁹⁰ Ryan, 'The Turning Point', p. 412.

that time. Both Auckland and Christchurch authorities felt strongly that the Games should be held in their respective cities. Canterbury Province's centenary celebrations would be held in 1950, and its representatives had apparently been instrumental in persuading the Games Federation to award the event to New Zealand. However, Auckland was the largest metropolitan centre with, it was argued, most of the necessary facilities. As far as the people of Hamilton/the Waikato were concerned, the allocation of the Games to the Auckland 'Province' provided enticing opportunities. Following various arguments and meetings, the event was eventually given to Auckland, and groups from the Waikato very quickly moved to be a part of the action. A large article in the *Waikato Times* of 2 September noted that the Hamilton Rowing and Regatta Club would push for the rowing to be held on the Hamilton (river) course and that Karapiro would not be suitable.¹⁹¹ This report was echoed in the *New Zealand Herald*.¹⁹² However, in a *Waikato Times* editorial column on 3 September, while the prospect of holding the rowing events on the Waikato River was also strongly touted, Karapiro was not discounted.¹⁹³ The idea that the rowing would need to venture out of the metropolis, albeit further north than Hamilton, on the Waikato river at Mercer, had apparently already formed part of the discussion when various Auckland Province members of parliament made their opinions known to the then Prime Minister Peter Fraser. Later, it was noted that the Auckland rowing authorities were holding their championships at Karapiro; so while at least one hundred miles from Auckland, this lake was obviously still considered part of the wider Province.¹⁹⁴

As already noted, the allocation of the Games was, in part, about the visible exercise of power. While the final decision was to be made by the New Zealand Olympic and British Empire Federation, it was obviously felt to be a very important political matter; particularly Fraser had expressed his opinion that the

¹⁹¹ 'Hamilton To Apply For Empire Games Rowing Events', *Waikato Times*, 2 September 1948, p. 6.

¹⁹² 'Empire Games Swimming', *New Zealand Herald*, 3 September 1948, p. 6.

¹⁹³ 'Empire Games Prospect', *Waikato Times*, 3 September 1948, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ 'Rowing at Karapiro', *New Zealand Herald*, 2 September 1948, p. 9.

Games should be held in Christchurch.¹⁹⁵ Finally, following several weeks of contention, and numerous partisan reports and cartoons in local and ‘national’ newspapers, Auckland was confirmed as the host city and, eventually, the rowing competition was allocated to Karapiro.¹⁹⁶ Regional parochialism, the exercise of power and ideas about the place of politics – or perhaps more importantly politicians – in the ‘field of sport’ were explicitly revealed in the contention over the venue. Mr Fraser overtly displayed his support for Christchurch as the preferred site and expressed this in a letter to the Mayor of Christchurch which was revealed after the final decision was made. The response of the *New Zealand Herald*’s editor to the Prime Minister’s actions was strong:

Approaching the question in this light, men with a greater knowledge of sport than Mr Fraser possesses have awarded the Games to Auckland. There the matter ends. Sport in this country is still mercifully above politics.¹⁹⁷

Local political pressure was also part of the story. As the various Waikato mayors and councillors pressed for the rowing events to be held in their back yard, it was expedient to be still considered part of the Auckland Province. Such a positioning within the larger region was obviously based on a more local desire to be part of such a large event.

The coverage of the Games themselves included reports of most of the events; this was simply the most important news story of the week from 4 to 11 February 1950, but, as would perhaps be expected, there was a focus on the rowing events and much boosting of the wonderful facilities. It is also possible to locate and unpick a narrative focus on the actions of local athletes on a national/international stage; early examples of the claiming of athletes for a province can be found in most newspapers. At the 1948 Olympics, for example a photograph of hurdler J.M Holland in the *New Zealand Herald* is captioned ‘Aucklander Wins Olympic

¹⁹⁵ ‘Auckland’s Claim for British Empire Games’, *Waikato Times*, 1 September 1948, p.6. and ‘Government Favours Christchurch’, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 September 1948, p. 4

¹⁹⁶ ‘Empire Games To Be Retained By Auckland’, *Waikato Times*, 28 September, 1948, p. 6.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Politics and Sport’, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 October 1948, p. 4.

Hurdles Heat'.¹⁹⁸ However, such local and regional labelling was very scarce in the *Waikato Times* coverage of previous Empire Games. It is probable that this more concentrated focus was enabled/influenced by the number of athletes competing, and that the competition was in New Zealand, which meant that editors were not simply reliant on wired reports. However, regardless of the reasons for this subtle change, local heroes began to be more visible at this time.

The featuring and writing of local athletes can be seen in the report of the announcement of the chosen Games athletics team. The selected competitors were listed with their provinces, and the Waikato athletes identified as such.¹⁹⁹ The writer of an article published on 5 January overtly directed the attention of his/her readers to the important parts of the Games. While the obvious attraction of the rowing at Karapiro was prominent, he/she then stated:

Waikato people, too, will watch with interest the performances of local athletes who have been chosen to compete. C. Parker and his sister, Miss D. Parker, have been training on a specially-laid track on their father's farm at Raglan. Other Waikato athletes represented are M. Marshall, N. Taylor, D. Rhodes, and the Hamilton girl, Miss B. Brewis, at present in Canterbury. Among the Waikato swimmers will be B. Hanan.²⁰⁰

The mention of the training place of the Parker siblings provided the reader both with a sense that these athletes were 'of this place' and indicated that the writer had local knowledge. The article finished with a reference to the plan to welcome visiting athletes to Turangawāwae and the traditional ways in which they would be hosted by King Koroki and Te Puea.²⁰¹ This highlighted the inclusion of Waikato places in the hosting of the Games.

The rowing events at Karapiro provided an opportunity for a display of local pride without the presence of Waikato heroes. The *Waikato Times* reported that 35,000

¹⁹⁸ 'Aucklander Wins Olympic Hurdles Heat', *New Zealand Herald*, 10 August 1948, p. 9.

¹⁹⁹ 'Athletics Team Chosen To Represent New Zealand At Empire Games', *Waikato Times*, 4 January 1950, p.6.

²⁰⁰ 'First Empire Games Athletes Will Arrive Next Tuesday', *Waikato Times*, 5 January 1950, p. 4.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

turned out to see the racing held on 6 February, and that the events were only contested by crews from Australia, England and New Zealand, and in one race, South Africa.²⁰² The paper also contained lists of the dignitaries that attended from the Governor General, Prime Minister, and the Australian High Commissioner, to various Mayors, including the Mayor of Auckland and a number of MPs, in particular local representative Mrs G. Hilda Ross. The New Zealand rowers were mostly established crews from various rowing associations but the lack of Waikato rowers did not prevent the local crowds from enthusiastically supporting the national representatives.

Coverage of the rowing competition was highlighted in the *Waikato Times*, but other Games news also featured. On 6 February, the large banner headline read 'Brilliant Success of Empiad: Rowing at Karapiro' and the almost full page coverage included photographs of the Opening Ceremony held at Eden Park in Auckland, the finish of the rowing eights race at Karapiro, and of a section of the crowd at the rowing.²⁰³ A very large report of the athletics competition included details of the efforts and results of Waikato athletes. There are indications that this was a transitional time in the imagined divergence of 'the Waikato' from the wider Auckland province, revealed in the opening highlighted sub-heading: '[I]t will be encouraging to followers of athletics in the Waikato to know that in this race a South Auckland athlete figured with particular prominence'.²⁰⁴ This athlete Noel Taylor, a 'rugged, blonde-haired 27 year old', was from Rotorua, suggesting the boundaries both of South Auckland, and Waikato, stretched into the Bay of Plenty. The runner Clem Parker, mentioned earlier, was not so successful but his failure to gain a medal was forgiven by the problems with false starts at the beginning of the final of the 100 yards sprint. This type of excuse-making was becoming evident in reports of local competitors and overt serious criticism was rare. It was likely the result of the size and closeness of the community served by the *Waikato Times*; and of an underlying desire to support local athletes in competition with outsiders.

²⁰² 'Crowd of 35,000 Views Thrilling Rowing Race', *Waikato Times*, 6 February 1950, p. 4.

²⁰³ 'Brilliant Success of Empiad: Rowing at Karapiro', *Waikato Times*, 6 February 1950, p. 6.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

As noted in Chapter Three, other ways of relating and receiving information about sports event were available at this time. By 1950, sports' broadcasting on the radio was well established and many of the events were able to be listened to as they happened. In his history of New Zealand broadcasting, Patrick Day notes that the sports radio commentaries, initially developed in the 1920s, were 'immensely popular'.²⁰⁵ While many people flocked to see the rowing events live, they were also broadcast on local and national radio channels. A correspondent of the *Waikato Times*, 'E.M.S.' described, in a lyrical tone, the eights race as it was portrayed by 'the announcer, tense with excitement', and then connected this sporting competition with the evacuation of Dunkirk during WWII, using the imagery of a boat race.²⁰⁶ This letter writer reminded readers of the events of the war by aligning them with the current sporting competition and finished with:

May we always remember the debt we owe to the Mother of the Empire and to her brave people who in the past dark days stood alone. They made it possible for the events which have taken place during the last few weeks - weeks long to be remembered by New Zealanders.²⁰⁷

Thus the narrative of war, of contest and sacrifice, if not mirrored by the sporting competition in this instance, was used to continue the links with Britain.

The most successful Waikato competitor at these Games was the gold medal winning lawn bowler E. P Exelby. Exelby was not named in the pre-games article examined earlier and, aside from the inclusion of the bowling results as part of the wider reportage and the inclusion of a photograph as part of the report of his success with his pairs partner, he was not claimed as from the Waikato. Such an omission is difficult to deconstruct. It is possible that, as a lawn bowler, albeit a successful one, he did not fit the acceptable mould of an athlete. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, bowls was, by this time, predominantly played by older people, and while the required skill and experience was acknowledged, those who took part were not often called athletes. This meant that despite the on-going

²⁰⁵ Patrick Day, *The Radio Years: A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994), p. 79.

²⁰⁶ E.M.S., 'Lest We Forget', *Waikato Times*, 14 February 1950, p. 9.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

success of Waikato bowlers, they were not often celebrated as heroes.²⁰⁸ Certainly, Exelby was not described in ways that emphasised challenge or glory; in fact, his exploits were not presented in any depth and his actions and success did not add to any obvious public configurations of masculinity. Much more was made of his success in other publications, where he was described as part of a ‘formidable combination’ but, in this instance, the potential tale of the triumph of a local competitor was not constructed in any substantial way in the *Waikato Times*.²⁰⁹

These Games were successful, at least in the eyes of the New Zealanders of the time. In the introduction to a special ‘Empire Games 1950’ edition of the *New Zealand Sportsman*, the Prime Minister, S. G. Holland, emphasised both the celebration of sport and the role the Games were said to have in uniting the countries of the Empire.²¹⁰ In contrast to later competitions, there is little evidence that the hosting of the rowing, or the designation and participation of Waikato athletes, strongly reflected, or helped to construct, a separate Waikato identity. In fact, there appears to have been a sustained desire to be part of the greater Auckland provincial area in order to be included in the hosting of these Games. In addition, in the representation of the 1950 event, this region, and the rest of New Zealand, were consistently written as content and loyal members of the British Empire.

However, this inclusion in the wider imperial family did not extend in any meaningful way to Māori. There is scant evidence of the involvement of Māori athletes and, as Dawson notes, they played little part in the ceremonial aspects of the event.²¹¹ This omission was countered by Waikato Māori who organised a hangī for the rowers and through the invitation from King Koroki and Te Puea for

²⁰⁸ Palenski and Maddaford, (p. 67), call the lawn bowlers ‘almost anachronistic at a Games where the pride of sporting youth was on show’, and recount a story of lawn bowlers returning to one Games village in the morning after celebrating their success. On their way in, they met a group of athletes departing for early morning training.

²⁰⁹ *The Story of the British Empire Games*, ed. by A Tronson, (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1950), p. 127.

²¹⁰ *Empire Games 1950: Souvenir Edition of the New Zealand Sportsman* (Wellington: New Zealand Sporting Journals, 1950), p. 5.

²¹¹ Dawson, ‘Official Occasions and Vernacular Voices’, p. 200.

competitors to attend a ‘welcome’ at Turangawaewae.²¹² In these ways, a Waikato connection to the wider Empire through the Games included some intimation of inter-ethnic relationships initiated by local Māori, although this did not appear to include participation in the sporting competitions at that time.

1954: Vancouver, Canada – In Defence of the Waikato Athlete

The desire to be part of the successful Auckland Games resulted in media reports that indicate that any separation from the northern urban centre would be complex and often incomplete. However, while this, and other ‘Waikato’ relationships, were often unclear, the support for, and celebration of, Waikato athletes in public narratives was more obvious and sustained by the time of the next Games. As noted in the previous chapter, the period from 1950 to 1961 was a very successful time for rugby in the Waikato, and a number of other sporting codes were also thriving. For example, the Northern Districts Cricket Association which included players from the northern half of the North Island, excluding Auckland, was founded in 1955 and based in Hamilton. By the beginning of 1954, there were a number of local sportsmen and women looking forward to selection in the New Zealand team for the upcoming British Empire and Commonwealth Games to be held in Vancouver, Canada.

The team was announced on 13 April 1954 and a full report published in the *Waikato Times* the following day.²¹³ Of the 56 competitors named, just three were from the Waikato and, of those, only two were certain to go. Having received nominations from each of the sporting associations involved, the Games selection panel had ranked the competitors on merit and stated that they would only pay the travel and other costs for 36. This meant that individual sporting associations would have to guarantee a sum of £500 per competitor by 27 April if they wanted the other named athletes to attend.²¹⁴ Next to the large team announcement was a full page column containing a full report from the ‘independent chairman of the

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ ‘49 Representatives Announced For Empire Games’, *Waikato Times*, 14 April 1954, p. 10.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

Games selection panel', setting out some of the difficulties faced and explaining the reasons why the individual associations' recommendations were not followed.²¹⁵ A further article was titled 'Waikato Athletes Among the Unfortunate: Four Nominees Credentials'.²¹⁶ This report provided details of the achievements of those athletes nominated by their respective sporting organisations, and made a case for their inclusion. This argument was not to disappear quickly. On May 4, it was reported that the Waikato Centres of the New Zealand Athletics Association, and Cycling, had protested to their national bodies concerning the non-selection of athletes that were better performed than those chosen.²¹⁷

The omission of those competitors was an obvious disappointment for their respective associations and potentially for the wider community. However, the editorial published in the *Waikato Times* on 14 April seemed to support the actions of the selectors, while again listing four 'outstanding performers who missed out'.²¹⁸ The writer noted that there were established criteria, and that not even 'national champions' would be sent if they were not expected to do well. In the final paragraph, he/she mentioned how proud the women of New Zealand would be with the top ranking of Yvette Williams, and the inclusion of Waikato swimmer Marion Roe at number seven.²¹⁹ The tone of this editorial appears conciliatory and balanced, but the inclusion of the results (as national champions) implies criticism of the decision. Any actual ability (of the writer or paper) to exert power or to influence this type of situation was not likely to be possible, but the editorial commentary had an important place in the construction of the community's response. By taking an apparently measured stance, any implied dissension was framed as considered and reasonable.

²¹⁵ 'More Information Needed To Assist Games Selectors', *Waikato Times*, 14 April 1954, p. 10.

²¹⁶ 'Waikato Athletes Among the Unfortunate: Four Nominees Credentials', *Waikato Times*, 14 April 1954, p. 10.

²¹⁷ 'Waikato Athletic and Cycling Centres Protest: Games Team Selection', *Waikato Times*, 4 May 1954, p. 7.

²¹⁸ 'Empire Games Selection', *Waikato Times*, 14 April 1954, p. 8.

²¹⁹ Yvette Williams was, at that time, Empire Games (Auckland 1950) and Olympic (Helsinki, 1952) champion in the long jump. She would go on to win the long jump, shot put, and discus gold medals in Vancouver. Palenski and Maddaford, pp. 92, 100 & 107.

One way the community could respond was by supporting an athlete who was selected but needed financial support. Waikato swimmer J.A. Doms was near the bottom of the list, and the Waikato Swimming Centre needed to find £500 relatively quickly. This was a substantial amount of money, even in the apparently prosperous 1950s. On 15 April, a public appeal for the necessary funds to send Doms to Vancouver was launched by the Hamilton mayor Mr Braithwaite, with the Hamilton City Council pledging 25 pounds.²²⁰ In fact, this fund was touted as covering the costs of both the swimmers from the Waikato Centre, Doms and Roe, although Roe has been listed in the first thirty two in the team to travel and so was reportedly funded by the national Games Council. Braithwaite commented that he ‘commend[ed] this appeal to all sport-minded people of the Waikato’.²²¹ The narrative of opposition, of the Waikato versus an outside agency, and the launch of a collective quest to overcome an obstacle, had begun. The article finished with a list of those who had already contributed – at this stage the Council, swimming centre and clubs and two private citizens. This public naming of those who contributed to the appeal reveals the social/cultural capital attached to those who were able to afford such a contribution, and chose to use this ability to publicly support sporting endeavours. Another small article on the same page repeated the news of the donation from the Hamilton City Council, and noted that the cultural and tourist and publicity committees of the council were instructed to give every assistance and support possible toward the appeal for funds.²²²

The labelling of Doms, Roe, and hurdler Fleming in this article as Hamilton competitors, complicates the story of regional identity. It implies that the Waikato comprised layered allegiances and loyalties, and that the *Waikato Times*, as a major voice of the region but based in the biggest centre, would move between these layers depending on the particular situation. Commercial considerations including advertising revenue, and the local knowledge and the social connections of editors and reporters, would also impact on these kinds of separations.

²²⁰ ‘Public Appeal For Swimmers’ Finance Launched By Mayor’, *Waikato Times*, 15 April 1954, p. 6.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² ‘City Council Donates £25 To Fund To Send Jack Doms To Games’, *Waikato Times*, 15 April 1954, p. 6.

Further lists of donors were published over the following days, albeit in small columns at the bottom of pages, and included a number of local businesses as well as individuals and families. Some support appears to have come from outside of Hamilton; including from the Morrinsville Swimming Club, and from outside the code, as seen in the contribution from the Waikato Amateur Athletics Association, for example. By 22 April, £250 of the apparent 600 needed had been collected, and two days later it was up to 400. By the deadline of 27 April, £612 had been raised and Doms was on his way to Vancouver.²²³ The Games Association then extended the deadline by a week, presumably because other regions/ associations had not been able to raise the money in time. Waikato people continued to contribute after the original deadline and target had been reached, perhaps not wanting to be seen to have not taken part. The response to this fund, was on one level, about supporting the under-dog, the disadvantaged. In particular, it was also the result of the application of visible social pressure, by means of the public listing of conformity. To contribute meant buying, and buying in to, the notion of a social capital that included being identified as part of the group, of being on the right side. The idea of fundraising also promoted the notion of the amateur, that Doms could not pay, but that the local community would.

The connections between the support of their athletes and community identity continued to be evident as the Games approached. The New Zealand team to travel to Vancouver assembled in Auckland on 12 July. Two days before, the Waikato swimmers were farewelled at a large function held in Hamilton, which was attended by a number of dignitaries including the mayor and (local MP) Hilda Ross.²²⁴ The team flew in two groups to Vancouver and, shortly thereafter, reports began to arrive from Canada.²²⁵ Much of the early coverage focussed on Yvette Williams; from her skin infection through to her training efforts. As she had won the only gold medal for New Zealand at the 1952 Helsinki Olympic Games, she was rightly celebrated as New Zealand's pre-eminent athletics representative at the time.

²²³ 'Three More Members For Empire Games Team', *Waikato Times*, 27 April 1954, p. 8.

²²⁴ 'Need For Olympic Pool In Hamilton Says Mr Rex Moore', *Waikato Times*, 12 July 1954, p. 4.

²²⁵ Hewitt was named as the NZPA correspondent in Palenski and Maddaford, p. 106.

While Yvette Williams' achievements continued to feature in the *Waikato Times*, it was the local hero who soon came into the spotlight. On 4 August, Jack Doms repaid the Waikato public by winning the gold medal in the 220 breaststroke final. In an extremely close race, he and an English competitor touched at the same time but he was eventually awarded the win. Two articles were published side by side, under a three column wide banner headline: 'Three More Gold Medals'.²²⁶ Two rowing crews, including a pair from Mercer who would be called Waikato athletes at the next Games, had also won their event, but it was the local man Doms, who was most important in the Waikato at that time. The report of his race and the result noted twice that he was not originally selected, that it was the generosity of the Hamilton and Waikato people that enabled him to compete, and made much of his gratitude towards his Hamilton coach Bob Frankham.²²⁷ The national swimming manager was presented as appearing to try to justify the original non-selection by stating that he had 'improved so much'.²²⁸

To further link Doms to the Waikato and home, and to counter the potential personal and image problems caused by the publication of the news that three women from the New Zealand swimming team rushed to kiss him after his race, the *Waikato Times* also published a photograph of his wife and coach receiving notification by telegram of his win.²²⁹ This article continued the re-telling of his original non-selection and painted him as a diligent, family man from a humble background – he was a shop-assistant. He was described as a multitalented sportsman and, as throughout the rest of the coverage, was explicitly claimed for the Waikato. In addition, he was bracketed with other local sporting success (rugby) by the telegram sent to him from the President of the Waikato Swimming Centre which read 'Sincere congratulations. Well done. Mooloo'.²³⁰

The celebration of, and identification with, the local successful athlete, was relatively prolonged and pronounced. The following day, a letter was published in

²²⁶ 'Three More Gold Medals', *Waikato Times*, 5 August 1954, p. 12.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid. This aspect of the event and a large report of the race was also published in the *Evening Post*, 5 August 1954, p. 12.

²²⁹ 'A Thrilling Success', *Waikato Times*, 5 August 1954, p. 8.

²³⁰ Ibid.

the 'Current Viewpoints of Correspondents' section of the *Waikato Times*, continued the connection of Doms' victory to the support of the Waikato enthusiasts whose astute judgement led them to know better than the national selectors that he should be at the Games.²³¹ This letter was more open about the failings of the national selectors than an article further on in the paper which noted that the selectors had got it right in other areas. Their first ten selections had, at that point, produced three gold medals, two silver, and a fourth for Marion Roe in a 'world class field'.²³² The *Waikato Times* could afford to be generous by publishing this particular article sent by the Special Correspondent. Doms was again pictured on the next page as his 'Unrelenting hard work' was celebrated.²³³ In this piece, he was reported as having spent many hours training and, having overcome obstacles including his age.²³⁴

The Waikato athletes arrived home and a 'brief but triumphant procession' and civic reception took place in central Hamilton.²³⁵ The Hamilton/Waikato community again congratulated itself for its foresight in supporting this swimmer, and the final part of the hero/trope, humility, was also evident at the reception. While fourth place-getters Marion Roe and D Fleming spoke, Doms 'contented himself with a brief "Thank you"'.²³⁶ Another article on the same page contained a little more of his thoughts about the support of the community, and details of the race from his perspective, emphasising his modesty and lack of pride.²³⁷

The story of Jack Doms included all the requisite components for the narrative of a triumphant hero. He faced adversity, went away to prove himself and returned victorious. He was hardworking, humble and modest, a true New Zealand man; this version of accepted masculinity was publicly presented and celebrated. His challenges and trials enabled the people of the Waikato region to provide support,

²³¹ 'Gold Medal Winner', *Waikato Times*, 6 August 1954, p. 5.

²³² 'Two Successes in Selectors' First Four', *Waikato Times*, 6 August 1954, p. 7.

²³³ 'Unrelenting Hard Work Involved in Winning Swimming Medal', *Waikato Times*, 6 August 1954, p. 8.

²³⁴ As an apparent 'late starter', Doms was reported as the oldest swimmer in his race.

²³⁵ 'Home From Vancouver: Waikato Welcomes Its Games Competitors', *Waikato Times*, 17 August 1954, p. 8.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

and his reflected glory allowed them to bask in the glow of his success, and prove themselves victorious against the others who doubted.

1958: Cardiff, Wales – Success Becomes Commonplace?

Each of the eight Waikato participants chosen for the 1958 Cardiff edition of the Empire Games came home with medals. Waikato sporting success had continued through the latter 1950s and ‘place’ was consistently emphasised in the *Waikato Times*. On 26 February 1958, for example, a full page of sports reports contained no fewer than four large stories with ‘Waikato’ in the headlines.²³⁸ With a background of regional confidence as the Games athletes were selected and their prospects discussed, their success was almost expected. In addition, the *Waikato Times* continued to be strongly loyal to Britain, and the British Royal Family in particular. Wider Commonwealth concerns were also visible. An editorial on 1 March 1958 reinforced the impression that the British Commonwealth was continuing to decline as a cohesive economic entity.²³⁹ The writer decried a decrease in its share of global trade and, more importantly for New Zealand, lamented that Britain's imports from the Commonwealth were also reducing and its purchases from ‘foreign lands’ increasing by a commensurate amount.²⁴⁰ ‘Family’ was specifically mentioned in this report, and it is that imagery which continued to dominate the representation of the Empire Games at this time.

The cousins gathered again to play sport in July 1958 in Cardiff but, unfortunately, the New Zealand team arrived with an unwelcome travelling companion. Many of the competitors had contracted a ‘virulent form of dysentery’ and were quarantined.²⁴¹ Most recovered well but it may have been that the resulting weakness, and disruption to training, affected results. Certainly while, as noted above, the Waikato team performed well, overall this national team did not

²³⁸ *Waikato Times*, 26 February 1958, p. 10.

²³⁹ ‘Commonwealth Trade’, *Waikato Times*, 1 March 1958, p. 8.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Palenski and Maddaford, p. 117.

appear to live up to expected standards, gaining only four gold medals compared with the seven won four years earlier in Vancouver.

The represented and relatively figurative place of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games can be inferred from some of the reports published prior to the Cardiff event. At this time, the page in the *Waikato Times* straight after the editorial page usually contained news from outside New Zealand, received by telegraph. On 10 July, this page contained reports of 'Cold War' issues, particularly in relation to potential atomic bomb threats, and other disputes and disagreements between various nations and their interests.²⁴² It also had a large central story titled 'Queen Suffering From Sinus Trouble: No Engagements,' and four small reports about aspects of the up-coming Games, including a photograph of members of the South African team.²⁴³ Queen Elizabeth's sinus problems would continue to be included every day until she recovered. The publication of this kind and amount of news about the sovereign reinforced and reflected the importance of her role in New Zealand. Further Waikato links to the imperial/colonial relationship can be gleaned from the naming, later that year, of the Chartwell suburb in Hamilton after the home of former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. While there was some apparent disagreement with this move by the City Council, published supportive letters to the editor appear to provide further evidence of the residual loyalty to 'Home'.²⁴⁴

Despite the focus on the Queen's sinus issues and other royal family news, the Empire Games were a very visible section of the news for the duration of the event. On 21 July, for example, a large piece about the gold medal success of Valerie Sloper was published with the results of the other competitions on the day.²⁴⁵ Called a 'New Zealand Heroine', Sloper's victory was celebrated against a backdrop of disappointment in other New Zealand results.²⁴⁶ However, much of the coverage over the following days was somewhat more positive, particularly

²⁴² *Waikato Times*, 10 July 1958, p. 10.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ V For Victory, 'Naming of Suburb' and Chartwell Resident, 'New Chartwell Suburb', *Waikato Times*, 26 July 1958, p. 11.

²⁴⁵ 'Gold Medal Success', *Waikato Times*, 21 July 1958, p. 8.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

when Waikato athletes were seen to be doing well. On 23 July, the headlines included the announcement of two gold medals, one for runner Murray Halberg and the other for the rowing pair from Mercer, Parker and Douglas, who retained their title from the Vancouver Games. and were deemed to be from the Waikato at this point.²⁴⁷ Other Waikato successes listed included a silver medal for high jumper 'Miss' Donaghy, and another silver medal, for rower J. Hill in the single skulls. Hill also placed third in the double skulls with partner N.Suckling.²⁴⁸ A photograph of Hills and Suckling in action was published on 24 July, although it appears to have been an earlier file photo, not one from Cardiff.²⁴⁹

While the writing of these victories was, at this point, more concerned with the results than with the character or backgrounds of the athletes, some similarities to the representation of Jack Doms' win can be found. A large photograph of Mrs Morris receiving news of her husband Jack Morris's win in the bowling pairs was published on 25 July.²⁵⁰ The caption notes that this win mirrored the victory of another Hamilton bowler, E. P. Exelby at the 1950 Games and claimed the other member of the 1958 pair, 'Pilkington' as having Hamilton heritage. While once again, the victory was claimed, and domestic ideals maintained, some thought must given to the possible absence of other publishable photographs of the men at that time and it is likely that these types of photographs were all that was available for the paper at the time. The report of their win on the next page does not include mention of their Waikato links – in fact the only reference to the Waikato is in the report of the silver medal gained by cyclist W. Johnston, who lost by 'Half a Wheel'.²⁵¹ Johnston's success was not, however, referenced to the disappointment of his non- selection for the 1954 Games, even though much was made of it at the time.

The closing of the Cardiff Games was conveyed with reference to the same ideals of family and friendliness as they had opened with.²⁵² The response to the New

²⁴⁷ '2 More Gold Medals', *Waikato Times*, 23 July 1958, p. 7.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ 'Bronze Medal Winners', *Waikato Times*, 24 July 1958, p. 6.

²⁵⁰ 'Elated Over Games Win', *Waikato Times*, 25 July 1958, p. 6.

²⁵¹ 'Half A Wheel Away From A Gold Medal', *Waikato Times*, 25 July 1958, p. 7.

²⁵² Dheenshaw, pp. 62, 68.

Zealand team's results was represented by a letter in the *Waikato Times* of 30 July in which the writer noted the medals won but questioned the value of sending competitors who had little chance of success.²⁵³ He/she also reinforced the ongoing tone of the *Waikato Times'* allegiance to the British Empire by noting the success of 'old England' and claiming that '[i]t shows that the youth of Britain is as excellent physically as ever'.²⁵⁴ Once again, it is always difficult to judge the usefulness of such correspondence – while on the surface, such correspondence might be said to mirror the prevailing ideals found in the newspaper, the selection of published letters could always lend itself to such reinforcement. However, these published sentiments are indicative of the continued textual placement of the Waikato within an imperial/commonwealth network.

While the success of the Waikato contingent at the Cardiff Games was noted in a framed article at the bottom of a sporting news page, no reports of a reception for them were prominent.²⁵⁵ Instead, a report on 11 August noted that all but Johnston had returned to their homes, and as ordinary people, like Jack Doms, back to their normal lives. Hill, in keeping with the amateur ethos of the Games, was at work the next day and, while there was a tenor of quiet pride in their achievements, any celebrations were perhaps not considered worthy of too much publicity. It was, of course, the middle of the rugby season and there was still much to be celebrated in the success of the Waikato team.

There are many more reports about New Zealand athletes and sporting stars from other countries, and their exploits at the Games, in the *Waikato Times* at this point that have not been examined in this thesis. The athletes depicted in this, and in other coverage of sporting endeavours were, in large part, the most prominent heroes of the time. In comparison with four years earlier, however, the Waikato competitors at these Games were not as overtly lauded. The story of the unwanted, but ultimately victorious, Doms was not repeated and while there were many successes to be celebrated, they were not afforded the same extended narrative treatment in the newspaper coverage. As already discussed, the Waikato

²⁵³ Admirer, 'Empire Games', *Waikato Times*, 30 July 1958, p. 11.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ 'All Were Winners Of Medals', *Waikato Times*, 30 July 1958, p. 12.

rugby team provided ways of regularly defeating outsiders at this time, and its on-going success meant that the need to claim glory from the Games athletes was likely somewhat diminished.

1962: Perth, Australia – Johnston and Hill Triumphant Again

Other ways of presenting sport, and sports people, were more apparent by the 1962. In November of that year, the *Waikato Times* contained advertisements for television sets, including details of the scheduled times for telecasts of the ‘highlights of the Commonwealth Games at Perth’.²⁵⁶ These programmes were shown each night from Monday 26 November to Tuesday 4 December, and their inclusion in the advertising is an early indication that the media focus on the coverage of sporting events would continue from the old news medium of newspapers, through radio broadcasts, and on to the new communication conduit, television. Other Empire/Commonwealth Games had been recorded and shown as moving pictures; recordings were made of the 1950 Auckland event, for example, and shown later in picture theatres, but the televised highlights were much more immediate, if not yet ‘live’. By this time, the *Waikato Times* was very different as well. From May 1960, the classified advertisements were removed from the front page, and the paper adopted a format which placed the most important news of the day on the front page, generally with large photographs and prominent headlines.²⁵⁷

It is likely that most people in the Waikato would still have been receiving most of their detailed information about the world from newspapers and that this form of mass communication would still have been the primary local source at this time. One new development at the Perth Games was the presence of *Waikato Times* reporter Winston Hooper. Apart from isolated events during the Auckland Games, this was the first time the paper had sent one of their own staff to this event, and this change was announced in the middle of a full page feature which

²⁵⁶ Advertisement, *Waikato Times*, 22 November 1962, p. 7.

²⁵⁷ The first edition with the new format was published on 7 May 1960.

gave details of the competitive and general backgrounds of many of the New Zealand athletes, including their date of birth and occupation.²⁵⁸ Photographs of five of the eight Waikato competitors were included, and another image of some of the Waikato participants before they left for Perth, was published. The caption finished with a question 'How many medals will the Waikato contingent bring back this time?'²⁵⁹

These Games were held in November, perhaps to try and avoid the intense heat of a West Australian summer but also because it was nearer to the end of the Northern Hemisphere athletic season, and 86 New Zealander competitors were sent. The percentage decline in representation of participants from the Waikato began at this event and was to continue for the rest of the period covered in this thesis. Of those selected, only silver medallists W. Johnston and J. Hill had also competed in Cardiff and, once again, there was a bowler chosen, H.H.J. Robson.

In keeping with previous years, Waikato athletes were highlighted in the ensuing Games reporting, but all New Zealand success was celebrated. The first gold medal was won by fencer Dot Coleman and her win, with what became a very popular photograph, made the front page of the *Waikato Times* on Saturday 24 November.²⁶⁰ Coleman's story was also the first in a small book by Norman Harris titled *Silver Fern at Perth*.²⁶¹ Harris had been a reporter for the *New Zealand Herald* at the Games and was also, before illness intervened, a promising runner, according to the foreword contributed by running coach Arthur Lydiard. Harris highlighted a number of achievements from the Games, not all of gold medals winners and, like most New Zealand sports publications, told the stories of several

²⁵⁸ Winston Hooper, 'Team For Perth Leaves on Sunday', *Waikato Times*, 9 Nov 1962, p. 12.

An example of the descriptions of each of the competitors:

'J.R. Hill (Waikato) single skulls.

Hill sculled out of a place at the Melbourne Olympics in 1956 but finished fourth at the Rome Olympics in 1960. He finished in sixth place in the singles at the world championships at Lucerne earlier this year. At Cardiff he finished second in the single skulls behind Australia's McKenzie and third with N. Suckling in the double skulls.

Born November 20, 1930, Hill is a funeral director's assistant.'

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ 'Games Surprise: Fencer Left Sick Bed To Win N.Z's (sic) First Medal', *Waikato Times*, 24 November 1962, p. 1.

²⁶¹ Norman Harris, *Silver Fern at Perth: The Highlights of New Zealand Participation at the 7th Empire Games* (Auckland.: Wilson and Horton, 1963), p. 4.

athletes in an unfailing positive way. There was often drama in the narratives, with tales of difficulties overcome and challenges faced with hard work and determination. Pride was shown but the athletes were not described as proud. In relating the story of Jim Hill's win in the single sculls, Harris described him as uncharacteristically nervous before the race but 'supremely happy' afterwards.²⁶² Harris noted that 'Hill was a home loving man who likes company and does not like doing anything in solitude. Now, after years of rowing up and down the silent Waikato River, he has his reward'.²⁶³

In the *Waikato Times*, Hill was shown as excited in the caption to a front page photograph taken straight after his win, and, in a large report of the rowing results, was called the greatest ever New Zealand amateur sculler by the rowing manager and a former sculler, D Rowlands.²⁶⁴ The article went on to note that the 'everyman' Hill, who had had to fix his boat after it was damaged on the journey back from Rome, would probably give up rowing to spend more time with his family.²⁶⁵ While Hill was humble and practical, he does not appear to have displayed the taciturn loner personality often associated with idealised New Zealand men. He was, however, part of a long line of resourceful Kiwi amateurs, and the telling of his story reinforced a number of discursive masculine norms seen in the story of Jack Doms. He was heterosexual (with a family) and hardworking, determined but self-effacing. His actions allowed the community that supported him to celebrate the success of someone they could, perhaps, easily identify with. The slight beginnings of a trend towards portraying rugby players as hard and tough seen in the previous thesis chapter is not evident in the reporting of these athletes. They were shown to have some of the stereotypical characteristics described by Jock Phillips; they were 'strong, resilient and modest' but these were not crude men from the 'frontier'.²⁶⁶ They were represented as part

²⁶² Harris, p. 49.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ 'Former Champion Acclaims Hill As Greatest Sculler', *Waikato Times*, 28 November 1963, p. 2.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male—A History* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 268.

of their urban communities; working in ordinary, not particularly physical, jobs, and well integrated into society.

In contrast, the gold medal achievement of the rowing fours' coxswain from the Waikato, Doug Pulman, was significantly underreported. The victory of this crew – with the other members from Oamaru – came on the same day as the rowing eight was defeated by Australia, and that result overshadowed the success of the four. Pulman was mentioned in the article which celebrated Hill's win but was not overtly claimed as a local hero until much later.

Other local representatives were not quite as successful. Next to the rowing article was a large photograph of W.T Johnston, the cyclist 'of Hamilton'.²⁶⁷ The headline under it contained the unfortunate news that 'Johnston Loses His Gold Medal Chance In Cycling Sprint'.²⁶⁸ He was on the front page of the *Waikato Times* two days later when he again won a silver medal. John Davies, a runner in the mile race, also won a silver medal behind Peter Snell and was said to be a 'great international prospect'.²⁶⁹ The other Waikato competitor to do well was the lawn bowler from Mangakino, South Waikato, H. Robson, who continued the regional tradition of being half of the winning pair. This was front page news but other New Zealand athletes were also treated as heroes including the boxer, W. Coe who won the welterweight title.

The casting of Jim Hill as a reluctant hero continued.²⁷⁰ He was said to have been grateful for the support of New Zealanders at the Perth course, and to have stated that New Zealand rowing needed to send more rowers overseas for experience, but there is a sense that the reporter is a little confused by Hill's apparent lack of excitement about his win. While he posed for a photograph with Doug Pulman, he seemed uncomfortable in the limelight. He did attend, two 'Welcome home receptions', one at a college, where Hill reportedly told the pupils that 'a boy must keep at his sport to get somewhere' and the other at the municipal chambers.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ 'Impressive Record', *Waikato Times*, 3 December 1962, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ 'Gold Medallist Is Nonchalant About His Win', *Waikato Times*, 3 December 1962, p. 3.

²⁷¹ 'Receptions For Waikato's Gold Medal Winners', *Waikato Times*, 4 December 1962, p. 1.

Robson was also welcomed back, this time in his home town of Mangakino.²⁷² There was, again, no mention of a parade or any overtly public demonstrations of acclaim but the connections between sport and political capital are still apparent. The mayor and other important Hamiltonians, were reported to have welcomed and congratulated the competitors. The prestige, and potential power, of sporting success was obviously attractive for those who held, or even wanted to gain, political influence in the wider community. Indeed, another report regarding Jim Hill was telling. While not a prominent piece (it was buried in the corner of page 20), it was reported that two men who met on a plane discussed Hill in positive and glowing terms. One was a businessman from Hamilton, and the other the head of world rowing. The businessman was obviously proud of the high esteem in which the rower (who he claimed to know personally) was held, and had apparently wanted to make sure that the rest of the region knew. By this time of course, all the athletes had returned to their jobs – John Davies was back teaching, and Robson was working as a cartage contractor.

The story of Jim Hill contains a number of the same hero tropes as the Jack Doms chronicle. However, in this instance, the identification of the community with sporting success, while apparent, is less obvious. This may have been because the narrative of triumph over adversity was less dramatic; a damaged boat, while in keeping with the idea of manly resourcefulness, did not equal the selection and funding challenges faced by Doms. As a result, the community did not have the opportunity to so publicly show its support for its athlete.

1966: Kingston, Jamaica – Success in the Heat

In Chapter One of this thesis I noted that there was discernible change in the visibility of Māori in the *Waikato Times* during the mid 1960s. ‘Race’ relations in general, was becoming a more central topic, although assimilation and integration narratives still held sway in the *Waikato Times* at least. In other parts of the world, civil rights activities vied with Cold War rhetoric, and continuing moves by

²⁷² Ibid.

Britain to join the European Union threatened relationships within the Commonwealth.

The awarding of the eighth occasion of the 1966 British Empire Games and Commonwealth Games to Kingston, Jamaica, marked the first time the Games would be held outside of the larger, and more politically powerful, imperial centres. Michael Dawson states that this was considered a way for the recently independent country to ‘announce itself to the world’ and that Jamaica hoped to gain both economic and political rewards by hosting the event.²⁷³ Sport, primarily cricket, was a central part of the establishment of a West Indian identity. However, the hosting of this multi-sport event did not result in the sorts of media images the Jamaicans had hoped for.

Only four Waikato athletes were chosen to be part of the 61 strong team; and one, John Davies, withdrew before the event began. The omission of rowing and bowls competitions meant that two of the main avenues for Waikato success at previous Games were not available. Still, when the team was announced on 17 May, a photograph of ‘Hamilton’s sole Empire Games representative’ Robin Hood being congratulated/kissed by his wife was published on the front page.²⁷⁴ The imagery of the family man with the supportive wife continued. The team selection details were given in a half page article later in the paper and the reporter’s focus was obvious by the headline provided: ‘Athletes get raw deal say Waikato officials’.²⁷⁵ Attention centred on the non-selection of two young women, and details of their proven abilities were used as evidence of the incorrect decisions of the team selectors. The modality of the language provides a good sense of the outrage as the reporter noted that ‘[b]oth Miss Stewart and Mrs Avis McIntosh can feel extremely disappointed at their shocking omission’.²⁷⁶ While the team was listed later in the report, this focus on the fate of local athletes echoed previously discussed patterns of support.

²⁷³ Michael Dawson, ‘Breaking away from the ‘big boys’? Jamaican and ‘White Commonwealth’ Expectations at the 1966 British Empire & Commonwealth Games’, *Sport in History*, 34,3 (2014) 431-453 (p. 435).

²⁷⁴ *Waikato Times*, 17 May 1966, p. 1.

²⁷⁵ Harold E. Cuming, ‘Athletes get raw deal say Waikato officials’, *Waikato Times*, 17 May 1966, p. 24.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Once again, a reporter from the *Waikato Times* was sent to cover events in Jamaica. Harold Cuming provided daily reports, beginning before the start of competition, and the attitude shown in his commentary about the management of this event matched other derogatory and critical material in a number of Commonwealth newspapers.²⁷⁷ The tone was set by the first report published, which was given prominence on the front page of the paper.²⁷⁸ In it, Cuming called the Games ‘a shambles’, stating that the organisation was poor and that arrangements for an early training meeting had gone ‘completely haywire’.²⁷⁹ Terms including ‘incompetent bungling’ and ‘total ignorance’ established the ongoing tenor of the narrative constructed around this event.²⁸⁰ This, and negative pronouncements on these Games which highlighted particular problems, were examples of a pattern of the continuing exertion of power held by the larger ‘White Commonwealth’ nations.²⁸¹ While instances of disorganisation, and problems in the wider environs of Kingston during the event might well have gone unreported in other settings, here they were emphasised and served to reinforce a sense of dominance in the face of the perceived challenge the Kingston games provided to the power brokers in the Commonwealth.

The criticisms of these Games need to be placed in the context of other media narratives, particularly with regard to regional ethnic relations in the Waikato. As noted earlier, the mid 1960s saw an increase in coverage of the activities of Māori in the *Waikato Times*. Discussion of ethnic and political relationships throughout the world also continued, and the Games Federation's decision to drop the word ‘Empire’ from the Games title, provoked an Editorial response that is telling. This piece lamented that decision, and showed staunch support both for the word, and

²⁷⁷ See Dawson, ‘Breaking away from the ‘big boys’?’ for a detailed analysis of the rhetoric of print media throughout the Commonwealth with regard to this event.

²⁷⁸ Harold E. Cuming, ‘Organisation of Games ‘shambles’’, *Waikato Times*, 1 August 1966, p. 1.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Dawson states, for example, that the awarding of the Games to a newly independent Jamaica, and the ‘changing political and athletic context in which Caribbean and African nations were becoming increasingly powerful,’ created a sense of disquiet and concern among the traditional controllers of the Commonwealth, including Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. (p. 431).

for the ideals of the British Empire, 'as propounded by Jan Smuts, among other imperial dreamers'.²⁸² In closing, the editor stated that:

If the Empire ... sorry Commonwealth, Games teach us anything it is that the Commonwealth is still in business. That they are held at all, and excite so much attention, is a cheering thought to old Imperialists.²⁸³

The sentiments expressed in this argument reflected an attitude that was being challenged by events both in New Zealand and throughout the imperial world. Political changes, including Jamaica's recent independence, complicated ideas of colonial dominance, and the continuation of a familiar world order, as did Britain's continual courting of neighbouring Europe.²⁸⁴ In the *Waikato Times*, the underlying discursive narratives of the fundamental place of the Commonwealth and the links to Britain were continuing, and the place of sport (in the form of the Games) in the maintenance of those links, was important.

For Waikato readers, of course, there were few local athletes to support at this event, and the theme of the local hero bringing glory to the region was in this instance, only found in the exploits of marathon runner Mike Ryan, who gained a bronze medal. In the absence of local achievement, Cuming provided descriptions of other New Zealand heroes, particularly those who won gold medals.²⁸⁵ He did claim Ryan and the other athletes for the region and he talked up their chances of victory before the events.²⁸⁶ The report of Ryan's achievement echoed of many of the narrative tropes discussed in this chapter:

Today I saluted our hero. Michael Ronald Ryan, a 24 year-old modest maestro, will sleep tonight with his coveted bronze medal and the

²⁸² 'Malicious comment on Games was unhelpful', *Waikato Times*, 18 August 1966, p. 4.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ For a comprehensive discussion of New Zealand's continued ties to Britain and Empire at this time, see James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. It is, perhaps, interesting to note that as I finish this thesis in 2016, the New Zealand government is publically opposed to moves within Britain to leave the European union, again for economic reasons centring around a proposed free trade agreement.

²⁸⁵ The celebration of the win in the 3000m steeplechase by Otago medical student Peter Welsh is an example. In the narrative, Welsh displays the modesty and self-effacement typical of an New Zealand hero. Harold Cuming, 'P. Welsh races into athletic history', *Waikato Times*, 8 August 1966, p. 24.

²⁸⁶ Harold Cuming, 'Ryan Aims At Marathon Gold', *Waikato Times*, 11 August 1966, p. 28.

knowledge that he is the one of the greatest marathon runners of the world.²⁸⁷

In the following story, Cuming described the display of ‘courage and guts’ as Ryan overcame the heat and humidity. Once again, the story included a difficult journey, but a favourable resolution was enabled by a winning outcome.²⁸⁸ An indication of difference in some aspects of represented masculinity was discernible, with stronger use of language which emphasised physical strength as well as mental toughness in this report. Ryan went on to bring more pride to the Waikato two years later in Mexico City as he won a bronze in the Olympic marathon.

Cuming's coverage of the Games ended with a vitriolic attack on the Games organisation, and Kingston in general, as he noted that it was ‘just a bitter memory for most of the competitors’.²⁸⁹ Given that this article was published next to a large picture of Mike Ryan after his event, and that this was a very successful event for the New Zealand team, with 25 medals won, the strongly damning rhetoric in this piece is confusing, although it served to underline the narrative of victory over adversity. Ironically, Cuming noted that ‘[r]acial discrimination also reared its ugly head’ as he described Jamaicans urging on their compatriots. His prejudice was perhaps, not as loud as their chants but was evident in most of his reports.

While the writing of Ryan's achievement showed a continuation of the claiming and celebrating of the achievement of local athletes, the overall representation of the Kingston Games was consistently negative. The reporting of the 1970 Games held in Edinburgh, Scotland, in contrast, contained little of this negativity and any criticism of, for example, the bowling greens was muted.

²⁸⁷ Harold Cuming, ‘Waikato runner 3rd in marathon’, *Waikato Times*, 12 August 1966, p. 14.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ Harold Cuming, ‘Games bitter memory for most competitors’, *Waikato Times*, 19 August 1966, p. 16.

1970: Edinburgh, Scotland – Cold but Familiar and Friendly

Lawn bowls was back for the 1970 Games, and once again provided a highlight for Waikato sports supporters. While ‘Robbie’ Robson and his partner came one game short of retaining the gold medal in the pairs competition, their silver continued New Zealand’s, and Waikato’s, proud tradition in the event. Robson was joined by only three other Waikato athletes at these Games, but this time there was little reported debate over the team selections.

The ninth British Commonwealth Games were held in Edinburgh from 16 to 25 July 1970 amidst an on-going backdrop of political change and contention. As Britain continued to push for a place in the European Common Market, the *Waikato Times* editorial position argued that New Zealand needed to sustain its fight for ‘special arrangements’ so as not to lose centrally important markets for its primary produce.²⁹⁰ Attendance at the Games provided a way of staying in the imperial family but the sibling relationships were also challenged by the continuing issue of sporting contact with South Africa. African nations threatened to boycott the Games if a cricket tour of England by the South African team went ahead.²⁹¹ This potential problem was averted when the cricket tour was cancelled and 42 countries sent a total of 1383 competitors to Edinburgh.²⁹²

One of those competitors was a 22 year old Hamilton runner, Dick Quax. A report of his win in the 3000m in a pre-Games competition in Edinburgh set up expectations for success, and Quax did not disappoint.²⁹³ As the Games began, media coverage was again centred on the successes of New Zealand medal winners. Photographs of Quax and his purported main opponent in the 1500m race, Kip Keino of Kenya, winning their heats however, indicated the importance

²⁹⁰ ‘Hopes rest on Marshall’, *Waikato Times*, 1 July 1970, p. 4.

²⁹¹ For a comprehensive description of the events see Bruce K. Murray, ‘The Sports Boycott and Cricket: The Cancellation of the 1970 South African Tour of England’, *South African Historical Journal*, 46 (May 2002), 219 -249.

²⁹² Fiona Skillen & Matthew L. McDowell, ‘The Edinburgh 1970 British Commonwealth Games: Representations of Identities, Nationalism and Politics’, *Sport in History*, 34.3 (2014), 454-475.

²⁹³ ‘Quax Thrills With Win In 3000 Metres’, *Waikato Times*, 13 July 1970, p. 12.

of this event, and of the performance of the local athlete.²⁹⁴ As with earlier examples, the beginning, anticipatory, part of the narrative engaged the reader.

While he was confident, Quax could not beat Keino and finished second. The report of his success on the front page of the *Waikato Times* mentioned his wife and noted that although he was born in Holland, he had arrived in New Zealand as a six year old, and had lived in Hamilton for ten years.²⁹⁵ This time, the claimed connections were strengthened by a statement that he worked as an advertising salesman for the *Waikato Times*. His introduction to running – when he would ‘go out and run in a paddock because he felt like it’ – placed him within the narrative trope of the unsophisticated New Zealand man.²⁹⁶ Other reports of the competition were published later in the paper where Quax was dubbed the ‘Flying Dutchman’.²⁹⁷ In contrast with the front page piece, this article and the majority of the Games coverage was attributed to a NZPA Staff Reporter. This meant that while these reports centred and celebrated the achievements of the New Zealand athletes, the local flavour found in the earlier coverage was not present

Other local success was scarce and there was, initially, little to celebrate even in the bowls reporting from this event. However the efforts of Robson, and his Auckland teammate MacDonald, provided the team and the region with more optimistic news and, on 25 July a large report announced their second place. The results of the two other Waikato athletes, J. Foster (from Rotorua) in the marathon and Mrs V. Robinson in the 1500 metres, were also positively reviewed, and they were described as performing with credit. A final small article headlined ‘Waikato's four did really well’ gave brief details of their achievements and noted that they ‘all completed their events with honour’.²⁹⁸

On his arrival home, Hamilton celebrated its new hero with a civic reception. In keeping with the modest family man imagery, a photograph of Quax with his young daughter and his medal was shown on the front page, and he was described

²⁹⁴ ‘Race rivals in form’, *Waikato Times*, 20 July 1970, p. 13.

²⁹⁵ ‘Queen presents medal to Quax’, *Waikato Times*, 23 July 1970, p. 1.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ ‘‘Flying Dutchman’ going after 5000m’, *Waikato Times*, 23 July 1970, p. 12.

²⁹⁸ ‘Queen presents medal to Quax’, *Waikato Times*, 27 July 1970, p. 12.

as nervously looking forward to the reception.²⁹⁹ He had turned down invitations to run in other overseas events and returned home to his family, and to resume training, with future challenges, including the Munich Olympics, in mind. In New Zealand, the focus turned to planning for the Christchurch Games in less than four years time.

1974: Christchurch, New Zealand – Join Together

Despite concerns that the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa would be able to successfully prevent the outcome they desired, on 19 July 1970, the delegates from Christchurch who had campaigned to host the 1974 games were successful. The problems related to sporting contacts with South Africa did not go away, however. A proposed tour of New Zealand by the Springbok rugby team led to threats of boycott by African nations. Eventually, the Labour Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, apparently fearing wide spread civic disorder and the effect the tour would have on relationships within the Commonwealth, announced his decision to postpone or defer the tour.³⁰⁰ The debate over sporting contacts with South Africa, and the role of politics in sport, would continue to affect New Zealand's place in international multisport events for the rest of the decade and beyond.

These Games were televised everyday while they were happening, and in colour.³⁰¹ The extensive coverage must have upset some people as it prompted the inclusion of an editorial entry, (attributed to the *Dominion*, a Wellington newspaper) which defended the broadcasting of an occasion which was 'local, live and of this class and spectacle'.³⁰² The writer also noted that television was a medium that 'thrive[d] on drama, whether it is in sport or anywhere else'.³⁰³ Thus sport was presented as performance and, as with the hero narratives already

²⁹⁹ 'Waikato's four did really well', *Waikato Times*, 31 July 1970, p. 1.

³⁰⁰ 'Kirk Calls Off Rugby Tour', *Waikato Times*, 10 April 1973, p. 1.

³⁰¹ For a discussion of the television broadcasting of these Games see Patrick Day, *Voice and Vision: A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand*, Vol. 2 (Auckland: Auckland University Press & Broadcasting History Trust, 2000), pp 186 -187.

³⁰² 'TV Games', *Waikato Times*, 31 January 1974, p. 4.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

discussed, to provide its audience with similar entertainment and perhaps cultural reflection, as that of other discursive avenues like the theatre.

Change was apparent in the ways sportspeople were shown in the *Waikato Times* by this time, particularly with regard to photographic representation, and this was evident in the coverage of the Christchurch event. The geographical closeness may have been a factor in the sending of *Waikato Times* photographer Kirby Wright, along with sports reporter Andy Quick, to cover the event.³⁰⁴ Whatever the reason, the result was that a large number of action shots of competitors at the Games were published, and Waikato participants were prominently featured, in an often unashamedly parochial fashion.³⁰⁵

The inclusion of Māori performers –of waiata, haka and poi – in the opening ceremony was also a new development. Michael Dawson states that newspaper reporters from New Zealand and abroad celebrated both the presence and performances of Māori.³⁰⁶ Dawson notes that while ‘it did not reflect a formal commitment to a more inclusive cultural identity, it was a ‘significant’ change from their absence in Auckland 24 years earlier.³⁰⁷ These were controlled expressions of Māori cultural activity that configured the nation as one which valued and preserved that part of its heritage. As noted in the Regatta chapter, while Māori, and particular aspects of the interethnic relationship, were becoming somewhat more visible in public narratives at that time, this inclusion still presents as ‘traditional’ and part of a assimilation paradigm.

³⁰⁴ A description of Kirby Wright published in 2015 noted that he was appointed chief photographer for the *Waikato Times* in 1969 and was considered a pioneer in the industry who advocated photography ‘that captured the life in the moment.’ Roy Burke, ‘Waikato photographer sets others on the right path’, *Waikato Times*, 1 August 2015, < <http://www.stuff.co.nz/waikato-times/news/70683301/Waikato-Times-photographer-set-others-on-the-right-path>> [accessed 10 December 2015]

³⁰⁵ An acknowledgement of his ‘local bias’ by Andy Quick can be found in his large report of the win of swimmer Jaynie Parkhouse. Quick states that she lived in Cambridge until she was nine when her family moved to Christchurch. However even Quick admits that ‘It would be stretching local bias to claim the Commonwealth’s exciting new women’s 880 metres swimming champion Jaynie Parkhouse as a Waikato representative. However, her connection with the Waikato is obvious as she lived at Cambridge until eight years ago.’ *Waikato Times*, 7 February 1974, p. 26.

³⁰⁶ Dawson, ‘Official Occasions, Vernacular Voices’, p. 202.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

An examination of the representation of the tenth British Commonwealth Games provides an opportunity to again discover how Waikato sporting heroes, and their stories, were constructed and presented when they competed on New Zealand soil. Ten Waikato athletes were selected in a team of 146 and of those, two brought home medals. John Somerville continued a Waikato tradition by winning a gold in the lawn bowls fours, and Jack Foster gained a silver in the men's marathon. There were, therefore, two male heroes to celebrate but a close reading of the coverage of this event reveals a more concentrated focus on the representation of sports women. Of the other local athletes featured, two were highlighted in the *Waikato Times* coverage, Lorraine Moller, an 800m runner, and Gail Wootten, a sprinter. Moller, in particular, was offered as 'Waikato's hope', a potential hero, with at least two photographs in which she was featured published before her events.³⁰⁸ Quick's tendency to use first names indicated his claim to familiarity with the local athletes, and his coverage of Moller and Wootten, was framed in this way. In an article titled 'Lorraine pick of the NZ girls, says Lydiard', Quick promoted the chances of the Putaruru runner in the women's 800m and reinforced both the display of his local knowledge, and his arguably deliberate promotion of parochial support for Waikato athletes.³⁰⁹

Moller did not live up to these lofty expectations but as Quick noted, she tried and 'ran a great race, for fifth'.³¹⁰ By explaining that she was only 18, he allowed her status to remain, and to overshadow the achievement of Aucklander Sue Haden who finished second in the same contest. A prominent report of a race in Hamilton a week after the Games ended, gave details of Moller's victory over 'Aucklanders Haden and S. Potts'.³¹¹ Here, the faith overtly shown in Moller was justified. A further photo of Lorraine Moller and Gail Wootten was published on 4

³⁰⁸ *Waikato Times*, 25 January 1974, p. 14; and *Waikato Times*, 28 January 1974, p. 2.

³⁰⁹ Andy Quick, 'Lorraine pick of the NZ girls, says Lydiard', *Waikato Times*, 28 January 1974, p.

2.

³¹⁰ Andy Quick, 'Ace coach astray but Lorraine tried', *Waikato Times*, 30 January 1974, p. 28.

³¹¹ Allen Middleton, 'Games girl wins well in record time', *Waikato Times*, 11 February 1974, p.

14.

February as part of the coverage of the Games closing ceremony.³¹² Clearly, these women had been chosen as representative of the Waikato at this time.

The placement of a woman in a potentially heroic role is complicated by other changes in the presentation of women in the *Waikato Times* at this time. While the descriptions of Moller did not include details of her physical attributes, the other featured Waikato athlete, Gail Wootten, was described in ways which emphasised her ready smile, and it was noted that 'with her blonde curls, she stands out among the women competitors'.³¹³ A photograph published on the front page of the paper a few days later of the youngest competitor at the Games, Australian 15 year old Debbie MacCawley in her bikini, is indicative of another example of the changes in the portrayal of women in the paper at that time. As no details were given of her events, or results, the inclusion of this photograph appears to display the competitor for different, more gratuitous, purposes. A photograph of actress Linda Lovelace with her breasts covered only by a transparent top was also published at this time, revealing a change in the acceptance of these types of images.³¹⁴ However, the representations of Lorraine Moller did not, at this time, include this type of display.

The final Waikato hero from these Games was bowler Jack Somerville. The efforts of Jack Foster in the marathon were understated, which mirrored discussion of his prospects before the race. Somerville's win, however, was front page news. Photographic coverage included an action shot published on the day before the final, and a large, front page picture of 'Matamata's Jack Somerville' on the front page as 'NZ Four Romp For Gold'.³¹⁵ The report the following day again attributed a Waikato background to Somerville's win - noting that 'Cows, the backbone of the Waikato, led Matamata's Jack Somerville, 46, on the path to bowls fame'.³¹⁶ The farming imagery continued with Quick's comment that Somerville stated he had taken the game up 'because bowls and cows mix'.³¹⁷ The

³¹² 'Fun and games', *Waikato Times*, 4 February 1974, p. 2.

³¹³ Andy Quick, 'Gail holds hopes of relay medal', *Waikato Times*, 29 January 1974, p. 22.

³¹⁴ 'All for comedy', *Waikato Times*, 4 January 1974, p. 5.

³¹⁵ 'NZ Four Romp For Gold', *Waikato Times*, 31 January 1974, p. 1.

³¹⁶ 'His Herd Led Jack To Gold', *Waikato Times*, 1 February 1974, p. 14.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

large report noted the support of his wife and family, and once again wrote the hero as modest, hardworking and humble, and this time with a bonus farming background. This was the most obvious instance of the inclusion of ideas of a Waikato 'place' in the coverage of these heroes, although the description of Quax running through fields also signalled the rural aspect of the Waikato. However, the descriptions of Somerville as a farmer squarely cast him as a representative of a pastoral region. In this instance, a particular representation of the Waikato, of 'place', was offered as a constitutive part of sporting success.

Bowlers were not generally considered athletes in comparison with most of the other competitors at the Games. Therefore, their portrayal as local heroes complicated represented ideas about what it meant to be a man, particularly in a sporting context. These were celebrated, successful men who were part of, and strongly resembled, their communities. The consistent inclusion of family is central, and humility important, but any particular physical attributes were underplayed.

The final effect of the Christchurch Games on the Waikato was huge. Members of the royal family had attended the event, and a subsequent visit by Queen Elizabeth and others to Hamilton and the Waikato resulted in blanket newspaper coverage. Michael Dawson concluded that following these Games, '[a] sense of a direct familial relationship among participants had thus been re-imagined as a more diverse affiliation – an inclusive shift from imperial to Commonwealth unity'.³¹⁸ Any loosening of ties to the British were less obvious in the Waikato, however. While an element of celebrity needs to be acknowledged, the royal visit was of major importance to large number of people in the region. Details and photographs of the royal engagements monopolised the newspaper on 8 and 9 February, and included reports of the Queen's trip to Turangawaewae and of a meeting with the Māori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikahu.³¹⁹ In this way, the importance of the monarchy and ties to the imperial past, were combined with a central Waikato figure to present a picture of harmony between two important

³¹⁸ Dawson, 'Official Occasions and Vernacular Voices', p. 202.

³¹⁹ See *Waikato Times*, 8 and 9 February 1974.

parts of the region. In addition, the ability of Waikato Māori to be publicly present in that international relationship was beginning to become more significant.

Conclusion

The selection of the Empire/Commonwealth Games as one of the events covered in the thesis resulted in the examination of a very large amount of material, some of which I have again included verbatim to present an immediate sense of the texts examined. The image of the hero was a recurring theme, and the connections of this narrative formation to the public creation and reinforcement of parts of a local Waikato identity through sport were evident. The story of Jack Doms was the most representative of these narratives, and his role as the ‘underdog’ has supported and reflected a similar way of constructing and presenting the region. The writing of the deeds of the other featured competitors also contributed to a version of the Waikato that was successful, but humble, hardworking and family-oriented. In addition, the positive focus on the farming background of Jack Somerville, served to include the rural foundation of much of the Waikato in the representation of a regional sporting identity.

The concentration of this discussion on the place of heroic deeds has resulted in somewhat less focus on other thematic concerns central to this thesis. One aspect which should be acknowledged and discussed is the lack of Māori heroes in this context. As Phillips and Dawson noted, there was an obvious absence of Māori competitors at the 1950 Games in Auckland, and this continued throughout the period covered in this chapter.³²⁰ The peripheral involvement of the Tainui/Waikato, and the Kīngitanga in particular, and the change in controlled participation described by Michael Dawson, does not significantly disrupt this notion of invisibility in the sporting arena, which requires further examination.

Gender representations and relationships are a more perceptible part of this story. The mostly male heroes presented a form, or version, of masculinity that fits other

³²⁰ Phillips, ‘Sons and Daughters of Empire’, p. 140.

imagery of humble, diligent New Zealand men. While the depictions described demonstrate that, once again, the representation of sport strongly contributed to the construction of cultural norms, these were not the hard, frontier men of Phillip's stereotype. They were predominantly urban, often worked in shops, schools and offices; they were in many ways, shown to their contemporaries to be ordinary, if successful, members of their communities, and their roles as husbands and fathers emphasised. Women in these narratives continued to be framed as mostly wives and supporters, although this is possibly the result of a lack of successful local female competitors, and other New Zealand women, particularly Yvette Williams, were featured and celebrated. There is evidence of some change in the coverage of later Games, including the placement of Lorraine Moller in a potentially heroic narrative.

Less change is apparent in the depiction of the Waikato with regard to the wider British Commonwealth. Throughout the material examined in this chapter, this region has been presented as consistently loyal to the idea and reality of Empire/Commonwealth, and to claiming a place in that colonial space. There is, at times, an almost transnational feel to the tone and focus of the *Waikato Times*; a sense that belonging to the imperial family was as important as being part of New Zealand. While this, and the celebration of local heroes, is not unique to this place, the concentrated dissection of this archival source in this thesis has added further layers to the understanding of how such imaginings of international relationships were constructed and publically presented during this period.

It is a happy coincidence that the most successful sport in this part of a Waikato history is lawn bowls. In the Chapter Four, I explore narratives of this sporting code with particular regard to the exercise of power within the region, and the changing place of bowling women.

Chapter Four

Lawn Bowls, 1926 and 1948-1973: Power and Gender Relationships

As a small child, I would often go and stay with my war-widowed grandmother in her small flat in Whitiora, Hamilton. Apart from the trips to Woolworths to buy 'pick 'n mix' lollies, and endless games of cards, my enduring memory of that time is being enveloped in large, fluffy towels. My grandmother couldn't afford to buy those towels – she won them playing lawn bowls at the local club – and I think for her, they were an outward representation of both sporting and social achievement. Sometimes I would be allowed to play with the bowling balls on her rough, sloping back lawn but I don't recall seeing it as a sport like the rugby we watched, or the netball I played. It was an 'old people's' pastime, a place for socialising and the playing out of local rivalries. For my grandmother, the bowling communities she belonged to, and visited, were a central part of her normal life, and the bigger tournaments provided a measure of the strength of her group in relation to players from other places.

Narratives of sport in the Waikato tell us about community and belonging, and lawn bowls, in particular, is a collective and social activity. It is played by groups of people who combine in different levels of competition to test their skills, and for physical exercise and social contact. In this chapter, after a brief discussion of the 'beginnings' of this sport, I discuss the place of lawn bowls in the Waikato, primarily by analysing newspaper reports of a number of tournaments held annually at, or around, Easter. Consideration of this coverage includes analysis of sporting rivalries within the Waikato, and the connections and dissensions between different organisational groups in the local bowling hierarchy. Bowling clubs and associations are examples of readily identified sites where notions of belonging and exclusion, and power and control, have applied, and where normative gender roles have been reinforced. Critical discussion of early narratives that convey a sense of passionate engagement reveals tension and

drama, and the apparent importance of this sport in a particular local historical moment. These texts are then compared with the more routine results-based reporting from the late 1940s onwards, to reveal the ways in which the place and function of this sport in the Waikato community has changed over time. Material from this post-war period is also examined to enable a comparison between the relative publicly visible activities of male and female bowlers, and their respective levels of control over resources. This chapter is, therefore, a study of mediated relationships of power, primarily between local organisations and gender groups, and provides an opportunity to consider how a particular sport has operated in the everyday lives of Waikato communities.

The sporting activities examined in this thesis have, for the most part, been organised, codified, and formally controlled. To play lawn bowls requires an appropriate venue, in this case a smooth grass lawn of a regulated size, and the right equipment – correctly constructed, sized and weighted bowls. It is not a solitary pursuit; it is generally a competition between two or more players. For the period covered in this thesis, bowls was almost always played by members of bowling clubs, either as a regular weekly activity, or in interclub and regional/national competitions. The regulatory detail surrounding this sport was, and still is, complicated and was consistently well enforced, extending to the clothes worn, as well as the rules of play. Bowls has often been described as a sport for older members of the population and, until relatively recently, men and women did not compete against each other.

Early Histories: Backgrounds and Beginnings

The lack of critical historical writing about sport and sporting codes in New Zealand is a recurring theme in this thesis, and lawn bowls is no exception. A history of lawn bowls was produced by the national organisation on the occasion of its centenary in 2013. This book is an accumulation of a large amount of

information and is obviously celebratory in tone.¹ An earlier publication with a title that indicates a national focus, *New Zealand Bowls: A Historical Perspective* is an updated copy of a booklet compiled ‘early in this [twentieth] century’ and contains the originally published photographs of, and details about, many early New Zealand bowling clubs.² Again, this book is described as ‘commemorative’ and unfortunately no Waikato clubs were included in the earlier, or 1995, editions. It is also an entirely male-focussed publication and is very European-centred: there is no obvious mention of Māori. At a local Waikato level, a large number of bowling club histories have been produced, some of which will be used both in this chapter, and in the following discussion of the place of clubs in Waikato sport histories.

The currently recognisable form of this game was brought to New Zealand with the colonists who arrived from Great Britain. The mythology surrounding the development of this particular pastime has been connected to games played with balls several thousand years ago.³ The oldest ‘continually played-over greens’ are reportedly in Southampton, England and date back to the thirteenth century.⁴ Much is made in histories of bowls of the fact that it was banned by successive English monarchs, including Henry VIII on the basis that the apparent preoccupation with this activity distracted men away from the more martially important practice of their archery skills.⁵ Whether the retention of this legend is to enhance a relatively sedentary sport with a somewhat attractively wicked history or not, bowls, in various forms, does appear to have been part of the British cultural scene for several centuries before it was codified, and developed into the more currently recognisable form in the mid nineteenth century.

¹ John Carter, *Bowls Through the Decades: The Proud History of Over 100 Years of Bowls in New Zealand* (Auckland: Bowls New Zealand Incorporated, 2013).

² *New Zealand Bowls: A Historical Perspective*, ed. by Michael Guy (Auckland: Vintage Publishing, 1995)

³ For example, the entry in the *Encyclopedia of World Sport: From Ancient Times to the Present*, ed. by David Levinson and Karen Christensen, mentions ‘bowling implements’ found in Egyptian tombs. (p.139).

⁴ *Encyclopedia of World Sport: From Ancient Times to the Present*, p. 142.

⁵ *The Oxford Companion to Sports and Games*, ed. by John Arlott (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 99.

Richard Holt makes clear the early links between this sport and public houses, and the related place of alcohol, as central to the understanding of the ways in which sporting clubs operated.⁶ Holt also discusses the provision of sporting facilities by ‘municipal councils.’⁷ This type of development would be mirrored in part in New Zealand, although there was not a uniform approach to the establishment of club greens. Holt’s discussion of the differing development of bowling games in southern England, northern England and Scotland provides some background to the ways in which the social aspects of the game presented in colonial settings, but the type of class distinctions he describes between areas, and even adjacent clubs, is less obvious in the New Zealand/Waikato sites. This was likely the result of a much lower population pool, although Holt notes there was a ‘broader social mix’ evident in Scotland.⁸ Bowling had been a very popular pastime in the Scotland from the sixteenth century onwards and it was there that a committee was formed, and a code of rules developed by W.W. Mitchell, described as a ‘Glasgow solicitor’.⁹

The development of bowling communities in Australia was included in a 1994 publication edited by Wray Vamplew and Brian Stoddart.¹⁰ Bowls appears to have developed in relatively similar ways in both Australia and New Zealand, and Louella McCarthy’s discussion provides some relevant thematic cues, including the early relationships between genders in this social context, and the geographical place of this type of socially significant activity. An earlier Australian book gave a large amount of detail about the ways to play the game, and the many different rules and regulations. This publication also contained a chapter entitled ‘Women Bowlers’, which provides a conservative, and somewhat patronising, view of the development of female participation. Gordon Sargeant noted that the place of women in the bowling club for much of the early period was to produce ‘afternoon teas’ and provide ‘sympathetic support of their

⁶ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Social History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 63,72.

⁷ Holt, p. 157.

⁸ Holt, p. 158.

⁹ Holt, p. 99.

¹⁰ Louella McCarthy, ‘Lawn Bowls’, in *Sport in Australia: A Social History*, ed. by W. Vamplew & B. Stoddart (Cambridge, & Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 112-132.

menfolk'.¹¹ While Sargeant appears to support the development of women's bowling and the related organisations, he very clearly indicated their ultimate inability to compete against the strength of the male players and noted that they do not 'balance as easily'.¹² He was also concerned that women, and a few men, talked too much while playing. This type of attitude, particularly when displayed by a person with the apparent relevant expertise as this author, is an important part of the discursive scaffolding upon which can be built notions of the accepted gender roles of bowlers.

Three early newspaper reports and advertisements illustrated some of the related themes that will be examined in this, and the following chapter. The first mention of a bowling green found in New Zealand newspapers was part of an advertisement for the sale of an inn in Wellington.¹³ The linking of inns or 'public houses', and the alcohol they sold, with the provision of sporting facilities was, as shown above, an important part of the early development of sports in Britain. This advertisement could also be said to foreshadow the role the provision of alcohol would play in the sporting clubs that developed in many parts of the Commonwealth. The second advertisement, published before the development of clubs in New Zealand, included details of the early place bowling greens had in the discourses related to social hierarchy in early colonial times. A 'for sale' notice described a substantial house in Dunedin and claimed that the 'magnificent building' and surrounds had 'levelled' room for 'erecting large stables, orchard, or a bowling green'.¹⁴ This house was also considered to be suitable for use as a hotel. While the links to the early hospitality trade are again obvious, the inclusion of the possibility of establishing a bowling green was obviously deemed to be attractive to potential buyers of this property. The ability to use land for such a purpose would have implied a visible surplus of resources, and therefore have been an indication of social status.

¹¹ Gordon Sargeant, *Bowls*, (Sydney: Bowling Equipment Company, 1959), p. 112.

¹² Sargeant, p. 115.

¹³ 'To Innkeepers and Others, Eligible Investment', *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 28 August 1852, p. 1.

¹⁴ 'For Sale', *Otago Daily Times*, 9 April 1862, p. 6.

The use of public land for the sport is part of the third early media ‘bowls’ report located. On 4 November 1862, the formation of the first New Zealand bowling club was reported in the *Daily Southern Cross*.¹⁵ As with almost all such reports from this time, it was an exclusively male collaboration.¹⁶ The report of the creation of the Auckland club showed the formal tone such sporting organisations almost uniformly adopted. The location of the meeting – the ‘Chamber of Commerce room’ – indicated that these men were more likely to be relatively wealthy, and their apparent levels of political capital was further indicated by their reported access to the ‘Government’, at that time still based in Auckland.¹⁷ Both the formality of the committee process, and the provision of public land for the bowling greens, would be an important feature of the development of lawn bowls in New Zealand.

International communication and sporting links are also revealed in this report. As noted earlier, rules for the game of bowls had been developed in Scotland in 1849. The discussion at the Auckland meeting included the rules from the ‘Edinburgh Club’, which were ‘read, and with a few alterations, approved of’.¹⁸ Although the Committee were then ‘requested to revise the rules before final adoption’, the presence of such structures, however they travelled to New Zealand, is an interesting feature of the place of this sport as part of the cultural baggage found in the colonial community. This type of transferred codification over time helped enable the development of international sporting competitions, including the Empire/Commonwealth Games discussed in the previous chapter.

Bowling greens were also an early feature of the sporting landscape of Australia and were again linked to hotels and the large houses of wealthy colonists.¹⁹ While other versions of the game appeared concurrently in eighteenth century settlements, the Scottish form eventually prevailed. The first clubs were formed in the 1860s by gentlemen; as in Auckland, bowls was seen to be the desirable

¹⁵ ‘Auckland Bowling Club’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 4 November 1862, p. 3.

¹⁶ Organised bowls was to remain a male preserve in New Zealand until the first women’s club was reportedly formed in 1906. Carter, p. 31.

¹⁷ ‘Auckland Bowling Club’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 4 November 1862, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ McCarthy, p. 113.

leisure activity for urban men from the wealthier parts of colonial society.²⁰ The exclusive nature of these clubs was perhaps less obvious in the early Auckland iteration; the original report noted that those who joined up during the formation period would pay only the entrance fee of 5 guineas and that there would be ‘no limitation fixed as to the number of members’.²¹ The subscription amount would, of course, have excluded many potential members and this enabled control to be maintained by the more affluent organisers.

The exercise of power could also be seen in the ability to gain access to resources. The use of public land was another common feature of the development of the game in both colonies. As McCarthy notes, those involved in the establishment of the game in many parts of Australia were likely to have been able to have bought the land privately, but had the social/political power to organise for public land to be allocated to this purpose.²² Such reliance on this form of capital was a feature of the early establishment of bowling clubs in the Waikato.

By 1886, the twelve existing New Zealand bowling clubs had formed a New Zealand Bowling Association.²³ The concentration of clubs in the predominantly Scottish settled south of the South Island meant that early national tournaments were held in Dunedin. In 1891, the Northern Bowling Association was formed, including clubs from Wellington north. The Auckland Provincial Bowling Association was then formed in 1895, and eventually all three were amalgamated and became the Dominion of New Zealand Bowling Association in 1913.²⁴

Lawn Bowls in the Waikato

A number of bowling clubs were established around the turn of the twentieth century in the greater South Auckland area. A decision to form the Hamilton Club was made at a meeting held on 6 September 1899, with an initial membership of

²⁰ McCarthy., p. 115.

²¹ ‘Auckland Bowling Club’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 4 November 1962, p. 3.

²² McCarthy, p. 116.

²³ Carter, p. 19.

²⁴ Carter, p. 30.

40.²⁵ The Cambridge Club dated its origins from a meeting held in November 1898, although the Club was officially established in late December 1899, and was granted the right to use a green that had been developed earlier by the local Domain Board.²⁶ The use of public grounds for sporting purposes was to be a regular, if not exclusive, occurrence in the establishment of bowling clubs in the region.

Other Waikato bowling clubs were formed in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Te Awamutu Club was established in 1904 and while it initially used a private green, soon requested and received land from the 'Town Board' for a bowling green and tennis court, complete with pavilion.²⁷ Bowlers in Waihi area formed a club after the Waihi Borough Council decided in 1905 to create a Recreation Ground that would include a bowling green, two football fields and a band rotunda.²⁸ In this instance, bowlers were charged by the Council for the use of the green and it was planned that the facility would be 'self supporting'.²⁹

The development of a South Auckland Bowling Association was first mooted in 1904. It was noted in the *New Zealand Herald* of 29 October that the 'Country clubs' were struggling to find enough players to enter the Auckland pennant tournaments and would be better placed if they had their own Association'.³⁰ A report in the *Ohinemuri Gazette* announced that a meeting was held in Te Aroha on 9 November 1904, and it was decided to form such an association.³¹ This development signals the kind of 'moving away' from the greater Auckland organisation found in the earlier discussion of the formation of the Waikato Rugby Union. While it could be a reflection of a growing need to gain control of the management of local affairs, it also appears to be a response to very practical

²⁵ 'News From Country Districts' *New Zealand Herald*, 8 September 1899, p. 7.

²⁶ *One Hundred Years On: A History of the Cambridge Bowling Club*, ed. by Gary Blayley (Cambridge, NZ: Cambridge Bowling Club, 1998), pp. 9-10.

²⁷ Garry Williams, John Jones and George Mandeno, *Te Awamutu Bowling Club Centennary, 1904-2004* (Te Awamutu, NZ: Te Awamutu Bowling Club Centennial Committee, 2004), p 9.

²⁸ Roy Kennedy, *Waihi Bowling Club Inc., 1905 – 1980: 75th Anniversary* (Waihi, NZ: Waihi Bowling Club, 1980), p. 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ 'Bowling', *New Zealand Herald*, 29 October 1904, p. 5.

³¹ 'Local and General', *Ohinemuri Gazette and Upper Thames Warden*, 11 November 1904, p. 2.

considerations, including difficulties caused by the rudimentary nature of the transport and communication networks at that time.

1926: A Power Struggle

The organisation of sport into particular clubs and associations had the potential to lead to competition and conflict over control and resources. As noted, the Hamilton and Cambridge Bowling Clubs were formed within a few months of each other. Both used public land for their greens and both became well established within their respective communities. By 1926, the South Auckland Bowling Association had changed its name to the South Auckland Bowling Centre (later to become the Waikato/Thames Valley Bowling Centre). This organisation mirrored the regional administration of bowling clubs found in most of the rest of New Zealand and was affiliated to the National Bowling Association. While it had responsibility for the greater South Auckland area, it appears to have been based in Hamilton and was occasionally accused of being too focussed on the needs of the clubs from the largest urban centre in the region. This was revealed in an argument which developed in 1926 concerning the proposed holding of the pennant tournament of the South Auckland Centre at Easter, 1927. The Cambridge Club had, from April 1909, established a tradition of holding an apparently very popular tournament at Easter and was strongly opposed to the Centre's proposal, which would encroach on its event.³²

This incident became a heated and prolonged dispute that extended to a delegation attending a meeting of the national Dominion Council, and provides a rich amount of material which reveals the place and operation of power in sporting organisations at this time, and the use and role of the local newspaper during such disagreements. These power structures were layered and pervasive, and consistent with other communally constructed discourses of control. The intertwined roles of

³² A report in the *Auckland Star* from 1 April 1926 (p. 9) described the Cambridge tournament as 'one of the biggest country gatherings in the province.'

individuals, committees and the press are revealed in the dramatic narrative of this prolonged event.

As noted above, in July 1926, the Council of the South Auckland Bowling Centre made a decision to schedule their major 1927 tournament at Easter, in order to enhance its popularity by holding it on a holiday. A headline in the *Auckland Star* called the situation a 'Bowling Sensation', and a small report in the *Waikato Times* on 6 July noted that the resolutions passed with regard to this decision had caused 'considerable feeling'.³³ The following day, an article advocating for fair play in sport was published, which presents as an example of editorial input, and the related exercise of public opinion influence, at an early stage in the development of this argument.³⁴ The writer of this piece advocated for the importance of fair play, noting that sport should be played for the 'games sake' and not just to win.³⁵ Such an overt display of the idealistic view of the place of sport presented, at least, some publicly represented values associated with the games, and the continued promotion of the British way of behaving. Words like 'glorious tradition' and 'nobler aspect' underscored the ties to the perceived upper class origins of amateur sporting endeavours, and the overall tone was one of impassioned advocacy.³⁶

'Fair play' became part of the mounting conflict between the Cambridge Club and the Centre which was, in part, played out in the Letters to the Editor sections of the paper. Correspondence from a Mr K Pilkington, the local delegate to the National Bowls Council, was published on 8 July 1926.³⁷ Pilkington very clearly drew the battle lines by beginning with a statement that a 'certain club' had shown great concern at the plans of the South Auckland Centre to schedule the pennant tournament (essentially the annual regional championship) at Easter. All interested readers would, of course, have been aware that he was referring to the Cambridge club. He went on to emphasize that the Centre was responsible for the

³³ 'Bowling Sensation', *Auckland Star*, 5 July 1926, p. 5. and 'Bowling', *Waikato Times*, 6 July 1926, p. 6.

³⁴ 'True Spirit Of Sport', *Waikato Times*, 7 July 1926, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ K. Pilkington, 'Bowling Tournament', *Waikato Times*, 8 July 1926, p. 6.

wellbeing of all thirty one affiliated clubs, and that the needs of the many needed to take precedence over the wishes of each individual club. This was essentially, in tone and content, an attempt to exert the authority of the Centre over the dissenting few, and given the relatively small population of the region at the time, likely had personal undertones.

Pilkington's arguments were then refuted by a Cambridge resident, Mr Edgar James, in a letter published on 13 July. In his rebuttable, and while underlining the loyalty shown to the Centre by the Cambridge club, Mr James laid out a case for the rights of the constituent clubs over the central body, noting that the 'first and foremost purpose [of the Centre] is the welfare of its affiliated clubs'.³⁸ The philosophical undertones of both letters warrant consideration. Pilkington, in his argument for the rights of the collective over its constituent parts, showed a paternalist attitude supported by ideas of collective strength; using a purported force of numbers to justify his stance. In contrast, James argued for an organisational structure that configured the Centre as the servant of the combined clubs. Both men appear to have tried to use such philosophical positions to mask the more inherently personal battle, or perhaps the fundamentally financial aspects of the argument. What is obvious is the strength of feeling about, and the importance placed on, this sporting dispute.

A further long letter concerning the controversy was published on Saturday 24 July.³⁹ In this instance, the letter was introduced by an editorial piece which purported to be simply restating the situation and noted that the issue, which would be 'finally determined at a meeting in Hamilton on September 25', was uppermost in the minds of bowlers from 'all parts of the district'.⁴⁰ The following letter was from a Mr Clavis from Ngāruawāhia who established his credentials by identifying himself as 'an ex vice-president of the South Auckland Centre'.⁴¹ While applauding the past efforts of the Cambridge Club's tournament (which he had attended), Mr Clavis very firmly advocated for the interests of the Centre as

³⁸ Edgar James, 'Bowling Tournaments', *Waikato Times*, 13 July 1926, p. 6.

³⁹ 'Bowling Controversy', *Waikato Times*, 24 July 1926, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

‘representative of 31 clubs’, over the needs of one part.⁴² The tone of this letter is very much one of conformity to an authority, that questioning the Council was not acceptable.

Such an overt expression of a power relationship is revealing and places sport in the same field as other organisational structures of the time.⁴³ A survey of the *Waikato Times* from July to September of 1926 reveals published details of meetings of Borough Councils, the New Zealand Licensing Commission, the local Herding Association and many others. In general, they all had similar formats and processes, with a Chairman or President, Treasurer and Secretary. The formalisation of sporting organisations into a committee structure, therefore, paralleled the administration of other parts of community life and was seen in earlier thesis chapters, particularly with regard to the Ngāruawāhiā Regatta. It will also feature in the following Clubs Chapter, and was a fundamental part of the management of these hegemonic structures. The idea of the democratic exercise of power was strong; officials were elected and accepted processes followed. There was a very strong sense of belonging to, and having a say in, an organised greater grouping that was a central part of the social and political functions of sport in the community.

Of course, the Easter tournament issue still needed to be resolved. Following the initial furore, it did not often appear as part of the weekly sporting news which, as it was winter, was heavily weighted with rugby reporting. There is evidence, however, that it was still part of the bowling community's consciousness, and that lobbying from each side was continuing. On 31 July, the *Waikato Times* ran a small piece titled ‘Bowling; South Auckland Tournament’.⁴⁴ This was a report of a meeting of the Rotorua Bowling Club which had received communication from the secretary of the South Auckland Centre, and from the Cambridge Club. Mr Pilkington was also involved as he had, by that time, produced a pamphlet in

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Jan Cameron and Roslyn Kerr note the links between sporting organisations and ‘the rules of parliamentary ‘democracy’ in their chapter ‘The issue of women in sport: ‘No bloody room for sheilas’ in *Sport in Aotearoa /New Zealand Society*, ed. by. Chris Collins and Steve Jackson, 2nd edition (Auckland: Thomson, 2007), pp. 335-354.

⁴⁴ ‘Bowling’, *Waikato Times*, 31 July 1926, p. 19.

support of the Centre's proposal. It seems that both sides were trying to garner support for their positions before the planned meeting and, given the indication that other clubs from the Bay of Plenty had agreed to support the Centre, this report was simply representative of the lobbying process.

The tension continued to build and, on 8 September, notice was given of a meeting of all delegates from the affiliated clubs to be held the following Saturday to make a decision about the proposed Centre tournament. The summary of the meeting published on Monday 13 September was two and a half columns long and gave a very detailed account of the three hour discussion.⁴⁵ A number of clubs had not been able to attend – in the extended debate about whether proxy votes should be accepted or not, it was stated that it would take five days for a delegate from the Opotiki Club in the Eastern Bay of Plenty to get to Hamilton.⁴⁶ A number of underlying concerns can be discerned from the discussion. As indicated earlier, for the South Auckland Centre, this appeared to have originally been a financial argument. Previous Centre tournaments had not been successful, mostly, it was claimed, because men were unable to take the necessary time away from work. This implied that, unlike the very early origin of bowls, this sport was played by working men, a point which was made during the debate by a delegate.⁴⁷

The published report of the meeting was constructed to reassure the reader that it was an unbiased account. The words of each speaker were apparently recorded in full, and it reads like a verbatim transcription. At one point, the Cambridge speaker spoke critically of the Centre management and the phrase '(Cries of dissent)' was inserted.⁴⁸ Eventually, following a collective decision denying the use of proxy votes, and the addition of an amendment delaying any change to 1928, a vote was held. The scores were tied, and the chairman of the meeting from the Thames Club, was left to cast the deciding vote. His club had voted for the Centre's proposal but the 'usual procedure in such circumstance was followed'

⁴⁵ 'Bowling Dates', *Waikato Times*, 13 September 1926, p. 8.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

and he voted for the 'existing condition of things'.⁴⁹ The Cambridge men had won.

The Cambridge Club did not, however, leave the meeting unscathed. A report published right below the meeting summary noted that a Council meeting had been held before the delegates meeting, and Cambridge had been suspended from the Centre as they had refused to apologise to a 'certain club' they had apparently maligned in a circular concerning the proposed scheduling change.⁵⁰ Such a suspension was, apparently, important and it was noted that they were going to appeal to the national ruling body. The following week, an appeal was heard 'in committee' (behind closed doors) at the annual meeting of the Council of the New Zealand Bowling Association and a decision was made which was relayed to all concerned.⁵¹ On 22 September, the *Waikato Times* reported the national Council's finding and it appeared that neither side had emerged without censure. The Council upheld the supremacy of the Centre and supported its right to make decisions regarding the scheduling of tournaments. It ordered the Cambridge Club to apologise to the Hamilton Club for comments made. It further ordered that the Cambridge Club be immediately reinstated following the making of such an apology and that the suspension constituted 'drastic punishment for the offence committed'.⁵² Apparently, the Cambridge Club complied, although some members of the club apparently still felt aggrieved and the decision to apologise was not unanimous.⁵³

The formality and seriousness with which these matters were discussed was again underlined, and it is very apparent that this affair was important to members of the greater Waikato community. It was covered in depth in the Cambridge Club history published in 1998 where it was said to have been 'probably the most difficult single occurrence in its history'.⁵⁴ There were still related problems between the club and the Centre in 1935, and then, in 1948, more friction

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ 'Bowling', *Waikato Times*, 17 September 1926, p. 2.

⁵² 'Bowling Suspension', *Waikato Times*, 22 September 1926, p. 8.

⁵³ *One Hundred Years On*, p. 26.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

developed when the Centre again tried to have the Cambridge Tournament withdrawn.⁵⁵ The Centre allowed the Hamilton club to hold a pairs tournament at Easter from 1927 onwards. The reporting of these tournaments, and some women's bowling events, held from 1950-1973, will be examined in later sections of this chapter.

The writing of this controversy resulted in a sustained narrative that contained drama and conflict, and in which the eventual resolution was represented as just, but also as not satisfactory to all involved. The space afforded the situation provides some idea of the importance both of sport, and lawn bowls in particular, for the Waikato community, and of the processes whereby sport was organised and controlled at that time. The operation of layers of sporting hierarchies is also revealed, including the acceptance that national bodies had the power to effect the decisions of their constituent members.

One further aspect of the 'place' of lawn bowls was indicated during this prolonged discussion. My stated impression that lawn bowls was always a pastime for people of retirement age, was challenged by the arguments that arose around the holding of important tournaments on public holidays. The likelihood that it was played by working men was supported by a comment in the Frankton Bowling Club's Centennial Booklet excusing those members who served in the first World War from paying fees, which indicated that young men were active participants.⁵⁶ The participation of mainly working men had, apparently, not changed by February 1948 when the annual bowls 'Veterans' Day' held by the Waikato-Thames Valley Bowling Centre was described.⁵⁷ For players over 65, this was said to have been a popular event, which large numbers of older Waikato bowlers attended.⁵⁸ The identification of this group of bowlers and the awarding of a special day shows that these were not the majority of regular players, although the actual ages of those present was not given. A comment in the report that the Centre president 'accorded [the participants] a warm welcome and assured

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ *Frankton Junction Bowling Club Golden Jubilee Souvenir Programme*, (Hamilton: Frankton Junction Bowling Club, 1961)

⁵⁷ 'Bowls Veterans At Play Yesterday At Claudelands', *Waikato Times*, 26 February 1948, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

them of a keen interest in their enjoyment' configured them as outsiders, and emphasized the social and participatory, rather than competitive, aspect of this occasion.⁵⁹ The tone of this report differs somewhat from that found in other contemporary bowling reports which were often simply a list of results.

1948: The Rise of Women Bowlers

Organised lawn bowls in New Zealand began as a predominantly men's sport, and formally organised participation in this activity by women does not appear in records until the early twentieth century. The acceptable place for women in the bowling clubs and associated milieu was in the kitchen and as supporters; for the most part, they were not permitted entrance into the male world that the clubs represented. The earliest women's bowling club in New Zealand was reportedly founded in 1906 as an associated, but subordinate, part of the Kelburn club in Wellington.⁶⁰ However, there are conflicting stories surrounding the establishment of the New Zealand Women's Bowling Association. Gordon Sargeant listed a New Zealand Ladies Bowling Association as having been constituted in 1930, and Greg Ryan also recorded that date for the formation of a New Zealand Women's Bowling Association.⁶¹ However, 1948 is given as the date for the formation by Bowls New Zealand, and by Charlotte Macdonald, who notes that the first meeting of the association was held that year in Dunedin.⁶² This date is likely more accurate and a record of the first meeting of the Association provides details of the eight Bowling Centres involved, of the constitution of a Council, the election of officers and the adoption of the 'rules of the Men's Bowling Association with alterations and additions to suit the Women's Council'.⁶³ There

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Charlotte Macdonald, 'Organisations in Sport, Recreation and Leisure', in *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand / Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu*, ed. by Anne Else (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press and Historical Branch, Dept of Internal Affairs, 1993), pp.405-416 (p. 408).

⁶¹ Sargeant, p.113; Greg Ryan, *The Making of New Zealand Cricket: 1832-1914* (London, & Portland: Frank Cass 2004). p. 23.

⁶² Macdonald, 'Organisations in Sport, Recreation and Leisure', p. 412.

⁶³ New Zealand Women's Bowling Association, *Minutes of the Meeting To Form the New Zealand Women's Bowling Association* (13 January 1949) (AADT W2897 573 Box 1, Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

were possible links to the work done by officers, particularly Noeline Thompson, employed by the New Zealand government as part of the physical welfare and recreation scheme. Established in 1937 following the passing of legislation under the then Labour government, this scheme was effective until the election of a 'conservative National government' in 1949.⁶⁴ The brief publication of the magazine *Women in Sport*, which became the *New Zealand Sportswomen*, in 1948 and 1949, also appears to be part of a concerted effort to support and promote sport for women.

The Hamilton Women's United Bowling Club held its opening day in the early part of November 1947.⁶⁵ The games were played at the Frankton Club which was the only men's club prepared to make its greens available. The description of the opening made much of the fact that this was the first women's bowling club in the South Auckland area, and that a number of senior bowling men, including the eventual Commonwealth Games champion E. P. Exelby, were present at, and apparently supported, this development. The writer, with a note of surprise, stated that the women showed a good knowledge of the game and that while the 'first two or three heads were rather ragged [...] thereafter the standard was really good'.⁶⁶ This beginning was also reported in the *New Zealand Herald* where a small piece was published on 6 November and credited to the paper's '(O.C)'.⁶⁷ That this Auckland based paper had its own correspondent cover such a news story at once places a social value on the event, but was also likely related to a continued drive to sell papers in the Waikato by indicating, whenever possible, the on-going relationship between the *Herald* and the South Auckland region.

This new club was unique in that while the women initially relied on a men's club for playing facilities, they soon obtained their own greens. By 1952, they had two greens and a pavilion in Knox Street, Hamilton. In contrast, many of the other women's clubs that formed around that time were affiliated to established men's

⁶⁴ Charlotte Macdonald, *Strong Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935–1960* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011), p 33.

⁶⁵ *Brief History of United Women's Bowling Club* (MS 0197, Hamilton Public Library Archive, Hamilton)

⁶⁶ 'Ladies Bowling Club Makes Auspicious Start', *Waikato Times*, 3 November 1947, p. 6.

⁶⁷ 'Women's Bowling', *New Zealand Herald*, 6 November 1947, p. 4.

clubs, and were subject to restrictions about the use of greens and clubroom facilities. In Waihi, for example, a Ladies Club was recognised by the men's organisation at the 1953-54 Annual General Meeting. The women were allowed to use four rinks on the main green two days a week – Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays were available – had to 'make their own sanitary arrangements with the Croquet Club' and were 'at all times under the jurisdiction of Men's Club, and must forfeit the greens on any day the men require[d] them'.⁶⁸ Such restrictions, and the apparent underlying contention and disquiet, can be found in a number of other similar records but are not as obvious in newspaper reporting. As Fiona Hall noted, the men's clubs controlled the necessary resources throughout New Zealand.⁶⁹ They appear to have been uniformly reluctant to give up their actual, and social, space. This consistent exercise of control, and apparent social gate-keeping, has similarities with the power struggles seen in the 1926 controversy, and is in keeping with the discursive gender norms noted earlier in this thesis.

The inherent attitudes about the place of women in this sport, and the structures they embodied, appear to have been found in other parts of the Commonwealth sporting world where bowls, like rugby, netball, and cricket, was predominantly played. Louella McCarthy states that bowls should have always been seen as a suitable pastime for women, given its essentially non-contact, physically restrained attributes.⁷⁰ She suggests that it was the development of the physical resources coupled with the organisation into clubs, that reinforced the exclusively male nature of this sport, and led to a strong disinclination to give up this social and physical space.⁷¹

In general, the reported participation of women in this sport was amongst themselves, in club games and gender-segregated tournaments. It contrasts quite markedly with indoor bowls where men and women appear to have competed

⁶⁸ Roy Kennedy, *Waihi Bowling Club Inc., 1905–1980: 75th Anniversary* (Waihi, NZ: Waihi Bowling Club, 1980), p. 12.

⁶⁹ Fiona Hall, 'New Zealand Women's Bowling Association', in *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand / Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu*, ed. by Anne Else (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press and Historical Branch, Dept of Internal Affairs, 1993), pp. 440-442 (p.440).

⁷⁰ McCarthy, p. 120.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

against each other from the early stages of its development along with two of the other major sports played by women before 1947. Tennis and croquet organisations held mixed tournaments from the nineteenth century onwards, and while singles tennis matches were divided by gender, mixed doubles games were played. Croquet, a sport much like bowls in that no physical contact is necessary, was also played as a mixed game. Both, as Charlotte Macdonald notes, arose out of social activities, and involved the 'wealthier sections of society'.⁷² In contrast, segregation by class was not an obvious feature in the development of bowling clubs, and the club environment was almost exclusively male. The women who were eventually able to play bowls did so with the permission, but mostly without the presence, of men. As seen in the Waihi club example, they were almost always excluded from regular weekend play, reflecting a societal norm that expected that women did not work in paid employment, and that those who chose to play didn't have to care for young children. Men controlled the resources, and could, thereby, exert control over the activities of women. Therefore, those women who established their own spaces represented a challenge to this dominance.

The exertion of power by men in sporting organisations was reflected and reinforced in much of the archival material used in this thesis. The role of the media normalisation of sport as a male field, and the related marginalisation of sportswomen, has been well documented.⁷³ Sabo and Jansen have coined the phrases *symbolic annihilation* and *symbolic glorification* to represent the related ideas of the underrepresented and stereotyped ways some groups are depicted, in contrast with the concentration on, and lauding of, other participants.⁷⁴ The narratives constructed about and around sporting activities reinforced these concepts, sometimes simply by the volume and detail of coverage provided. An examination of descriptions of bowling competitions, both for women and men,

⁷² Macdonald, 'Organisations in Sport, Recreation and Leisure', p. 406.

⁷³ See, for example, Toni Bruce 'Women Sport and the Media' in *Outstanding: Research About Women and Sport in New Zealand*, ed. by Camilla Obel, Toni Bruce and Shona Thompson (Hamilton: Wile Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, 2008), pp. 51-72.

⁷⁴ Don. Sabo and Sue. C. Jansen, 'Images of men in sports media: the social reproduction of gender order', in *Men, Masculinity and the Media*, ed. by Steve Craig (London: Sage, 1992), pp.169 -184.

reveals differences in the depictions of different types of sports, and of the ways the activities of older members of the community are shown. Bowls appears to have been seen as an appropriate sport for older people no longer perceived as able to compete in more vigorous activities. Such assumptions are not often overt – they can sometimes be found in denial. A description in the February 1953 edition of the *New Zealand Sportsman* was titled ‘Strenuous N.Z Championships’ where the writer noted:

The belief held by many people that bowls is an old man’s game was proved to be a fallacy by the manner in which youthful competitors made their mark throughout the tournament.⁷⁵

The need to make such a claim indicates some resistance to the discursive norms which configured bowls as less vigorous than other sports. While, like rugby, skill and expertise were generally commended, it is possible that the perceived lack of physicality in this sport was seen as a weakness.

1950-1973: The Writing of Annual Tournaments and an ‘Everyday’ Sport

The examination of a series of men’s and women’s tournaments and other bowling activities in this section focuses on the comparative depictions of men and women bowlers, and on the continuing inclusion of material from Hamilton and Cambridge events. Most of the competitions discussed were usually held on weekends or public holiday, although some were played for longer than two days, and would have required participants to be retired from paid work, or to take leave to participate. By 1950, the ability to hold tournaments over the Easter period was even more obviously important as there were many competing sporting activities reported in the *Waikato Times*. The Hamilton Combined Clubs Tournament had, at this stage, become a fours competition, and therefore was in direct competition with the Cambridge event. Another move to have the Cambridge tournament ‘withdrawn from the list’ had been attempted in 1948 which resulted in a

⁷⁵ ‘Strenuous N.Z Championships’ *The New Zealand Sportsman*, 7.6 (2nd February 1953), p. 41.

submission to the New Zealand Council in Wellington by a representative from Cambridge, producing a favourable outcome for that club.⁷⁶

A trend towards a more Hamilton-based focus can be found in the *Waikato Times* and is displayed in the material examined below. In addition, the public place of the newspaper as both a news source, and as a primary communication tool for groups within its circulation area, can be seen in the inclusion of a draw for the Hamilton tournament. Much of this information appears to have been contributed by the sporting organisations themselves; certainly by the early 1960s this was apparent. A notice was issued which gave instructions for the type of copy that would be acceptable for publication:

The co-operation is sought of members of sporting organisations and schools forwarding results of sporting events for publication in the *Waikato Times*. Publication will be expedited if the results are written clearly and legibly, are written on one side of the paper only and are well spaced. Adherence to the style of punctuation used in sports results in the *Waikato Times* is essential.⁷⁷

Given the printing of this notice, and that it is improbable to assume that newspaper reporters were at every sporting event described in the papers, it would appear that those reports that had a more narrative style and gave greater detail of the flow of the games, would have been the work of *Waikato Times* staff, although that might not always have been the case.

However, the placement of the coverage of events was controlled by the editorial staff regardless of who produced or provided the copy. The results of the two competing men's Easter fours tournaments held in 1950 were published from Saturday 8 April and the first reports set the tone. In a *Waikato Times* report on page 8, a large half column report gave details of competition organised by the 'Hamilton Combined clubs executive committee'.⁷⁸ Before the results of the first day's play were listed, the writer noted that 'Mr Kelly, in opening the tournament,

⁷⁶ *One Hundred Years On*, p. 29.

⁷⁷ *Waikato Times*, 21 May 1962, p. 13.

⁷⁸ 'Easter Bowling Tourney', *Waikato Times*, 8 April 1950, p. 8.

referred to the presence of players from outside the Waikato-Thames Valley Centre's territory and that the visiting players commented favourably on the greens'.⁷⁹ This appears to be both an effort to boost the region's reputation, but may have also been directed at the Cambridge Club, whose tournament had always attracted players from around the country. The Cambridge Club's event was at this stage, much larger with 54 teams in comparison with Hamilton's 36. A much smaller report of the Cambridge event was printed below, with less detail, including a note that the weather was cold.⁸⁰ By Monday 10 April, however, the positions on the page were reversed, although both reports, and that of a Huntly fours bowling tournament, were relatively small. The Hamilton results were also published further in the paper, with a note about the excellent organisation. On April 11, the Hamilton results were placed above those from Cambridge, but both pieces seem to have been results submitted by the event organisers.⁸¹ The final results were published the following day, and the style and content of the article indicates that the writer was at the Hamilton event. A description was given of the final game in an abbreviated form: 'The strain was beginning to tell, but all players did their best'.⁸² The Cambridge results, in contrast, contained very little detail, and it appears evident that a reporter was not present.

The style and placement of this coverage is given in detail to provide a sense of the type of reporting of lawn bowls most often found at this time. The passion and engagement shown in the narrative of the 1926 conflict is not evident in these reports. This could well be because the conflict itself produced an impassioned editorial response, or it could indicate the lack of excitement in the reporting of the more normal bowls/sporting competitions. This style was standard for a number of sports at this time and reflected the role of the paper as an information source. It also gives some indication of the relative importance placed on each tournament at this time. There is little in the material that overtly shows

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ 'Semi-Final Stages Of Combined Clubs' Bowling Tourney', *Waikato Times*, 11 April 1950, p. 6.

⁸² 'Combined Clubs's Bowls Tourney Won By Whitiora Four', *Waikato Times*, 12 April 1950, p. 6.

preference or support, except the subtle praise of the Hamilton organisation in contrast with the absence of that type of description for the Cambridge event.

The placement, size and detail given of these two events overshadowed the reporting of the women's bowling tournaments, which did not have the same profile at this time. It is easy to find them in the paper; while the men's events were just titled 'bowls', the women's competitions were always at this point called 'women's' or 'ladies' bowling, and the players were given the honorific Mrs (rarely Miss for bowls). Such gender marking is evident in most sports reporting at this time, except in outdoor basketball (netball) which was considered a female-only pastime. There is also little evidence that these events were attended by *Waikato Times* reporters. Various reports can be found, all relatively small, and none with the type of detail given to some of the men's games.⁸³

The publication of these results indicates a level of interest but this needs to be considered within a wider contextual framework. Not only were these reports far smaller and less visible than descriptions of the sporting activities of men, they were given far less importance than the women's page which was published in every copy of the *Waikato Times* at this time. Called 'Topics of Interest Especially for Women', such pages typically included wedding announcements, 'social notes' and fashion hints. Very occasionally, as on 27 March 1950, this section might include golf results, but such reporting was unusual.⁸⁴ In addition, although there was an occasional mention of happenings at 'Ladies' Bowling Clubs, like the piece describing the competition for a 'cock of the walk button' at the United Club, the social, rather than sporting aspect of the activity was generally emphasised. In this instance, the same small report contained a note that the club members had entertained the President and Vice President of the Auckland Ladies

⁸³ 'Semi-Finals of Women's Bowling Tournament', *Waikato Times*, 31 March 1950, p. 6; 'Women's Bowling Tournament Concluded', *Waikato Times*, 1 April 1950, p. 6; 'Ladies Tourney', *Waikato Times*, 10 April 1950, p. 8.

⁸⁴ 'Good Scores Open Women's Gold Season At St Andrews', *Waikato Times*, 27 March 1950, p. 3.

Bowling Centre for tea.⁸⁵ However, the centring of other interests for women, rather than sporting endeavours, was consistent and enduring.

The tone and size of both the men's and women's bowling reports reveal small but significant aspects of the role of the newspaper in perpetuating local power structures. This sporting activity continued to be constructed as normal and an accepted part of ordinary life. There is little to suggest that the events were covered in ways that challenged accepted community discourses, or that they constituted a threat to existing norms.

As discussed in previous parts of this thesis, the 1950s are often described as a golden time for New Zealand families. The seemingly unlimited opportunities for employment (for men), and the 'baby boom' which would see New Zealand's population grow from 1.7 million in 1945 to 3 million by 1975, meant that family structures which favoured a working father and a 'stay-at-home' mother were considered normal.⁸⁶ Even an acclaimed female athlete like Yvette Williams (now Corlett) was expected to fulfil a normative role as an accomplished housewife. In an article published in the *New Zealand Sportsman* and written by Dorothy Simons, the two time New Zealand Sportsman of the year recipient was described in her role as a newly married 'housewife'.⁸⁷ This article provides a rich example of the ways even one of the greatest of New Zealand athletes was portrayed as attending to her husband's needs, preserving fruit, and generally conforming to community ideals. She still worked outside the home at this point – as a secretary at the Y.M.C.A. – but did 'not neglect her wifely duties'.⁸⁸ Simons' commentary also emphasised naivety by describing Williams/Corlett as a 'giggling' newly married girl. She was, therefore, configured into a representation that re-established a patriarchal discourse by undercutting the challenge presented by an overtly strong woman.

⁸⁵ 'Miscellany Of Sport', *Waikato Times*, 6 April 1950, p. 9.

⁸⁶ Graeme Dunstall, 'The Social Pattern', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey Rice, 2nd edition (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 451-481 (p.454).

⁸⁷ 'World Champion As Housekeeper', *New Zealand Sportsman*, 10.8 (April 1955), 13-14 (p.13).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

The casting of women as wives and mothers most interested in their homes, fashion and gossip was evident in the women's pages in a number of newspapers at this time.⁸⁹ However, a rare appearance by women bowlers in the News for Women page of the *Waikato Times* occurred on 4 March 1957. A very small report titled 'Mixed Bowling Tourney' gave details of a weekend competition for 'twenty -six teams' held at the United Women's Bowling Club.⁹⁰ It was described as enjoyable and the winning teams of four, each with two women and two men, were listed. Judging by the names given, one team consisted of two married couples, and the other of one married couple and two other players. This type of event was likely an acceptable way for couples to play this sport together, and significantly, this is not described in ways that would position it as a competitive occasion, but rather as a social outing. Of course, both teams were 'skipped', or captained, by men.⁹¹

In contrast, reports of two men's competitions found later in the same newspaper paper, gave far more detail of the play, in ways that provide some insight into the ways sport was displayed to the readers at this time. The commentary style indicated that it was directed at those readers who had a detailed knowledge of how the game was played. For example, in the description of the final of the Centre's 'champion of champions pairs', the writer noted that '[t]he eighth end was a bad one for Liddell. He was three up when he left the end and with his first bowl he touched the kitty and went one down'.⁹² The underlying assumption was, once again, that the reader would have understood the terms and description without the need for explanation, and that such a comprehensive report had a place in the newspaper. The articles on this page also give an indication of a continuing Hamilton focus/bias – the greens used for this event were at the Hamilton Club and were in 'very god [sic] order'.⁹³ Another smaller report on the same page notes that leading and 'well-known' bowlers from the region and

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 November 1957, p. 4.

⁹⁰ 'Mixed Bowling Tourney' *Waikato Times*, 4 March 1957, p. 3.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² 'Champion of Champions Pairs Title to Raglan', *Waikato Times*, 4 March 1957, p. 11.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

beyond, were 'expected to participate in the Hamilton club's first annual two-day tournament.'⁹⁴

The relative importance of women's bowls in the area is clearly demonstrated in a sports reporting page published two days later. While this very small article does not have the usual evidentiary title indicating that it is about sportswomen, its size and placement, in relation to the importance of the actual result, is revealing.⁹⁵ Giving details of the Dominion (national) women's bowling championship, it was noted that 189 'rinks' were involved and that a team from the Hamilton United ladies club finished fourth.⁹⁶ It is probable that such a result achieved by men would have been afforded much more prominence. A very similar article, in size and tone was published directly underneath this piece, giving details of the results from a local men's club competition.⁹⁷ However, a report of the Waikato provincial women's bowling competition played at the United greens three weeks later was more visible and the standard of play described as 'exceptionally high'.⁹⁸ The apparent popularity of the event is indicated by the 'large gallery' of spectators, and a brief description of the game was provided.⁹⁹ Again, there was a suggestion of the presence of a reporter. The size and prominence of this last article is indicative of the uneven and inconsistent nature of coverage at this time, although there was still, in general, much more sports news featuring men, not just in amount of copy but in the placement and relative size of the reports. The normative discourse of sport being predominantly for men was not necessarily changed by the small variations in coverage, but this is an example of the lack of overall consistency in the operation of these configurations.

The draw for the 1957 Hamilton Easter Tournament was published on 13 April, again showing the place of the newspaper as a provider of, or conduit for, communication throughout the community.¹⁰⁰ This large tournament, including clubs from around the area, would likely have contrasted with the Hamilton

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ 'Hamilton Team Was Fourth In Bowls', *Waikato Times*, 6 March 1957, p. 12.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ 'Claudelands Wins Open Bowls Tourney', *Waikato Times*, 6 March 1957, p. 12.

⁹⁸ 'United Teams Contest Final of Women's Bowls', *Waikato Times*, 25 March 1957, p. 10.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ 'Section Draw For Bowls Starting On Good Friday', *Waikato Times*, 13 April 1957, p. 17.

Bowling club's own final competition the previous Sunday which was described as having an 'end of season atmosphere' and a lack of the excitement usually found in tournaments.¹⁰¹ Such a comment has a disappointed tone, but also highlights the competitive nature the writer saw as inherent in the playing of this game. A large report published the following day gave details of the opening of a new pavilion at the Taupiri Bowling Club.¹⁰² It discussed the ways in which club members volunteered their time and efforts to develop this building; such unpaid contributions will be examined in more detail in the following chapter. However, this report also revealed something about the nature of the role of the formal hierarchical structures and tradition in this sport at this time. The new facility was 'opened' by a named representative of the Waikato-Thames Valley Bowling Association in the presence of the local Member of Parliament and his wife, and other dignitaries. An original 'kitty' (small white ball) was presented and the afternoon tea provided by the ladies. Both accepted gender patterns and the accumulation of political capital were reinforced on this occasion.

The first report listing the early results of the 1957 Hamilton Combined Easter Tournament was published on 20 April.¹⁰³ This tournament was organised using a number of greens and much is made in the report of the distinguished visitors from the National Association Council who made up some of the 64 entered rinks. Further results were published two days later, above a smaller and less detailed report of the Cambridge Tournament.¹⁰⁴ The following day, a very small report noted that the Cambridge Tournament was again affected by rain but there was a much larger description of the events at Hamilton.¹⁰⁵ The comparative volume of information makes it obvious that the focus by this point was firmly on the Hamilton event.

¹⁰¹ 'Hamilton Bowling Club's Tournament', *Waikato Times*, 15 April 1957, p. 14.

¹⁰² 'Taupiri Bowling Club Opens New Pavilion: Fine Self-Help Effort', *Waikato Times*, 16 March 1957, p. 11.

¹⁰³ 'Hamilton Combined Bowling Clubs Hold Easter Tournament', *Waikato Times*, 20 April 1957, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ 'Ten Teams Qualify in Hamilton Bowling Tourney', and 'Four Teams With Six Wins in Cambridge Easter Bowling', *Waikato Times*, 22 April 1957, p. 8.

¹⁰⁵ 'Fourteen Teams Qualify in Hamilton Easter Bowling', *Waikato Times*, 23 April 1957, p. 8.

The final of the Hamilton tournament was played on 23 April and a prominent report with photos was published the following day.¹⁰⁶ It was titled a ‘Thrilling End to Bowling Tourney: Final Ends In Tie’ and the two skips were shown in action shots and described as ‘old rivals’ who had played in the same match ten years earlier.¹⁰⁷ Following a detailed description of the match, which was apparently watched by a big crowd, it was noted that, as the game was a draw, it would be replayed the following weekend. In contrast, a much smaller and less prominent article gave on-going details of the Cambridge tournament, and noted that there were leading national players mostly from Auckland Clubs, who were still involved in their weather-delayed event.¹⁰⁸ Some subtle rivalry between the groups was still evident and the complicity of the *Waikato Times* in this was apparent in its placement of the report of the final result on 29 April.¹⁰⁹ At the far bottom right of a page mostly containing other national (not sports) news, a small piece gives very brief details of the Cambridge outcome. It was, in fact, a very similar treatment as that accorded to the United Women's bowlers at their national tournament, but was less prominent and detailed than the report of the Waikato women's later event.

This apparent on-going rivalry, or at least the changes in visibility for such an established event, complicates the picture of a Waikato sporting identity that is central to this thesis. The representation of sports in earlier chapters often involved regional unity. However, the competition shown in this chapter reveals some internal fragmentation of a sporting community and of local allegiances.

The popularity of this sport apparently continued to grow. John Carter noted that the biggest increase in bowling club memberships occurred in the period between 1955 and 1960, and that by the 1966 season there were ‘45,184 men [...] and 20,260 women’ playing the sport.¹¹⁰ This, he claimed, gave it a ‘larger playing membership’ than any other sport.¹¹¹ As noted previously, there was also a marked

¹⁰⁶ ‘Thrilling End to Bowling Tourney: Final Ends In Tie’, *Waikato Times*, 24 April 1957, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ ‘Cambridge Easter Bowling Tourney Final Tomorrow’, *Waikato Times*, 26 April 1957, p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Cambridge Bowling Club Tournament’, *Waikato Times*, 29 April 1957, p. 8.

¹¹⁰ Carter, p. 110.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

change to the look and tone of newspaper reporting by 1965. Improvements in technical equipment meant that more photographs were able to be published and the 'news' was produced more immediately. However, other parts of the paper had not changed. There was still a section for women which, on 2 March, was called 'Mainly for Women' and covered two pages featuring wedding photographs, engagements and social notes.¹¹² The advertisements surrounding these entries were for fashions, furniture and figure-controlling underwear, indicating a commercial belief that this was the best place to feature such products.

Women's bowling results were also still published and still much less prominent than other women's items. Some change can be found in a report which listed the result of various bowling club events including both a women's, and a mixed, tournament.¹¹³ This change is not consistent; women were still sometimes given titles but were not always identified in this way. It is evident though, that bowls, and sport in general, was still a visible way that sections of the Waikato community were presented at this time.

It was also apparent that any change in the narratives surrounding this, and indeed other sporting activities, was most often subtle and inconsistent. By 1965, women's bowls had gained a small increase in coverage when compared to reports of male bowlers. On 5 March, for example, a notification appeared for a tournament giving information about timing of, and venues for, the 'women's' section of the Waikato-Thames Valley Bowling Centre's annual tournament.¹¹⁴ A report published three days later (below a similar sized men's bowling story) gave a brief description of the results of an event held by the 'Waikato Women's Bowling Centre' at the Beerescourt greens.¹¹⁵ In addition, there was a small increase in the reporting of bowls news in the 'Women's' pages. On 12 March, for example, a brief report noted that 'Mrs K. Evans of the Frankton Junction

¹¹² 'Mainly For Women', *Waikato Times*, 2 March 1965, pp. 10, 11

¹¹³ 'Bradley wins bowling final at Whitiara', *Waikato Times*, 2 March 1965, p.16.

¹¹⁴ 'Tournament in women's bowls', *Waikato Times*, 5 March 1965, p. 10. Contrary to the implication contained in this story, there was a separate Waikato women's central organisation by this stage, not simply a section of the men's Centre.

¹¹⁵ 'Women from Frankton win', *Waikato Times*, 8 March 1965, p. 17.

Women's Bowling Club had a double first in club play'.¹¹⁶ The social acceptance of this pastime was indicated by its inclusion in this space. It also seems that while the overall number of bowls stories was keeping pace with those describing other sports, these reports were often small and lacked any detail apart from basic results. There is a growing sense that different sports were commanding more detailed coverage, although this was, again, not a consistent pattern.

The changes in the format of the *Waikato Times* made finding 'significant' sports stories easier for the readers. The most consistently important space for sporting news at this point in the paper's history was the back page. On 16 March, the Waikato women's fours tournament was featured in a large and relatively prominent story, surrounded by the always prevalent horse racing news.¹¹⁷ While the bowling story simply gave results, its placement and size indicated that this event had some local importance. A Matamata player, and previous champion, 'Mrs Wealleans' was said to be doing well.¹¹⁸ A summary of bowling news was, at this time, often grouped in a section called 'Around the Greens'. The report from 17 March noted that the nationally ranked player and defending champion T.T. Skogland from Carlton, had entered the Waikato-Thames Valley Bowling Centre's Easter Tournament¹¹⁹ Further results of the women's tournament were also published on that day, again in the centre of the back page.¹²⁰ This time, unfortunately, Mrs Wealleans had been beaten.

This imagery of women as competitive sportspeople, even if in a sport seen as not particularly physical, was in a contextual space that still generally supported relatively conservative roles for women, or described their perceived movement into traditionally male areas in ways that underlined difference. On 18 March, a large article with two prominent photographs was titled 'Petticoat Postmen do a full day's work'.¹²¹ This report contained a description of a typical postwoman's day, paying particular attention to the clothes she wore and the social and

¹¹⁶ 'Prowess in Bowling', *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1965, p. 8.

¹¹⁷ 'Bowls final tomorrow', *Waikato Times*, 24 March 1965, p. 32.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ 'Around the greens', *Waikato Times*, 17 March 1965, p. 18.

¹²⁰ 'Tournament continues', *Waikato Times*, 17 March 1965, p. 28.

¹²¹ 'Petticoat Postmen Do A Full Day's Work', *Waikato Times*, 18 March 1965, p. 22.

‘interesting’ parts of her job. The writer noted that about half of the women working in this role were married.¹²² The final paragraph underlined the overall tenor of the story:

This example of women replacing men in what was once considered a man's world suggests that the present trend for the fair sex to do the stronger sex's work would continue.¹²³

In this discursive environment, the playing of bowls – that was also an incursion into male space – seems to have become less of a threat, probably because of the very nature of the sport. Certainly, the daily publishing of results from the women's tournament continued and the focus on Mrs Wealleans also continued until, on 19 March, it was reported that she had been ‘eliminated’.¹²⁴ The relatively small story giving the final result, a win to Mrs Guy, was an anticlimax in comparison, but Mrs Wealleans was back in prominence a few days later at the Centre's pairs event. In all, women's bowling results were present in some form in every *Waikato Times* paper published from 15 to 26 March 1965 inclusive, a marked change from 1957.

By Easter 1965, the Hamilton based men's event had transformed into the Waikato-Thames Valley Centre Easter Tournament, which posed a more substantial threat to the annual Cambridge competition. However, the number of bowlers playing in the latter event obviously ensured its on-going success. A very large report published on 19 March noted that while there would be format changes, the 56th annual tournament would proceed as planned, and gave details of the groupings of all teams entered.¹²⁵ At this time, a feature of the *Waikato Times* was the promotion of various individual areas of the Waikato, and one promoting Cambridge was published on 10 April.¹²⁶ The inclusion of this type of article, with surrounding advertisements supported the continuing impression that the default focus of Waikato interests was on Hamilton, and that other towns and

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ ‘Last year's winner out of bowls’, *Waikato Times*, 19 March 1965, p. 18.

¹²⁵ ‘Changes in Cambridge Bowling Tournament’, *Waikato Times*, 19 March 1965, p. 6.

¹²⁶ ‘Cambridge’, *Waikato Times*, 10 April 1965, p. 15.

districts had to be overtly identified to be included. These features did enable the targeted sale of advertising space, however, so the commercial attraction of their inclusion would also be a driver. In this instance, ‘Sport personalities’, and the celebration of their achievements at a recent civic reception, were a very central part.¹²⁷

The relative place of bowls at this time is revealed in the coverage of the Waikato-Thames Valley Easter tournament. On Easter Saturday, a large three column report noted the inclement weather and gave details of the numbers of teams involved and the results of the restricted amount of action that had been possible.¹²⁸ The report of the event a few pages later gave details of the results of the previous day’s play and provided a link to the Empire/Commonwealth Games, as one of the Gold medal winning pairs team, H. Robson, was beaten in a ‘major upset’.¹²⁹ The Cambridge results, in contrast, no longer commanded the same attention. A relatively small report of the final competition was published on 22 April.¹³⁰ The importance of bowling news can be inferred from the inclusion of two photographs and a large report later in the week.

¹²⁷ Ibid. In 2016, Cambridge has become a very important hub for high performance athletes including rowers who train on the nearby Lake Karapiro, and cyclists based at the new Avantidrome Cycling Centre.

¹²⁸ ‘Overnight rain holds up bowls’, *Waikato Times*, 17 April 1965, p. 32.

¹²⁹ Easter bowling: Three Eights Scored In Yesterday’s Play’, *Waikato Times*, 19 April 1965, p. 24.

¹³⁰ ‘Devonport four wins bowling’, *Waikato Times*, 22 April 1965, p. 28.

Taupo bowling club winners



Taupiri team wins exciting bowls final

In a thrilling final yesterday afternoon the Taupiri team, skipped by M. Taylor, beat a highly regarded Hamilton four, skipped by the top New Zealand bowler M. Borich, to win the Waikato-Thames Valley Easter fours tournament on the Hamilton No. 1 green by 19-14.

It was the first time the Taupiri team comprising, M. Taylor, H. Riddell, N. Jackways and K. Wilson, had ever won an open tournament.

To do so they beat three Empire Games, four New Zealand and several centre champions in the last eight teams.

Borich's four included W. Waring, W. Kemp and T. Francis.

Watched by a large gallery the game was regarded as one of the most exciting ever seen at an Easter Tournament.

With 12 ends played, Borich led 11-4, but Taylor closed the gap in the next end and took the lead 13-11 in the fourteenth, with an amazing head where the

balls changed considerably.

The No. 4 K. Wilson was laying magnificently with accurate drawing.

The 15th was won by Borich, who promptly shortened the next end in a battle of tactics. But the Taupiri team cannot two more in the 16th and were leading 17-12 in the 18th, after Borich, who was driving at this stage, killed the end.

When Riddell drove the kitty in the 20th, the game was virtually over. Borich had one last desperate try on the 21st. He had to kill the head to get the six wanted to tie. He got one and the game was over.

The final was not only a close scoring game but it was good bowls, something seldom seen in a final, with just about every shot imaginable being played.

The sensation of the quarter finals was the remarkable recovery of Borich's team when after being behind half way through the game with W. Fleming.

It scored a seven to put it well in front. The team was lying at that stage, two

down, and trailed the kitty to 16 four shots.

Borich beat Fleming 19-17 in the semi-finals played in the afternoon Taylor's team beat Borich 23-12.

It was a story of good teamwork all round. The Taupiri four bowled consistently well and outplayed their opponents in every department of the game.

Superb bowls was played when Borich, of Hamilton, skipped the four skipped by Gamble, 12-13.

Near the end, Gamble held four shots which would have brought him back into the game, but the last bowl of Borich drew the shot.

Skippers show skill learned on city lake

Faire, M. Margison and A. Gough proved at Auckland the high standard of sailing skill achieved on Lake Rotomanga.

They were competing against New Zealand's top eight helmsmen at the national Zephyr championships on the Waitemata Harbour.

In the invitation race on Friday Faire finished second and Margison third.

In the championship series over four races these skippers were always a threat.

Faire gaining a fifth, two thirds and a third in a fleet of 41 boats.

This performance normally would have given him a clear-cut victory but, as so often happens in yachting, other factors affected the outcome.

In the first heat Faire was advised after the race he was seen to be over the start line when the gun fired and with others should have returned to start again.

He was accordingly disqualified and forfeited all points for that race.

However, he still managed to finish very close in points to gain an overall second placing.

McDell, of Auckland won

Winners of the Taupo Women's Bowling Club tournaments during the season display their trophies after the annual presentation. Mrs. J. Stacey, Mayor of Huntly, made the presentation. The bowlers are from left, Mesdames Y. Wall (winner Tug button), R. Ngamotu (winner Grandmaster's trophy, runner-up in open singles championships and best aggregate), L. Daise (winner Tug button, runner-up in aggregate points), Mrs. B. Dillon (skipper championships), K. McDillon (winner Veteran's Cup), K. Richards (member of champion stroke team), D. Southbridge (winner of pairs championships), E. Morris (winner of pairs championships), L. Rogers (winner of Starer Trophy), Mrs. E. Gardner, who won the intermediate championship is absent from the photograph.

Country side might include former Kiwis

SYDNEY. — Two former New Zealand international forwards may play for the Country against City in the annual Rugby League match on May 27.

They are R. C. Ackland and M. Cooke.

The secretary of the Country Rugby League, Mr. J. O'Toole, said today Ackland and Cooke were eligible for the Country team.

Cooke captained the last Kiwi touring team to Australia in 1963 and starred as a lock forward.

He is captain-coach of Canberra this year.

Ackland, who also toured Australia with the 1963 Kiwis, is captain-coach of Goulburn United, one of Canberra's rivals.

(Times Correspondent)

TE AROHA.—The Te Aroha Bowling Club members competed for the president's trophies at the club's closing day tournament.

The only team to gain the required four wins was D. S. Hill, G. Gardiner, B. Randerson and J. Capewell. Runners-up were S. Boyd, W. Pirie, J. King and G. Robinson.

WATGIA. — Members of the women's club were invited guests at the Waikato Bowling Club's closing day. The winning team was C. Laurence, Mrs. T. Quattrone and R. Clarke.

The presentation of the club's championship trophies were made as follows:—

Open singles: C. Laurence; runner-up, R. Henton. Open pairs: C. Laurence and R. Henton; runner-up, R. Henton and D. Wallace.

Recovery

The sensation of the quarter finals was the remarkable recovery of Borich's team when after being behind half way through the game with W. Fleming.

It scored a seven to put it well in front. The team was lying at that stage, two

Soccer tables

LONDON.—English league tables after Monday's matches were—

ENGLISH DIVISION ONE

P W D L P

Man. United . 39 24 9 6 87

Chelsea . 39 24 8 7 86

Leeds . 39 24 8 7 86

Everton . 41 18 10 13 67

Nottingham . 41 18 11 12 67

Sheff. Wed. 39 18 11 10 67

Sheff. Friars 39 18 11 10 67

Sheff. Wed. 39 18 11 10 67

Sheff. Friars 39 18 11 10 67

ENGLISH DIVISION TWO

P W D L P

Birmingham 40 24 7 9 85

Cardiff 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Wed. 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Friars 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Wed. 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Friars 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Wed. 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Friars 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Wed. 40 24 7 9 85

Sheff. Friars 40 24 7 9 85

Figure 9: Taupo Bowling Club Winners'; Taupiri team wins exciting bowls final, *Waikato Times*, 21 April 1965, p. 22.

The photograph of the Taupo players is an example of the inclusion of other parts of the Waikato bowling community. These women were shown in regulation uniforms: note the consistent length of their skirts. This photograph and the caption giving details of their success was a very visual way of celebrating their achievement and added to their social standing. Inclusion in the newspaper for positive reasons would have brought noticeable prestige and potential cultural capital. However, the main feature of this page is the story of Taupiri's win, and their ability to beat so many noted bowlers is the central and celebrated focus. This, finally, is a narrative more in keeping with other sports reporting. There was drama with lead changes, cunning tactics and 'cool and skillful play'.¹³¹ Arguably the most important part of the tale was that the Taupiri team were underdogs, 'a small country club with 28 members'.¹³² This story echoes portrayals of heroes in the previous chapter, particularly those who triumphed over adversity. The photograph of the victorious team published on the following page is reprinted in the Club's history and a connection to a centrally important Waikato sport – in this case rugby – emphasised the place these winners occupied within a particular social space.

¹³¹ 'Taupiri teams wins exciting bowls final', *Waikato Times*, 21 April 1965, p. 22.

¹³² *Ibid.*



Figure 10: *Waikato Times*, 21 April 1965, p. 23.

As discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, the dominant sports story of early 1973 was arguably the pressure applied to Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk to refuse to allow the Springbok Rugby team to tour New Zealand. A small

report in the *Waikato Times* of 2 March gave a direct indication of the problems Kirk faced.¹³³ Lawn bowls, of course, had been a very successful part of the Games for New Zealand, and for the Waikato. By this point, some subtle changes had occurred in its place in the public sporting narratives located in this region.

It was still possible to find bowling results in the paper although by March 1973, they were appearing less frequently. However, on 6 March, an article was published concerning a Waikato-Thames Valley team that was part of a group playing bowlers from New South Wales, and the prominence of the report matched other stories which emphasised the success of Waikato sportspeople.¹³⁴ A story and photograph in the *Waikato Times* of 15 March contained a detailed account of the achievement of the '[p]rominent Waikato bowler, Mrs Elsie Wilkie' who had been chosen to trial for the New Zealand world championship team.¹³⁵ The public attention given to this bowler mirrored the overt identification with, and claiming of, successful Waikato sports people discussed in the previous chapter. While most of the heroes previously described were men, the ability to capitalise on the achievements of local people was not consistently gender based.

Other imagery of women continued to promote bridal and domestic concerns, but there was also a noticeable increase at this time of beauty contest photographs and news. In contrast, on the page now called 'The Feminine Touch' published on 5 March, a large story gave details of the anti-apartheid views of a 'Waikato girl' on her return from a year living in parts of Africa.¹³⁶ There was also an advertisement on the same page for cheap haircuts, perms and tints and sets for 'Lady Senior Citizens'.¹³⁷ Older women did not feature very often in the paper and were generally situated in very prescribed roles. Sports coverage where they were sometimes noticeable, including bowls and croquet, was part of a very narrow view which women like Elsie Wilkie did not necessarily disrupt, and any other inclusion of these women was generally overtly signalled. This included a very occasional section in the 'Feminine Touch' titled 'Gran's Stand' which appeared

¹³³ 'Games boycott', *Waikato Times*, 2 March 1973, p. 9.

¹³⁴ 'Bowling team to play NSW', *Waikato Times*, 6 March 1973, p. 19.

¹³⁵ 'Big chance for bowler', *Waikato Times*, 15 March 1973, p. 18.

¹³⁶ 'Waikato girl found apartheid distasteful', *Waikato Times*, 5 March 1973, p. 9.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

to give voice to older women.¹³⁸ As an opinion piece looking at the setting up of a Soil Society, this column dissected ‘modern issues’ including, in this case the need to use fewer chemicals and take care of the environment, and provided a purported balanced view of the issues raised.¹³⁹ However, this column was unusual and its inclusion draws attention to the more normal exclusion of this group of women.

A very large collection of items giving results and other related information from a number of different bowling clubs and competitions was published on 14 March.¹⁴⁰ Again there is a sense that these results were provided by the clubs; there are slightly different styles in the reports with a light editorial overlay to enable a more uniform approach. This continued to be an information sharing exercise in many respects. A large draw for a tournament was included, and the printed results ensured that those who won were seen to have been successful by their relevant communities. Women's bowling competitions were, for the most part, still identifiable and separate, although this division was not consistently applied. Another large summary from many different clubs was published a week later. A pattern therefore emerged, of summarising without much editorial input, except where it was a large Centre competition, or when bowlers were successful in larger national or international settings.

There were occasional exceptions to this model. Information about the Waikato Women's Centre open fours tourney was provided in a more timely fashion, the day after each stage, but was still provided in small, and relatively unadulterated, results type columns.¹⁴¹ While it sometimes appeared as if women's bowls was gaining more coverage than men's, a column would emerge that would reassert the status quo. On 26 March, it was announced that Elsie Wilkie and Iris Foote, a bowler from Thames Valley, had been selected in the national World Championship team.¹⁴² This report, however appeared low on the right hand side of the paper, below a slightly larger article about the winner of the (men's) Centre

¹³⁸ ‘Gran's Stand : A down-to-earth bunch of people’, *Waikato Times*, 21 March 1973, p. 9.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ ‘Around the Greens’ *Waikato Times*, 14 March 1973, p. 16.

¹⁴¹ ‘Two rounds completed’, *Waikato Times*, 22 March 1973, p. 16.

¹⁴² ‘Wilkie and Foote in NZ bowls side’, *Waikato Times*, 26 March 1973, p. 12.

open singles.¹⁴³ However, the impression that the reporting of men's sports would consistently be favoured over women's was again overturned on 3 April by a large report (with photo) about Iris Foote.¹⁴⁴ The writer, Mike Cotter, described Mrs Foote as a very successful and 'agreeable' woman, and she was said to have attributed the development of parts of her game to playing 'with and against men'.¹⁴⁵ This statement could have been an attempt to re-establish male superiority by indicating that the resulting success would not have happened if she had only played against women. However, there is an undercurrent of instability in the represented discourses that included the notion that men and women could play this sport together. The local narratives also incorporated the reflected accomplishments of women like Wilkie and Foote, as part of the wider Waikato self-imagery that continued to write itself as successful at sport.

Success was achieved within the Waikato as well. A article found on 18 April noted that 'The atmosphere of tough but friendly rivalry at the Waikato-Thames Valley Bowling Centre's Easter open fours tournament should persist and probably intensify'.¹⁴⁶ The smaller than usual number of entries was explained by the lateness of Easter, and much was made of those teams coming from outside the region, thereby underlining the attraction and prestige of the event. These sentiments were repeated, in some parts almost word for word, on 21 April where the large report was mostly about the rain and consequent delays.¹⁴⁷ Finally, a large and relatively detailed account of the results, and attached photographs, was published on 26 April.¹⁴⁸

I could not locate any mention of the Cambridge tournament in this newspaper and the Cambridge club was not found in the 'Around the Greens' columns. While this represents a change from previous years, the sport of bowls was still reported in the *Waikato Times* on a regular basis. Any overall difference, including a move to a weekly summary rather than more randomly dispersed

¹⁴³ 'Somerville carries on bowls form', *Waikato Times*, 26 March 1973, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ 'Success for Mrs Foote nothing new', *Waikato Times*, 3 April 1973, p. 14.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ 'First Hillcrest bowler in 20 years to win big treble', *Waikato Times*, 18 April 1973, p. 15.

¹⁴⁷ 'Greens soaked for open fours', *Waikato Times*, 23 April 1973, p. 19.

¹⁴⁸ 'Easter open to city four', *Waikato Times*, 26 April 1973, p. 22.

reports, was not likely to be a reflection of the relative place of this sport, but was probably an alteration in editorial policy or style. It is, however, difficult to see the sorts of emotions portrayed in 1926 gaining the same sort of traction forty seven years later. Other sporting concerns, including the Springbok tour issue, were much more likely to create the sorts of public divisions seen in the early bowling community.

Conclusion

Lawn bowls was an important part of the Waikato sporting and social landscape during the period described above, and this importance was reflected in the continuing coverage of competitions and results. The examination of the way it was publicly represented reveals some central aspects of sport in the region, particularly with regard to the interwoven operation of power. This was most noticeable during the 1926 dispute, but was also apparent in the public relationships between men and women. The control over resources, apparent in the ways women's clubs, or sections of clubs, were restricted, was made more obvious by the moves of the United Women's club to establish its own facilities. However, the visibility of both men and women bowlers enabled these increasingly older community members to be identified as sporting and competitive, and of course, the success gained at the Empire/Commonwealth Games provided reflected glory that contributed to the construction of an accomplished Waikato identity.

There are silences in the material that are also consistent with the rest of this thesis. This sport is, once again, organised within a European/Pākehā paradigm and, in the period and material considered, there is an obvious absence of the overt representation of other ethnicities. There would be very successful Māori bowlers from the Waikato in future years, including Millie Khan from Matamata who won ten national titles between 1989 and 2002, and two Commonwealth Games medals.¹⁴⁹ However, while there are some names in the lists that could

¹⁴⁹ Carter, p. 248.

belong to Māori, in general they were not particularly visible. Whether this is related to the assimilation narratives discussed in earlier chapters, or whether most Māori were not interested in this activity during this period, is speculative.

What is apparent, however, is that by the 1970s, bowls had been shown to be an acceptable pastime for older people in the Waikato community, and that it was taken seriously. While the social, community-based, aspects of this sport were often emphasised, it was competitive, and required skill and application for success. Descriptions of the male bowlers provided a potentially different way of configuring masculinity, with even less emphasis on physical features. However, masculinity was performed through the wielding of authority and control over resources. In the period from 1950 to 1973, there were occasional narratives of power and contest, skill and drama, which contrasted with the sometimes overwhelming amount of results-based coverage that conveyed information, and evidence of belonging, but with very little flavour. These reports do, however, serve to chronicle the normal and continuing place of this sport in these communities.

There is an indication of change over the time period examined, both in the form of reporting, and also with differences in the visibility and treatment of women bowlers. As noted in the introduction of this thesis, the dissection of narratives, the ways women have been 'written', reveals changes that a statistical analysis of overall coverage might overlook. It is much less clear whether there were changes in the power structures within the sport that had privileged men, but the development of women's clubs, the increased celebration of successful female bowlers, and the inclusion of a women's section in the Centre tournament of 1973, provide some evidence that even those relationships had altered. Finally, while the Cambridge Club had triumphed in the heady days of 1926, it seems that the size and power of Hamilton eventually prevailed, at least in terms of visibility and acclaim.

Chapter Five

Club and Association Histories: Collected and Selective Memories of Belonging

The 'club' was a central part of my family's world when I was a child and teenager. My father had helped to build both the physical and social settings, as a player, a coach, and a committee member and volunteer. During the winter season, my family and I spent many hours in the clubrooms after rugby games and, when the rugby club became a 'sports' club and they built squash courts, I became a player myself. My childhood memories include food – meat pies with tomato sauce, and bags of potato chips, washed down with lemonade or Fanta – and learning to play pool on tables that progressively became smaller as I grew. I also remember that we were 'us' and the teams we played were 'them', and that the games we watched were analysed and dissected, often by the 'top table' inhabitants – a group of older men who held on to their literal and figurative positions of authority as tightly as they held their glasses of cold beer or occasional 'top shelf' spirits. Almost everyone I knew had a 'club' of some sort, were part of a group of people held together by common backgrounds or interests, and most of those clubs were formed around sport.

Sport exists, in part, in the memories we have and the stories we tell. The previous chapters of this thesis have primarily involved examining and dissecting media representations of sporting activities, in particular narratives or stories of a game or event, and of the people who competed. In contrast, this chapter examines club and association histories of their communities of sporting people, to scrutinise the stories we tell about sport from a different angle and to complicate and enrich the often homogenous narratives found in the newspaper texts. While much of the earlier analysis in this thesis has also engaged with an insider perspective – given that the *Waikato Times* is very much a 'local' publication and was largely created,

or at least controlled, by local people – the club and association histories considered in this chapter offer other ways of understanding how sport ‘fitted into’ communities and, perhaps more importantly, how those communities viewed themselves and their activities. Club histories are almost always produced by, or in close collusion with, insiders and these histories provide new avenues for the interpretation of worlds of sport. They reveal examples of the social bonds found at the base of a layered formation of allegiances that culminate in the support of regional and national sporting representatives, and in shared identities based around sport and over time. These communities are both real, and imagined, and Daniel Nathan’s discussions of storytelling and continuity provide support for the approach in this chapter.¹ Using Charlotte Macdonald’s expression and concept, sporting associations have constituted one of the central ‘ways of belonging’, for large number of Waikato people.² I contend that the deconstruction of their public memories provides important opportunities for revealing such intrinsic social links and that, while this source material is different from that used previously in this thesis, many of the considerations of previous chapters are also able to be tested and expanded using these histories.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that there has been a notable lack of analytical sports history which looks beyond results and biographies, or outside of traditional sources like newspapers and archived official records and documents. One area which has had very little attention is the cultural phenomenon of the sports club, and this lack of focus is not confined to a New Zealand context. Jeffrey Hill states that ‘The life of the club is one of the untold stories of modern British social history,’ and also laments the lack of attention paid ‘to the neglected field of voluntary association’.³ Hill is somewhat dismissive of the large number of ‘celebratory and uncritical’ histories produced by the clubs themselves, and maintains that historians should look instead at the source material they are based

¹ Daniel Nathan, ‘Introduction: Sport Community and Identity’, in *Rooting for the Home Team: Sport, Community and Identity* (Urbana, Chicago & Springfield: university of Illinois Press, 2013), pp. 1-15.

² Charlotte Macdonald, ‘Ways of Belonging: Sporting Spaces in New Zealand History’, in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 269-296.

³ Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 144.

on.⁴ I believe, however, that as evidence of the ways these clubs helped to create, and certainly reflect, cultural norms and ideas, an examination of these published stories is central to gaining an understanding of the place of these institutions in the societies where they operate. The use of these histories also extends the focus on the 'local' and adds to a destabilisation of a central New Zealand story. It provides an opportunity to examine 'patterns of sociability' as noted in the Introduction of this thesis, and to foreground local histories as valid repositories of important cultural memories despite their lack of an 'analytical edge'.⁵ I do not use them to produce a more complete history, to construct a stable or 'self-contained' version of the Waikato.⁶ In addition, testing the veracity or accuracy of the information in the texts is not the purpose of this thesis. Rather, the content analysis in this chapter contributes to a layered, if still fragmented, understanding of the function, and represented place, of sport in this region.

The concerns detailed above, of the role of sport in community for example, are not generally mentioned in the chronicles located for this chapter; rather, the focus most often tends to be on recording and presenting a positive and accepted version of the organisation's past. Some writers of club histories from other locations, including Colin Tatz from Melbourne, have studied the wider community norms that contributed to, and impacted on, the development of their organisation.⁷ Jane George has looked closely at the place of women in early British Golf Clubs in ways which resonate in the later part of this chapter.⁸ However, this type of analysis appears to be much less common in most club histories produced as part of centenary or other milestone celebrations.

The theoretical scaffolding lightly applied to earlier chapters of this thesis, including notions of narrative, power (particularly in gender relations), and social capital, are also significant in this chapter. In addition, an important backdrop to

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), pp. 263, 268.

⁶ Ballantyne, p. 275.

⁷ Colin Tatz, *A Course of History: Monash Country Club, 1931-2001* (Melbourne: Allen & Unwin, 2002)

⁸ Jane George, 'Ladies First?' Establishing a Place for Women Golfers in British Golf Clubs, 1867 - 1914', in *Sport in History*, 30.2 (2010), 288-308.

the unpicking of these histories is the understanding of ideas about the nature and production of collective remembering, including Maurice Halbwachs' assertion that 'What stand in the foreground of group memory are remembrances of events and experiences of concern to the greatest number of members'.⁹ The place of memory in the writing of history has been well canvassed, and the interest in, and use of, collective memory correspondingly popular.¹⁰ These memories and the ways they are saved and transmitted through time are fundamental parts of the maintenance of group ties. As John Tosh notes, '[f]or any social grouping to have a collective identity there has to be a shared interpretation of the events and experiences which have formed the group over time'.¹¹ Caroline Daley suggests that 'sport provides another venue to explore the ways the past is remembered and re-constructed'.¹² It is that reconstruction of remembered actions and events that is central to this chapter.

This archive differs in construction and purpose from the newspaper material utilised throughout the rest of this thesis and presents other challenges. While also representations, the majority of these publications were produced relatively recently and consideration of the concept of present-centred history is important.¹³ Despite claims of truthfulness, and the use of forms and content that promote ideas of authenticity, events and memories selected for inclusion will be those that support a current version of the club, or a version that shows the required image or collective identity important to the contemporary members, and to the world.¹⁴

⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, transl. by Francis J. Ditter Jnr. & Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 43.

¹⁰ Mary Fulbrook, for example, calls the increased interest in collective memory a 'memory boom', and provides a summary of some of the developments in the 'area of twentieth century European history', in 'History-writing and 'collective memory'' in *Writing the History of Memory*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 65-88 (p. 65).

¹¹ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 3rd edition (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), p. 2.

¹² Caroline Daley, 'The Ref's Turned a Blind Ear': The Cultural Paradigm and New Zealand's Sport History', *Sporting Traditions*, 27.2 (2010), 15-27 (p. 24).

¹³ Holly Thorpe contends that the action and visible results of collective memory, including 'cultural practices, routines, institutions and artefacts', should be approached critically and reflexively in 'The Politics of Remembering: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Physical Cultural Memory', *Sporting Traditions*, 27.2 (2010), 113-125 (p. 114).

¹⁴ A number of scholars have examined aspects of collective memory, including notions of present-centred history, the selective nature of memory, and the intersections between cultural construction and artefacts. See Gary Osmond, 'Forgetting Charlie and Tums Cavill: Social

The collection of histories gathered for this chapter includes thirty-seven club and association histories. Rather than using a map-based/physical definition for the 'Waikato' region, sporting organisations have been included if they claim to be part of this area, by the inclusion in their histories of results from regional competitions, by the naming of members as Waikato representatives, and in relation to coverage in the *Waikato Times*. There are a large number of rugby, lawn bowls and golf histories and, unfortunately, an absence of publications from sports such as softball and basketball.

The Club: Early Histories and Backgrounds

The place of sport in any community is fundamentally related to the ways in which it is organised. As a social activity, sport involves groups of people as participants, supporters, and/or spectators. The organisation of sporting endeavours into clubs was brought to New Zealand and Australia along with a numerous other examples of British culture. Sport in this part of the world has very much had an associational nature, and the formation of clubs followed the imported model, if arguably somewhat less based on social class lines.¹⁵ The use of the word 'club' in this context dates back to seventeenth century England and developed as a way of describing 'a group of people forming into a mass like the thick end of a club'.¹⁶ While Peter Clark notes that the first society was meeting in 1586, it seems that the organisation of people with mutual interests into clubs, associations and societies, became much more popular and widespread after the English Civil War and Restoration in the mid 1600s.¹⁷ Ideas around the voluntary nature of associations and their related activities, including types of leadership and the 'tendency towards oligarchy', are particularly relevant to the later

Memory and Australian Swimming History', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 33, 1 (2009), 93 -107; Gary Osmond, M Phillips and M O' Neill, 'Putting up your Dukes': Statues, Social Memory and Duke Paoa Kahanamoku', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23, 1 (2006), 82-103.

¹⁵ While Louella McCarthy calls 'the club' a 'quintessentially Australian institution' the formation of sports clubs appears to have arrived as part of the colonisers' baggage in a number of imperial territories. Louella McCarthy, 'Lawn Bowls' in *Sport in Australia: A Social History*, p. 112

¹⁶ Oxford Dictionary Online <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>> [Accessed 25 July 2015]

¹⁷ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580 - 1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 26.

development of sporting organisations in New Zealand and Australia, as are the place of club rules and the ‘exclusion of women’.¹⁸

However, Clark stresses the difficulty in providing a definitive definition of this type of social phenomenon given the very diverse nature of the groupings and the purposes for which such organisations were formed. There was a very pronounced link between the growing number of public houses, and clubs which, as noted in the previous chapter, was also a feature of early sporting activity in New Zealand. While many clubs appear to have inevitably formed and disappeared without leaving a trace, in the British sporting context it seems that the hunting, horse racing and cricket clubs formed in the eighteenth century were amongst the oldest clubs, with the most famous and lasting of those the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) that began in 1787.¹⁹ What is apparent is that, regardless of the purpose for which such relatively formal social groupings occurred, they became, over time, a very important part of the communities they represented.²⁰

Organisation, Incorporation and Exclusivity

Sporting clubs were more than simply a group of people gathered to take part in a particular activity. Most also had a physical presence in the community: clubrooms, courts, greens, practice fields and/or courses. Some clubs owned their own facilities while, as seen in the bowls chapter, others leased land from local councils and/or used publicly provided spaces. Most of the clubs included below also had a legal presence as they were organised as formally incorporated entities.

The Incorporated Societies Act 1908 was designed to make ‘provision for the incorporation of societies which are not established for the purpose of pecuniary gain’.²¹ By registering as an Incorporated Society, a group of 15 or more people

¹⁸ Clark, pp. 12, 49.

¹⁹ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 26.

²⁰ Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, p. 137.

²¹ Incorporated Societies Act 1908, *New Zealand Legislation*

<<http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1908/0212/latest/DLM175775.html>> [Accessed 15 October 2015]

could create an entity that was legally separate from them, and which could continue if any of the original members left. It was explicitly stated that such a society would be constituted for ‘any lawful purpose but not for pecuniary gain’, meaning that while the group could make financial transactions and accumulate funds, no member would be able to make financial profit from the association or club.²² This, of course, supported and continued the amateur ethos inherent in a large number of sporting codes.

Applying to the Registrar to become incorporated required that the rules of the organisation be written in a particular way and that fifteen people sign a statement to the effect that such an entity existed. These rules included, as in the case of the Hamilton Lawn Tennis Club, the official name of the club, the objectives, membership regulations and the committee structure.²³ The rules, usually with a notified fee, would be sent to the Registrar and checked to make sure they complied with the legislation; a suitable checklist was attached to the file to ensure nothing was missed. Thereafter, any changes to the names or rules had to gain consent from the Registry office, and the yearly submission of approved annual accounts was required. In many cases, the work involved to provide the documentation appears to have been carried out by volunteer members of the organisation, whose rewards likely included the power and recognition of their peers. This was evident in the Regatta Association, another incorporated society. However, such documentation also often provided work for lawyers and or accountants and it is supposed that, unless they were members of the club, they charged for their time and expertise.

There is an implied sense of exclusivity in the collective decisions of these groups of people to form a club. While in some early instances, club membership appears to have been relatively ‘open’ – that is people from outside the original grouping were able to join – the membership mechanisms and costs often resulted in social exclusion. Incorporation rules included the ways members would be admitted.

²² Ibid.

²³ *Rules of the Hamilton Lawn Tennis Club Incorporated 1921*(Archives New Zealand, Auckland), p. 1.

When the Frankton Junction Ladies (later Women's) Bowling Club applied for incorporation, their rules stated that:

- (a) Application for membership shall be made on the official form provided for the club for such purposes. On such form shall be set out the name, occupation and address of the applicant, and also that of her proposer and of her seconder, as a guarantee of its authenticity.
- (b) Applicants for election as members of the Club must be proposed by one and seconded by another member of the Club, both of Whom, must be personally acquainted with her.
- (c) Members shall be elected by the Annual General meeting of the Club, or by the Executive committee, if by ballot one black ball in four to exclude.²⁴

It is apparent that membership in this organisation was to be controlled by those already inside, and this implies that inclusion was seen as desirable. However, this is not clear cut as the same, or very similar, membership regulations can found in the rules of most incorporated societies. The implication is that people outside the organisation wanted in; that being part of such clubs and the access to the physical and social resources therein, was important, or at least was seen to be important, to those already members.

Examining Club and Association Narratives

The formality of the organisation of the sporting and other clubs imposed by government regulation appears to have been matched by the expectations of the members. Many of the club and association histories found for discussion in this chapter begin with a creation story that includes a meeting where the setting up of

²⁴ *Constitution and Rules of the Frankton Junction Ladies Bowling Club Incorporated 1950* (Archives New Zealand, Auckland), pp. 1-2.

the club was discussed and a committee formed.²⁵ Some, notably those rugby clubs formed in the late 1800s, have a less clear commencement. There is often an apologetic tone to the early parts of such publications, as the writers express uncertainty about the ‘facts’, and lament their inability to provide a ‘correct’ history. These are all a form of reconstructionist history, as their writers were centrally concerned with authenticity and the retelling of factual information.²⁶ The inclusion of discussion about source materials is a feature of many of the chronicles, particularly those written by members of the clubs. Common textual structures are also found, including a format where the histories are divided into a year-by-year chronology.

Other central characteristics of these narratives include the use of terms like ‘stalwarts’ or ‘characters’ and the accompanying descriptions of such people. These are almost always men, although women are sometimes recognised, albeit often without such labels. Examination of these types of stories reveals ideas about what was considered important in the life of the organisation including those personal attributes and actions that were noteworthy or significant. The importance of service to the club is important; all of these clubs and associations relied on the work of volunteers and those people who were believed to have contributed a great deal were often singled out. The other individual, or sometimes team, inclusions are the ‘heroes’, those members who brought glory to the club, generally by succeeding outside the organisation’s confines in regional, national or international competitions.

Most of the publications found were produced on the occasion of a ‘jubilee’ or centennial, or some other internally significant milestone, and the assumed central place of sportsmen, rather than women, is obvious in many of the histories. As with newspaper reporting, the participation of women is very often explicitly identified, and numerous examples of the sorts of descriptions of women as volunteer caterers and supporters can be found in these booklets. However, as will

²⁵ Numerous examples abound, including the centennial booklet for the Hamilton Golf Club. Simon Brandon, *Hamilton Golf Club Centenary 1903–2003* (Hamilton: Hamilton Golf Club Centennial Committee, 2003), p. 3.

²⁶ Definitions of different types of histories can be found in Douglas Booth’s *The Field: Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (Oxford & New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 9.

be seen, the timing of the publication of the histories, and the type of sport involved provides variations in the depiction of gender norms. There is, however, less difference in the ways in which Māori are shown. In many instances, the absence of ethnic groups other than European/Pākehā is, again, notable. The times when photographs or text include explicit mention of Māori underlines their absence, and that of other groups, in the majority of the stories.

Photographs form an important part of this type of memorial production. All of the publications from the small, photocopied booklets to the large professionally published books, contain photographs of those club members it was deemed important to include, or perhaps to not leave out. An examination of the images used reveals not just the central participants of the club historically, but links to the present. Those people for whom these books were primarily produced – the attendees at the celebrations – would most likely have arrived with expectations about the sorts of stories that should be remembered and included. The inclusion of photographs and the lauding of particular club members would have had social and political implications. Being inside and included carried capital.²⁷

‘Real’ history and Anecdotes

This souvenir record booklet has been compiled with the help of many people. In some cases, minute books have been destroyed by fire or flood, or simply lost. Information has been drawn by talking with ex-players and others once connected with basketball/netball, and from access to N.Z.N.A records to fill out records from existing minute books still available within the Waikato Netball Association area. Copies of the Waikato Times held in the Hamilton Library have been searched.

²⁷ The volume of photographs included in these texts would require a further thesis to examine well. While they are acknowledged as an important part of these histories, a comprehensive interrogation of the many images is not included in this thesis.

Mrs Ona Coatsworth's long association with the sport of netball at all levels has proven an invaluable asset in collating this publication.²⁸

I've done my best to relate as much as I can from the Minute books available and from my memory. There will always be some who say something is incorrect. Be it so, then I apologise for that. I've tried to do my best and hope those who read this enjoy doing so.²⁹

The memorialisation of past events and actions, and the 'intertwining' of written records, newspaper reports, personal memories and other source material into a historically plausible form helped to 'make real' imagined communities made up of past and present club members. Grant Jarvie argues that

[c]elebratory and commemorative reflections on past sporting experiences tend to merge historical sporting incidents, folk memories, selected traditions and often sheer fantasy in order to interpret the sporting past in a way that is meaningful to a contemporary group.³⁰

However, while his argument that the selection of sporting memories, and creation of histories and traditions, are directly related to present-centred concerns is shown to be valid in the following study of the included texts, there is little evidence that stories are wilfully made-up. There is often an obvious nostalgic tone in the writing, and certainly a conservative approach to history making. While both internal and external conflicts are featured, there is generally one central, chronological narrative that celebrates both a shared past and the progress made. There is certainly little critical awareness of the power structures inherent in the creation of minutes and other records, or that the source material might contain competing versions of the 'truth'. Indeed, it is generally those members with power, including control over the selection of memories, that are featured and congratulated.

²⁸ *Fiftieth Jubilee, April 1985, Waikato Netball Association* (Hamilton: The Waikato Netball Association, 1985), p. 46.

²⁹ Keith Wilson, *The Taupiri Bowling Club 75 Years* (Taupiri, NZ: The Taupiri Bowling Club, 2002), p. 24.

³⁰ Grant Jarvie with James Thornton, *Sport, Culture and Society: An Introduction* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxford & New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 57.

The club and association histories collected for this thesis are very varied in size, style and tone. They were produced at different times; the earliest used dates from 1961 and the latest was published in 2011.³¹ Some appear to have been professionally printed while others have more obviously been typed and reproduced by club members. They do, however, share a number of stylistic similarities. As noted, most begin with the formation of the organisation, those people instrumental in creating the entity, and focus on the provision of facilities and financial activities including subscriptions sets, and money received and spent. The consistent inclusion of a chronological narrative of the developments of, and changes to, the physical environments of the clubs, and the naming of committee members, generally reflects the source material used. For all the club and association whose texts were examined, regular and annual meetings were held and chronicled in minutes, and these records provide the most obvious archive for the histories. Given the voluntary nature of the organisational activities, and that control of the club or association resources rested in the hands of a small, albeit elected, group, such minutes provided reassurance that the actions of those in charge were recorded and able to be examined by the wider club members. This implied an accepted, if sometimes not actual, expectation of transparent decision making. However, the reproduction and re-presentation of the resulting archival material in largely celebratory commemorative publications is varied, most often because of the writer.

Of the thirty-seven books and pamphlets included in this discussion, nine were written wholly, or at least in part, by Winston Hooper, including two histories of the Waikato Rugby Union and one of the Hamilton Rugby Union. As mentioned in previous chapters, Hooper was a sports journalist with the *Waikato Times* and spent a large amount of time covering local rugby games. In the Waikato Rugby Union's *Golden Jubilee 1921-1971* publication, he described himself in ways that emphasized his own participation in sports, including rugby, cricket, golf and squash.³² The combination of the sporting and media newspaper backgrounds

³¹ The earliest is *Golden Jubilee Programme* from the Frankton Junction Bowling Club and the latest from the Waikato Rowing Club 50 year celebration.

³² Winston Hooper, *Waikato Rugby Union (Incorporated): Golden Jubilee, 1921-1971* (Hamilton: Waikato Rugby Union, 1971), p. 4.

appear to have provided Hooper with the necessary contacts, experience and reputation, to be contracted to write local sporting histories. Indeed, in one of the later of his publications used in this study, he is described as a 'Waikato sports historian'.³³ In most of these texts, he used the minutes and other written records to create histories that read, at times, like personal stories. Descriptive passages reciting perhaps imagined emotional responses both to important events found in amongst the yearly lists of club officials and senior players, and to the results of major matches, feature in the three more recent rugby club histories examined.

Hooper's inside knowledge of Waikato sport, particularly rugby, is apparent in the Taupiri Rugby Club history.³⁴ Controversy had surrounded the acquisition of a number of players by Taupiri with accusations that money had changed hands at a time when the amateur status of players was still very important and enforced. Hooper's comment that '[m]ore recent Taupiri administrators certainly produced many initiatives and those [...] enabled them to show the way to other country clubs, especially in the art of recruitment', is an example of the ways in which a writer from outside the organisation might present aspects of the club's history, albeit in a positive way, that a club member might not mention.³⁵ Hooper was also not above repeating local sporting history in different club narratives. In both the Hautapu and Taupiri rugby club books, he included a newspaper report of the minutes of an early Hamilton rugby meeting which contained the comment 'The times have gone when a referee can be bought and sold'.³⁶ This type of interest feature is not uncommon in club histories and helped to position them within their communities, both sporting and otherwise. The other main focus of Hooper's histories however, was the articles/reports featuring notable club members, which will be discussed in the following section.

This thesis argues that the narratives created and disseminated about sporting activity and accomplishment are an integral part of the creation of a Waikato

³³ Winston Hooper, *Lochiel Golf Club 75th Jubilee 1932-2007* (Hamilton: Lochiel Golf Club, 2007), p. 2.

³⁴ Winston Hooper, *Forever Taupiri* (Hamilton: Taupiri Rugby Club, 2003).

³⁵ Hooper, *Forever Taupiri*, p. 4.

³⁶ Winston Hooper, *Spirit of Hautapu, 1903 - 2003* (Cambridge, NZ: Hautapu Sport and Recreation Club Inc, 2003), p. 11; and Hooper, *Forever Taupiri*, p. 8.

identity. The volume of stories Hooper produced, and his role as a sports journalist, placed him in a position of power with regard to the writing of this region. His accumulated cultural capital allowed him to perform a role as a storyteller that produced accepted versions of the history of these organisations, and often constructed aspects of their collective identities. In this role, Hooper was a form of public historian as described by Giselle Byrnes and Mark Smith, in that he made 'the past useful, relevant and accessible' although, in this instance, not always to a wide audience.³⁷

The other publications examined were collated and written by one or more club members. As with the Hooper examples, the celebrations that prompted their production were usually organised by a committee. In these examples, however, the research and publication of a history was a central part of that job. These histories commonly convey a more inside tenor even when they provide external references and make explicit mention of assistance sought and gained from outside historians. Both Margaret Avery and Caroline Steemson from the University of Waikato were acknowledged in the *History of the Hamilton Ladies Golf Club*, and another Waikato University historian, Peter Gibbons, was directly quoted in the same publication.³⁸ Gibbons was also thanked in the introduction to the Waikato Hockey Centenary publication.³⁹ Notwithstanding such contributions, there is very much a sense that these books were compiled with the inside knowledge of at least some of the people and events mentioned, or at least of the collective memorialisation of previous club activities.

Such activities are replete with an overall sense of accomplishment and pride, even when problems were encountered. In fact, many of the histories include tales of disaster, including fire, or sometimes financial hardship caused by the wars or the 'Slump', but there is almost always a positive end. As a narrative form, therefore, they often resemble the tales of heroic triumph over adversity examined

³⁷ Giselle Byrnes and Mark Smith, 'Introduction', *New Zealand Journal of Public History*, 1.1 (December 2011), 1-4 (p. 2).

³⁸ Isabel Northover, *Women at St Andrews; A History of the Hamilton Ladies Golf Club* (Hamilton: Hamilton Golf Club, 1992), p. viii.

³⁹ Bruce Rosemergy, Jean Thompson & Seddon Polglase, *Waikato Hockey Centenary, 1908-2008* (Hamilton: Waikato Hockey Association, 2008), p. 1.

earlier in this thesis. They did not usually provide an explanation of the ways the sport they are focussed on was played, except perhaps when giving details of the development of the playing spaces and equipment. This reflects the perceived nature of the readers; for the most part, these books were read by club members, past and present, and such descriptions were not needed. There is sometimes an awareness that others might read the book, and some writers did attempt to reference their source material.⁴⁰ As already noted, and as shown in the examples reproduced above, there is a very real sense, in the explicitly stated use of newspaper and club records, that these writers were very eager to be seen to be producing as accurate an account as possible, and to be using appropriate material. When they didn't believe they could achieve that, they would, as in the case of Tony Giles from Hamilton Old Boys Cricket Club, state that 'it has been a conscious decision that this publication does not set out to be the ultimate and definitive research work in to the history of Hamilton Old Boys club cricket', and call his booklet *An Incomplete History*.⁴¹ It should be noted that in his lament that there were not enough statistical records of runs scored and wickets taken, he was, perhaps, reflecting the very numbers-based attitude of many cricketers.

The other major source of information for these histories was the memories of the members, past and present. Sometimes, as in the case of the first history of the Lochiel Golf Club produced in 1988, memories were solicited from particular older members and ex-members, and their letters reproduced as appendices in the booklet.⁴² Most mentioned the 'very contentious question' of having sheep on the course to raise money, and one takes the opportunity to raise an old grievance.⁴³ It is apparent that other issues were 'contentious' in this particular club. While this history places the beginning of the club in 1938, the 75th jubilee, with accompanying book (written by Winston Hooper) was held in 1997 and the start

⁴⁰ For example, footnotes are used in both Kenneth S. Harry, *Champions Never Die. The Tokoroa Pacific Rugby League Club: 1969-2000*. (Hamilton.: Waikato Institute of Technology, 2007) ; and Garry Blayney, *One Hundred Years On: A History of the Cambridge Bowling Club 1898-1998* (Cambridge, NZ: Cambridge Bowling Club, 1998).

⁴¹ Tony Giles, *Hamilton Old Boys Cricket Club: An Incomplete History* (Hamilton: T. Giles, 2001), p. 2.

⁴² Harold New, *Lochiel Golf Club: Jubilee 1938-1988*, (Hamilton: Lochiel Golf Club, 1988).

⁴³ New, pp 47-61.

date moved to 1932.⁴⁴ Such disputes appear to often become part of the culture of the club and are long preserved in the collective memories of the group.

A number of the published memories are of unusual events or social occasions. Ned Cunningham from the Horsham Downs Golf Club was recorded as relating a story about a golfer 'stripping off one frosty morning to retrieve his club from the river after it had slipped out of his hand'.⁴⁵ However, while anecdotal stories were included in most texts, they were often prefaced with a phrase that gives the impression that they may not be as accurate as the 'recorded' or newspaper information. In the Hamilton Harrier Club's 'Official History produced on the occasion of their 50th Jubilee for example, a contribution by an older member is titled 'Reminiscences of 1940 - 1950'.⁴⁶ This is followed by a chapter entitled 'History of the Club 1951 - 1960' in which the second paragraph begins, 'Records reveal'.⁴⁷ Sometimes, as in the Cambridge Bowling Club history, there is a section at the end titled 'Anecdotes' in which all manner of interesting information can be found including gossip about dissension in the club, and yet another mention of the problems with the Waikato Centre over the Easter tournament.⁴⁸ Generally, however, the memories of club members are accorded a central, if supplementary, place in most of the publications used. It may be that the overt signalling of memory versus checkable records is part of the desire of some of the writers and editors to distance themselves from perceived inaccuracies, or contestable stories.

The validation of the information included was, in some instances, performed by the explicit layering of source material. Anecdotes were sometimes supplemented by newspaper references, as if to verify or support the information given. In the Waikato Rowing Club's history, 'the inaugural treasurer Dave Harrison', reminisced about regattas and other rowing competitions.⁴⁹ Interspersed in the narrative is a paragraph which is a referenced direct quote of a *Waikato Times*

⁴⁴ Winston Hooper, *Lochiel Golf Club 75th Jubilee, 1932-2007* (Hamilton: Lochiel Jubilee Committee, 2007).

⁴⁵ Winston Hooper, *Horsham Downs Golf Club Golden Jubilee 1944-1994* (Hamilton: Horsham Downs Golf Club, 1994), p. 21.

⁴⁶ *History of the Hamilton Harrier Club*, ed. by Clive Southwick (Hamilton: Hamilton Harrier Club, 1978), p. 15.

⁴⁷ *History of the Hamilton Harrier Club*, p. 17.

⁴⁸ Blayney, pp. 65-70.

⁴⁹ *Waikato Rowing Club: 50 Years, 1960 -2010* (Hamilton: Waikato Rowing Club, 2011), p. 4.

story about a victory by Harrison.⁵⁰ The inclusion of newspaper articles and material sourced from print media is found in many of the histories.⁵¹ Sometimes, as in the histories of the Leamington Rugby and Sports Club and the Te Awamutu Bowling Club, direct quotes are used and acknowledged.⁵² Newspaper reports from various local papers were sourced from the Alexander Turnbull Library and photocopies reproduced and referenced in the Tātuanui Tennis Club booklet.⁵³ However, regardless of the ways such information was presented, it was uniformly taken at face value, as an uncontested source of factual information. Such unquestioning use of this material implies a number of things. This trust in the veracity of media sources reveals a belief that newspaper reports, like club records, are factual, contain implicit truths, reflect what happened, and include all the relevant information. There is little overt understanding, or at least acknowledgement, that any potential layers of selection – by the original reporter, editor, and then the writers of the histories – might result in information gaps.

While the use of newspaper articles is wide spread, it is much rarer to find an overt mention of the close relationship between sport and the press as emphasised in the opening chapter of this thesis. However, in the history of Waikato Hockey, a highlighted piece noted the perceived important place of the reporting of sports news. The writer stated that while there were now a number of ways the hockey community could obtain and distribute information about games and results,

[w]e have not always been so fortunate. Newspaper coverage, featuring match previews and reviews, has varied from scant to comprehensive, dependent on space, copy supplied and an empathetic sports editor.⁵⁴

The writer also remarked that such copy was most often supplied by volunteers and its inclusion dependent on space. The section ends with a note that the

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ The only exception found is the Hillcrest Bowling Club's small 50th anniversary booklet which appears to be a summary of club minutes.

⁵² Aileen Somerville, *Leamington Rugby Sports Club: Centennial Booklet, 1897-1997* (Cambridge, NZ: Leamington Rugby Sports Club Centennial Committee, 1997); Gary Williams, John Jones and George Mandeno, *Te Awamutu Bowling Club Centennary, 1904-2004* (Te Awamutu, NZ: Te Awamutu Bowling Club Centennial Committee, 2004)

⁵³ *Tātuanui Tennis Club Reunion, October 24th 1987* (Tātuanui, NZ: Tātuanui Tennis Club, 1987).

⁵⁴ Rosemergy, Thompson & Polglase, p. 38.

Waikato Times had more recently sent reporters and photographers to games, which appeared to have improved the coverage.

Another means by which the status/place of the clubs was reinforced is the inclusion of testimonials, congratulatory messages and introductions at the beginnings of the histories. From the Foreword written by the Minister for Racing and Agriculture, John Falloon in the history of the Kihikihi Polo Club, to the congratulatory missive from N. K. Woodbury, President of the New Zealand Golf Association in the Cambridge Golf Club's Centenary book, regional and national sporting association heads, club patrons, local politicians, and generally important people, wrote consistently positive missives to mark the reaching of these organisational milestones.⁵⁵ Such pieces provided a central support to the overt social positioning that followed and, particularly when provided by someone from outside the organisation, helped to place the club or association within a wider community. In addition, the president of the Club usually provided a welcoming message, thereby both reinforcing their standing, and lending support and credence to the information and stories that followed.

Occasionally such messages would also be provided by patrons. A club patron did not appear to take part in the actual running of the organisation but would bring added prestige, and quite often, links to outside organisations. This was, perhaps, most obvious when those patrons were local body politicians; as when Hamilton mayors Bruce Beetham, and then Ross Jansen, were patrons of the Eastern Suburbs Rugby Sports Club. As the outward manifestation of the relationships between sporting and other community organisations, these types of connections would have been a major part of the place of the clubs in Waikato. Membership of one club did not preclude membership in another; although to be a member of two different rugby clubs would have been dangerous. Rugby players could, of course, play other sports or take part in other organised activities. Jack Dempsey for example, was reported to have played rugby for the Marist Club and cricket for

⁵⁵ Archie Kay, *The Kihikihi Polo Club, 1892-1992* (Te Awamutu, NZ: The Kihikihi Polo Club, 1992), p. 1; and David Jecks, *Cambridge Golf Club Centennial 1900-2000* (Cambridge, NZ: Cambridge Golf Club, 2000), p.1.

Frankton United.⁵⁶ It is likely that many people took part in a number of different working and leisure activities in different places, and thus had loyalties to, and relationships with, different community groupings.

A fundamental part of the official, 'irrefutable' records of these clubs and associations relates to offices held and sporting competition results gained. Almost all the texts examined contained lists, in one form or other; lists of club or association presidents and other committee members, life members, club champions and those people who had succeeded outside the confines of club competitions. The most consistent part of these histories was that the writers focussed on the people involved, not necessarily the sport that they played. As Jim Hawes noted in the Hillcrest Bowling Club history, '[t]he memories, significantly, are more of people than of occasions'.⁵⁷ The related emphasis on the building and maintenance of club grounds and facilities was linked with the members by the frequent use of terms like 'working bee', and with descriptions of fundraising activities. The tangible contributions of those people to the organisation, and the glory that the winners brought, formed much of the pride represented in the texts.

Heroes, stalwarts and characters.

Gladys was not only a player, coach, selector and manager. She was also an outstanding administrator. Several sources commented, "Gladys **was** [sic] Waikato women's hockey."⁵⁸

Many Thanks Charlie
The club has had some terrific stalwarts and none more so than Charlie Dunn.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Winston Hooper, *Hamilton Marist Brothers Old Boys Rugby Football Club Golden Jubilee, 1922-1972* (Hamilton: Hamilton Marist Rugby Football Club), p. 15.

⁵⁷ *Hillcrest Bowling Club 50th Anniversary, 1950-2000* (Hamilton: Hillcrest Bowling Club, 2000), p. 2.

⁵⁸ Rosemergy, Thompson & Polglase, p. 12.

⁵⁹ Somerville, p. 30.

Club characters he remembered with affection were Lloyd Kidd and Baldy MacDonald. Every successful club must have people like them to keep up the spirit as well as putting in the effort.⁶⁰

The central focus of all the club and association histories described in this thesis are the activities and actions of people. A large part of each of the publications written or edited by Winston Hooper contained detailed descriptive stories about specific club members, and the other books and pamphlets also most often provided information about the achievements and contributions of identified members. For the most part, people were celebrated because of their sporting achievements, their perceived high levels of contribution and commitment to the organisation, or because their actions and personalities were a notable part of the life of the club. These narratives were uniformly positive, and to be included in these texts in this way carried obvious prestige. As much as they were a visible means by which people were thanked for their efforts, such inclusion confirmed the relative status of individual members of the collective. Exclusion, whether deliberate or not, would have had negative connotations, particularly for those members who felt their efforts had been overlooked. This underlines the political nature of these sporting organisations and the inherent power relations.

The Heroes

The most obviously identifiable individuals in these sporting groups were the 'heroes'. As noted in the Empire/Commonwealth Games chapter, sporting heroes were essentially those that won, or came close, and brought glory to the community that claimed them. In these publications, success tended to be measured by the actions of members in outside competitions, be they at regional, national or international levels. Gladys O'Brien, highlighted above, was a Waikato representative hockey player who later managed the New Zealand Women's team, and was eventually president of the national Women's Hockey Association.⁶¹ Some, like former world number one squash player Leilani Marsh, appeared in more than one history as they were claimed by different clubs at different times in

⁶⁰ Hooper, *Spirit of Hautapu*, p. 7.

⁶¹ Rosemergy, Thompson & Polglase, p.12.

their sport-playing lives.⁶² Most, however, were portrayed as an integral part of the club or association, and their achievements often overtly linked to their club background.

At least two of the Waikato heroes identified in the Empire/Commonwealth Games chapter were included in club histories. A two-page feature article in the Hamilton Golf Club's history described the club life of Jack Doms, the 1954 Games champion.⁶³ The article, written in first person but not apparently by Doms, gave details of his time at the Club beginning as a caddy at age 9, with stories about the antics of the younger members and older characters. Displaying the sort of humility publicly applauded following his gold medal swim, no mention was made of the earlier Games success. The inclusion of this story was not perhaps to claim that success, but to include his memories of an earlier time in club history. It could be argued that the prestige he gained from his Games success contributed to his positioning in the club's social hierarchy.

The prestige attached to the international success of the other featured Games champion was more obvious. There were only three photographs in the Frankton Junction Bowling Club's small Golden Jubilee souvenir programme, one of the then President, another a group shot of the official opening, and the third, a portrait of the Empire games winners R. W. Henry and E. P. Exelby. Exelby's name appeared throughout the small publication and the importance of reflected glory was obvious: 'and so our Club from a humble origin was placed on the highest pedestal by a bowler who was prominent not only as a player but as a man who had for many years fostered the administration of the Club'.⁶⁴ Thus Exelby was seen to have performed admirably not only as a representative of his country, or region, but as an integral part of his club. He, as a 'humble' man, had brought

⁶² A photograph of Leilani Marsh as the 'NZ under 13 Squash Champ' appears in the Winston Hooper edited *Eastern Suburbs: The Road to Flagstaff, Golden Jubilee* (Hamilton: Eastern Suburbs Rugby Sports Club, 2001), p. 80, and in the *Leamington Rugby Sports Club* publication as a player, from 1989-1992 (p.84).

⁶³ *Hamilton Golf Club Centenary, 1903-2003* (Hamilton: Hamilton Golf Club Centenary Committee, 2003), pp. 14-15.

⁶⁴ *Frankton Junction Bowling Club Golden Jubilee, 1911-1961* (Hamilton: Frankton Junction Bowling Club, 1961), p. 9.

glory to the club as well as the region, and played his part in the creation of a successful club identity.

The linking of a hero to the profile of an organisation was not unusual. There were a number of recurring themes and ways of writing the sporting heroes that reflect those discussed in the Commonwealth Games chapter, particularly in relation to how they behaved, and fitted in to, their communities. Rugby players, in particular, were described in ways that emphasised their tenacity (Richard Myers from Leamington) but mostly their humility (Royce Willis and Regan King from Taupiri). The pride portrayed in the texts was rarely overtly attributed to the heroes but was an intrinsic part of the ways they were described. Depictions of their strength and skill abound, and losses and injuries were lamented. The heterosexual normative masculinity of these players was not questioned in these texts. As will be seen below, difference (of sexuality, for example) is as elusive a prey as it was in the newspaper archive.

In the Waikato Rowing Club history, many rowers who were successful at national and international levels had their efforts described in great detail.⁶⁵ One was Dave Rodger, who represented New Zealand at both the Montreal (Bronze Medal) and Los Angeles Olympic Games. He was remembered, however, not just for bringing prestige to the club, but for his efforts to improve the place of rowing in the Waikato. Through his links to the *Waikato Times*, he was able to raise the profile of rowing in the area.⁶⁶ Olympic success was also the reason runner Dick Quax was called the club's most 'successful member' in the caption of his photograph in the *Hamilton Harriers Pictorial History*.⁶⁷ Success, in this instance, directly related to the sporting activity of the club, not the organisation or provision of facilities.

Most often, however, the local heroes would not attain world or Olympic champion status, and success at national, regional or even local levels was often enough. A photograph of Vanessa Cootes and Angela Toal from Eastern Suburbs

⁶⁵ *Waikato Rowing Club: 50 Years, 1960 -2010*.

⁶⁶ *Waikato Rowing Club: 50 Years, 1960-2010*, p. 40.

⁶⁷ *Hamilton Harrier Club: Pictorial History 1928 - 2003*, ed. by David Southwick (Hamilton: Hamilton Harrier Club, 2003) , p. 37.

was captioned 'STARS of many sports' and they were described as having played touch rugby for 'New Zealand'.⁶⁸ Winning national titles was often the pinnacle of achievement for a club, and the linking of those triumphs to their sporting communities was a primary function of the production of the histories. Such connections sometimes included the work performed by coaches and managers. These people, and those who served on committees and gave other voluntary time were the 'stalwarts'. Indeed, those who showed the greatest loyalty were sometimes accorded the lofty title of 'club men'.⁶⁹

The Stalwarts

The vast majority of sporting activities that happened (and still happen) in the Waikato every week, were organised and run by volunteers. Large numbers of people gave their time, mostly in unquestioning ways, to facilitate both the playing of games, and the social gatherings that were so closely linked to this part of the communal life of the region. In many ways, the histories examined were produced as much to remember and praise the contributions of these members, as they were about celebrating the sporting success of the clubs. It is difficult to find a text in the current collection that did not include the word 'stalwart'.⁷⁰ Those people who gave their, often unstinting and almost always unpaid, time and effort to the club or association were seen as an essential part of the organisation, even when they were not that good at the sport itself. They were an integral part of the club's mythology, and it sometime appears as if the various centenary and jubilee commemoration activities were mostly about celebrating their service.

A number of the texts convey a very real sense of gratitude to those who founded the club, and the narratives of triumph over adversity previously noted, elevated these people into the kind of hero status normally reserved for the top sporting

⁶⁸ *Eastern Suburbs: the Road to Flagstaff*, p. 78.

⁶⁹ Hooper, *Hamilton Marist Brothers Old Boys Rugby Football Club Golden Jubilee, 1922-1972*, p. 19.

⁷⁰ A stalwart is defined as a person who is 'loyal, reliable and hard working,' *Oxford Dictionary* <<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/stalwart>> [Accessed 20 November 2015]

achievers. A tribute to the 'stalwarts of the Eastern Suburbs club provides a very overt example of the sentiments often expressed:

Life has never been easy for those who believe in the Eastern Suburbs Rugby Club. Fortunately Eastern Suburbs has always been able to attract the loyal players, administrators and supporters who had the desire, ability and strength to overcome time and again what appeared to be overwhelming odds.

The club mourns the loss of those stalwarts who defied the odds season after season.⁷¹

In this piece, Winston Hooper and his fellow writers perhaps overemphasised the problems faced, but these difficulties became part of the way the club collectively memorialised its past. The appreciation felt for the work of these people is certainly obvious.

'Stalwarts' abound in the bowling and golf club histories. From those early members who built the 'club traditions' that the President of the Hillcrest Bowling club exhorted the current members to never forget, to Clough Blundell, who mowed the greens at the Te Awamutu Golf course every week with a handmower, these people were praised, thanked and mythologised for providing the foundation of, and dedication to, the organisation.⁷² Current members reading the stories were reminded to give thanks for the service of their predecessors, and there is often a nostalgic feel to these particular narratives. While the successes of past and current members were included, there is a sometimes romanticised, even sanitised, sense of 'history' attached to the appreciation shown of the founding members and those who strove to create the physical environments of the club. In the Hamilton Rowing Club's booklet, J.R. Hill noted that the clubhouse opened in 1966 'stands a tribute to the foresight and selfless effort of the members of earlier

⁷¹ *Eastern Suburbs: The Road to Flagstaff*, p. 3.

⁷² *Te Awamutu Golf Club: 75th Jubilee* (Te Awamutu, NZ: Te Awamutu Golf Club, 1986), p. 6.

days'.⁷³ As much as progress was celebrated, in some cases at least, there is an undercurrent of feeling that the days of that kind of dedication were past.

Long-term members were often awarded life membership. The ways of attaining this status varied widely from fairly formulaic processes through to a nomination and voting system, usually at the Annual General Meeting. In 1985, for example, Allan Townsend, (noted for his playing and coaching skills and dedicated committee work) and Norma Wilton (also a top player and long term committee member and 'one of the club's strongest supporters') were elected Life Members of the Tatuani Tennis Club.⁷⁴ Generally those elevated in this manner were the older, long term members, who no longer had to pay membership fees and held positions of prestige, if not necessarily overt power, within the club. Occasionally, in time of financial hardship, life memberships would be sold but this was not the normal way such titles were conferred.

In the introduction to this chapter, I noted the family aspect of my early club life. The idea of 'family' and the family atmosphere was evident in many of the histories. In addition, a number contained stories of families who made a significant contribution to the life of the organisations as players, coaches, committee members, caterers and supporters. The history of the Kihikihi Polo Club was very much a series of stories about the Kay family, and not just because it was written by Archie Kay, the descendant of one of the club founders.⁷⁵ Polo is generally a sport for those who can afford the cost of horses and transport, but the Kay family were the heroes, stalwarts, supporters, and characters in this text. Other histories have tales of generations of club involvement. One of many examples in the rugby club histories is the list of families involved in the Hautapu Rugby Club:

[t]he Thompsons, Bourkes, Arnolds, Hogans, Reillys , Kidds, Roberts, Woods and Hjorths always figured prominently in club activities. The

⁷³ J.R. Hill, *Hamilton Rowing Club Founded 1903: History of Events 1903-1978*, (Hamilton: Hamilton Rowing Club, 1978), p. 10.

⁷⁴ *Tatuanui Tennis Club Reunion*, n.p.

⁷⁵ Kay, *The Kihikihi Polo Club, 1892 - 1992*.

stalwart support of the Turnbolls, Kidds, Dick Arnold, Roy MacDonald, Wally Wood and Ken Moreland were crucial.⁷⁶

This list of families was from a printed memory attributed to Don Thompson and illustrates the types of relationships found in many similar organisations. Such overt mention of family involvement was not as apparent in some of the other histories but that may have been as much a function of the type of game played. There was a page in the Hockey Association text titled 'Hockey - The Family Game' which gave details of a number of local families who had been involved, including the Martin family. Barry and Noel Martin were 'stalwart Hamilton Tech club players' and the report mentioned the involvement of partners, children and grandchildren.⁷⁷ There is an underlying impression throughout the histories, that these clubs were very much the way that people 'got together' and that the social aspect for individual and families, while bringing with it an expectation of some responsibility to contribute, was a central part of community life.

If the hard work and loyalty of the seemingly endless number of committee members and working bee attendants ensured the successful functioning of these organisations, in the memories of some of the contributors, it was the 'characters' that brought the fun to the party.

The Characters

It is perhaps more difficult to define the qualities that made up the 'characters'. While some also featured as heroes and/or stalwarts, these were members who were identified as displaying other, perhaps less definable but usually positive, elements in their communities. It should be noted that these people were almost uniformly male, and the aspects of their personalities that qualified them for this status appear to have been more likely to relate to behaviour in the social part of the club, rather than in the sporting arena.

A brief journey into the part that alcohol played in the club environment might be appropriate here. For many participants, the ability to socialise with a drink after

⁷⁶ Hooper, *Spirit of Hautapu*, p.31

⁷⁷ Rosemergy, Thompson & Polglase, p. 33.

matches or practice sessions was a central part of the attraction of belonging. The special licenses held by clubs sometimes enabled them to serve and/or sell alcohol when other establishments were more legally constrained, and the revenue gained from such sales was often an important part of the club's total funding.⁷⁸ Most of the golf club histories mentioned the importance of the 'nineteenth hole', as a place to relax after the game, and sometimes as a revenue source. The relatively brief 25th Jubilee Year booklet of the Morrinsville RSA Bowling Club (which was essentially a summary of the yearly AGMs), contained details, on at least four occasions, of the number of kegs of beer purchased. There were also reports of an unfortunate discrepancy in the amount of beer bought and sold, and the need to hold a Special Meeting to determine where the missing five dozen bottles might be.⁷⁹ These organisations were run by volunteers for the most part, and there needed to be a great deal of trust with regard to this part of their function. Certainly, for most of the time, the provision of alcohol seems relatively unregulated. It was obviously intertwined with the social life of the clubs and some writers believed that a decline of the social part of their clubs was directly related to the increased policing of drink driving rules. As Harold New stated, 'The shadow of George Orwell's "1984" and all that, in the shape of the Transport Department, stands threateningly over all our heads'.⁸⁰

From the long list of antics recorded in the chapter entitled 'Characters and Events of Interest', the Cambridge Golf Club seems to have had a large number of interesting members. While the actions and personalities required to attain such status varied, there is a sense of standing out, of difference more related to extroverted, even eccentric, behaviour than sporting success. Examples included Archie McSporran McMillan, who 'always had a tale to tell', and Vera Skousland who was also well known for her ability to 'spin a yarn'.⁸¹ A reputation for drinking, or throwing clubs, or even playing golf by car light was enough to be

⁷⁸ A note in the Te Awamutu Bowling Club's history states 'Before the 80's (sic) the opportunities for social drinking, on Sundays in particular, were more restricted than they are today. Bowling clubs, with their Special Licenses covering tournaments and other Club events provided both an enjoyable sporting activity and the opportunity for a social drink afterwards (p 26)

⁷⁹ Frank C. Stevens, *The Morrinsville Returned Services Association Bowling Club: 25th Jubilee Year, 1969 - 1994* (Morrinsville, NZ.: Morrinsville R.S.A. Bowling Club, 1994), p. 19.

⁸⁰ New, p. 26.

⁸¹ Jecks, p. 39.

seen as a bit different, even if in a positive way. Characters brought excitement, fun, or even surprise, and featured strongly in the collective memories of many of the clubs examined.

The actions of individuals categorised/named in this way seemed to provide reference points for memories of particular times in the club's collective history, and are a central part of the ways the club members felt about the shared life of the organisation. Along with fundraising drives, tragedies, dissension, and sporting successes, it was these types of people that embodied the social parts of the organisations, and who featured in club narratives and mythologies. When, for example, club members were asked what made Old Boys such a great [cricket] club, the first printed answer was 'The various characters that have been involved in the club. Great socialisers'.⁸² The recording of these memories indicates an acceptance of such behaviour, and the importance of humour and fun in these particular social settings.

While the heroes, stalwarts and characters above were included and celebrated for their contributions to club life, and while loss, whether of matches or money or resources, was also important to remember, the tenor of these narratives is almost always of people doing the right thing. It is difficult to imagine that there were not times when money went missing, bad decisions made, or people behaved in unacceptable ways, particularly at after match functions. Even with references to the behaviour of some members on the bowling greens and golf courses, and the occasional loss of beer, there was very little mention of dishonesty or seriously bad behaviour in the various sporting arenas. Most seem to have attempted to present their best faces to the world and to the current club members, to support a successful collective identity, scrubbing up the represented sporting memories much as they would have cleaned up the clubrooms before, and after, the celebrations.

⁸² Giles, p. 22.

Writing Gender and the Representation of Māori

As noted in earlier chapters of this thesis, sport was developed as a group of activities that consistently separated women and men. The separations, differences, and relative status of gender roles in sporting clubs was very apparent in their histories, but there was enough diversity in some representations to undercut assumptions about the ways men and women saw their roles, or were perceived within club discourses. This, of course, does not discount the very normative ways in which women, in particular, were usually included and/or marginalised in these organisations, nor can the obvious setting of 'male' as the default be refuted. Often, of course, it depended on who put the history together.

The presentation of a dominant form of masculinity is prevalent throughout most of the rugby, golf, bowls, cricket and other histories surveyed. As was evident in the discussion of heroes above, the normative traits of skill, hard work, and physical prowess abound, and there was little challenge to this version of Waikato manhood. Difference, particularly with reference to sexuality, was not acknowledged or included, in any of the histories examined. This absence does not mean that there may not have been actual challenges to these discursive representations. It does mean, however, that any such diversion from accepted behaviour was not presented for public consumption in these histories.

Of the six rugby club histories used, five involved the work of Winston Hooper. The first of these was written in 1972 and details the story of the Hamilton Marist Brothers Old Boys Rugby Football Club. Essentially presented as the initial creation of a Catholic Brother, Calixtus, this club (which based much of its foundation on the building up of junior teams), was very much a domain for men and the history produced reflects both this and the time it was written.⁸³ As a product of the early 1970s, it is a narrative of rugby-playing men and, it could be inferred, for rugby-playing men. The continuing role and importance of the Catholic Church in the organisation was emphasised, and women simply did not feature in most of the publication, even as caterers or supporters. The final page, which tells of the beginnings of the attached squash club, does include

⁸³ Hooper, *Hamilton Marist Brothers Old Boys Rugby Football Club*, p. 3.

information about the women involved, and the separate committee they formed.⁸⁴ This only serves to underscore their absence throughout the rest of the history.

The lack of women in the Marist history helps to throw relief on the more overt, if still usually prescribed, place accorded to women in the other rugby club histories. The texts that were compiled around the early part of the twenty-first century are indicative both of a shift in the sporting activities of these clubs, and in the ways in which the roles of women were seen and acknowledged. There is still a marked tendency to show them as supporters and caterers, and to centre the activities of men. In the Hautapu history, tribute was paid by a life member to the ‘fantastic service given by so many individuals and their wives’, and this is an example of naming and/or labelling of women in many of the texts (not just rugby) examined.⁸⁵ Until the stories were told, near the end of the books, of the introduction of sports (including squash and netball) played by women in these clubs – when they become ‘sports’ not just ‘rugby’ clubs – women were more than often identified by their relationship to men. They were:

the grandmothers, mothers, wives sisters and daughters through the 100 years who have organised the gear laundry and cleaning of boots, who have boosted the morale when needed and ensured the after match spreads are envied by other clubs.⁸⁶

These relationships also, of course, supported conformity to the heterosexual, generally conservative, values that underscored the histories.

The rugby/sports club history that diverges somewhat from a pattern of disregarding any challenges to the normative exercise of patriarchal power, was the Leamington Rugby Sports Club Centennial Booklet compiled by Aileen Somerville. Initially, this text had many of the features found in other club histories when the original sport played was rugby, and was faithful to the hero, stalwart and character devices found in other narratives. Using newspaper articles, newsletter excerpts and memorabilia including reproductions of the 1947 50th

⁸⁴ Hooper, *Hamilton Marist Brothers Old Boys Rugby Football Club*, p. 57.

⁸⁵ Hooper, *Spirit of Hautapu*, p. 40.

⁸⁶ Hooper, *Spirit of Hautapu*, p. 6.

Jubilee celebration invitations and programme, Somerville drew together the early club history with very little reference to the role of women in the organisation, or any challenge to the usual portraits of masculinity. A number of long time 'club men' were featured as were details of rugby results and season outcomes. However, a change in focus and tone was signalled when, in 1977, squash courts were opened and 'this saw an increase in family involvement which in hindsight was to have a great influence in the club's progress'.⁸⁷ It became apparent that women had long been involved in the club, and that formerly accepted gender roles were being challenged in the publication of a letter to the editor of the club newsletter in June 1980. Titled 'Chauvinist Pigs' the letter writer asked '[w]hy is it the Ladies of the Leamington Rugby Club are only allowed to organise afternoon teas and suppers' and called for greater inclusion for the 'wives and girl friends'.⁸⁸ The male editor replied 'Right On Lady' and appeared to agree with the sentiments expressed. Somerville noted underneath that while the 1972 Jubilee committee was all male, there was gender equality on the committee in 1997.

There does seem to have been a change in role or 'place' for some women in this club. Further in the history was a rare feature of women's rugby with photographs of teams from 1949 and 1962, and details of the 'current' women's team.⁸⁹ One of the identified heroes was an 'All Black' (Black Fern) Heidi Reader.⁹⁰ Photographs and stories about squash players – mostly women but some men – completed the book, and there is a feeling that this history is progressive, that some things had changed for the better, even while there was nostalgia for a earlier, less professional, sporting era. Certainly there was a sense that club life had improved for at least some women.

The Leamington club history is unusual, and contrasts with the more regularised depictions of apparently accepted discourses of male dominance found in a large number of the publications dissected. However, sometimes, during the course of a club or association's history, the power balance between gender groups would ebb

⁸⁷ Somerville, p. 27.

⁸⁸ Somerville, p. 48.

⁸⁹ Somerville, pp. 74-75. I have found little other mention of women's rugby but it appears some women played. This warrants further investigation.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

and flow. However, in those sports organisations where men and women were involved from the beginning, notably tennis and golf clubs, the power relationships were often only slightly less homogenous. These sports were generally played by the wealthier members of society, and while class, as a thematic category, has not been featured strongly in this thesis, it was an important part of the beginnings of these sporting activities, particularly for women.⁹¹ As James Belich contended: 'Ladies and girls played sport before World War II, generally speaking, women did not'.⁹² Certainly it appears that only those who had the leisure time, funds, and the right social connections, played golf in the Waikato in the early stages of its development.

A relatively close association of men and women was evident in the early years of the Hamilton Golf Club. It was noted 'during the first 10 years of the club, men and women worked together, with three women ex-officio on the committee in 1903. It was their job to extend hospitality to players'.⁹³ While these roles for women were similar to those in many other sporting organisations, they were potentially more visible and involved. In 1913, not satisfied with just making 'creampuffs and scones', the women members decided to form their own club (using the same course as the men) and went on to host not only the South Auckland Championships but the New Zealand Ladies Golf Championships.⁹⁴ Notwithstanding this, and the success of a number of the members, there was still an overt tone of subservience to the men as the women on the eventual joint committee were described as press officers, cloakroom attendants, keepers of lost property, organisers of raffles, gardeners and floral artists and 'when faced with

⁹¹ Golf, in particular seems to have started as an upper/middle class-based activity but often, due a lack of population numbers, became more egalitarian. Control usually remained in the hands of the more 'distinguished' members. At the Waihi club for example, the creation story includes a description of the 'mine manager and his management team. They were high in the social hierarchy of the straggling township, along with the professional and business men, some farmers and local body administrators. These were the people who instigated the Waihi Golf Club.' *Waihi Golf Club: Our Story, 1906-2006*, ed. by David Page (Waihi, NZ: Waihi Golf Club, 2006), p. 5.

⁹² James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001), p. 377.

⁹³ Brandon, p. 3.

⁹⁴ Brandon, p. 27.

an emergency, they also became caterers and cleaners'.⁹⁵ There is little mention of roles that had direct real power in the organisation.

Often when the relative place of women in sport is discussed, much is made of the imposition of restrictions on women, their lack of power, opportunity, and representation in the media. This is usually seen as something done to women, thus denying them any agency, or avoiding issues of complicity in such discrimination. The history of the Waikato Netball Association is one of two texts found in which only the sporting activities of women are detailed. Published in 1985 and therefore after the time where second-wave feminism might have been expected to have had an effect on accepted gender roles, it is noteworthy to find, under the title *Waikato Today*, the following passage:

Words from the "Times" (sic) report on 25 June 1952, are as applicable now as they were when Mrs Paull answered the question, "Why is basketball (netball) so popular?" "It is because the game provides a full-time spare-time interest. Of importance too, are the development of team spirit, the keenness the game demands, and its general suitability for the physical resources of a girl and young woman."⁹⁶

This belief in the restricted physicality of women echoed other ways of looking at the suitability of certain sports. The history of hockey in the Waikato noted that women started playing this game before men in this region and that, following the first games in 1902, there were many years where both men's and women's hockey were popular and successful. In 1917, for example a Waikato women's team beat Auckland 6 -1.⁹⁷ The writers then proceeded to discuss the temporary derailment of women's hockey when the board and headmaster of the Hamilton High School refused to allow the girls to play as it was deemed too physically demanding. This type of opposition was prevalent in New Zealand at this time, and basketball(netball) was considered much more appropriate.⁹⁸ The history

⁹⁵ Brandon, p. 29.

⁹⁶ *Fiftieth Jubilee, April 1985, Waikato Netball Association*, , p. 14.

⁹⁷ Rosemergy, Thompson & Polglase, p. 5.

⁹⁸ Mandy Treagas, 'Playing like Ladies: Basketball, Netball and Feminine Restraint', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 22,1 (January 2005), 88-105.

provided details of the objections of the Principal of Auckland Grammar, including that playing hockey could cause ‘a tendency for the right side of the body to become over developed’ in order to lightly mock such ideas. Certainly there is a tone of disbelief in the writing that such things could occur but also some attempt to place these ideas in their historical context. While women continued to play hockey at this time, it seems to have been in the face of some serious opposition. These difficulties were ultimately overcome, and the narrative continued with stories of triumphs and heroes, both male and female, and, with the ultimate amalgamation of both associations, ended with a sense of harmony and pride. This was the most gender equal history of those analysed.

The clubs and associations featured in this chapter were all organised within a European/Pākehā paradigm. While many of the histories were written within the last twenty years, there is often, as has been found in previous chapters, a lack of inclusion of stories about Māori, or indeed any ethnic group other than Pākehā. Māori or Polynesian men can be located in some rugby club photographs but were not often included in any other capacity.⁹⁹ The exceptions were most likely to be those players who brought glory to the organisation through selection in regional or national teams. This is also true for women like Vanessa Cootes and Angela Toal mentioned above. The celebration of some Māori as coaches or administrators roles again served to highlight the vast amount of material that did not include them.¹⁰⁰

One history did provide details of Māori sporting activity. The Te Awamutu Golf Club history included a two page feature titled ‘A Brief History of Te Kiteroa and Māori Golf in Te Awamutu’.¹⁰¹ This history, written by T. P. Maniapoto, included details of the formation of the local Māori Golf Federation (Te Kiteroa) in 1955, and its demise twenty years later after disagreements with the Te Awamutu Golf Club. It provided information about the men and women involved, including their

⁹⁹ See Hooper, *Forever Taupiri*, p. 47- 48;

¹⁰⁰ One example is the Jim Wetere Junior from Eastern Suburbs. In a large feature article, both his family links to the club and role as a player coach and administrator were celebrated. Hooper, *Eastern Suburbs: The Road to Flagstaff*, pp 50-51.

¹⁰¹ T. P Maniapoto ‘A Brief History of Te Kiteroa and Maori Golf in Te Awamutu’ in *Te Awamutu Golf Club: 75th Jubilee*, pp 10-11.

playing and social achievements, and their results in national Māori Golf Association competitions. This narrative also included the provenance of the Honours Board (with links to the ramifications of the land wars) which had been presented by the Te Kiteroa and the New Zealand Māori Golf Association to the Te Awamutu club. It finished with a hope that the federation could be revived and the ‘the bonds and companionship not of Maoris and Pakehas but of golfers’ could also be re-established.¹⁰²

This brief story displays many of the narrative features of the other club histories. It showed sport and sporting contacts in a mostly positive light by celebrating those people who brought glory to the organisation, and promoted sporting contact as a way for different groups to interact. The inclusion of tales that hint at conflict can also be found elsewhere but, for this thesis, this small tale is important as it suggests the existence of a much wider network of Māori involvement in sport in the Waikato. This, again, warrants further investigation.

Conclusion: The place of Waikato Clubs and Associations in a Waikato Identity.

At the beginning of this thesis, I stated that, in searching for a Waikato identity as revealed through the representation of sport, I was not claiming that this region is particularly unique. A similar discussion of the representation of other regions in New Zealand, and indeed in other parts of the world would, most likely, present similar conclusions to those found throughout this study. In particular, this dissection of the club and association histories was not included to support a notion that these organisations are unique or unusual. It was designed to further uncover the place of sport through a deconstruction of narratives that represent parts of a local community. While there is diversity in the style and form of these texts, there is a consistency of message and an understanding that while they may have been compiled most often by individuals, they represent a collective voice.

¹⁰² Ibid.

These are conservative histories and their writers have been concerned to present factually correct publications. They also show evidence of nostalgia, and of present-centred concerns as the writers highlighted those parts of the narratives that were important to their current audience. However, they do provide a rich trove of storytelling which connects their members through time; these are obvious examples of the ways ‘imagined communities’ collected and shared narratives to sustain connections with a shared identity. The findings in this chapter have rewarded the decision to champion these local, if not analytical, chronicles as they confirm the importance of sporting clubs and organisations in providing obvious and prolonged ‘ways of belonging’, and add to an understanding of the operation of sport in the Waikato.

Many of the ontological and theoretical concepts discussed in earlier chapters have also been considered here. Description and examination of the forms of structured sporting organisations, with committees and formal rules, complimented and extended the discussion that was evident in the Regatta and lawn bowls chapters. The consistent formality of these administrative structures has been shown to be a central part of the accepted ways they have functioned in the community. The abiding framing of sport as organised by, and mostly for, Pākehā/European participants is, once again, underlined by the very small numbers of stories from or about, other ethnic groups.

Masculinity is often constructed in these texts in ways that are very similar to the newspaper reports – most often through actions and results rather than by the description of physical features. Hard work was valued and making a contribution to these communities is shown to be important. These histories are replete with the celebration of success. The lauding of heroes is an obvious feature, and the narrative devices and tropes that helped to construct them in the media texts are again evident in this chapter. Personal sacrifice and triumph over adversity are important, as is the demonstration of humility and grace, both in success and defeat.

The clubs and associations are also examples of the visible operation of combined and individual power whether through the structures which allowed control over

membership and therefore inclusion, or as revealed by the respective roles of men and women in these organisations. Discourses of exclusivity and normative gender roles are found throughout a number of the texts but, as with the Empire/Commonwealth Games and lawn bowls material, in some cases there is also evidence of change or contestation over time, particularly with regard to the visibility and input of women. It is often through the changes in the represented roles of women that the importance of the present-centred nature of these texts is made apparent, as they are constructed for an audience with (perhaps) different ideas about the relative roles of men and women from those of earlier periods.

The number of clubs and associations, and the energy and commitment of volunteers and sportspeople as remembered through these narratives, reveals much about the importance of sport in the Waikato. It provides an understanding of the ways sport was organised and the significance of the social sense of belonging that centred around this on-going community activity. For many people, sport in the Waikato meant joining and participating, and, through these histories, being seen to be member, an 'insider'. As part of a shared Waikato identity, the layered and sometimes tangled connections provided the opportunity for the development of a shared social capital that configured this region as active and involved.

Conclusions

The stories that are told of sporting occasions include drama and intrigue, heroes and dangers, lithe women and skilful men. Sport brings people together, and divides them into competing groups, reveals imagined communities and separates them into categories made and supported through narrative. Whether we play or watch, organise or are controlled, these tales help us to know that we are part of a collective, that we have a common focus, if only for a short time, or for part of our normal lives.

In this thesis, I have explored ideas and images of ‘the Waikato’ and its people, that have been created and sustained through the writing of sporting activity. This textual representation of sport, whether in newspapers, or club and association histories, involved the production of public narratives that recreated the actions of men and women and, in the process, have helped to identify and define the place they inhabited. The resulting thesis is firmly centred on ‘the local’, rather than ‘a national’ formation, but has also looked further afield, to help situate this place both literally and figuratively, in the wider world.

The beginnings of the development of the Waikato as a separate region in the nineteenth century occurred against a backdrop of conflict and contention. Following the invasion and confiscation of Māori land, European/Pākehā settlers arrived with various types and forms of cultural baggage, including ideas about codified physical activity. In addition, in the time before World War II, Māori tended to still live in rural, sometimes isolated places. In this thesis, the reporting of the overall relationships between different groups was found to emphasize separation and difference. In contrast, the Ngāruawāhia Regatta, was presented as enabling a harmonious and celebratory annual meeting of two communities, Māori and Pākehā, in ways that were obviously controlled by the latter. The urbanisation of Māori that occurred from the end of World War II onwards led to heightened visibility in the paper, and there were occasional challenges to the control exerted over forms of cultural expression. However, the public

assimilation and integration narratives of this event continued until the transfer of control from the Regatta Association to Turangawaewae in 1973.

This thesis has shown that some aspects of this region were represented through the transformation of Māori traditions into sporting competitions at this annual event, and evidence of an on-going process of the ‘authentication’ of cultural practices is found throughout the material studied.¹ While this was not an exclusively Waikato occurrence, the actions and efforts of the men who organised the Ngāruawāhia Regatta worked to define and preserve particular forms of Māori cultural activities. They configured and advertised their event, and by inference the wider Waikato, as a place that valued and upheld these traditions. In this way, and in the use and promotion of Maori activities as entertainment and for monetary gain, the Regatta has told us about the operation of one of the power hierarchies in local Waikato communities.

Other Māori sporting activity during the period from 1896-1974 was less obvious in the assembled archives. While there were Māori rugby players in the Waikato and Auckland teams that met annually, they have been framed within a paradigm that, at that time and in the reporting of this event, did not appear to differentiate between the attributes of the men involved based on their ethnicity. This indicates an acceptance and integration in this region that is difficult to challenge without further investigation. The relative absence of Māori Empire/Commonwealth Games competitors hints at a lack of involvement in those sports included in this international competition. Occasional inclusion in club and association stories also provided evidence of their participation in various sporting organisations but, given that the default ethnicity was Pākehā, the place of Māori in these and other sports-based communities was most often inferred through absence.

The enduring portrayal of Māori men and women at the Regatta as ‘warriors’ and ‘graceful maidens’ also cast them in particular gender roles.² Sport has been an

¹ Brendan Hokowhitu, ‘Authenticating Maori Physicality: Translations of ‘Games’ and ‘Pastimes’ by Early Travellers and Missionaries to New Zealand’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 25, 10 (Sept 2008), 1355-1373.

² ‘Ngāruawāhia Regatta’, *Waikato Times*, 15 March 1929, p. 3

obvious way that normative gender models have been created and sustained.³ Throughout this thesis, uniform notions of masculinity have been identified and discussed, particularly through the writing of rugby games. The emphasis located in the source material was on the player's skill, rather than their physical attributes or physicality, and displays of fairplay and humility were expected. Representations of their actions, therefore, took precedence over descriptions of their physical attributes; and while some aspects of the stereotypes described by Jock Phillips were supported, others which emphasized a frontier background, and a 'hardman' persona and physicality, were not found. Sport was seen as a normal part of the life of men, and the images of those men were constructed in ways that adhered to a form of discursive masculinity that contained expectations that they were, for example, heterosexual and family oriented. The writers of club histories also featured family involvement and presented men in different, if related, roles. The demonstrated traits of industry and teamwork shown as important for players, were also highlighted in those men who were celebrated for their contributions to community life as committee members and volunteers, and for their function as bringers of humour and fun.

I questioned, in the conclusion of Chapter One, whether the codification of cultural activities and the essentialised versions of Māori made apparent in the Regatta narratives, provided evidence to support Stuart Hall's theory that the representation of such events has been constitutive or reflective of cultural discourses.⁴ While in that instance, it has been difficult to separate, or perhaps rank, these central parts of the discursive process, it seems more apparent that the writing of sporting activity has played a constructive part in the formation of ideas about masculinity, if only because they were, for the most part, the most consistent and obvious male role models in the archives used. The traits of skilful play, hard work, and modesty were positively reinforced so many times that, even if notions of their desirability had originated in other fields, they were re-

³ *Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives*, ed. by Michael Messner and Donald Sabo (Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics Books, 1990).

⁴ Stuart Hall, 'New Ethnicities' in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 223 -227 (p. 224).

constituted on a continual basis through the coverage of sport, and rugby in particular. Such consistency of message, that underlined the importance of skill and endeavour, was also found in the depictions of male lawn bowlers.

Sporting activity and organisations were most often presented as male domains, and women were consistently configured as supporters and caterers, wives and/or daughters, in both the newspaper reports, and in many of the club and association chronicles. For much of the period under consideration, sportswomen, and their competitions and organisations, were easily identified as the media coverage placed emphasis on their gender by, for example, including their titles (Mrs or Miss), and their activities were significantly less reported than their male counterparts. However, there was some evidence, particularly in the later parts of Chapters Three, Four and Five that the visibility of sportswomen, and the narratives constructed about their activities, had begun to change. The growing prominence of women bowlers in the newspaper and the portrayal of Lorraine Moller as the pre-eminent Waikato athlete at the 1974 Commonwealth Games, are examples of this, but at no time did the representation come near to matching the volume or detail of the coverage of sportsmen. There were subtle changes in narrative tone with a move to less formal ways of naming women in the newspapers, and with the increase in photographs of partly clad girls. This did not, however, indicate a major shift in the overall positioning of sportswomen, or the discursive framing of sporting activity as predominantly for men.

Women were also sometimes shown as vital parts of clubs and associations, particularly in those organisations that had mostly female membership. However, in those instances where both men and women were members including golf clubs for example, the power to make the most important decisions generally rested with the men who almost always held the significant positions of Club President/Chairman, Secretary or Treasurer. Most of the club and association histories contained and, it seems, accepted this type of gender hierarchy. In those organisations which had been started by and for sporting men, the inclusion of women was more often than not performed in a way that ensured the existing power structures would be maintained. When, for example, women were allowed to join bowling clubs or, more often, form associated groups which used existing

men's facilities, they generally did so under conditions which reinforced their subordinate positions. However, there was some indication of represented change in some of these organisations which was likely to have been a result of the present-centred nature of the club and association texts.

The analysis of the myriad configurations and applications of power in the Waikato has been a major focus of this thesis whether in relation to the cultural discourses of sport or, as above, control over the actual resources required to play. The ability to dictate access to these resources was an inherent part of the relationships between clubs and the wider communities they inhabited. For example, the formal membership structures allowed existing members to include, or exclude, others. This implied that belonging to these clubs was desirable, that being part of these sporting communities was inherently positive, and not only for the improved access to alcohol.

In this thesis, the operation of power was not approached as intrinsically negative but as a fundamental part of sporting relationships.⁵ The inclusion and analysis of the 1926 bowling club tournament affair prompted consideration of how layered allegiances operated, and enabled the development of some understanding about the perceived place of sport in the wider Waikato community at that time. The unpicking of this dispute revealed not only the public importance of this game and its obviously interconnected groups of players, but the competing notions of the ways such hierarchical structures should operate. Contention over the perceived roles of office holders – as masters or servants of their constituent membership – arguably brought wider ideas about the organisation of society into a sporting arena and reinforced the impression of the interrelated nature of community organisations. This prolonged narrative placed sporting matters firmly inside a constructed Waikato environment.

It was also a good story, full of obvious passion and drama, and this study has fundamentally been about the form and meanings of particular types of sporting stories. Tales of heroic deeds have featured, particularly when heroes like Jack

⁵ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p.119.

Doms and Jim Hill succeeded on an international stage. If, as the editorial in the *Waikato Times* contended, sport is drama, then the accounts of the triumph over adversity (including non-selection) provided the most compelling ways for the Waikato communities to claim and celebrate their heroes.⁶ Other narratives were not so dramatic but they also followed appropriate forms. Stories of the annual rugby game, for example, began with reports of team selections and the writers speculated, in authoritative voices, about the prospects for our 'boys' versus their 'sons'. The day arrived and, as the newspaper technology grew more sophisticated, news of the game might be published as it was being played. The result was relayed in the days after the match with full details of the actions and some idea of the attributes of those involved. A final analysis would provide the reader with the reasons for the result and, perhaps, hope for the future.

These stories helped to situate sport in the everyday life of communities. They, and the collected memories of clubs, also showed their communities how, and perhaps why, they might be different or separate from others. Throughout the time period covered in this thesis, the Waikato has been written in a number of layered and intersecting ways. It was represented as a place that valued (particular and defined) Māori traditions, that produced successful sports men, and occasionally women, who could compete on larger stages. In the ringing of cowbells and the Mooloo parades, Waikato supporters showed they could embrace its/their rural heritage. Writing and reading the dramatic stories of sporting heroes also helped the people of the region sometimes see themselves as winners, if often the underdog in the relationship with the larger and often more politically powerful Auckland. In all these ways, sporting activities were a significant component of the formation of a separate Waikato identity.

That Waikato community was also shown to be part of the wider world. A prominent part of its public identity was revealed in the continued evidence of allegiance to the British Empire/Commonwealth. The contextual backgrounds of the descriptions of the athletes who competed at the Empire and Commonwealth Games cast them as not only heroes (when successful), but also as members of the

⁶ 'TV Games', *Waikato Times*, 31 Jan 1974, p. 4.

greater imperial family. Their inclusion and performances were represented as ways of confirming and supporting the connections of the Waikato to Britain particularly during the later part of the period when other aspects of the relationship (including markets for access for dairy products) were not so clear and positive.

Sport was consistently presented as positive in the examined archives. Even at times of adversity, and when local teams and athletes were not successful, the place of sport in the many and layered Waikato communities was affirmed as a necessary and important part of society. It was a vital site for the amassing of cultural, social and political capital.⁷ The accumulated prestige of successful sportspeople and teams was celebrated, and other members of their communities were shown to have publicly aligned themselves with these athletes to enhance their own standing. This was most clearly shown in the holding of public celebrations of Games heroes but was likely also part of the motivation of the members of the Mooloo Club. The gathering of forms of social capital were an obvious part of the clubs, and their histories are, in essence, collections of, and reflections on, the 'network[s] of lasting relations, a belongingness or connectedness with others'.⁸ In addition, the community standing – symbolic capital – gained by those people in control of sporting organisations was an obvious result of their involvement.

In this thesis I have championed the place of the local. By narrowing the focus to a regional area, and through the concentrated use of local archives, I have been able to develop a narrative of the role of sport in the development of ideas about identity and belonging. While not necessarily a central goal, a number of the findings in this thesis arguably support ideas previously applied to the relationship between sport and the nation. The value of the game of rugby in creating identity, and its role in the separation between the Waikato and the Auckland province,

⁷ lisahunter, Wayne Smith and elke emerald, 'Pierre Bourdieu and his Conceptual Tools', in *Pierre Bourdieu and Physical Culture* (Routledge Research in Sport, Culture and Society), ed. by lisahunter, Wayne Smith & elke emerald (London & New York; Routledge, 2015), p.113.

⁸ Ibid.

both adds to and complicates notions about the place this sport has had in the creation of New Zealand identities. In addition, this concentrated view of interregional sporting relationships could also be applied to investigations of other sporting codes. Hero narratives have been prevalent in stories about this nation, and sporting role models who displayed the same traits of hard-work and humility can be found throughout the country. This thesis has highlighted the connections between the ways their stories are told, and the parts they play in the creations of community identities. The formation of smaller communities, clubs and associations, and the role of sport in connecting and separating people is also apparent throughout New Zealand, and in other parts of the world. The close reading of their accumulated memories does not add to sports history archives as much as it excavates the ways these collected memories add to notions of belonging and community. Such clubs and associations, and their chronicles are found in many other places, and the examination of these narratives arguably takes this thesis from the local to the world.

I have, throughout this thesis, consistently struggled to find background information about, and complex analytical studies of, New Zealand sports history. Therefore, there are many aspects ripe for further consideration and investigation. The place of Māori in history of sport and sporting organisations needs additional examination. The role of sport in the development of gender has been examined by a number of scholars but a more concentrated analysis of the place of narrative in historical representations of sportsmen and women would add to the accumulated knowledge in this area. Further investigation of local histories would also provide a rich set of stories about belonging and identity which could help us discover how relationships and communities have changed over time. Finally, the physical presence of sport in communities in history, the clubrooms and playing fields for example, is the other side of the work done in this thesis which focussed on narrative and text. This aspect of the media representations and club histories would benefit from an approach, centred in social geography, to excavate other parts of the story of sport in the Waikato.

Epilogue

At the beginning of this thesis I noted that the Waikato was born amidst conflict. It seems appropriate that I should end with my memories of arguably the most sports-centred conflict in the short history of this region.

I first started tertiary study at the University of Waikato in March 1981. At this time, the game of rugby, and New Zealand's sporting contacts with South Africa, were the subjects of the most prominent local news stories. A tour by the Springboks was planned and groups like Hart (Halt All Racist Tours) had vowed to march in protest and to do everything they could to disrupt it. Images of violent clashes between protestors and riot police dominated newspapers and television from late July through to mid-September but the tour continued. In the end, only two games were cancelled, the first of which was due to be played in Hamilton on 25 July.

At no point did I want to attend this game and my father, who was much more immersed in the rugby club that I ever would be, also planned to stay away. We both knew people who would go, and we both had friends and, for my father Social Welfare work colleagues, who intended to protest. I remember being, very uncomfortably, on the fence – firmly opposed to the tour, but not to rugby. The conflict was real, and any sense of belonging to a sporting community severely disrupted.

My memories of the day of the Waikato game are of confusion and fear. In an effort to distance myself, I didn't listen to the match on the radio and the first we knew of the pitch invasion and subsequent cancellation, was a panicked phone call from a member of my father's work team. She, a very small woman, had made it to the centre of the Rugby Park field. As she left, she and her fellow protestors were chased by angry spectators and she was understandably very frightened. She eventually made it home but was followed and threatened so she phoned my father and he went out, I assumed to try and help. I recall being very frightened that he would be hurt, and overwhelmed with the intensity of the situation; I was a

teenager after all. While I kind of understood the politics of it all, I couldn't work out how sport, which had been such a big part of my life, could be the centre of so much disruption.

It took a long time for the upheaval of that match to subside. I knew of long term friendships that were damaged and of people effectively excluded from the rugby club for daring to voice opposition to the tour, or even for wondering out loud if rugby was important enough to cause this kind of trouble. Certainly, for the first time I remember thinking that maybe sport wasn't worth it. In the end, I drifted away from the club – although maybe that was for other reasons. I certainly see that time as the starting point of my interest in the wider place and role of sport in the Waikato.

Glossary

Te Reo Māori/Māori Language	English
Arikinui	paramount chief
Haka	ceremonial dance/war dance
Hangi	food pit, method of cooking
Hapū	kinship group, sub-tribe
Hīkoi	march, to get up and walk
Hui	meeting, gathering
Iwi	tribal group
Kīngitanga	King movement
Māori	normal, people, the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Marae	meeting ground
Pākehā	Non-Māori, European person
Poi	light ball on a string, to swing poi and sing
Tāngata	person, people
Tāngata whenua	people of the land, local people
Tikanga	customs, traditions, protocol
Wahine	woman
Waiata	song, to sing
Waka	canoe, kinship group
Waka ama	outrigger canoe
Whānau	family, extended family

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This bibliography is set out under the following headings:

Primary Sources:

1. Newspapers
2. Club and Association Histories
3. Club and Association Official Documents
4. British Empire and Commonwealth Games Commemorative and Souvenir Books

Secondary Sources:

1. Books
2. Book Chapters
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