A SOCIAL HISTORY OF NEW SOUTH WALES
PROFESSIONAL SCULLING 1876-1927

by

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A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
University of Western Sydney

December 2003

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PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning the following pages. The best possible results have been obtained.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of any substantial postgraduate work depends largely on the quality of advice, the level of encouragement and the dedication provided by one's supervisor. When this thesis was proposed, a number of academics and institutions were reticent and reluctant to become involved with a topic that they perceived to be unfashionable and inhibited in breadth and scope. I am sincerely indebted to John O'Hara for, firstly, his courage and insight in undertaking the principal supervisory role of this thesis and, secondly, his astuteness, guidance and commitment to bring this project to fruition. His wealth and range of knowledge, his vigour in pursuing excellence and challenging preconceptions, and his perception for detail, clarity and structure were highly inspirational and contributed greatly to the style and composition of this thesis. I cannot thank or praise Professor O'Hara enough for his advice, instruction and guidance.

I would like to express my gratitude to Richard Cashman for his support and belief that the project would provide a significant argument and a substantial contribution to Australian sports and social history. I would also like to thank Bob Petersen for his support, encouragement and contributions to the work.

Special mention must be made of Chandra Jillings and Gina Battaglia, from Ashfield Municipal Library, for their efforts and contributions towards building the thesis, especially their energy in pinpointing and locating unusual and rare material. Jim Latham and Jack Fisher also deserve special thanks for their empirical contributions, particularly on sculling craft, sculling records and the nature of the river folk.

I also wish to thank my parents, Patsy and Bruce Ripley, for their selflessness in editing the thesis and contributing to the `architecture' of the work. I would like to thank Michael Boyle and Kelvin McQueen who acted as independent readers/critics of the thesis and for their observations and recommendations, which helped give the work sharpness and style.
Finally, I wish to acknowledge my grandfather, Daniel William (Bill) Ripley, who was a top-line professional sculler and the inspiration for this thesis.
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or diploma of the university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.

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CONVERSION NOTE

Money

One pound (£) comprised twenty shillings (20/- or 20s) each shilling of twelve pence (12d).
One crown equalled five shillings (5/- or 5s). A half-crown equalled two shillings and six pence (2/6d).
One guinea equalled one pound and one shilling (£1/1/-).

Weights And Measures

Weight

| 1 pound | = | .453 kilograms |
| 14 pounds | = | 1 stone |
| 8 stone | = | 1 hundredweight |
| 20 hundredweight | = | 1 ton | = | 1.02 tonnes |

Length

| 1 inch | = | 25.4 millimetres |
| 12 inches | = | 1 foot |
| 3 feet | = | 1 yard | = | 0.914 metres |
| 1,760 yards | = | 1 mile | = | 1.61 kilometres |
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the meaning and significance that professional sculling created for Australian, and particularly New South Wales, society and it analyses the critical components that changed its meaning for that society and contributed to the sport’s decline. Some major themes examined include organisation, capital, regionalism, patriotism, nationalism, amateurism, professionalism and social class.

The thesis is a chronological study of the period between 1876 and 1927. It examines the fortunes of the world and national champions and the various organisational methods used to sustain the sport as a national symbol and mass spectacle.

The Australian world domination of the sport between 1876 and 1907 and the significance of that domination for Australia and its place in world sport are explored. In this context particular detail is given to the development of an Australian type, national identity and nation building.

In the analysis of professional sculling’s changing fortunes, particular attention is given to the sport’s methods of organisation and administration, its goals and how they were situated within the ideology of sport in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. This is explored further through investigation of the consolidation of organised sport and the endeavours of amateur rowing authorities to codify professional sculling. Specific attention is given to imperialism in terms of intimidation, sentiment, sovereignty and Australian self-consciousness, and how these concepts debilitated the sport.

World War I provided a test of loyalty, patriotism and principle. These are examined in the sport’s battle of conscience over ceasing its competitions for the Empire’s cause, with its participants being mindful that closure could lead to ruination.

In the analysis of the sport’s post-war fortunes, specific focus is given to the sport’s prolonged apathy towards organisational and structural concerns, how imperialism and self-interest came to dominate the sport and why professional sculling lost its meaning and significance within a progressive and increasingly erudite society.
Among the many findings of this thesis, the traditional belief that gambling and corruption destroyed professional sculling is refuted. The failure of the sport to endure and prosper was of its own making, as it failed to adapt to the increasingly sophisticated organisational demands, institutionalisation and commodification of twentieth-century society.
PREFACE

New South Wales professional sculling was one of the few organised sports that enchanted the public in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Its popularity was due partly to the establishment of international competition, the production of a succession of world champions and the creation of an awareness of an Australian identity. Professional sculling also became a showcase for superb manly specimens, it fashioned a sense of hero-worship and provided evidence against contemporary fears of racial and physical degeneration. Central to the sport’s make-up was competition for money prizes, the opportunity for profit making and the emotional expectations and releases provided by gambling.

The late-nineteenth century was an era when money and gambling-based sports, which enjoyed large slices of the spectator pie, were being challenged by sports less reliant on money which sought intrinsic capital rather than financial returns where participants competed primarily for trophies and honour. It was a contentious time between the two streams, as each struggled to determine its ideologies, definitions and values, and gain supremacy. This latter stream was broadly categorised as amateurism and

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although its constituents applied differing interpretations to the concept, they held common beliefs that sport was training for a higher calling and that there was no place for money in sport.

The thesis will analyse the social history of New South Wales professional sculling between 1876 and 1927. The year 1876 was a momentous one for Australians because Edward Trickett won the first sculling world championship in England by defeating the Englishman Joseph Sadler. Trickett became Australia's first world champion in any sport. Australians dominated international professional sculling for 22 of the next 31 years, but from 1907 its social appeal waned as a consequence of the emergence of more organised sports with their elaborate and sophisticated administrations, networks, seasonal competitions and public accommodation.

The year 1927 marked the fruition of centralised control and codification of the professional sculling world championship by an Australian body. It also marked the dissolution of that body and its charter, which dispatched the sport to the fringes of social and sporting relevance when the reigning Australian world champion dismissed the validity of both the controlling body and its charter and established himself in the heartland of professional and commercialised sport, the United States of America.

Between 1876 and 1927, New South Wales professional sculling rose to tumultuous heights and at times plummeted into insignificance. This thesis will analyse the reasons for the sport's broad fluctuations and the social implications and consequences, and it will propose an alternative argument on the contribution of professional sculling to Australian sports and social history, and shed new light on the ideological and historical debates which have addressed sport and society during this period.

Originally, this thesis was designed to provide an analysis of an unresearched period of New South Wales professional sculling (1907-1927) because that period contained extensive social issues and a wider sports context than previously considered. It was envisaged that the original topic

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would build on the available background information, which has focused on the period to 1907, and provide an historical stepping stone and a body of work that would stand alone. However, the analysis made available by historians required significant re-examination and re-interpretation mainly because of its contradictions, unfounded assumptions, omissions, and summarised issues and, in some cases, lazy research.

Historians, history students and others interested in Australian sports history would find little information on, or critical analysis of, Australian professional sculling and its contribution to Australian social and sports history. The limited material that is available consists mainly of articles and text adjuncts that offer outlines of the sport. Although much of this material reviews the 1876 to 1907 period, it focuses too narrowly on the activities of Australia's world champions.⁴

These works provide interesting and, at times, common themes. Generally, their authors assume that their information pool has been sufficient to conclude that professional sculling was another boom and bust professional construct: it flourished briefly, it provided nationalistic awareness, it lacked centralised authority, it had a thin support base, was repelled by amateurism and faded due to waning sponsorship, economic depression and corruption.

These authors have accepted that professional sculling provided a finite and easily categorised story and that their story offered a straightforward contribution to Australian sports and social history. These observations are reinforced by the lack of research into the sport's post-1907 period. Sports historians have interpreted this later period as so inconsequential that any discourse on professional sculling is seldom more than a hastily prepared concluding paragraph.⁵

Scott Bennett, Daryl Adair and Keith Dunstan have provided reliable outlines and offer posits concerning the sport's make-up and immensity, its

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⁴ Bennett, 'Professional Sculling In New South Wales', op. cit., pp.139-140; Adair, "‘Two Dots In The Distance’…", op. cit., pp.76-77; Adair, 'Rowing And Sculling', op. cit., pp.175-176; Dunstan, loc. cit.

propensity in awakening patriotism and nationalism, and those factors that brought on the sport's decline. Bennett offers insight into the sport's nature and character, particularly in his publication, *The Clarence Comet: The Career Of Henry Searle 1866-89.* However, there are issues which have been omitted in this and other studies, none more so than analysis of the role played by England in the 1876 to 1927 period. Many sports historians attest to cultural imperialism theory when analysing the dispersion of sport from Britain to its colonies, especially in the case of New South Wales rowing. However, whereas the above authors and others, such as Richard Cashman, David Lane and Ian Jobling, Daryl Adair and Wray Vamplew, Bill Mandle and Andrea Brown, have noted that Australian scullers dominated the [English-speaking] world between 1876 and 1907, or have suggested that professional sculling contributed to national identity, England's role, its imperial potency and sovereignty have been neglected in their analyses and observations.

The British historians, Eric Halladay, Neil Wigglesworth and Christopher Dodd, have analysed the fortunes of English professional sculling within the English context. Their examinations into the social and

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sports implications of sculling extend beyond the Australian studies. However, they too have avoided analysis of the England/Australia relationship, although Wigglesworth does suggest that Australian domination came from systemised training and full-time professional commitment, which was alien to the British waterman's tradition.

There are other issues that have been addressed insufficiently and analyses that have been assumed to be credible simply because they have displayed apparently consistent patterns when compared to other sports. For example, Cashman has suggested that professional sculling was a working-class sport and Bennett, Adair, Lane and Jobling have given his assertion greater tone and emphasis in their descriptions of how scullers originated from humble beginnings. The thronging crowds that lined the riverbanks were predominantly working class and because money prizes and gambling were instituted in the sport it is difficult to reject the assumption that professional sculling was a working-class sport. Adding weight to this inference was the New South Wales amateur rowing ideology that precluded the lower orders, prohibited money in sport and promoted sport as character building and being of intrinsic value only. The historians listed above and others, such as Richard Waterhouse, Katharine Moore and Murray Phillips, and Douglas Booth and Colin Tatz, subscribe to the view that sports involving money and gambling were principally working class and the antithesis of amateur sport. More specifically, those authors who have studied New South Wales rowing have painted amateur rowing as exclusively middle

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12 Wigglesworth, op. cit., p.79.
13 Cashman, op. cit., p.46.
class and amateur idealist, whereas professional sculling has been depicted as the populist, unprincipled antagonist devoid of ideology.\textsuperscript{16}

These premises have labelled professional sculling as working class and have consequently deflected the need for deeper inquiry. Raymond Williams has noted that this binarism is a common misunderstanding in cultural studies and has pointed out that, "If the major part of our culture, in the sense of intellectual and imaginative work, is to be called, as the Marxists call it, bourgeois, it is natural to look for an alternative culture, and call it proletarian."\textsuperscript{17} Williams' observations here are relevant to the case in point. The presumption that professional sculling was working class because it was the other has obscured issues, which suggest that the sport was closely aligned to middle-class attitudes and practices. Some of the neglected issues include: What role did middle-class entrepreneurs play in structuring the sport so as to optimise the middle-class concept of profit; why was professional sculling open to only select participants; why was there an unwillingness to establish club and community support bases; why was amenity for working-class spectators ignored; why did the sport cater only for the affluent; why were ceremonial functions exclusive and why did the sport cease during World War I when most working-class sports persevered with their competitions?

Another issue that historians have overlooked is the relationship between amateur and professional administrators. Phillips has suggested that "Many histories have rightly pointed out the dichotomous nature of Australian sport that demarcated amateur and professional participants, administrators and sports."\textsuperscript{18} Brian Stoddart, Moore and Phillips, Booth and Tatz, and Adair and Vamplew, have drawn clear distinctions between amateur and professional sports;\textsuperscript{19} Lane and Jobling, as well as Cashman have examined idealism, definitions and exclusions;\textsuperscript{20} Max Solling and Lane

\textsuperscript{18} Phillips, op. cit., p.24.
\textsuperscript{20} Lane & Jobling, op. cit., pp.2-26; Cashman, op. cit., pp.54-71.
and Jobling have investigated the manual labour bar;\textsuperscript{21} Alan May has detailed the conventions of the New South Wales Rowing Association;\textsuperscript{22} and Bennett, Adair and Cashman have attributed the decline of professional sculling to the rise of amateurism and amateur rowing.\textsuperscript{23}

The analysis in these studies has given way to conformity, even to the point of becoming a truism, that amateur and professional sports and, more specifically, New South Wales amateur rowing and professional sculling were polarised. Sports historians generally have accepted that professionalism was anathema to the amateur cause. More specifically, New South Wales amateur rowing has been their staple and all-important example of the way that middle-class exclusiveness and exclusionism, amateur idealism and respectability ostracised professionalism, the manual labourer and any connection between sport and money.

However, these studies have provided no explanation or analysis of why an abundance of amateur rowing executives dedicated decades to the development and longevity of professional sculling. Nor has there been discussion of the fact that the amateur rowing establishment invested organisational and leadership qualities into professional sculling. Much has been chronicled about the amateurs' abhorrence of money in sport but there has been no discussion of their energies in money canvassing and stakeholding for the professionals. The arguments of the oft-quoted amateur authority, John Blackman,\textsuperscript{24} have been used to emphasise the existence of pristine amateurism and to demonstrate amateur and professional separation. Yet, historians have failed to acknowledge that Blackman was a staunch professional sculling supporter and advocate.

Similarly, Richard Coombes, a founding executive member of the New South Wales Sports Club,\textsuperscript{25} who historians have referred to as the "Father of

\textsuperscript{21} Solling, op. cit., pp.9-13, 21-28, 51-59; Lane & Jobling, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{22} May, op. cit., passim.
\textsuperscript{23} Bennett, 'Professional Sculling In New South Wales', op. cit., p.139; Adair, "'Two Dots in The Distance'...", op. cit., pp.76-77; Cashman, op. cit., pp.46, 70-71.
\textsuperscript{24} Cashman, op. cit., pp.59-60; Booth & Tatz, op. cit., p.51; Solling, op. cit., pp.26-27.
Amateur Athletics in Australia,²⁶ and presented as a bastion of amateurism and a devotee of nationalism, imperialism and Empire, is absent from any amateur/professional rowing debate. This is astonishing given that Coombes was a major administrator in the ongoing development of professional sculling.

Sports historians have pinpointed also that professional sculling lacked central authority, which contributed to its demise. Cashman, Bennett and Adair, though, have not offered sufficient analysis as to the type of administration and organisation that enabled Australians to dominate the sport between 1876 and 1907.²⁷ Logically, if the same administrators organised success after success then a structural model and sound foundation were essential. Control of the sport, too, relied on these factors, but there has been little research into how and why Australians were able to dominate the sport by means of organisation and control.

Historians have detailed the rise of organised sport and its sophisticated networks and administrations, but they have not broached the reasons why professional sculling became indifferent to governance and the broader consequences of this indifference. This lack of inquiry has distorted the context of the sport’s post-1907 period, whereupon, the sport suddenly developed the codification of the world and Australian championships and appointed the sporting papers, the Referee and the Sun, as administrative bodies.

The focus on the Australian world champions as the main area of analysis has provided sports historians with prime examples of nationalism, patriotism, social confidence, success, hero-worship and the influence of money and gambling. But it is a focus on elite athletes and winners. It misses investigating the sport’s core functioning and important concepts of


imperialism, Empire, regionalism, administration, power, economics, greed and class, which offer a fuller understanding of the establishment and dynamism of sport and its role in forming identity, character and nation building.

Thus, a re-examination and re-interpretation of the work of my predecessors will enable a fresher and more comprehensive analysis of professional sculling for the 1876 to 1907 period and, in turn, will provide the relevant context and meaning for the post-1907 analysis. For example, the role played by country centres in New South Wales in supplying the sport's high achievers and, at times, saving the sport from capitulation can be revealed. So, too, can the sport's dichotomous nature where administration was Sydney-centric and multi-layered, yet such organisations operated independently.

A clearer understanding of the sport's confusion with organisation and control will also be gained. This thesis will investigate whether the conflict between one section, which sought structure and control and conformity with sports administrators' hegemonic demands and society's expectations of organised sport, and another section, which believed that laissez-faire practices, which were responsible for Australia's world domination, destabilised the sport towards irrelevance. What will also be analysed is whether this stalemate enabled other organised, structured and administered sports the opportunity to cement their places domestically and internationally.

England's role in Australian professional sculling will also be analysed in a fuller context. The thesis will examine whether England's sculling weakness diminished its capacity to intimidate its colonies and whether this enabled professional sculling to become a sensation under Australian control. England's emergence as a sculling force in the post-1907 period will also be investigated and, in particular, whether Australia's loyalty to England and its sense of obligation to restore English sovereignty took precedence over efforts to re-invent the sport by means of renewed organisation and control. The strength and impact of Australia's loyalty will also be examined in terms of whether this influenced the restoration of the imperial order; what sway this had upon rowing during World War I; and what motivation this provided for professional sculling's post-war context.
The relationship between amateur and professional rowing administrators will also be analysed for the first time. This thesis will examine the association between the two and the extent to which their relationship was traditional and complementary. What will be examined also is whether amateur administrators secured their social positions, control and power by forbidding professionalism within their sport and protecting amateur sportsmen from professionalism. Further considerations will be whether the professional taint was less conspicuous or less 'dangerous' at the amateur managerial level, the extent to which the amateur rowing administrators shaped professional sculling as a meaningful social and cultural contributor, and whether professional sculling's international monopolisation enhanced their social positions and enriched amateur rowing's exposure.

A much fuller understanding of who made-up professional sculling and who was the sport's targeted audience will also be gained through investigation of how and why a mass-spectacle sport diminished and lost significance with the public. This thesis will examine why the less wealthy found it difficult to participate in professional sculling and whether that difficulty stemmed from participation costs, relatively easier access into alternative sports, or whether the professional sculling authorities created an elite sport and an exclusive stratum. A further consideration will be whether professional sculling was predominantly a business that catered for affluent clients who enjoyed gambling or whether the sport was designed to provide the community with popular entertainment. Another area of examination will be the extent to which professional sculling was a working-class sport or whether it was selective, exclusive and atypically middle class.

This analysis of New South Wales professional sculling attempts to offer a substantial contribution, across a broad plane, to the debate on Australian social and sports history. In proposing a substantial argument, it has been necessary to provide a much fuller context than that furnished in previous studies and to provide an analysis of greater depth and breadth requiring comprehensive original research. This approach will identify that the history of New South Wales professional sculling was neither a finite and compatible story that can be conveniently sampled to elucidate the amateur debate, nor was it limited to simply being a contribution to national identity.
The work will offer far greater insight into the sociological implications for Australian society and will resolve contradictions in historians' interpretations of how Australian sport was shaped and what methods were used to construct Australian sport.

This thesis is essentially a chronological history. This approach was determined by the limited available background information, the unresearched post-1907 period and the discovery that professional sculling records were destroyed in the 1960s. The sport had a predominantly New South Wales context, it was episodic and, unlike most organised sports that had developed hierarchical administrations, national networks, regular competitions and seasonal features, professional sculling was uniquely unregulated and unstructured. The sport's lack of structure was important in determining the need in this thesis for a chronological approach, because it operated at many levels with each stratum influencing others across specific time frames, while at the same time, the sport remained incoherent and the strata acted obstructively towards one another.

A chronological approach also provides a story of professional sculling. An element of narration and contextual detail is required to rectify the lack of available background information and to provide a substantial foundation. Nevertheless, the greater body of the work is a thematic history. The use of a thematic method enables the narration and description to be placed in context and used to link and convey historical information and interpretation. The thematic approach assists the analysis of causation, the diagnosis of the sport and its social relevance, and permits clarity in the conclusions, while minimising anecdote and record. The thematic method provides analysis and meaning to the historical material and offers the scope to investigate significant issues, such as imperialism, nationalism, hegemony, economics, organisation, class and character.

While the work provides a story of professional sculling, it is not the story of professional sculling. Instead, the thesis is a study of Australian and, more specifically, New South Wales society through the professional sculling example. To provide context and meaning for the study, elements of cultural imperialism theory are used to explain the diffusion of British concepts, such as sport, class and Empire, into the Australian setting. The approach used
here avoids unidirectionality by demonstrating that the British concepts were interpreted, adapted and changed to suit the Australian environment, its social and political expectations and its need to establish an identity and character. Given this flexibility to analyse the British diffusion, the thesis can extend to a multi-directional focus, which incorporates the influence and relationship between Australia and other English-speaking nations and their impositions on Britain's sporting and cultural practices.

A multi-directional focus also avoids categorising amateurism as an homogeneous ideology and practice descending from Britain and providing its fledgling colonies with a sense of purpose and sophistication. Instead, the focus allows the analysis of amateurism as a hegemonic deviant in the latter half of nineteenth-century Australia and an analysis of multiple forms of amateurism. In this regard, Jan Nederveen Pieterse has suggested that cultural hegemony "form[ed] part of the social construction of reality and the negotiation of the future."\(^{28}\) This enables a fuller interpretation of the amateur and professional relationship and the hegemonic and cultural shifts in Australian society particularly with the evolution of middle-class discipline and morality as markers of respectability.

Antonio Gramsci has suggested that to develop an historical methodology two principles should be observed:

1... no society sets itself tasks for whose accomplishment the necessary and sufficient conditions do not either already exist or are not at least beginning to emerge and develop;
2. that no society breaks down and can be replaced until it has first developed all the forms of life which are implicit in its internal relations.\(^{29}\)

Historians of Australian sport to date have represented amateurism and its concepts as a middle-class determinant and its conditions of existence as governed by a consciousness that neither borrowed from external paradigms nor was constituted by these paradigms. This thesis will attempt to avoid the mistake of analysing amateurism and professionalism as

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either distinctly separate or dissident, nor as defined as middle class values opposing those of the working class. Instead, the study will suggest, through the professional sculling example, that amateur and professional rivalry was predominantly a conflict between differing middle-class values; those that were established and those that were emerging and developing. The conflict sought to secure social position for the middle class and maintain the existing social order by reconciling working-class values by means of self-improvement and the reduction of temptation and/or the pursuit of commercial profit through organised entertainment.

Before providing details of the sources used for this study, it should be noted that professional sculling was, in the main, a gendered practice and this thesis is also an analysis of masculinity, maleness and a patriarchal society. Women did row and they formed their own professional and amateur rowing clubs, but generally their contributions were treated as an accompaniment to men's sculling and viewed as an amusement by the press. Women scullers are included in this study but only to demonstrate how professional sculling and society overall was perceived and promoted as patriarchal.

The raw material that forms the basis of this thesis relies heavily on newspaper articles and reports. Newspapers were the main research source because the sport's records were destroyed last century and the sport's lack of a club network severely limited the possibilities of source material being retained by rowing enthusiasts or amateur rowing clubs. Substantial periods of the minutes of New South Wales Rowing Association meetings have also been mislaid, which necessitated the use of newspapers.

The dilemma in using newspaper sources was that the correspondents' perspectives were subject to the dominant ideology and hegemony of the times. However, these biases were overcome as much as possible by selecting a wide range of journalistic reporting and views and piecing together the relevant threads. Another factor that assisted in establishing a more objective analysis was that the leading columnists were professional sculling administrators, while remaining vocational amateurists. As well, more socialist interpretations were gained from publications such as the Sun and the Sydney Sportsman.
Other raw materials that helped form the basis of this study include a collection of private papers, souvenir programmes, pamphlets and copies of championship contracts. Interviews provided a `mood and feel' of the life of a professional sculler and were invaluable in diagnosing the role regionalism played in the sport and the development of the professionals' craft.

Secondary sources were mainly books and articles which dealt with rowing and sculling, sports histories both specific and general, and Australian social, political and economic history. These sources were particularly useful in terms of structure and context and in gaining an understanding of the mechanisms of sport. The *Australian Oarsman*, which is incorporated in the periodical, *The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly*, helped considerably in designing a chronology.

Of the source material collected for this study, the main holdings were housed in the New South Wales State Reference Library, the Mitchell Library, the Vaughan Evans Library and the Ashfield Municipal Library. Ron Palenski, Chief Executive Officer of the New Zealand Sporting Hall Of Fame, provided valuable press clippings and private papers, David Evans, Chief Executive Officer of NSW Rowing Association Inc., offered open access to the remaining meeting minutes and associated paraphernalia, while Jack Fisher of Drummoyne and Jim Latham of Mayfield contributed their personal research to the project.

As a prelude to offering a comprehensive contextual analysis of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century rowing, an overview of the period under study will be provided. Chapter one will provide a frame of reference for the later chapters, but it essentially examines the social context and social conditions that prevailed during the period under study. A main focus of the chapter will be middle-class values, the concept of amateurism and the context of Australian rowing. This will enable an analysis of particular aspects of society and at the same time enable consideration of the place of professionalism and professional sculling in that society.

Chapter two is a large and complex chapter that analyses the background of professional sculling up to 1907. The chapter will address the inadequacies apparent in existing studies and available background information, and will provide the context needed for deeper analysis in the
ensuing chapters. The chapter will also examine the search for type, identity and character through the meritorious rise of New South Wales professional sculling and will seek explanations for Australia’s world domination. Another exploration will be the relationship between the amateur and the professional codes and particularly the apparent contradiction that the amateur rowing executives were part and parcel of the professional’s composition and success.

Chapter three will provide an examination of the way(s) in which professional sculling was organised and administered, its goals and how they were expressed in terms of the ideology of sport at the turn of the century. The chapter will also provide a new perspective on the declining fortunes of professional sculling in the post-1907 era. An analysis of the sport’s infrastructure, forces and ideas that sustained it in its heyday will place the post-1907 period in a new context, offering a clearer understanding of that infrastructure and enabling a more reliable explanation of professional sculling’s decline.

Chapter four will analyse the attempts by the professional sculling authorities to organise and codify the sport during the 1906 to 1912 period. In particular, the chapter will examine the influence and role, which amateur luminaries played in persuading the professional authorities to construct a framework for control. What will also be examined are the shortcomings and divided nature of the demands on and changes to the sport’s direction. This examination will be used as a point of reference for the contrasting approaches to the sport by the New South Wales country centres and the Sydney metropolitan area.

Chapter five will investigate how a strong, structural foundation for the sport could have produced a clearer direction, a viable future and conformity with society’s expectations of the meaning of sport. The chapter will also examine whether the sculling authorities had appropriate fundamental strategies in place and whether the authorities exhibited the necessary commitment to attain a formalised structure and central controlling body. It will also analyse the implications of their Sydney-centric mindset and the extent to which this affected the country regions. One significant issue to be
analysed is the sport's endemic self-interest that contributed to a lack of endeavour in catering for working-class spectators.

Chapter six will analyse the reactions of both amateur and professional rowing to the calls for the abandonment of sport during World War I. A main focus will be the investigation of the war's influence upon professional sculling and particularly the sense of obligation to the Empire's cause that was emitted by the amateur rowing establishment, the patriot movement and the sporting press.

Chapter seven will examine the immediate post-war period when most sports were either re-commencing their competitions or returning to a pre-war level of activity. The chapter's main focus will be an analysis of Australia's allegiance to the British Empire and particularly the loyalty to and fixation on England and Englishness by the Australian professional sculling fraternity. The chapter will also examine whether concepts such as patriotism, nationalism, type and identity were developed only to the degree to which they did not challenge the imperial order or the perception of English superiority and sophistication.

Chapter eight will also investigate further the extent of the professional sculling fraternity's loyalty to England and whether these loyalties and imperial sentiments could sustain a professional sport. The chapter will also analyse the post-war configuration of New South Wales professional sculling and examine whether the sculling authorities possessed sufficient perception and discernment to interpret the contextual shifts in twentieth-century sport and the altered meaning of sport for a post-war society.

Chapter nine will analyse an influential school of thought in professional sculling that accepted that a laissez-faire approach should determine the functioning and direction of the sport. The examination will also consider whether this viewpoint, because of its opposition to the dominant and accepted ideology and hegemony, thus failed to provide a source of meaning and authenticity for Australian society. It will also examine whether these factors decreased the sport's significance as a cultural, racial and symbolic benchmark and resulted in creating an image of it as a lowly contributor to society's betterment.
Chapter ten will analyse the dissolution of professional sculling. The main focus will be an investigation of the contrasting interpretations of professional sport by the loyalist, muscular Christian generation and the consumerist, commercialised and autonomous age. Of particular importance will be an examination of the nineteenth-century methods and the underlying ideology to institutionalise the sport within the British Empire compared to the appeal of an evolving, commercialised America for the professional champions.

This thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century rowing in its full social and sports history context. By offering analytical depth, this thesis broadens the scope and shifts the focus of the available information to a wider social and political context. In treating New South Wales professional sculling as an unexplored topic, the thesis provides a missing chapter in Australian sports and social history and proposes a substantial and alternative argument about the sport's contribution and significance to Australian social history. By providing analytical depth, this thesis also provides new lines of inquiry into what appears to be conditional and conventional interpretations of concepts, such as imperialism, amateurism, professionalism and ideology.

The arguments proposed in this thesis should encourage further investigation and discussion and create opportunities for extended and specialised research. For example, Cashman has suggested that insufficient research has been undertaken into the roles that sports administrators have played in modelling sporting institutions,\(^{30}\) and while this study has attempted to address a part of this problem, it has also extended Cashman's suggestion by proposing the argument that sports administrators were not necessarily demarcated along amateur and professional lines. Instead, the thesis argues that there was a deal of influence and overlapping management between the two.

This thesis, overall, will contribute to knowledge from a number of sources and contexts. It will offer more insight into the nineteenth and early-twentieth century muscular Christian and social Darwinian concepts and

\(^{30}\) Cashman, op. cit., p.62.
provide an understanding of the era's ideologies and socio-cultural practices. It will also advance reasons as to why leisure and recreational pursuits were transformed from indulgent pastimes to organised and structured entertainment and substantiate the relevance of middle-class entrepreneurs and administrators in organising and controlling sport and influencing society's leisure patterns. It will increase the understanding as to why patriotism and nationalism became an important tool for leaders and decision-makers in domestic and world affairs and it will evaluate society's hegemonic shift and the implications from change. The predominant extension of knowledge in this thesis will be the impact and influence sport had on the moulding of specific concepts to enhance a political and social culture and how the population accepted and assimilated these concepts to produce an ethos that enabled society to perceive itself as united, protected and identifiable.
CHAPTER ONE

MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES, AMATEURISM AND THE CONTEXT OF AUSTRALIAN ROWING

From the 1850s, Australian society was undergoing considerable transformation brought on mainly by an emerging middle class, which was growing in class-consciousness and endeavouring to create a respectable culture for all of society. The expansion of trades, manufacturing, merchandising, professions, public services and transport, and the introduction of the telegraph and later the telephone, enabled a growing middle class the scope to define itself and impose its values upon and within society. The middle class was influenced by its English equivalent and to a lesser extent American middle-class consumerism. Because the Australian middle class perceived that English standards and values were socially and morally superior, it imitated and adapted most of England’s ideological, behavioural and patriarchal patterns.¹

Sport was one vehicle on which the middle class could impose its class-consciousness. Through sport, the middle class developed an ideology and series of networks that promoted a sense of identity and concepts of patriotism and nationalism. Masculinity, particularly in sport, was one ideal that was deemed necessary to produce excellent stock, improve character

and uphold the Anglo-Saxon race and the Empire's greatness.²

Two schools of thought about sport emerged but both were based on the masculine ideal. The amateur concept promoted sport as separate from labour and something to be enjoyed for its aesthetic and intrinsic qualities. The professional concept considered sport as entertainment, a means of gaining an income and a commercial venture. Both schools believed that sport cultivated character and manliness, traits that would enhance Australian society. It was within these constructs that organised sport emerged in Australia.³

This chapter will examine the social context and social conditions that prevailed, particularly in New South Wales, during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and will also provide a frame of reference for the subsequent chapters. The place of professionalism, and particularly professional sculling, in the context of an emerging middle class, the diffusion of middle-class values, an increasingly commodified sporting world and the configuration of Australian rowing will also be investigated. The chapter will also analyse the middle-class methods and measures invested in shaping a respectable culture for all society and how the middle class fashioned its ideologies through the medium of sport. A further examination will consider the extent to which amateurism was an homogeneous ideology and why amateurism failed to remove professionalism from the Australian sporting scene. An extension of this investigation will be whether amateurism as such and professionalism reflected a division between middle-class and working-class attitudes and/or a conflict between middle-class values. The chapter will also examine the role of the sporting press in promoting the sporting


ideal, in particular its involvement in invigorating professional sport, and its contribution towards the cultural legitimising of sport in society.

**An Influential Middle Class**

The emerging Australian middle class was driven by temperance, moral, rational and economic causes. Its influence created a pattern of status, seeking a consumptive profile and a credal web. These included technological advances, new industries, an expansion and specialisation of education and health systems, a rationalisation of gender roles and those of the church and the state. An improving and expanding transport system also provided commercial and industrial mobility, decentralisation and social flexibility, which enabled the middle class to create its own suburbs.4

Married middle-class women were assigned a domestic role.5 Crotty has argued that the nation's character and destiny were deemed a male construct and responsibility, while women were restricted to improving morality and domesticity.6 According to Fitzgerald and Broome, women's roles were perceived as important in maintaining social stability, order and control.7 Fitzgerald and Kingston have suggested that family life was seen as a woman's calling and women were expected to take on the sphere of moral protector and maintain the patriarchal family structure.8 Their roles were designed to contribute meaningfully to a rational world.

Broome and Crotty have both argued that rationalism was one main middle-class ideological platform. It provided the middle class with an identity and a purposeful formula for society. The ideal family, society's advancement and the nation's good evolved into middle-class objectives, replacing the authority of the religious paradigm.9 Kingston and Waterhouse have argued that as Australian society became increasingly rational and

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5 Fitzgerald, op. cit., pp.171, 195.
6 Crotty, op. cit., p.10; Fitzgerald, op. cit., p.171.
9 Broome, op. cit., p.127; Crotty, op. cit., pp.16-17, 69-70; Kingston, op. cit., p.65; O'Hara, op. cit., pp.130-132.
capitalist and the influence of religion declined, women prevailed as the 
delegates of moral and ethical Christian values within the family unit. Women's contribution to national destiny was as the guardians of morality, domesticity and the family unit, providing a civilising influence through Christian teachings.

Assaulting Popular Culture

The emerging middle class, in defining itself, was frustrated with its identity and the attack on its sensibilities produced by urban culture. Partington and Kingston have suggested that the middle class sought to lift society's moral and social standards and overcome the perceptions of the nation's convict stain. White and Waterhouse have argued that the middle class imitated and adapted many English middle-class values in pursuit of a sophisticated level of Australian Englishness. O'Hara, Broome and Crotty have all argued that for the middle class the need for respectability was at odds with urban and popular pastimes. The latter produced the wrong codes and values, such as drinking, gambling and immorality, and lacked any worthwhile educational and social purpose. In its attempts to define a presence, the middle class also set about to impose a new working-class sophistication by means of temperance, religious and moral campaigns, educational reforms and rationalisation.

White and Crotty have shown that intellectuals, educators and civic leaders held broad beliefs that the nation's inferior social and physical environment encouraged moral corruption and hastened physical decline. The church was concerned that society was degenerating due to declining religious standards and practices. It felt that the working class and the poor would become an immense rabble devoid of any redeeming influences.

14 Broome, op. cit., p.129; Crotty, op. cit., p.24; O'Hara, op. cit., pp.91-94.
16 White, op. cit., pp.68-71; Crotty, op. cit., pp.18-20.
17 Crotty, op. cit., p.15.
Middle-class moral reformers believed that the consumption of alcohol, gambling and irreligiousness subverted Australia's capacity to emerge as a respectable society and develop into a great nation. O'Hara has suggested that the middle class viewed the poor and the working class as incapable of managing their own affairs; they were unable to resist temptation and, therefore, they and the poor needed protection from themselves.\textsuperscript{18} Some of the measures taken to elevate moral and cultural standards were the demarcation of work and leisure, the defining of gender roles, the intervention of the state in ethical and educational concerns, the organisation and codification of sport and the evangelical denouncement of popular pastimes. Sabbatarians were instrumental in halting Sunday sport and public entertainment and confining Sundays to a family and prayer day.\textsuperscript{19}

The temperance movement advocated abstinence and was influential in reducing hotel trading hours and abolishing Sunday trading by arguing that sobriety reduced temptation, increased respectability and raised moral standards and the work ethic.\textsuperscript{20} Similarly, the anti-gambling movement, which like the temperance organisations had strong Protestant influences, was concerned that gambling fostered crime, immorality, idleness and poverty.\textsuperscript{21} Society gained little benefit from gambling and its associated pastimes, such as horseracing, lotteries and gaming houses.\textsuperscript{22} The movement feared that gambling would impoverish the working class and threaten the nation's social structures and order. It was influential in suppressing some forms of gaming and betting through lobbying and legislation. These measures eventually restricted gambling to licensed racecourses, limited gaming houses and curtailed street betting.\textsuperscript{23}

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\textsuperscript{18} O'Hara, op. cit., pp.90-94.
\textsuperscript{21} Broome, op. cit., p.149; O'Hara, op. cit., pp.88-92.
\textsuperscript{22} O'Hara, op. cit., pp.130-134; O'Hara, J., "The Australian Gambling Tradition", in, Cashman, R. & McKernan, M., (eds), \textit{Sport: Money, Morality And The Media}, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, New South Wales, pp.73-76; Waterhouse, op. cit., p.100.
\textsuperscript{23} O'Hara, \textit{A Mug's Game}, op. cit., pp.134-145; 155-156.
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Creating A National Type, Character And Identity

Alomes and Jones have identified a strong middle-class fear that society trod the fringes of racial, social and physical degeneration. Impressions of moral corruption, an inferior social environment and displays of elemental behaviour brought on this concern. As an arm of the British 'race', Australia seemed a land of dubious stock and lacking in social development. Fears of degeneration also broached the wider concern that its inhabitants could not protect the nation. To prosper and to justify its British origins, racial and physical degeneration had to be addressed.

Crotty has argued that the middle-class concept of masculinity was one measure used to address fears of racial and physical degeneration. The development of masculinity was a means to improve society's moral and social standards and establish a national identity. Masculinity's primitive and elemental products needed to be harnessed and civilised. Its seminal elements, of strength, social progress and national character, could be cultivated to produce a prosperous, confident nation.

Middle-class attributes of masculinity, including egalitarianism, athleticism and the work ethic, were some of the ideals propounded to counter fears of racial and physical degeneration. Secular education was perceived to be a means by which articulation and transmission of imperial masculinity would produce an homogeneous society and contribute to national progress. Work encouraged self-respect and responsibility; it also contributed to mental and physical health, which increased production, but an evolving society also needed to define its identity, type and symbols.

New science, reasoned thinking and secular ideology were some of the influences that could help establish a national identity. The middle class perceived that Australia needed to be principally British and that Anglo-Saxon purity had to be maintained. Loyalty to the Empire was paramount to

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26 Crotty, op. cit., pp.33-34; White, op. cit., p.85.
29 Crotty, op. cit., p.33; White, op. cit., p.65.
secure Australia's position as the future of the British 'race'. While the nation's racism was merged in imperial loyalty, Australia also needed a distinct identity to be recognised and reputed within the Empire. The emphasis on masculinity was one measure that forged an Australian type, character and identity.\(^{30}\)

Kingston and White have suggested that British immigrants, educators and commercial operators helped to communicate changing Western ideas. The works of scholars, such as Malthus, Darwin and Spencer, offered new and alternative views that emphasised rational thought, and were generous enough to serve social, economic and political ambitions.\(^{31}\) These fresh attitudes helped create a national character and identity. The nation's intelligentsia, which included journalists, writers and artists, helped to construct and idealise an Australian type. Their interpretations moulded and embellished the national type with racial, physical, psychological and moral attributes.\(^{32}\) This symbolism was portrayed as the real Australian and centred on the archetypical masculine ideal.\(^{33}\)

These interpretations and depictions helped bring forth, as White suggested, 'The Coming Man'\(^{34}\) whose attributes could triumph in most situations. Athletic, practical, self-confident, independent, generous and courageous were a few of the many superlatives used to forge this identity.\(^{35}\) A blind eye was turned to evils, such as drinking, gambling and promiscuity, as these imperfections were far from the respectable constructs required for national myth making.

The Australian type became an expression of cultural development and a symbol of national destiny. The Australian male was an abstract figure who was animated within the ideological framework of national character, identity and imperial expansionism. He became the adventurer, explorer, bushman, soldier; an all round action man who civilised and protected the margins.\(^{36}\)

\(^{30}\) Kingston, op. cit., p.65; White, op. cit., p.ix.
\(^{32}\) Harper, op. cit., p.112; White, op. cit., p.86.
\(^{33}\) White, op. cit., pp.76-77, 82-83, 97.
\(^{34}\) White, op. cit., pp.76-85.
\(^{36}\) Harper, op. cit., p.112; White, op. cit., pp.78, 104, 106.
Brown, Crotty and Waterhouse have argued that these masculine ideals were inculcated into society through institutions, such as clubs and schools, while the press, art and literature espoused the virtues of manliness. One of the most dominant influences and structures of imperial masculinity was coded in the games and physical fitness ethic.\(^{37}\) The processes from which the organisation and codification of sport evolved had their origins in nineteenth-century Britain. The concepts of rational recreation, muscular Christianity and social Darwinism were central to the sport ethic and grew through the influence of the industrially, economically and intellectually powerful English middle class.

**Rational Recreation, Muscular Christianity And Social Darwinism**

The English middle class was concerned about the lower orders' leisure patterns consisting mainly of drinking, gambling and the pursuit of blood sports. It was feared that these generated poverty and misery. It was also felt that sections of the lower orders were dissatisfied with their lot and that they were emerging as a powerful and potentially troublesome mob.\(^{38}\)

Goldlust has identified that one major strategy devised to curb social disharmony was through middle-class intrusion into the lower orders' leisure patterns. The English middle class presumed that rationalising recreation would alter the lower orders' leisure pursuits and turn them from selfish amusements and behaviours into patterns promoting mental stimulus, physical expenditure and moral recovery.\(^{39}\)

Rational recreation focused on reforming and instilling into society purposeful leisure habits. Attractions such as public libraries, public parks and workingmen's clubs were introduced to foster intellectual improvement and facilitate sociability. One of the most effective devices introduced to forge positive social control was the organising and civilising of sport with rules and regulations.\(^{40}\)


McIntosh and Goldlust have shown that the English middle-class' promotion of structured games created organised sport's popularity. Part of the appeal was the intrinsic inducement, the offer of mental and physical exertion and, moreover, competitive games provided an interesting and emotional spectacle. The codification of sport defined the roles of the competitors and spectators and engineered authority, order and control. In a broader context, the rationalisation of sport enabled the promotion of middle-class social and moral values.

Brown and Crotty have argued that as important as rationalising sport was for the middle class, the structure and discipline of this new found form of athleticism was amenable to character training. They have pointed out that a man's character, which was mostly comprised of Christian manliness, moral endeavour and social chivalry, was considered incomplete without a muscular component. Physical training also enhanced personal and social values, such as the discipline of the mind, the pursuit of high morals and the demand of a life of high endeavour. The fusion of the Christian man and muscular drive offered the middle class a new dimension for social, racial and imperial supremacy.

Muscular Christianity was perceived to be essential for character training. It blended the Christian, moral, physical and ethical dimensions and emphasised the concepts of honour, courage and loyalty. Stewart and Booth and Tatz have noted that character formation was perceived as the means to create a sophisticated level of manliness, which would reinforce the superiority of the British 'race'. Intellectualism, alone, was thought to produce softer types, which would lead to a shallow, pretentious society.

Muscular Christianity gained its momentum during the intellectualisation of new social, behavioural and biological theory. The works of Herbert

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41 Goldlust, op. cit., pp.22, 28; McIntosh, op. cit., pp.69-79.
44 Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.48-49; Stewart, Bob, 'Athleticism Revisited: Sport, Character Building And Protestant School Education In The Nineteenth Century', in, Sporting Traditions, vol.9, no.1, November 1992, p.40; See also, Crotty, op. cit., p.45.
Spencer and Charles Darwin, specifically their arguments of the survival of the fittest and evolution by natural selection, were considered essential companions to muscular Christianity. Social Darwinism became a corrupted term. Its perpetrators infused the preconception that the race that produced the physically and psychologically strong would triumph over life's daily rigours and in national and international conflicts. The merging of the ideas of muscular Christianity and social Darwinism was seen as enhancing British stock, national character and efficiency. Fears of physical or racial degeneration would be countered.

In a broader social context, muscular Christianity and social Darwinism provided a progressive ideology. The ideology was inserted into social, educational, economic, political and military institutions. Crotty, McKernan and White have all demonstrated the direct links between muscular Christian and social Darwinian concepts and militarism. The use of team games to develop character, manliness, discipline, patriotism and loyalty produced fit individuals who were prepared for higher duties. Military service and defending the Empire were part of those duties. Every sportsman was a potential soldier and the greatest expression of manliness was in battle. Military training and regimentation strengthened character and discipline and served to ensure the Empire's protection. The influences of muscular Christianity and social Darwinism across the broad spectrum of social institutions reinforced the idea that social and moral atrophy would not curse Britain or its Empire.

**Colonial Interpretation**

Crotty has suggested that Australia was most receptive to the muscular Christian and social Darwinian conceptions. Amidst the nation's search for identity and its fears of racial, physical and social degeneration, the

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43 Booth & Tatz, op. cit., p.50; Brown, 'Criticisms Against…', op. cit., pp.151-152; Brown, 'Muscular Christianity In The Antipodes…', op. cit., pp.177-178; Stewart, op. cit., p.38; White, op. cit., pp.69-71.

46 Stewart, op. cit., p.38.


rationales underpinning muscular Christianity and social Darwinism had immense appeal and a broad means of application. The cultural assertion was that if these concepts were applied to the nation's educational, social, economic and political structures, the country would produce men of excellent character and moral endeavour who would invest themselves in citizenship, serve the nation, and aspire to become the nation's leaders and protectors.49

The nation's intelligentsia extolled the virtues and benefits of muscular Christianity and social Darwinism.50 Muscular Christianity was entrenched in Australian society by the 1870s while social Darwinism gained widespread acceptance from the later 1860s.51 However, it was through education and sport that these conceptions gained social impetus. Australian public school educators, who were generally imported from English public schools, brought an education and social ideology that articulated these middle-class conceptions.52

Brown and Crotty have suggested that team games were perceived as the medium through which real manliness could be attained.53 Stratton and Crotty have pointed out that team games' attributes were fundamental in teaching and guiding young men in the ways of discipline and conformity.54

The sportsman was the reified embodiment of most of the characteristics of manliness. For example, the act of contestation eclipsed the game's result; playing for the team surpassed individual performance; defeat was acceptable if determination in playing was strong; and a strong mind and body guaranteed not only modesty in victory, but also grace and dignity in defeat.55 Team harmony, a fair game, and gracious conduct were some of the many qualities embodied in team games participation.56

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49 Brown, 'Criticisms Against...', op. cit., p.155; Brown, 'Muscular Christianity In The Antipodes...', op. cit., p.181; Crotty, op. cit., pp.73-74.
51 Vamplew, et al., op. cit., p.250; White, op. cit., p.69.
52 Brown, 'Muscular Christianity In The Antipodes...', op. cit., pp.173-175; Crotty, op. cit., p.34; Stewart, op. cit., p.136.
53 Brown, 'Muscular Christianity In The Antipodes...', op. cit., p.179; Crotty, op. cit., pp.49, 57.
54 Stratton, op. cit., pp.102-103; Crotty, op. cit., pp.59-60.
55 Crotty, op. cit., p.58.
56 Crotty, op. cit., p.64.
Athleticism would produce the racial stock to keep the Anglo-Saxon race great, foster patriotism and nationalism and uphold imperial loyalty. It was one answer for military preparedness, as its qualities could be transposed easily onto the battlefield. McKernan and Booth and Tatz have shown that such thought became conspicuous during World War I when sportsmen were targeted to commit themselves selflessly to the Empire's cause.

Amateurism

In a wider sporting and social context, the concepts of muscular Christianity, social Darwinism, athleticism and rational recreation were infused into society through the ideology of amateurism. As the champions of the concepts previously detailed and the codifiers of sport, it was natural that the middle class would dispense its ideologies to the community for society's betterment. The middle class, in creating its own class-consciousness and raising its respectability, expanded its influence throughout the community by constraining sport within the confines of amateurism.

Amateurism, in part, was an extension into the public arena of the public schools' sport ethic. It was a purposeful ideology, which would implant respectable values throughout the wider community. Amateur officials believed that if sport were pursued for enjoyment only, then character, manliness and physicality would encourage the pursuit of excellence.

Cashman has noted that within this ideology sport was not to be abused in the form of paid entertainers, nor should it be a means for pecuniary gain.

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57 Brown, 'Muscular Christianity In The Antipodes…', op. cit., p.177; Crotty, op. cit., pp.73-74, 81, 223.
58 Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.94-97; McKernan, M., 'Sport, War And Society: Australia 1914-18', in, Cashman, R. & McKernan, M., (eds), Sport In History: The Making Of Modern Sporting History, University Of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1979, pp.3-5; See also, Rickard, op. cit., p.119; White, op. cit., pp.127-130.
in the form of stakes, money prizes or a source of livelihood. Such behaviour jeopardised the true meaning and aesthetic quality of sport, which should be separate from work’s labours. The middle class maintained that sport and money increased the focus on gambling, heightened chicanery and fuelled social disorder.

Money in sport was regarded as amateurism’s greatest predator. Wigglesworth and Adair and Vamplew have noted that for this ideological position winning at all costs and financially rewarding obsessive aggression were actions unworthy of true gentlemen and sportsmen. For many in the amateur sport establishment, prejudice against efficiency in training and performance and the utilisation of supreme fitness and skill to obtain victory brought on a moral crusade to cleanse sport completely of the professional.

Waterhouse and Cashman have shown that professionals had predominated in Australian sport during the second-half of the nineteenth century. The publican had been the main promoter, and it was common for sporting facilities to be attached to hotel property or in close proximity. Cricket and athletic fields were conspicuous adjuncts to such property while the more affluent proprietor offered bowling strips and billiards and gaming rooms. Quite prevalent too were sports days, music-hall style variety, dancing and, prior to the 1850s, prize and cockfighting. Hotel patronage had an abundant lower order representation whose entertainment also included gambling. These popular pleasures were abhorrent to the emerging middle class because they seemed to serve no rational end.

With its influential political, legislative, economic, social and ideological encroachment on society, the middle class gradually weakened the publican’s and the professional’s prominence in sport. Elford has argued that amateurism became an expression of respectability, decency and imperial loyalty and that it established manliness as a characteristic of Australian

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61 Cashman, op. cit., pp.54, 60; See also, Goldlust, op. cit., p.41; Stoddart, Saturday Afternoon Fever, op. cit., p.119.
62 Adair & Vamplew, op. cit., p.37; Cashman, op. cit., p.70; Goldlust, op. cit., p.41.
64 Waterhouse, op. cit., pp.39-40; Cashman, op. cit., pp.22-25; See also, O’Hara, A Mug’s Game, op. cit., p.79; Referee, 18 January 1893 p.3.
life.\textsuperscript{65} Sport, in its pure and noble form, was one method by which the middle class could turn the community away from selfish entertainment and replace it with a rational dimension that benefited character, mind, body and, importantly, national destiny.

**Expanding Amateurism**

Cashman has suggested that a critical factor in sport's emergence and amateurism's consolidation was suburban development. Population growth, new technologies, expanding economic and industrial sectors and developing transport networks after 1850 furthered suburbanisation. Intensive suburban development coincided with the elaboration of sports competitions and sports clubs.\textsuperscript{66} Civic leaders, businessmen and sports administrators believed that rational recreation, specifically amateurism, was one means to encourage a strong community identity.

Amateur sport was seen as a means to bond a community, generate community spirit and measure social progress.\textsuperscript{67} Establishing district-based teams and sports clubs provided a link for the community while the sports club became a meeting place. Clubs also promoted a sense of community identity and they could be identified as representative of the community.\textsuperscript{68} Suburbs even became recognised by the performances of their sports teams, such as Randwick with rugby, Collingwood and Richmond with 'Aussie Rules', Leichhardt and Glebe with rowing and Petersham with cricket.

**Definitions And Exclusions**

As amateur sporting clubs became established from the 1860s, sports administrators were confronted with the persistent conflict of constituting a universal amateur definition. It was apparent that particular sporting codes were idiosyncratic and sports administrators placed differing interpretations of amateurism onto their specific organisations.\textsuperscript{69} Strict consensus for a

\textsuperscript{65} Elford, op. cit., pp.34-35.
\textsuperscript{66} Cashman, op. cit., pp.36-38, 93.
\textsuperscript{67} Cashman, op. cit., pp.94, 96; Stoddart, *Saturday Afternoon Fever*, op. cit., p.42.
\textsuperscript{68} Cashman, op. cit., p.110; Stoddart, *Saturday Afternoon Fever*, op. cit., p.42.
uniform definition was most elusive because uniformity would force sporting bodies to concede elements of their sporting and social powers, their self-interests and for some, compromise their exclusiveness. While the two concordant principles of amateur sport were the eradication of gambling and professionalism, even these had their exceptions.

Cricket, for example, claimed amateur status, but it carried a small professional element. It was also acceptable for a professional to gain a seat on committees and the administrators were not averse to a professional sportsman playing cricket if he did so as a bona fide amateur.\textsuperscript{70} Thoroughbred racing was firmly entrenched throughout society, but its control was the domain of society's upper echelons. Business profit was a core middle-class value and thoroughbred racing was a vast financial concern.\textsuperscript{71} It was administered by the influential and wealthy masters of society whose vested interests rarely considered the elimination of professionalism and gambling from their sport. The arguments for maintaining a viable thoroughbred industry revolved around the industry's high capital investment and the improvement of colonial bloodstock.\textsuperscript{72} Such forces rested on too much power, capital and fears of social unrest to contemplate amateurism.

Different sports, though, had differing interpretations of amateurism. Sometimes these definitions were used as a means to exclude the lower orders from joining middle-class sports clubs and, in some cases, even participating in their competitions. Middle-class conservatives argued that the lower orders would be at a social disadvantage if they associated with gentlemen who were above their station. The inclusion of the lower orders into these establishments threatened the social order and the power and position of conservative administrators. However, gentlemen would tolerate and expect the lower orders to embrace amateurism within their own class and social structures. Stratton has argued that while amateurism purported wholesomeness, middle-class sports administrators were prepared to

\textsuperscript{70} Cashman, op. cit., p.66; Sun, 17 July 1920 p.7.
\textsuperscript{71} O’Hara, A Mug’s Game, op. cit., pp.92-102.
transmit only selected aspects of the ideology to the lower orders. Sandercock and Turner have suggested that for some, it was possible that, "if they could persuade the less privileged colonists that this was truly a classless society, that very belief would reinforce middle-class privilege."74

Amateurism came at a price. The cost of participating was within the financial reach of the affluent middle class who had station and could afford the luxury of competing without the need for either recompense or financial reward. However, unlike England, Australian class lines were, at times, difficult to maintain. Wealth could be made from the gold rushes; speculation in land and trade gave skilled workers the opportunity to afford amateur club membership; and, in some cases, those who earned by manual means netted higher incomes than those employed in lower middle-class positions, such as office and bank workers.75

For some sports, amateurism required a stricter code than one based on wealth. Whereas the professional sportsman was excluded, so too was the person who used a manual component in his employment. This ban prevented a substantial section of the population from joining amateur sports clubs and competing against middle-class sportsmen. The ban demonstrated a middle-class desire for exclusiveness and supported its perceptions that the manual worker was socially, morally and intellectually inferior.76 The need for the lower orders’ restriction was based, in part, on an inherent fear that the professional sportsman and the manual worker had the capability to overwhelm sport. Stoddart has suggested that it was also feared that they could gain rapid social mobility, which would threaten the existing social order.77 Middle-class amateurs believed that manual workers gained an edge in fitness and strength because they used their physical attributes in undertaking their occupations.78 Amateur sportsmen, too, believed that they should not be asked to compete against men with whom they would never associate privately, socially or commercially.

75 Kingston, op. cit., pp.48-49.
78 Adair & Vamplew, op. cit., p.38; Stoddart, *Saturday Afternoon Fever*, op. cit., p.36; Wigglesworth, op. cit., p.120.
The manual labour bar was broken down, to a degree, by the twentieth century. By 1904, the New South Wales Sports Club proposed an amateur definition, which could be applied to accommodate most amateur sports. This definition stated:

An amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize, staked bet, or declared wager, or who has not knowingly competed with or against a professional for a prize of any description or for public exhibition, or who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of any athletic exercise as a means of livelihood or for pecuniary gain.  

Until 1893, the New South Wales Rowing Association, which gained affiliation with the New South Wales Sports Club in 1896, had maintained, in its definition the additional condition: "... or who has not been employed in manual labour." This final clause was deleted partly due to the organising, mobilising and politicising of the lower orders.

**Challenging The Manual Labour Bar**

By the 1880s, many skilled workers and their trades were undergoing unionisation. Gollan has noted that like primary production, secondary industries and the building trades were emerging as organised units. Their steady expansion throughout the colonies intensified links towards unity. After 1885, unionism spread into the work places of the semi-skilled and unskilled. The perception that strength lay in unity suggested that the working classes required class representation to obtain a better way of life. Representation for the working class was seen at a level beyond industrial and social bargaining. The means for its effective commission lay in the political sphere. 

In New South Wales, by 1891, Labour Leagues had been established with the assistance of the Trades and Labour Council. This co-ordination

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82 Gollan, op. cit., p.169.
demonstrated that the organisation and mobilisation of the lower orders, as an emerging force, was coming to fruition. The Trades and Labour Council sponsored Labour Party entered colonial politics in the same year and its elected members immediately held the balance of power in the colony's legislative assembly.\textsuperscript{83} Between 1894 and 1899 the George Reid led New South Wales parliaments were dependent on Labour Party support and the trade-off for support was that Reid implemented elements of Labour policy.\textsuperscript{84}

Political and workplace representation provided the lower orders with a degree of influence in shaping society's nature and future. In a sporting context, a growing and assertive working class sought involvement in middle-class recreation and leisure pursuits. Its increasing social identity interfered with middle-class exclusiveness and amateurism. Class barriers remained a thorny issue as the middle class fought to keep its restrictiveness in the face of growing working-class intrusion and discontent.\textsuperscript{85}

**Resisting The Manual Labourer**

New South Wales amateur rowing illustrates the extent to which middle-class sports administrators used their amateur definition to maintain rigid class lines against the agitation from suburban-based rowing clubs which lobbied for the breaking down of the manual labour bar. It also demonstrates the complexities in formulating a uniform amateur definition and why uniformity would compromise a sport's authority, class identity and exclusiveness. It reveals too that rendering an inflexible amateur definition within a changing society created isolation, dampened expansion and forced a re-assessment of who qualified as a bona fide amateur.

By 1880 Sydney possessed four amateur rowing clubs. Mercantile and Sydney were exclusively middle class and the strongest clubs in terms of control and performances. Glebe and North Shore had formed in the previous year.\textsuperscript{86} Upon accepting a Victorian intercolonial challenge for a race

\textsuperscript{83} Gollan, op. cit., pp.169-170; Mansfield, B., *Australian Democrat*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1965, p.107; From 1912, the accepted spelling was Labor Party.
\textsuperscript{84} Gollan, op. cit., p.180; Mansfield, op. cit., pp.120-133.
\textsuperscript{85} *Referee*, 17 March 1897 p.8; *Referee*, 23 June 1897 p.1; *Referee*, 21 July 1897 p.3.
in 1878, representatives from the Sydney and Mercantile clubs formed the New South Wales Rowing Association. The NSWRRA became the colony's governing rowing body and its main objectives were to manage intercolonial racing, standardise amateur rowing rules and incorporate an amateur definition.87 One rule common to the NSWRRA, Sydney and Mercantile, was the exclusion of the manual labourer.88 This provision quelled any apprehension that the two classes may amalgamate. To compensate the manual workingman, his application for bona fide amateur admission would earn consideration if he ceased his occupation for a five-year-period.89 Lane and Jobling have shown a widespread association between professionalism and the lower orders and many manual workers were known to have rowed for cash prizes.90 However, the sport's rulers had no desire to accept even those manual labourers who had never competed for money. As far as they were concerned, the manual labourer had no place in their sport.

Between 1871 and 1901 the greater Sydney population more than trebled and during this population explosion amateur rowing clubs began to form on a suburban basis.91 The 1880s saw the emergence of Balmain, East Sydney, Leichhardt, Parramatta (Ryde) and the University of Sydney rowing clubs, all of which gained affiliation with the NSWRRA. While suburbanisation helped consolidate amateurism it also produced working-class suburbs and numbers of manual labourers who wished to row as amateurs. Of these working-class suburbs, Balmain, Glebe, North Shore (North Sydney) and Leichhardt permitted manual labourers to compete in individual club competitions.92 The Balmain and Leichhardt clubs took the unprecedented step of admitting manual labourers as full members. The NSWRRA threatened the clubs with loss of affiliation if a manual labourer competed in

88 May, op. cit., p.17; *Sydney Mail*, 24 July 1897 p.198.
90 Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.7.
bona fide amateur races. Unable to penetrate the NSWRA's authority, workingmen from Balmain, Leichhardt and North Shore created their own rowing clubs. Their formation prompted the NSWRA's suggestion that its amateur definition accommodated the bona fide amateur and the workingman in their proper environments. While the NSWRA had dismissed the manual labourer, it was the beginning of working-class mobilisation through middle-class delegates from the Balmain, Leichhardt and Glebe clubs for the inclusion of manual labour amateurs.

This does not suggest that these clubs were altruistic paragons. Glebe, for example, was largely middle class. Those of wealth and status were afforded membership and civic and civil leaders controlled the club. Protestants dominated the municipality's affairs. Solling has suggested that the perception that the working class and Catholics were inseparable was reflected in their exclusion from Glebe's institutional life. Between 1889 and 1900 only one Catholic was elected to Glebe council, while the rowing club used a 'black-ball test' to exclude Catholics and the working class. Glebe Rowing Club admitted only four manual workingmen between the years 1879 and 1900. Of these men, two were confined to club races and the others were permitted to compete in the NSWRA competitions. During the same period three Catholics were afforded club membership.

The Balmain and Leichhardt clubs led an ongoing campaign for the inclusion of the manual labour amateur. It was not surprising that Labour movement officials, like William M. Hughes, M.L.A., and the workingman's paper, the Sydney Sportsman, supported the 'mixed clubs', while Henry Parkes, as New South Wales premier, congratulated Leichhardt for its liberal interpretation towards membership. Whereas Balmain and Leichhardt were the most prominent clubs arguing for the manual labourer's inclusion, Glebe was occasionally prepared to support the cause.

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94 Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.5.
96 Solling, op. cit., p.64.
98 Solling, op. cit., p.85.
100 Adair, op. cit., p.177; May, op. cit., pp.24-37; Solling, op. cit., p.27; Stoddart, Saturday Afternoon Fever, op. cit., p.37.
For the NSWRA, the manual labour debate extended beyond the Sydney scene. Its stringent amateur definition conflicted with the Victorian Rowing Association's freer interpretation, which led to dissension between the two colonies. The NSWRA had adopted England's Amateur Rowing Association definition, which had rid English amateur rowing of the workingman by the 1880s. In contrast, the VRA had adopted the same definition but it offered a pragmatic interpretation because, unlike New South Wales, it had country club affiliates. The VRA admitted the manual labour amateur but it also recognised the sportsman who had competed for money prizes in other sports. As long as this type of sportsman conducted himself as a bona fide amateur rower, then under the VRA definition he was eligible to compete. The conflicting amateur definitions fuelled disputes between the two colonies and these were carried into the twentieth century. The dissension led to New South Wales boycotting intercolonial contests in 1897 and 1898, while in 1895 the New South Wales crew defied a NSWRA order and competed in the contest.

The conflicts exposed the shortcomings of a non-standard definition. It also revealed the NSWRA's pretentiousness in interpreting its own amateur definition. In 1896, the VRA proposed a ban on all who had received cash prizes in any sport. The proposal appeared to be the bridge required to appease the NSWRA. However, the VRA ban included the exclusive sport of sailing, which offered cash incentives and involved a number of New South Wales bona fide amateur rowers. The NSWRA viewed sailing as a pastime, not a sport, and it soundly rejected the VRA proposal. In 1899, the newly formed North Coast Rowing Association, which drew on a similar amateur definition to the VRA, sought NSWRA affiliation. The application was dismissed because of the NCRA's liberal interpretation of the amateur definition. Yet, the NSWRA sanctioned the New South Wales eight to compete against the VRA in the same year.

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101 Adair, op. cit., p.179; Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.6; Wigglesworth, op. cit., pp.130-133.
102 Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.11; May, op. cit., p.47.
103 Lane & Jobling, op. cit., pp.12, 16; May, op. cit., pp.43, 47.
104 Lane & Jobling, op. cit., pp.13-14.
105 May, op. cit., pp.50-51.
The sport's middle-class confinement presented further difficulties in maintaining the status quo. Rowing clubs relied on members' subscriptions, socials and donations to remain viable, but even society's privileged found difficulty in adequately funding their sport. The clubs' main costs were the maintenance of craft and clubhouses or mortgage repayments for such sites. Sydney Rowing Club, which was both the wealthiest and most indebted club, struggled with its mortgage repayments during the 1890-1900 decade. The club's membership was declining which encouraged the committee to drop the one guinea fee for new members.

The sport's other dominant club, Mercantile, lost 85% of its assets during the decade as it attempted to maintain its Parramatta River branch. The 1910 reclamation of its Dawes Point complex by the Sydney Harbour Trust forced the disbandment of the club, which had never fully recovered from its 1890s financial losses.

Other clubs also struggled in this period. In 1902, East Sydney withdrew from the NSWRA because it was unable to pay its fees arrears. The club sold its assets and closed in 1904. Balmain withdrew from the NSWRA for a two-year period, but it recovered financially and was reinstated towards the decade's end. The Parramatta Rowing Club had a chequered history; its finances determined when and where it competed and the club failed to survive into the twentieth century. Between 1880 and 1890 at least seven other rowing clubs were formed, but capitulated within one or two years.

The active rowing clubs' financial pressures were brought about, in part, by the 1890s depression, which paralysed national growth and debilitated economic and cultural confidence. Kingston has shown that many bankers and businessmen were insolvent, while unemployment rose to 11 percent. Gollan has noted that Australian credit in London ceased in 1892 and the

106 May, op. cit., pp.35-36.
107 May, op. cit., p.35.
108 May, op. cit., p.37.
109 May, op. cit., p.57; Referee, 10 August 1910 p.11.
110 May, op. cit., p.57; Solling, op. cit., p.69.
land boom, which marked the 1880s, collapsed. Export prices for primary products dived, many speculators were ruined and banks failed, which led to a capital write down. Rickard has shown that, "Those who had appeared to control their own destinies were revealed as being in hock to the land and finance companies."

Kingston has suggested that clerical and public servant employees who had gained middle-class concessions by position rather than wealth found the economic squeeze humiliating. At the very least, the depression contributed to the amateur rowing clubs' financial problems and membership downturns. The clubs had relied on their middle-class clique, but the poor economic climate reduced both membership and the clubs' capital. The depression, though, increased their resolve to consolidate and repel proposals that would weaken the sport's exclusiveness. Yet, there were factors other than the economy that encouraged amateur rowing's contraction of eligible membership.

The modernising of other amateur sports led to their popularity and growth, while the inwardness and idealism of amateur rowing contributed to its stagnation. Montefiore has argued that cricket, for example, was declining in popularity from the mid-1880s. Test and first-class match crowds were meagre and tours were financial disasters. Club cricket was attracting little support and there were some fears that the game would die away. Cashman has indicated that to rejuvenate the sport, the New South Wales Cricket Association undertook a district-based competition in 1893 in which eight clubs participated. The Association's initiative proved successful. Teams provided their communities with a sense of identity, they offered regular entertainment and fostered tribalism and tradition. Spectator numbers

113 Gollan, op. cit., pp.172-173.
114 Ibid.
115 Rickard, op. cit., p.106.
117 May, op. cit., pp.50-51.
118 Montefiore, D., 'Cricket In The Doldrums: The Struggle Between Private And Public Control Of Australian Cricket In The 1880s', in, ASSH Studies In Sports History No.8, 1992, pp.71-75.
119 Cashman, op. cit., pp.96-97; See also, Stoddart, Saturday Afternoon Fever, op. cit., p.45; Referee, 22 March 1893 p.1.
increased and the success of district-based competition led to other colonies introducing similar schemes.\textsuperscript{120}

Cricket's interpretation of amateurism included the manual labour amateur, which contributed to the sport's appeal and expansive community support. Its interpretation also allowed commercialism and the popularity of district cricket soon translated to first-class matches on enclosed grounds, which brought revenue and improved facilities.

In comparison, amateur rowing's decline reinforced the sports administrators' belief that the privileged should uphold their amateur definition and secure their exclusiveness as the means to overcome the downturn.

In 1892, John Blackman, a NSWRA delegate and Mercantile captain, suggested that manual labour amateurs had every opportunity to form their own association. He declared, "We have to bear in mind that there are several classes of men who wish to participate in the sport of rowing; and our division of the grades, or classes, seem to give fair satisfaction to all except socialists or levellers."\textsuperscript{121} Earlier in the year, the Balmain and Leichhardt clubs, supported by Glebe, had their manual labour proposal defeated by one vote.\textsuperscript{122}

The NSWRA acted to counter any further class intrusions by altering its amateur definition in 1893 to:

One who has never knowingly competed with or against a professional rower or other professional athlete or with or against any person who has been engaged in manual labour within one year of the date of entry.\textsuperscript{123}

The alteration specifically targeted Balmain, Leichhardt and the country clubs. Prior to the alteration, the NSWRA had permitted Balmain and Leichhardt to include manual labour amateurs in their unofficial club races but the definition's latest condition excluded even this familiarity. Blackman suggested, "Efforts have again been made to destroy our definition of the

\textsuperscript{120} Cashman, op. cit., p.97.
\textsuperscript{121} Sydney Mail, 24 December 1892 p.1110.
\textsuperscript{122} Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.8; Solling, op. cit., p.25.
\textsuperscript{123} May, op. cit., p.50; Solling, op. cit., p.25; Referee, 18 October 1893 p.8.
term amateur, but we still hold out, and there is no good reason why we
should not continue with our three distinct classes of rowers."\(^{124}\)

While cricket and even rugby union administrators sought to popularise
their games, amateur rowing officials felt that "The object of a regatta is not
to amuse a crowd out for a day's fresh air."\(^{125}\) For most rowing clubs it
meant a re-interpretation of the NSWRA's amateur definition but the fledgling
and country clubs found it impossible to sustain the sport with only a middle-
class, bona fide amateur membership.\(^{126}\)

Nevertheless, amateur rowing officials were convinced that the sport's
diminishing numbers and popularity were attributed to outside influences.\(^{127}\)
These included horseracing, which was `taking young men away from active
sport', and the lack of shaded foreshores, which deterred regatta
patronage.\(^{128}\) But the sport's decline was more attributable to the conflict
between an Association with an exclusionary amateur definition and a mobile
society, which was being offered innumerable counterattractions. An
amateur rowing perception that the rugby player was a ruined athlete, a
cricketer was all nerves and internal fat, a cyclist was too thin and weak, and
a tennis player was too nice for the society of men may have encouraged a
few to the sport, but would have discouraged many.\(^{129}\) The alternatives to
rowing were less bigoted and less constraining.

For example, Cashman has noted that the pneumatic-tyre safety bicycle
was introduced to Australia by 1890 and that by the decade's end about
200,000 had been sold.\(^{130}\) The bicycle was available to all and it provided an
efficient transport mode with the added advantage of being an exercise
machine. Hess has shown that the call for the bicycle was so great even in
the first-half of the 1890s depression production escalated.\(^{131}\) The

\(^{124}\) Sydney Mail, 24 December 1892 p.1110; Balmain lobbied successfully to the NSWRA to keep the
manual labour amateur confined to unofficial club competition.

\(^{125}\) Sydney Mail, 11 February 1893 p.312.

\(^{126}\) May, op. cit., pp.39, 67.

\(^{127}\) Sydney Mail, 8 June 1895 p.1185.

\(^{128}\) Sydney Mail, 28 November 1891 p.1219; Sydney Mail, 11 February 1893 p.312.

\(^{129}\) Sydney Mail, 26 September 1896 p.670.

\(^{130}\) Cashman, op. cit., pp.52-53.

\(^{131}\) Hess, R., 'A Mania For Bicycles: The Impact Of Cycling On Australian Rules Football', in,
contraption enhanced mobility and made all parts of the colony more accessible.

Fitzpatrick has demonstrated that the bicycle spawned numerous cycling clubs and competitions and rapidly became a mass-spectator sport. The bicycle's practicality and freedom and its spectator appeal cut deeply into amateur rowing's following. Oarsmen preferred to spend their money on a bicycle rather than rowing club and competition fees. Blackman admitted that "you can find more cyclists at a village hotel than you can muster rowing men on the whole harbour."

Alternative sports did not hold a monopoly in decreasing the popularity of amateur rowing. The theatre and the cinema were two important commercial enterprises, which also drew enormous audiences. Waterhouse has shown that these enterprises moulded behaviour into orderly and regular attendance patterns. Theatres programmed around the five-and-a-half-day working week by means of matinee and evening performances.

Bain has pointed out that theatre charges ranged between 1/- and 3/- and they remained constant into the 1920s. As "nearly everyone went to the theatre", the high standard and diversity of performance, comfortable surroundings and cost provided a powerful and appealing entertainment form.

Similarly, the cinema's introduction in the late 1890s gave the populous a modern technological form of entertainment. The new technology's mass appeal encouraged the construction of family-facilitated cinemas, some of which could accommodate 4,000 patrons. Ticket prices ranged between

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133 Sydney Mail, 26 September 1896 p.670; Hess, op. cit., p.6.
134 Sydney Mail, 26 September 1896 p.670.
136 Waterhouse, op. cit., pp.72-73; See also, Kingston, op. cit., pp.222-223; Rickard, op. cit., p.98.
137 Bain, A., "'Brighter Days'? Challenges To Live Theatre In The Thirties", in, Roe, J., (ed.), Twentieth Century Sydney: Studies In Urban And Social History, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, pp.35-36; See also, Sun, 1 September 1920 p.8.
138 Waterhouse, op. cit., p.73.
1/- and 4/- and Collins has argued that from the turn of the century cinema was Australia’s most popular entertainment form. It was to retain that position until the 1960s. All sections of the community attended the cinema and it was a more egalitarian leisure form than that propounded by amateur rowing.

Elitist institutions, such as amateur rowing, were challenged increasingly to develop a more progressive attitude to keep pace with modern times. These challenges were not against amateurism as such, but were directed at the middle-class sports administrators who wished to protect their sports from the lower orders.

In 1897, the NSWRA defeated another proposal for manual labourer inclusion with Glebe voting for the status quo. The vehemence against the proposal prompted John Blackman to state that “He would not admit his own brother to the Association if he were a manual laborer [sic]”, while Ted Kennedy (Sydney Rowing Club) refused to admit “every kind of man from the man who swept the streets”\(^1\). The sporting press criticised the arguments that manual labourers were advantaged by increased strength and were mercenary, and suggested that class distinction alone was the basis for the manual labourer’s exclusion.\(^2\)

Repeated lobbying by the clubs, a critical press and a shift by other amateur sports towards pragmatic amateurism brought the NSWRA’s manual labourer question to a head in 1903. John Symington (Balmain) argued that the admission of manual workingmen would increase rowing numbers, boost club finances, popularise the sport, avail the country clubs of an opportunity to affiliate and turn around New South Wales’ 5-22 intercolonial race deficit.\(^3\)

He further argued that a well-governed sport would deter any man from seeking pecuniary gain. The Glebe club was criticised for supporting the proposal, however, unlike Sydney and Mercantile, its vote reflected the

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\(^{1}\) Collins, op. cit., p.3; See also, Waterhouse, op. cit., pp.86-87.

\(^{2}\) Solling, op. cit., pp.25-27; Referee, 21 July 1897 p.3.

\(^{3}\) Referee, 21 July 1897 p.3; Referee, 28 July 1897 p.3; Referee, 18 October 1893 p.8.

suburb's increasing working-class composition.\textsuperscript{144} The motion to include the manual labourer was eventually passed in 1903, with Sydney nevertheless stipulating that its club would not allow manual labourer membership. Sydney supported the motion on the understanding that it wished to bring the New South Wales amateur rowing definition in line with that of the other states.\textsuperscript{145}

The example of New South Wales amateur rowing demonstrates how amateur sport was intended for the wealthy and the privileged. It was available to those who desired clean and personable exercise without the aggression of the systematically trained professional or the artless, calloused workingman.\textsuperscript{146} To achieve amateurism in its pure form, amateur rowing officials imposed rigid class barriers and they were gravely disappointed that other amateur sports, such as rugby, cricket and athletics, were venturing towards commercialism. They were angered by the intercolonial rowing bodies' loose and opportunistic amateur interpretations. Yet, despite the pressures brought upon the New South Wales Rowing Association to relax its amateur definition, the rowing officials fought vehemently to maintain amateurism in its pure form regardless of its diminishing base and its discord with a changing, mobile and more knowledgeable society.

An Alternative Amateur View

Rugby union provides a different example of a sport operating under a strict amateur definition and class lines. Rugby union accepted working-class participation, it was a contact sport and a winter recreation, and it could be played on enclosed grounds. These differences alone suggested that the rugby union interpretation of amateurism would vary from that of rowing.

According to Hickie, Cashman and Cunneen, rugby union was promoted keenly as a manly team sport. Clubs were formed by private school 'old boys' which fostered the game's control by middle-class conservatives. Teams consisted mainly of men from the professions and

\textsuperscript{144} Solling, op. cit., pp.84-86.
\textsuperscript{145} Town And Country Journal, 15 July 1903 p.53.
\textsuperscript{146} Sydney Mail, 24 July 1897 p.198.
their sides were not linked to specific suburbs or districts.\textsuperscript{147} During the 1880s, efforts were made to expand the game by including men from the lower middle and working-class ranks but their inclusion was on the proviso that they were bona fide amateurs and that they adhered strictly to the code’s amateur definition.\textsuperscript{148}

The success of district-based cricket contributed to the rugby union establishment of a similar format, as it seemed an appropriate avenue for expansion, popularity and commercial opportunities.\textsuperscript{149} While commercialism conflicted with the amateur ideal, it was a means of funding venue rental and tours and of providing funds for further expansion. By 1900, rugby union had moved to a district-based competition and by 1901, entrance fees were charged for all matches.\textsuperscript{150}

While the lower order’s inclusion and a district-based competition had popularised the sport, the game remained one for those of sufficient means. Cunneen and Phillips have shown that although the rugby union establishment had amassed capital, under the strictness of its amateur definition, compensation for players’ lost work time, wages and injury was not a consideration.\textsuperscript{151} The establishment also feared that remunerating players would be perceived as a disguised form of professionalism.\textsuperscript{152} The rugby union’s stand reflected the ideology of Australia’s sporting landscape, but its judgment misread the inequity of its decision and the players’ discontent.

Its attitude appeared unsympathetic towards those who had assisted in popularising the game and filling the rugby union’s coffers. Player unrest over the lack of compensation had been swelling for a number of years.\textsuperscript{153} Speculators envisaged that fortunes could be made from rugby union and players should be compensated for travel, lost time, wages and injury.\textsuperscript{154}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[147] Hickie, T., \textit{They Ran With the Ball: How Rugby Football Began In Australia}, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1993, pp.13-17, 29-37; Cashman, op. cit., p.97; Cunneen, op. cit., p.293.
\item[148] Booth & Tatz, op. cit., p.56; Cunneen, op. cit., p.293.
\item[149] Cashman, op. cit., p.97; Cunneen, op. cit., p.293.
\item[150] Stoddart, \textit{Saturday Afternoon Fever}, op. cit., p.119.
\item[154] \textit{Sydney Mail}, 14 August 1907 p.447.
\end{footnotes}
The formation of a breakaway movement was enhanced in 1907 when the rugby union purchased its own ground for £15,000.\textsuperscript{155} The purchase fuelled further player discontent over the compensation issue and it armed the speculators with the argument to establish a new game.\textsuperscript{156}

Rugby league, consisting of a suburban, working-class base, commenced in 1908. The code struggled to remain viable.\textsuperscript{157} League's haplessness heartened the rugby union establishment, which believed that it would prevail over the breakaway movement.\textsuperscript{158} But its smugness was short lived. The rugby league was bolstered by an injection of funds, rule changes which made the game faster and more exciting, an exodus of players fleeing rugby union, the securing of premier grounds, the game's introduction into Catholic schools and the playing of international matches.\textsuperscript{159}

The rugby union establishment would not conceive at compromising its amateur ideology to combat the rugby league intrusion. It presumed that the rebel element would collapse, as no man would wish to ruin his life by being tainted as a professional.\textsuperscript{160} Its pretentiousness whittled the sport's appeal and left it troubled financially, which forced the game back to an exclusive middle-class domain and a pale shadow of its former dominance.\textsuperscript{161}

**Athletic Amateurism**

Amateur sport was greatly enhanced by its expansion from localised competition. Sports administrators sought national and international competition to accommodate the deft sportsman and to gauge the merit of their organisations, coaches and players. The expansion of amateur sport led to significant structural changes, such as the advent of colonial, state and national governing institutions.\textsuperscript{162} According to Mandle and Booth and Tatz,
sport was perceived as one means to measure the worth of the nation's stock and competition against England was considered the yardstick to dispel the notions of Anglo-Saxon degeneration.\textsuperscript{163} The nineteenth-century successes by the Australian cricketers, Edwin Flack and the professional boxers, and scullers encouraged the belief that Australians were worthy internationalists and far from inferior to Englishmen.\textsuperscript{164}

Henniker and Jobling and Stratton have suggested that the promotion of high-level competition also provided a means to enculturate amateurism nationally. The hierarchical formation of national bodies and their relevant colonial/state substructures enabled autocratic control and the infusion of the amateur ideology. High-level competition pressured selectors and coaches, whose expertise was expected to produce results.\textsuperscript{165}

Goldlust and Adair and Vamplew have argued that representative levels were considered a noble expression of character and proficiency but the subtext was that high achievers were most likely to win and draw prestige to the sport and its organisers.\textsuperscript{166} By the 1890s, the country's sporting vision had been crafted by sports administrators' interpretations of amateurism. Cashman has shown that the extensive infrastructure of amateur sport elaborated a mental and social outlook that saw amateurism dominate Australia's sporting landscape for nearly a century.\textsuperscript{167}

Whereas national and international competition was identified as the pinnacle of success, the introduction of the modern Olympic Games helped cement the amateur ideal. Pierre de Coubertin convened representatives from 14 nations in 1894 with the purpose of re-establishing the ancient Greek sporting concept.\textsuperscript{168} The New Zealander, Leonard Cuff, became the


\textsuperscript{165}Henniker, G. & Jobling, I., 'Richard Coombes And The Olympic Movement In Australia: Imperialism And Nationalism In Action', in, \textit{Sporting Traditions}, vol.6, no.1, November 1989, pp.9-10; Stratton, op. cit., pp.101-104.


\textsuperscript{167}Cashman, op. cit., pp.70-71.

\textsuperscript{168}Goldlust, op. cit., pp.41-42; Vamplew, \textit{et al.}, op. cit., pp.265-266.
International Olympic Committee’s first Australasian delegate. Richard Coombes, president of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia and sports editor of the *Referee*, became Australasia's delegate in 1905.\textsuperscript{169}

According to Goldlust, the Olympic Games were a cyclic promotion of international goodwill and countries were eligible to compete but their athletes were to be bona fide amateurs.\textsuperscript{170} The Olympic movement became the protector of the amateur ideal and aided by affiliated sports associations, policed and meted out punishment to transgressors.\textsuperscript{171} The Games created an alliance among the privileged classes and also provided them with the potential to compound moral, social, ethical and cultural values across the globe.

The Olympic Games offered the amateur sports administrator a clear delineation between international professional sporting contests and those for the amateur. Professional contests were intermittent and confined mainly to the Empire. The Games implied global commitment to amateurism and encouraged international contest for a broad range of games. It symbolised the elevation of amateur sport above the professional form.

For the sports administrator, the Games gauged the nation's international standing and measured the nation's character. However, a measure of practicality was required to achieve the abstract. Athletes needed to be competitive not to be an embarrassment.\textsuperscript{172} To achieve international recognition, Australian amateur sports required sophisticated structure and selection procedures to identify and train winners. Success in the international sporting arena vindicated this ideology. It also linked the superiority, through success, of the athlete, the sport, its management and their country.

Whereas amateurism was a middle-class based ideology and controlled by the conservative establishment, there was another middle-class group that perceived that organised sport was a means for commercial investment. This section comprised the middle-class speculator who identified that the skilled sportsman could attract paying spectators and return large profits. In

\textsuperscript{170} Goldlust, op. cit., p.41.
\textsuperscript{171} Goldlust, op. cit., pp.42-43.
\textsuperscript{172} Henniker & Jobling, op. cit., p.10.
order for the sportsman to train and compete regularly and draw crowds, he needed to be remunerated as a full-time or part-time athlete or supplemented for his loss of wages.

**Professionalism**

As discussed previously, the middle class strove for a respectable society through such means as temperance, amateurism and industry. Gambling, specifically working-class gambling was perceived as ruinous and detrimental to respectable desires. Waterhouse has argued that gambling was elemental to the working class; the pursuit was popularised by the public house culture, which also acted as an umbrella for interaction and socialisation.\(^{173}\)

Despite the temperance assertions, Waterhouse has suggested that the working class, generally, was moderate in its social and leisure habits.\(^{174}\) He argued that gambling was a working-class rational recreation, which provided intellectual stimulation, enjoyment and a respite from labour.\(^{175}\) Broome has suggested that, in New South Wales, the penal ordeal and the pastoral and gold periods accentuated a masculine society. The lack of tradition and culture had bred the resilient male "who liked to drink, swear and gamble".\(^{176}\) But gambling, too, offered the slim hope that small outlays could return large gains, promoting the myth that sudden windfalls could deliver comforts in life or social mobility without labour.

Whereas the middle class espoused its ideology for a respectable society, one of its principal values was profit making. The middle class developed and engineered capital to become a privileged group. Such capital was also translated into material possessions, influence and control.\(^{177}\) Capitalism was transformed into a respectable value and a measure of security and authority. The manipulation of influence and authority encouraged working-class cultural dependence. Connell and Irving have argued that the working classes were gathered in bourgeois cities and

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\(^{173}\) Waterhouse, op. cit., pp.80-82.

\(^{174}\) Ibid.

\(^{175}\) Ibid.

\(^{176}\) Broome, op. cit., p.126.

\(^{177}\) Kingston, op. cit., pp.43-44.
their sense of exploitation was moderated by the middle-class zest for profit. Kingston has suggested that clerical workers became a privileged group because of their association with the bourgeoisie, but their relationship was not an invitation to admission. According to Fitzgerald, an excessive number were engaged in commerce in Sydney between 1861 and 1871. By 1891, Sydney housed more than half of those involved in commercial enterprise compared to the rest of the colony.

Employers impressed upon their workers the value of work and the virtue of employment. Connell and Irving have shown that impingements upon the employers' control, like class action, were averted by means such as fostering suburban rivalries through professional sporting competitions. These competitions also added to a working class sense of place and provided a means of recognition against their anonymity in the city.

A Conflict Of Values

As profit making was a core middle-class value, a section of that class sought to accommodate its concept of profit and the working-class desire to socialise and aspire through gambling. Macintyre has pointed out that businessmen began promoting pastimes to profit from a public with money to spare. O'Hara has argued that middle-class entrepreneurs were inspired to exploit Australians' desire to gamble. The successful entrepreneurs promoted gambling in sport and gambling as a sport. Goldlust has added that, while the middle-class entrepreneurs received commercial gains from exploiting popular leisure pursuits, they had "no motivation or desire whatsoever to reform the morals or tastes of their potential customers."

These entrepreneurs were not enamoured with the moral reformers' bent of protecting the working class from itself, but were concerned to obtain profit by

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179 Kingston, op. cit., pp.48-49.
180 Fitzgerald, op. cit., p.114.
181 Connell & Irving, op. cit., p.189.
182 Waterhouse, op. cit., p.78.
185 Goldlust, op. cit., p.16.
pandering to working-class hopes and desires.

From the 1850s, as sport became more organised and regular and it stimulated suburban and regional pride, the most popular sports, horseracing, cricket, sculling and boxing, were promoted as commercialised entertainment. These sports drew large crowds, which enabled the entrepreneurs to charge the public entry fees and promote gambling. The relationship between the working class, betting and sport was fostered and abetted by the entrepreneurs to an extent that gambling became more acceptable in society.  

Connell and Irving have pointed out that the influence exercised by these middle-class entrepreneurs enabled them to profit from the sporting crowds and virtually exclude workingmen from the sports' administration. Adair and Vamplew have supported this view, but they have argued that working-class involvement was as performers and spectators and these roles were managed strictly by the entrepreneurs who "promoted sport for [their] own financial interest." Goldlust has added that entrepreneurs were aware of the public's 'taste' and they used performers who came from the same working or lower middle-class orders as those people they entertained. Grow has argued that sports officials came from the middle class because of their literacy and numeracy skills and their ability to organise and manage. He also suggested that sports administration was an extension of their social and business networks and that their link with sport enhanced their status and other commercial ventures.

**Professional Sports Specialists**

From the 1870s, the introduction of international competition offered entrepreneurs a wide range of profit-making possibilities. As Australian scullers and cricketers demonstrated that they could beat England's best, the

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188 Adair & Vamplew, op. cit., p.37.

189 Goldlust, op. cit., pp.63-64.

growth of sport as a meaningful social metaphor produced mass spectatorship, sophisticated organisation, greater gate returns and immense gambling. It also produced the professional technician who dedicated a great portion of his time to perfecting his skills, fitness levels and personal remuneration.

Professional sculling, for example, produced systematically trained athletes who were kept free from employment by the sponsorship of their middle-class backers. It was of the utmost importance for the backers' profit making to produce athletes who could succeed in elite competition. Horseracing produced its specialists in jockeys, trainers, bookmakers and administrators. O'Hara has suggested that from the 1850s, horseracing transformed from a pastime into an industry. Cricketers were paid, paid themselves expenses from a common fund, or shared in the gate money, which helped alleviate training costs and time lost from their employment.

Professional sportsmen were keen to capitalise on their high community standing. Professional scullers conducted theatrical exhibitions and they were alert to the commercial potential of new technologies, such as product endorsements and motion pictures. Cashman has indicated that businesses saw great selling potential by linking themselves with sport, particularly the high-profile sportsmen. The champion sculler Edward Trickett recommended St. Jacob's Oil as the finest pain cure and healing remedy, and the product was also endorsed by other leading sportsmen. George Towns attested to the Freeman And Wallace Electro-Medical

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194 Waterhouse, op. cit., p.74.


197 *Referee*, 1 January 1890 p.8; *Referee*, 26 January 1910 p.12; Adair, "‘Two Dots In the Distance’...", op. cit., pp.58-60.


199 *Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 1884 p.5.
Treatment" while Richard Arnst "succumb[ed] to the soothing seductions" of Champion tobacco, while he warded off chills and ensured that he had a clear eye and steady nerve with Heenzo and Hean's Tonic Nerve Nuts. Adair and Vamplew have suggested that success in professional sport was normally transient which motivated the professionals to optimise their profits. They also argued, a point on which Stoddart and O'Hara agreed, that many professional sportsmen battled to make a living. Vamplew has noted that the professional boxer was normally paid for each fight but very few fighters made much money. He added that the sport had no career structure and most ex-boxers were forced into labouring occupations. O'Hara maintained that jockeys struggled for an adequate living and few made fortunes. But, as gambling promoted the myth that small investments could improve social circumstances, professional sport also offered the slim hope that the less privileged could improve their lot.

Elite professional scullers, such as Edward Trickett and Neil Matterson became publicans, Peter Kemp, George Towns and Chris Neilson operated boatbuilding businesses, and William Beach retired from the sport moderately wealthy. Kemp admitted that before professional sculling, "he was only a poor man". But the New South Wales Rowing Association's manual labour bar was as much of a contributor to professional sculling's rise as men's hopes and dreams.

An outstanding manual labour amateur had limited sporting prospects other than in the professional ranks. Boys, such as Kemp, Towns and Henry

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203 Adair & Vamplew, op. cit., p.18.
207 *Sydney Mail*, 24 May 1890 p.1165.
Searle, who were drawn into manual work, were destined for the professional ranks.\textsuperscript{208} Even in the 1920s, the class barriers were present. Henry (Bobby) Pearce was accused of professionalism before he had competed in open amateur races. His taint was arguably by birth. His father and grandfather were Australian professional sculling champions, his aunt and uncle were state professional champions and another uncle was an international rugby league player. A professional sculler also coached Pearce.\textsuperscript{209} Common sense, aided by the \textit{Sportsman}'s bluntness, prevailed and Pearce became a dual Olympic gold medallist.

Membership of a country amateur rowing club did not give young scullers amateur status. The Grafton Rowing Club, for example, was established in 1872 and it permitted mixed competition. The club finally conformed to the NSWRA's amateur definition and it was affiliated in 1959.\textsuperscript{210}

Amateur definitions, generally, abetted the entrepreneurs. They benefited from the reserves of sportsmen from the lower orders who were excluded from amateur sports. Entrepreneurs, such as Sir James Joynton-Smith and Hugh D. McIntosh, profiteered from a variety of sports.\textsuperscript{211} Joynton-Smith is commonly referred to as the rescuer of rugby league while McIntosh is acclaimed for promoting the 1908 Jack Johnson/Tommy Burns world heavyweight fight.\textsuperscript{212} There were numerous others. John Wren\textsuperscript{213} and the Thompson\textsuperscript{214} and Spencer\textsuperscript{215} brothers made fortunes through the


\textsuperscript{209} \textit{Sportsman}, 27 July 1926 p.8; \textit{Sportsman}, 17 August 1926 p.8.

\textsuperscript{210} May, op. cit., p.143.


\textsuperscript{215} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 4 January 1890 p.41; \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 October 1942 pp.13-14; \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 November 1942 pp.3-4.
promotion of professionalism and professional sports.

Belief Systems

Booth and Tatz have argued that the middle-class entrepreneurs subverted concepts of muscular Christianity and athleticism in their pursuit of profits,216 while others, such as Cashman,217 McKernan,218 Crotty,219 Brown,220 and Adair and Vamplew,221 have explored the essentialness of muscular Christianity and athleticism in formulating the amateur ideal. But it would be ill-conceived to suggest that middle-class entrepreneurs did not embrace broad aspects of muscular Christianity and athleticism. As the conservative administrators used these concepts to cement amateurism, the middle-class entrepreneurs, too, relied on the same concepts to establish and promote professional sport.

Of course, interpretations differed, but many of the moral and social values were present in professional sport. Bennett has argued that, in the late-nineteenth century, muscular Christianity became a national religion and its high priests were the professional sportsmen: "the Beachs, the Spofforths, the Tricketts."222 As far as professional sportsmen’s World War I recruitments were concerned, Phillips has pointed out that rugby league's numbers were high. Vamplew has shown that professional boxing numbers were comparable and patriotic support was solid and ongoing. McKernan has suggested that, overall, professional sport's recruitment numbers and war efforts were impressive.223 Professional sculling was one professional sport that ceased its competitions to aid the Empire’s cause, while entrepreneurs, such as McIntosh, were patriots and loyalists.224

217 Cashman, Paradise Of Sport, op. cit., pp.54-57.
219 Crotty, op. cit., pp.55-73.
Muscular Christianity and athleticism were characteristic in professional sport and not the sole domain of conservative sports administrators. The sporting press, too, invested these concepts into sport and its validation of sport as a measure of social progress and identity contributed to sport’s cultural legitimacy in society.

The Role Of The Sporting Press

During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early-twentieth century, newspaper growth and the development of professional sport were interrelated. Cashman has suggested that the sporting press helped build a sporting universe that inspired the public to demand more sport. He indicated that sports reporting invested “shape, meaning and moral worth” into the public’s perception of sport and sportsmen.\(^{225}\) O’Hara has argued that the sporting press helped to increase the public’s approval of sport as an integral part of society, which fostered national pride.\(^{226}\) Goldlust also noted that press involvement in sport’s development fuelled partisanship and opened sport as a commercial commodity.\(^{227}\)

Sports reporting became more than the transmission of statistics and announcements. Journalists became analysts, philosophers and sociologists.\(^{228}\) They developed a sense of cultural progression and national awareness by glorifying sport and sportsmen and creating mythologies.\(^{229}\) Professional sculling, for example, transformed from the “palmy days” to the “Golden Era”; those who ran in the Stawell Gift were referred to as the “knights of the spiked shoe”;\(^{230}\) Larry Foley was often referred to as the “father of modern boxing in Australia.”\(^{231}\)

Writers created images that enabled their audiences to relate to performers and their experiences. They also gave their readers meaning and

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\(^{227}\) Goldlust, op. cit., pp.71-72.

\(^{228}\) Goldlust, op. cit., p.70.

\(^{229}\) Ibid.


a sense of belonging. John Blackman wrote in 1907 that "Our great athletes are owned by the people just in the same way as they own our city, our harbour, and all else national pride is quickened by."

The cable telegraph's introduction in the middle of the nineteenth century enhanced the development and following of sport. The communication service broke down geographical restrictions and localised competitions were expanded, while the course of national and international contests could be followed within days or hours of happening events. Lyons and Taksa have noted that in pre-1914 New South Wales, 240 newspapers serviced the country districts, while Sydney had a concentrated market of dailies and weeklies. According to Goldlust, the introduction of the telegraph amplified the channels and circulation of sporting news and the diverse and comprehensive sports coverage contributed to the cultural legitimacy of sport in society.

The expansion of news services and the protraction of sports journalism, contributed to a close relationship between sports entrepreneurs and sports journalists. Such conviviality enhanced free and widespread publicity, with an eye to gate receipts. In return, journalists were given access to particular sporting camps.

Professional sculling provides a fitting example of the press/entrepreneur relationship. The sporting press' expansion was aided by professional sculling's international foray and their association was consolidated from the 1880s. The backers of individual scullers normally promoted sculling races and stakeholders were usually eminent citizens who had rowing interests.

Sports editors, too, were rowing enthusiasts and they had direct national and international contact to receive and despatch sculling challenges.

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233 Sydney Mail, 5 June 1907 p.1474.
235 Goldlust, op. cit., p.70.
236 Town And Country Journal, 7 July 1877 p.21; Sydney Mail, 6 September 1879 p.380; Argus, 18 August 1884 p.6.
efficiently.\textsuperscript{237} A natural administrative progression for professional sculling was sports editors as stakeholders and administrators.\textsuperscript{238} This role enabled them to become influential figures and promote the events of which they held controlling interests.\textsuperscript{239} Sports editors, such as Bennett (\textit{Town And Country Journal}), Coombes (\textit{Referee}), Aldworth (\textit{Sunday Times}), Mason (\textit{Sun}), Andrews (\textit{Sun}) and Blackman (\textit{Sydney Mail}), became prominent professional sculling administrators. They enhanced and expanded professional sculling through their capacity to liaise and administer globally and they canvassed for scullers' stake money.\textsuperscript{240} They codified the sport,\textsuperscript{241} and through their newspapers they sponsored major events.\textsuperscript{242}

Goldlust has suggested that sports reporters elevated sport's profile and popularity by boosting the status of star performers.\textsuperscript{243} Professional sculling backers obtained extensive exposure and free publicity by encouraging sports journalists to become administrators; by inviting them to training sessions and permitting them access to the scullers,\textsuperscript{244} and by accommodating them with special vantage points on the steamers, which followed sculling events.\textsuperscript{245} Sports journalists provided betting odds and trends,\textsuperscript{246} listed schedules for days' events,\textsuperscript{247} advertised ticket costs for steamer berths and announced steamer pick up points and departure times.\textsuperscript{248} These itineraries served the backers favourably, but the sporting press played a more significant role in maintaining the backers' profits.

The sporting press was responsible for containing the high stakes and

\textsuperscript{237} Referee, 11 January 1890 p.8; Sydney Mail, 11 May 1889 p.989; Town And Country Journal, 11 October 1884 p.766; Sydney Mail, 7 December 1885 p.1184.
\textsuperscript{238} Town And Country Journal, 3 November 1888 p.925; Referee, 28 May 1890 p.8; Referee, 11 March 1903 p.1.
\textsuperscript{239} Referee, 31 May 1905 p.1; Referee, 19 July 1905 p.1; Referee, 26 July 1905 pp.1, 6.
\textsuperscript{240} Referee, 1 March 1922 p.11; Sun, 16 November 1919 p.2; Referee, 26 January 1910 p.12.
\textsuperscript{241} Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Sydney Mail, 15 April 1908 p.1025; Sydney Mail, 8 March 1911 p.57; Sydney Mail, 15 March 1911 p.56.
\textsuperscript{242} Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8; Sun, 23 July 1911 p.6.
\textsuperscript{243} Goldlust, op. cit., p.71; See also, Town And Country Journal, 23 August 1884 pp.391-393; Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5.
\textsuperscript{244} Echo, 1 July 1882 pp.4-5; Sydney Mail, 28 March 1885 p.678; Sportsman, 19 July 1911 p.7.
\textsuperscript{245} Argus, 2 July 1877 p.6; Town And Country Journal, 23 August 1884 p.392; Referee, 1 August 1906 p.1.
\textsuperscript{246} Sydney Mail, 4 April 1885 p.733; Referee, 27 July 1904 p.1.
\textsuperscript{247} Referee, 11 July 1906 p.9; Sun, 12 March 1911 p.10.
\textsuperscript{248} Referee, 18 July 1906 p.9; Sun, 23 July 1911 p.6.
large gambling sport within the realms of the public's tolerance of money-based competition and within the borders of respectability. The sporting press became the sport's overseer, judge, moraliser and conscience. By filling these positions, the sporting press provided a representative but loose form of control, which was sufficient to sustain the sport into the twentieth century.

Conclusions

The emerging middle class sought to create a respectable culture for society by means of rationalising gender roles, the powers of the church and state, shaping a capitalist class, and establishing moral and aesthetic values for leisure and sport. In attaining respectability, the middle class also set about re-defining working-class leisure.

One fear was that society was sinking closer to racial, physical and social degeneration. The middle-class concept of masculinity was one measure used to address the decline. One of the dominant influences of masculinity was coded in the games and physical fitness ethos. Rational recreation, muscular Christianity and social Darwinism were central to the sports ethic. These concepts were invested in organised sport, which was expected to produce excellent specimens who would forge a national type and identity and keep strong the Anglo-Saxon race and the Empire.

In a broader sporting and social context, rational recreation, muscular Christianity and social Darwinism infused the concept of amateurism. Middle-class conservatives believed that amateur sport should be pursued for its intrinsic qualities and be separate from the day's labours. Professionalism promoted money as its primary goal, which in turn, fostered disreputable practices and threatened the amateur ideal and even the social order. Similarly, some amateur officials argued that the manual labourer was predisposed to compete for more than honour and glory. They also argued that the manual labourer would be socially disadvantaged if he was asked to associate with gentlemen.

250 Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Referee, 10 February 1887 p.4; Sydney Mail, 10 December 1887 p.1253; Referee, 4 June 1890 p.1; Referee, 1 August 1906 p.9.
251 Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9; Referee, 4 December 1912 pp.1, 11; Referee, 30 June 1926 p.11.
Yet, professionalism, too, was a middle-class construct. Entrepreneurs were less concerned in meliorating the morals and values of their potential patrons. At the same time, they were mindful of the benefits present in muscular Christianity, social Darwinism and athleticism for society, professional sport and their bank balances.

Profit making was also a middle-class value. The sports entrepreneur considered that sport's commercialisation was a respectable business venture. Professional sportsmen were groomed to maximise sport's commercial opportunities. From the 1880s when international competition became regular and the Australian sportsman had proven his proficiency, profit opportunities opened considerably. International competition coincided with the growth of newspapers and sports editors were quick to seize and expand upon the public's desire for sport's coverage. Professional sportsmen were lionised, national pride was fostered and readers were given a broader sense of meaning through their particular sports. This also generated free publicity for the sports entrepreneur who maintained a favourable relationship with the sporting press so as to capitalise on gate money, gambling and status.

The organising and politicising of the lower orders, suburbanisation and the advances in education and technology eased class barriers and enabled a broader level of support for the amateur sporting ideal. By the 1890s, the amateur ethos was becoming entrenched in Australia's social and sporting landscape. The introduction of the modern Olympic Games further consolidated amateur sport. Athletes were offered the opportunity to represent their country and a nation could gauge its character and identity as well as its international standing. The Games' concept proposed goodwill among nations, but it also invited sports administrators to prepare winning athletes and, through them, demonstrate amateurism's and a nation's superiority.

This, then, was the context within which professional sculling in New South Wales emerged to dominate the world for three decades before subsequently falling into disrepair. It was during the sport's prosperous period that it helped fashion new perceptions and meaning for Australian society by helping to mould a national type, identity and character.
CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND 1876-1907

Self-propulsion, sail and steam on the waterways were the principal means of transportation in New South Wales from the mid-nineteenth century until World War II. Industry and commerce utilised most boat classes to ferry cargo and goods to market. Small businesses, such as fishing, meat, dairy, timber and horticulture, transported produce on water by means of rowing, sail and steam.\(^1\) Contact with the outside world depended on the river systems and the delivery of wares to settlers was performed commonly by rowing boats. They were a cheap and necessary transport mode and rowing from place-to-place in the course of business, employment or to socialise became enculturated through the generations who colonised the water districts.\(^2\)

Rowing, as a pastime, gathered communities. Regattas brought municipalities together and perpetuated water sport as a principal form of recreation. The spectacle and thrill of competition, the assurance of family outings and the desire for communal interactions cemented rowing as a pivotal force in uniting the lives of the water folk.\(^3\) On a personal scale, rowing offered competitors the chance of claiming cash, pennants or other prizes as well as accolades for their villages or hamlets.\(^4\)

During the second-half of the nineteenth century, rowing in New South Wales, and specifically professional sculling, surged in popularity. Professional sculling lured men from a variety of manual labour occupations. Those with the skills were enticed by the high stake money and the big


beting involved. Towards the latter part of the nineteenth century an average weekly labouring wage ranged between £1 and £3. Professional sculling races offered stake money of between £2 and £200. Championship stakes ranged between £25 and £500 a side, exclusive of ‘gate’ takings and the favours flowing from prestige.

Professional sculling offered the public various betting options in handicap and match racing. Hundreds to thousands of pounds passed among patrons keen to prove their judgments. Backers and close supporters of their charges invested fortunes, while bookmakers roared odds at the multitudes of willing takers. Overall, money wagered on sculling races exceeded the stakes or prizes on offer.

Match racing provided one of the great spectacles as scullers pitted brawn, strength and science against one another. Crowds packed the riverbanks and filled a plethora of spectator craft to watch participants battle. The homage accorded the scullers on occasions approached héro-worship. The sharing of honour and glory generated intense parochial, patriotic and nationalistic pride. Through the scullers’ successes, particularly in international competition, the public gained explanations as to

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5 Bennett, op. cit., pp.128-129.
8 Echo, 7 May 1888 p.3; Town And Country Journal, 26 July 1905 p.50.
9 Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.33; Sydney Mail, 4 April 1885 p.733.
10 'Booking bets' on the professional sculling world championship is suggested in the Town And Country Journal, 30 August 1879 p.419 & Town And Country Journal, 6 September 1879 p.459. Examples of the influence and relationship between professional bookmakers and professional sculling include; John Thompson with Edward Trickett, Sydney Mail, 27 November 1880 p.1036; Joseph 'The Leviathan' Thompson, John Thompson and Barney Thompson, Sportsman, 17 April 1907 p.5; Joe Thompson and Barney Thompson with William Beach, Daily Telegraph, 26 November 1887 pp.5-6; Professional bookmakers winning on sculling results, Sydney Mail, 4 April 1885 p.733; General betting, Sydney Morning Herald, 2 July 1887 p.5; Sydney Morning Herald, 16 August 1884 p.12; Sydney Morning Herald, 26 November 1887 p.11; Sydney Mail, 3 December 1887 p.1200; Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.65; Echo, loc. cit; Gaming at professional sculling events, i.e. sweepstakes & three card tricks, Town And Country Journal, 23 August 1884 p.391.
12 Adair, op. cit., pp.56-61.
13 Sydney Mail, 5 June 1907 p.1474.
who and what was an Australian and where Australia fitted within the British
Empire and the world.\textsuperscript{14}

This chapter examines the Australian search for a national type, identity and character through the meritorious rise of New South Wales professional sculling. The text provides a chronological study of the sculling champions, beginning with Richard Green in 1863 and concluding with George Towns in 1907. It investigates the significance of Australia's domination of sculling in terms of its place in world sport and in the processes of nation building prior to and after the formation of the Australian Commonwealth. It also seeks explanation of the factors that led to this dominance and that enabled New South Wales and Australia generally to maintain that position in the sport for a `Golden Age' lasting three decades.

A step-by-step analysis of the awakening of Australian patriotism and nationalism by means of international competition will also help to explain how a structured assault on English sculling generated a new context for Australian perceptions of itself and its society. As the Australian sculling champions were fêted throughout the colonies, the parochial and provincial language of victory transformed into a patriotic and nationalistic form. Image, worth and confidence were also developed and expanded. They were applied diversely from claiming that the Australian climate produced the virtuous, or more specifically, that Australian boatbuilders were world class.

Within a sporting context, the chapter examines the sport's high profile and its bearing on the diversity of its supporter base, organisation and management. What is also explored is the civil relationship between the amateur and the professional sportsman and the apparent contradiction that amateur officials, particularly in rowing, were conspicuous in the professional sculling administration.

The chapter will also examine the significance money played in the sport's organisation and whether the backers' sophisticated manipulation enabled them to profit whilst keeping unscrupulousness at a level tolerated by the public. Perception was a vital construct for a money sport and the

support of civic and civil leaders, amateurs and the press will also be considered here.

The chapter will also address a number of inadequacies apparent in existing studies and the available background information that will substantiate the need to re-examine and re-interpret professional sculling between the 1876 and 1907 period and provide the context needed for the analysis in the following chapters.

The concepts which have been summarised, minimised and omitted in the previous works and will be attended to in this chapter include what advantages arose from the amateur/professional relationship and whether this liaison contributed to the fortunes of Australian rowing; what role did image and perception play in forging distinctiveness and identity and whether muscular Christianity was solely an amateur concession; what outcomes resulted from England’s inferior sculling status and whether the consequences influenced the structure and outlook of professional sculling; how debilitating was the 1890s depression to the sport’s structure and what were the implications for professional sculling and the public perception of the sport; what factors influenced the shaping of a professional sculling audience and whether these factors would lead to a separation of that audience.

Professional sculling was based on individual performance, it was a selfish pursuit which relied on money and gambling. Amateur rowing, however, offered the ideals of teamwork, discipline and shared achievement. These observations indicate that the character of rowing would lead towards the amateur ideology, whereas, sculling would lend itself towards the professional. This observation will also be assessed here.

The Make-Up Of Professional Sculling

Sculling, as distinct from rowing, required an oarsman to use two blades instead of one. It was an individual-based sport that relied on the sculler’s expertise to synchronise balance, blade work and timing. Rowing was a team-based activity that required synchronised blade work to maintain
boat balance.\textsuperscript{15} Sculling, from a financial perspective, was viable because backers could support a sculler through training and stake him to race, whereas it would be unviable to support a four or eight-man crew through the same processes. This was one reason why sculling became the professional's domain.

Sculling, being an individual-based sport, used a different array of racing boats to those used by the teams of amateur rowers. The professionals, at times, indulged in crew racing. On these occasions they sculled instead of rowed which also required a different racing boat from the one used by the amateurs.

The professionals used five distinct classes of boat in competition. These were the light skiff, which from the 1890s was replaced by the gladstone skiff, the waterman's skiff (heavy boat), the butcher boat and the outrigger. The outrigger was introduced from England in the 1850s and became the standard competition boat in the English-speaking world. It was a cedar craft between 30 and 34 feet in length, 12 inches beam and 32 to 38 pounds in weight\textsuperscript{16} but during the 1890s Australian boatbuilders produced the modern prototype of 23 to 26 feet in length and weighing between 24 and 28 pounds.\textsuperscript{17} During the 1870s the craft's fixed seat was replaced by a sliding model and this innovation was introduced to Australia in 1877.\textsuperscript{18} England created a world championship for the outrigger in 1876 to symbolise its imperial sovereignty, but underestimated the superiority of the systematically trained dominion athlete.

The light skiff and the gladstone skiff were competition boats in their own right, but they also played an important role as the learning craft for the outrigger.\textsuperscript{19} Built for durability, they were 22 to 26 feet in length, 24 to 28 inches beam, 11 to 12 inches in depth, 70 to 75 pounds in weight, open, with

\textsuperscript{15} Oarsman's Voice, vol.1, no.8, August 1953, pp.6-8; Oarsman's Voice, vol.1, no.10, November 1953, pp.4-6.

\textsuperscript{16} Australian Oarsman, 10 June 1942 pp.4-5.

\textsuperscript{17} Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1942 p.16; Australian Oarsman, 10 June 1942 p.5; Australian Oarsman, 10 September 1942 p.18.

\textsuperscript{18} Trickett, G., \textit{Ned Trickett Champion Sculler Of The World}, Lane Cove Library, Lane Cove, New South Wales, 2000, pp.44-46, 50; Australian Oarsman, 10 June 1942 pp.4-5.

\textsuperscript{19} Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1942 p.15.
the gladstone skiff having a clinker hull.\textsuperscript{20}

The waterman’s skiff and butcher boat were industry-based craft adapted for racing.\textsuperscript{21} The waterman’s skiff ranged between 16 and 24 feet in length, five feet in width, 18 to 22 inches in depth and weighed between three and four hundredweight.\textsuperscript{22} It catered for singles and pairs and could be sandbag or lead weighted for handicap racing. The butcher boat was approximately 27 feet in length, five feet in width, and 20 inches in depth and weighed 400 pounds.\textsuperscript{23} Four-man crews, with coxswains, crewed butcher boats. Both craft were predominant in country racing with the waterman’s skiff used in Sydney as a preliminary attraction to the outrigger.

The professionals rowed upon most New South Wales coastal rivers\textsuperscript{24} but from 1877 Sydney’s Parramatta River held Australia’s first world professional sculling championship and became the designated championship course.\textsuperscript{25} The stretch ran west to east between Charity Point and The Brothers rocks (known later as Ryde railway bridge to Searle’s Monument) and was three miles 330 yards long, salt water and tidal.\textsuperscript{26}

The Nepean River, situated at Penrith approximately 30 miles west of Sydney, hosted three world championships. It was a slow-running, freshwater course of three miles 320 yards and preferred by Canadian scullers who were accustomed to lake racing.

The prominent country rivers that carried the body of professional racing, were the Hunter, the Clarence and the Richmond. The Hunter’s main courses were Raymond Terrace, Morpeth, Mayfield and Stockton; the Clarence offered Grafton, Ulmarra and Maclean; the Richmond provided Woodburn, Coraki and Broadwater.

In England, the Thames and Tyne Rivers were the important courses. The Thames was the premier course and spanned between Putney and

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 October 1941 p.9; Clinker built meant that the lower edge of each side plank overlapped the upper edge of the plank below; See, Dear, I. & Kemp, P., \textit{An A-Z Of Sailing Terms}, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, p.35.


\textsuperscript{22} Lewis-Hughes, op. cit., pp.22-23; \textit{The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly}, February 1935 p.29.

\textsuperscript{23} Lewis-Hughes, op. cit., pp.24-33; Personal Clippings File.

\textsuperscript{24} See, Appendix 2.

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Illustrated Sydney News}, 21 July 1877 p.10; \textit{Sydney Mail Illustrated Supplement}, 30 June 1877.

\textsuperscript{26} Trickett, op. cit., p.55.
Mortlake a distance of four miles 440 yards.²⁷ Between 1876 and 1919 it hosted 14 world championships compared to one on the Tyne.

New Zealand emerged as a significant match-racing venue from 1907 and both islands supplied venues for the professionals. In the north, the Wanganui, Wairoa and Waikato Rivers were prominent with the former conducting five world championships. The Wairu River and Akaroa Harbour were south island venues with each hosting a world championship contest.

Between 1876 and 1912 the southern hemisphere dominated professional sculling with the spotlight on New South Wales, its rivers and its production of world champions. The rise of New South Wales professional sculling, though, began from the mid-nineteenth century when England competed with its dominions through the medium of the outrigger.

**The Rise Of New South Wales Professional Sculling**

New South Wales professional sculling took on an international flavour from the 1850s when the English immigrants Deward, Day, White, Candlish and Edwards introduced outrigger racing.²⁸ By 1860, Richard Green of Sydney had established himself as the colony’s premier sculler and his backers attempted to lure the English champions to the Parramatta River by offering them liberal expenses of up to £200 and stakes racing up to £1,000.²⁹ Upon the English dismissal of the offer, Green’s backers ushered their man to England to race the Tynesider Robert Chambers. What seemed like early patriotic rousing was no more than provincial indulgence. Their generosity towards Green paled in comparison to their inducements towards the Englishmen. Green left Sydney in 1862 aboard the Damascus with £10 expenses and he worked his passage as a carpenter’s mate.³⁰ Fotheringham suggested that Green’s backers were indifferent to sending their man into contests, which they could neither profit from nor witness.³¹

For Green’s backers, one of whom was Thomas Spencer, patriotism

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²⁸ *Australian Oarsman*, June 1942 p. 10.
³⁰ *Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906*, 28 July 1906 p.16.
³¹ Fotheringham, op.cit., pp.177-178.
seemed a lowly consideration. It took them almost 10 months to send him his £200 stake.\(^{32}\) The Sydney public funded Green's proposed return match with Chambers and the bulk of this £200 was in small coin.\(^{33}\) The denomination suggested that Sydney professional sculling had a solid, parochial and perhaps even patriotic working-class following. The middle class appeared circumspect. It was in this period that the middle class was defining a respectable culture for society\(^{34}\) and also a time when the native-born were in the minority,\(^ {35}\) English superiority was questioned rarely\(^ {36}\) and the constructs of an Australian type and identity were in their infancy.\(^ {37}\)

One of Green's more conspicuous supporters was George Thornton, who reigned as the Sydney Rowing Club's president for 31 years and stood unopposed as the New South Wales Rowing Association's president between 1878 and 1901.\(^ {38}\) Although he was the helmsman of these two important amateur bodies, he seemed beyond the risk of the professional taint for his relationship with the professionals continued throughout his tenure.\(^ {39}\)

While publications, such as *Bell's Life In Sydney*, generated nationalistic sentiments, Green's English endeavours were received lukewarmly.\(^ {40}\) His efforts did whet interest in future Australian challenges, but it was not until the next decade that Australia could claim a world champion.

The boom period for Australian professional sculling began in 1876 when Edward Trickett won the inaugural world championship on the

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\(^{32}\) *Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906*, 28 July 1906 p.16.

\(^{33}\) *Australian Oarsman*, 10 October 1942 p.13; *The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly*, 1 October 1925 p.40.


\(^{39}\) *Daily Telegraph*, 2 December 1887 p.5; *Referee*, 12 March 1890 p.8.

\(^{40}\) Fotheringham, op. cit., pp.181-183.
Trickett is regarded as Australia's first world champion in any sport, but he was followed quickly by a succession of champion scullers.

The contrast between Green's limited support and Trickett's planned assault was reflected by changing ideologies in Australia and the search for identity. The scholar, James Hogan, was incensed at Australia's inordinate love of sport and its ambivalence towards intellectualism. Sport, however, was one means by which the colonies could promote their importance, fashion an Australian type and identity and discount fears that the Anglo-Saxon race had degenerated in the antipodes. White has suggested that "From the 1870s on, a self-conscious local patriotism developed, often linked with the emergence of local manufacturing, which had an obvious interest in endorsing the local product." Anthony Trollope, in 1873, concluded that the colonial-bred manual worker was more advantaged than his English counterpart and he was, "therefore, more of a man."

These changing attitudes and the movement towards defining an Australian identity had more anxious tones in Trickett's era than Green's. For example, the 1873/1874 England Eleven's Australian cricket tour, the first in a decade, emphasised that an Australian confidence could be attained through sport. Victories by Victorian and New South Wales teams demonstrated that Australia had the capability of producing Coming Men.

It was in this context of a society seeking identity and definition that Trickett was treated more favourably than Green. Trickett's principal backer, James Punch, accompanied him to England. New South Wales backers, who included Thomas and John Spencer and John Deeble, put up the £200 stake money required to race Joseph Sadler, England's champion. These three were to play a significant role in professional sculling until the 1890s.

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41 Trickett, op. cit., pp.25-58; See, Appendix 1.
44 White, op. cit., pp.66-72.
45 White, op. cit., p.73.
46 Alomes & Jones, (eds), op. cit., pp.67-68.
48 Referee, 6 February 1916 p.10; See, May, op. cit., p.18; P.J. (James) Clark was Honorary Secretary (1871-1877) and Captain (1878-1882) of the Sydney Rowing Club. He was Secretary/Treasurer for Trickett's English challenge.
Punch's presence ensured that as their representative he could view the race and also act as their betting agent. Halladay suggested that Trickett's victory of June 1876 "effectively marked the end of the great period of professional rowing in [England]." England's decline, though, paralleled Australia's rise.

Trickett returned to Sydney to be enveloped by a crowd of between 20,000 and 25,000. In a chaotic welcome, his carriage was hauled by hand "through Pitt, Hunter, George and King Streets." Such adulation, for a sportsman, was unprecedented. Colonial dignitaries, parliamentarians, businessmen and the press lavished praise on Trickett's feat and they spirited a nationalistic sense throughout the colonies. In a goodwill gesture, civic chiefs organised a public subscription fund for Trickett, which raised between £800 and £900.

This does not suggest that Trickett's victory spread evangelical nationalism throughout the country. Civic leaders were parochial about their colonies. Those in New South Wales often referred to their colony as Australia. But Trickett's win contributed to nation-building processes by procuring a new dimension for the public's perceptions of identity and worth. His success demonstrated that the colonies could produce exceptional stock and noble international representatives. One commentator suggested that Trickett's "manner is decidedly unassuming and his wonderful success has failed to render him conceited or pompous."

The Coming Man's evolution had been advanced by Trickett's win. Much emotional leverage was extracted from his success, which lessened the colonies' insecurities. The Greenwich quarryman, in 'Young Australia', had defeated the English champion on 'Home' waters to become the world's best. Stoddart suggested that Trickett had "returned to great acclaim as a representative of Australian social development." Trickett's subsequent title

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50 *The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly*, 1 October 1925 p.40; See also, Trickett, op. cit., pp.36-38; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 November 1876.
52 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 December 1887 p.9.
54 Mandle, op. cit., pp.55-58.
defences on the Parramatta River were, therefore, important yardsticks in measuring social progress and embellishing an ideology of Australian type.

Trickett v Michael Rush

His first defence and the holding of Australia’s first world championship took place on the Parramatta River in June 1877 against Michael Rush, the Clarence River oarsman. Rush came to Australia at 15 years of age and had become one of the colony’s first-class watermen.\(^56\) The match between ‘currency’ and ‘sterling’\(^57\) was yet another benchmark for social progression and it was symbolic of a new era displacing the old. Trickett used the modern sliding seat, whereas Rush retained the fixed thwart.

The public embraced the race emphatically. Crowd estimates ranged between 50,000 and 100,000.\(^58\) The day’s frenzy can be ascertained by the public’s jostling for vantage points. One report suggested that more than 70 steamers and hundreds of small craft clambered for river positions. "In addition, there was not a vehicle left in Sydney. Everything had been engaged..."\(^59\) A coachman counted some 2,053 vehicles passing him in 70 minutes. The vice-regal party, including Sir Hercules Robinson, along with the colony’s parliamentarians and the scullers’ close supporters, occupied one government steamer (the umpire’s boat).\(^60\) Public notices of business house closures also demonstrated the race’s significance. Anthony Hordern and Sons, Riley Brothers and McClelland and Roach were some of the leading firms that closed between noon and 6pm.\(^61\)

The race had consumed New South Wales.\(^62\) It was an occasion to demonstrate colonial achievement and receive world recognition while providing political and social capital. The immensity and symbolism overshadowed middle-class ideals, which had taken root in the previous

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57 Alomes & Jones, (eds), op. cit., p.18; Illustrated Sydney News, 21 July 1877 p.10.
58 Sydney Morning Herald, 2 July 1877 p.2; Town And Country Journal, 7 July 1877 p.20; Illustrated Sydney News, 21 July 1877 p.10.
59 Australian Oarsman, 10 September 1942 p.18; Sydney Morning Herald, 2 July 1877.
60 Town And Country Journal, 7 July 1877 p.20; Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of New South Wales, was patron of the Mercantile Rowing Club.
61 Sydney Morning Herald, 30 June 1877 p.11.
62 Trickett, op. cit., pp.42-43; Argus, 2 July 1877 p.5.
decade. For example, the amateur concept was let pass, as amateur officials were conspicuous by their presence. Richard Driver, the Minister for Lands who was described as an "amateur-minded administrator", acted as judge for the race and he occupied the same position and acted as stakeholder for the Trickett/Laycock match in August 1879. It was Driver who gave notice to the House that Trickett should be granted £500 upon his return from England.\textsuperscript{63} The scullers' attendants were accommodated in craft furnished by the Sydney and Mercantile Rowing Clubs,\textsuperscript{64} while James Merriman, the Sydney mayor, acted as stakeholder.\textsuperscript{65} It should be noted too that the Sydney Rowing Club had engaged Trickett as coach for its 1876/1877 season.\textsuperscript{66}

The culture of athleticism was certainly becoming prevalent within society. Shaping an Australian type and identity became manageable through sport and, sculling in particular, enabled abstract representations to be characterised into tangible figures. The press was but one author of an Australian type and identity. It seized upon sculling's international success and the sport's intense domestic following.

The physicality of Trickett and Rush was emphasised constantly along with their character traits, the intensity of their training schedules and their sculling histories.\textsuperscript{67} These images encapsulated the Coming Man's emergence and they characterised the perceptions of the Australian type. Trickett was a picture of health, but most unassuming while Rush was "a splendid specimen of a muscular Christian."\textsuperscript{68} Rush was embellished as the Clarence River pioneer who tamed the frontiers and brought civilisation to the colony's backwaters.\textsuperscript{69} Trickett, although not as robust as Rush, was the


\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Town and Country Journal}, 7 July 1877 p.21.

\textsuperscript{65} Merriman was Captain of Mercantile Rowing Club.

\textsuperscript{66} May, op. cit., p.18.


\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Argus}, 30 June 1877 p.8.

\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 7 July 1877 p.21; \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 November 1941 pp.16-17; \textit{Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906}, 28 July 1906 p.20.
stylist who found proficiency in sculling's scientific approach. An added
dimension to type and character was honesty and integrity. Although staked
for the race, Trickett was known to bet on himself in his races,\textsuperscript{70} likewise
Rush\textsuperscript{71} who also gained a reputation and following by staking himself in his
races.\textsuperscript{72} At the settling of the Trickett/Rush contest, Rush instructed that his
'loser's collection' be passed on to his mentor Richard Green.\textsuperscript{73}

But the moulding of an Australian type and character extended beyond
the scullers. Another attribute that helped define type was ingenuity. It was
suggested that Joseph Donnelly, the Pyrmont boatbuilder, had produced for
Trickett a craft superior to that of Rush's Swaddle and Winship (England)
manufacture.\textsuperscript{74} While ingenuity contributed to building a definition, the
presence of the colony's civic and civil leaders and the business house
closures helped sanction athleticism as one of the colony's, and generally
Australia's, core features in representing itself to the world.\textsuperscript{76} Whereas the
Trickett/Rush match helped the evolution of an Australian type and identity,
Trickett's second defence against Elias Laycock in August 1879 further
promoted and strengthened such definition.

**Trickett v Laycock**

The Trickett/Laycock match signified a world championship contest
between two native-born Australians. While the press emphasised each
man's muscular development, the *Illustrated Sydney News* suggested that
Laycock was "one of the finest specimens of muscular Christianity that we
have ever beheld."\textsuperscript{77} Crowd estimates for the day ranged between 30,000
and 40,000.\textsuperscript{77} As well as a host of dignitaries in attendance, intercolonial and
international representatives were noticeable.\textsuperscript{78} The amateur/professional
relationship was again conspicuous with Richard Driver assuming official

\textsuperscript{70} *Town And Country Journal*, 27 August 1881 p.419.
\textsuperscript{71} *Argus*, 2 July 1877 p.5.
\textsuperscript{72} *Australian Oarsman*, 10 November 1941 p.16; *Sun*, 23 July 1911 p.6.
\textsuperscript{73} *Argus*, 3 July 1877 p.5.
\textsuperscript{74} *Argus*, 2 July 1877 p.6; *Argus*, 30 June 1877 p.8.
\textsuperscript{75} *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 January 1877 p.3.
\textsuperscript{76} *Illustrated Sydney News*, 6 September 1879 p.7.
\textsuperscript{77} *Age*, 30 August 1879 p.5; *Illustrated Sydney News*, 6 September 1879 p.7; *Sydney Morning Herald*,
30 August 1879 p.6.
\textsuperscript{78} *Town And Country Journal*, 6 September 1879 p.458.
duties and Trickett racing in his new craft, the *James Clark*, which was
named after the Sydney Rowing Club's captain. Joseph Donnelly was
credited with building Trickett's craft to be "one of the most perfect specimens
of boat-building ever turned out of a colonial workshop."

Trickett's victory instilled further confidence in the construction of a
national type. The type's characteristics encompassed a sterner moral,
social and psychological personality and its focus spread beyond New South
Wales. These processes intensified through Trickett and Laycock and
offered a clearer indication that the Anglo-Saxon race was progressing in the
antipodes rather than regressing.

Laycock, for example, was akin to Marcus Clarke's prediction of an
Australian type. A 'cornstalk', with a bearded, Saxon face, mahogany skin,
he was muscular, unkempt, a bushman and a sculler. The *Sydney Mail*
suggested that Laycock possessed "a particularly blunt and independent
manner", while the *Town And Country Journal* noted his taming of the
frontiers. Like Trickett, Laycock had mostly Presbyterian habits and
showed disgust at fulsome public flattery and public demonstrations.

Prior to 1876, Trickett had been a quarryman. His successes
launched his social mobility so starkly that he became the publican of
Trickett's International Hotel. He was lauded for his manliness in
combining his enterprise, training and, although hero-worshipped, his
unpretentiousness. Unlike Laycock, he was lean but broad-shouldered and
his skin "was as fair as a woman's." His complexion implied a more
sedentary life as a publican, but his masculinity was never questioned.

A changing context emerged through the Trickett/Laycock contest.
The new focus argued that the colonial male was too tall for English tastes,
but his athleticism and manliness were designed specifically to undertake

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*Australian Oarsman*, 10 July 1938 p.35.

84 *Sydney Mail*, 6 September 1879 p.369.


86 *Town And Country Journal*, 6 September 1879 p.458; *Sydney Mail*, 6 September 1879 p.369; *Daily
Telegraph*, 30 August 1879 p.6.
life's exigencies in Australia.\textsuperscript{87} He was a man of deeds, reticent, calculating and meditative. Trickett and Laycock were not the exceptions, they were but two of the many. The \textit{Town And Country Journal} suggested that the Australian type was the antithesis of that presented by Anthony Trollope.\textsuperscript{88}

It was these constructs of type and identity that Trickett and Laycock took with them to England in 1880. Trickett, regarded as unbeatable by Australians, defended his title against the Canadian Edward Hanlan, while Laycock contested the lucrative English domestic races.

Where Trickett's 1876 world championship win on the Thames had marked colonial ascendancy, Laycock heralded Australian independence and formidability. He personified perceptions of stoic colonials capable of great exertion and distinguished physical prowess. In hindsight, sculling authorities credited Laycock with establishing an Australian presence and a daunting manly image in England.\textsuperscript{89} Laycock funded his 1880 and 1882 trips to England and he financed his stakes.\textsuperscript{90} He dominated the English season and the appreciative crowds chanted, "Go it, bushranger", when he competed.\textsuperscript{91} Laycock rowed all but one race in his craft, the 'Australia'. The novelty of his domination waned on his second English visit when he became most unpopular by trouncing Robert Boyd, the English champion.\textsuperscript{92} Alternatively, the colonies perceived Laycock's dominance over the northern hemisphere scullers as an Australian advertisement of manhood and front ranking sportsmen. Laycock's dominance, though, was also used as a crutch to overcome Trickett's humiliating defeat by the Canadian champion, Hanlan.\textsuperscript{93}

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnotetext{87} \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 6 September 1874 p.450.
\footnotetext{88} Ibid. See also, Alomes & Jones, (eds), op. cit., pp.66-68.
\footnotetext{89} \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 July 1938 p.35, \textit{Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906}, 28 July 1906 p.18.
\footnotetext{90} \textit{The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly}, 1 October 1925 p.40.
\footnotetext{91} \textit{Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906}, 28 July 1906 p.18.
\footnotetext{92} \textit{Sun}, 6 June 1915 p.7.
\footnotetext{93} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 27 November 1880 p.1035, \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 31 December 1880 p.5.
\end{footnotesize}
Trickett v Hanlan

Edward Hanlan had amassed an impressive northern hemisphere record. Although he was of diminutive stature, his large Canadian and English following were confident that his style and technique would account for Trickett's size and strength. Reports concerning the world championship race suggested that Hanlan, "indulged in some trick rowing, such as paddling with one scull, laying back in his boat, [and] saluting his admirers", while others claimed he cleaned his face in the water and generally belittled Trickett.

Trickett's shock defeat produced national mourning and anger. The Sydney Morning Herald reported that the loss "sent a sigh and a shudder through the city such as might follow on the loss of some object long cherished and dearly beloved." Others were not so understanding. The groundswell suggested that Trickett had "sold out" Australians and his followers were prepared to heap "coal of fire on his head."

Whereas Trickett's loss produced anger and disbelief, what prevailed was the muscular Christian value of accepting defeat with dignity and grace. His defeat was argued as a lesson in tolerance, spirit and a belief that setbacks would be overcome by greater determination and resolve. The Sydney Mail concluded that Trickett was "entitled to the universal sympathy of Australians" and "it [was] a monstrous injustice to prejudge Trickett", while the Town And Country Journal suggested that if Australians failed to demonstrate forgiveness then they deserved "to be ranked with cowardly mongrel curs." James Clark, the Sydney Rowing Club captain, stated that the insinuations against Trickett's character were unfounded, uncharitable and cowardly. Others agreed and they suggested that "We are good winners and therefore should be good losers." Upon Trickett's return to

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94 Sydney Mail, 13 November 1880 p.928
95 Sydney Morning Herald, 28 August 1884.
97 Sydney Mail, 27 November 1880 p.1035.
99 Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1880 p.5.
100 Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1880 p.6.
Australia in 1882, Sir John Robertson suggested that although defeated, Trickett had demonstrated "the manhood and character of the colony." 103

Nevertheless, the construction of a national type and identity through the sculling context received a further challenge when Hanlan defeated Laycock in 1881 and, in front of a massive Thames crowd, he belittled Trickett in their 1882 return match. 104 The Canadian had ridiculed the exaggerated Australian powers and superiority and their failure to win back the championship was viewed as a national calamity. 105 There was little compensation in the knowledge that Australia housed the world's second and third-best scullers. Nor was there satisfaction that the Australians were dominant over the Englishmen. 106 Rather than promoting an Australian identity, Trickett became an embarrassment. 107

The insinuations directed at his integrity also cast aspersions on the professional sport that had, in New South Wales, enjoyed a tolerable reputation. 108 Sport and money always had its detractors and the enormous monies involved with professional sculling left it susceptible to allegations of corruption and 'shady practices'. The Trickett/Hanlan 1880 match provides an example of the extent of the gambling that took place on first-class sculling races, and offers insight into the fear held by conservatives of the evil of money in sport.

Betting

Monies wagered on sculling races mostly exceeded the amount of the staked money. 109 The Trickett/Hanlan 1880 match was raced for £200 a side. Although Trickett was quoted at 6 to 5 on two days before the race, on the day, Hanlan had been supported into favourite at 5 to 4 on. 110 It was suggested that the Trickett camp had lost heavily on the result and was

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103 Town And Country Journal, 1 July 1882 p.35; Sydney Morning Herald, 20 June 1882 p.6.
105 Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.131-133.
106 Matilda Mercury, 26 March 1881.
108 Adair, op. cit., p.54; Bennett, 'Professional Sculling In New South Wales', op. cit., pp.128-129; Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1880 p.6.
109 Bennett, 'Professional Sculling In New South Wales', op. cit., p.129.
110 Town And Country Journal, 29 November 1880 p.968; Sydney Mail, 20 November 1880 p.970.
devastated.¹¹¹ The ex-champion stated that the result had ruined him, while his pacer, Laycock, was said to have lost £1,000.¹¹² John Thompson, Trickett's agent in England, had wired instructions to his brother Joseph, one of Melbourne's leading bookmakers, to invest considerably on Trickett.¹¹³ Both were heavy losers with John Thompson suggesting that he was "stonebroke".¹¹⁴ Peter King suggested that over $100,000 was wagered in Australia, while two days prior to the race $42,000 was wagered from Canada. King emphasised gambling's immensity by comparing the annual salary of $1,500 earned by the president of a mid-size Canadian company of the period to the amounts wagered on the Trickett/Hanlan race.¹¹⁵ West suggested that the London Stock Exchange ceased trading on race day, while it was claimed that the "wagers on the contest totalled far more than had ever depended upon the result of a boat race."¹¹⁶

Similar amounts to these were gambled on professional sculling throughout the sport's existence. Of the Beach/Hanlan match in August 1884, William Beach concurred that it drew "the biggest betting he ever experienced." In their March 1885 re-match, Beach received five offers of "£100 to nothing" to win.¹¹⁷

For the Kemp/Searle contest in October 1888, the Searle camp orchestrated a clever plunge. The camp organised a network of commission agents that stretched from Brisbane to Melbourne and "nearly every place where aquatics are talked."¹¹⁸ While the Searle camp forced the Sydney betting into 5 to 4 on Searle,¹¹⁹ its agents accepted all odds and in Melbourne they took 7 to 4 on.¹²⁰ The Referee stated that the camp's total winnings far exceeded the suggested £4,000 won from the Sydney end.¹²¹

¹¹¹ Echo, 1 July 1882 p.4.
¹¹² Australian Darsman, 10 October 1942 p.13.
¹¹³ Sydney Morning Herald, 18 November 1880 p.6.
¹¹⁴ Sydney Mail, 27 November 1880 p.1035.
¹¹⁵ Laumann, S., Wharton, C. & King, P., Rowing, Stoddart, Toronto, Canada, 1994, pp.119-120.
¹¹⁷ Australian Darsman, 10 September 1942 p.19.
¹¹⁸ Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.
¹¹⁹ Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.35.
¹²⁰ Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.
¹²¹ Ibid.
Betting, clearly, held primary importance for backers. This was demonstrated two days later when Kemp matched the Searle camp’s second string, Neil Matterson, for a £1,000 to £300 stake. Several of the Searle camp backed Kemp, which covered them for the £300 loss of the stake money.\textsuperscript{122}

In the Searle/O’Connor race of September 1889, it was estimated that a Canadian syndicate lost £80,000 whereas the Australians won £30,000.\textsuperscript{123} Searle’s principal backer, John Spencer, admitted that “he had won thousands of pounds backing Searle.”\textsuperscript{124} Robust wagering on the sport continued after the New South Wales government’s 1906 anti-gambling legislation which prohibited betting anywhere other than on licensed racecourses. The July 1923 Paddon/Hadfield match conducted on the Richmond River also attracted heavy betting. The \textit{Referee’s} correspondent witnessed £4,500 change hands and he suggested that this was but part of the whole betting transactions.\textsuperscript{125}

The stake money for five of these examples was £500 a side and it paled in comparison with the amounts wagered. The conduct of many races raised suspicions about the integrity of the result. However, two features that helped professional sculling maintain its reputation were the Australian world domination (apart from Hanlan’s brief tenure as champion) and the support from civic and civil leaders. The succession of Australian champions helped manufacture an Australian type and identity and provided a foundation towards nation building while showcasing Australian worth to the world. The throng of parliamentarians, aldermen, amateur administrators, business leaders and sports editors who promoted the sport emphasised a clean image that overcame lingering suspicions and doubts. The support helped soften the blow of Trickett’s defeat and afforded the ex-champion a civilised welcome upon his Australian return.\textsuperscript{126} Nevertheless, the money involved in

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{122}{Ibid.}
\footnotetext{123}{\textit{Australian Garsman}, 10 November 1942 p.3; Bennett, \textit{The Clarence Comet}, op. cit., p.65; \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 14 September 1889 p.11; The £30,000 won on Searle was the estimated amount won by his camp in England. The remainder of the winnings was shared between English gamblers and those bets cabled from Australia.}
\footnotetext{124}{\textit{Australian Garsman}, 10 November 1942 p.3.}
\footnotetext{125}{\textit{Referee}, 25 July 1923 p.1.}
\footnotetext{126}{\textit{Clarence And Richmond Examiner}, 19 August 1879 p.3; Trickett, op. cit., pp.81-82; \textit{Echo}, 1 July 1882 pp.4-5.}
\end{footnotes}
professional sculling made it big business and as Adair suggested of Hanlan, "Sculling was his business."\textsuperscript{127}

Edward Hanlan

By 1884, Hanlan had earned the "invincible" tag.\textsuperscript{128} The Canadian's dominance prompted the London \textit{Standard} to suggest that "professional rowing has shown a wonderful falling off ever since Hanlan first came to this country."\textsuperscript{129} As an idol and public figure he proved an outstanding showman and he profited from his notoriety. Hanlan toured the northern hemisphere exhibiting his skills and lecturing on sculling, charging for his time. He could 'walk on water',\textsuperscript{130} or stand afloat in his outrigger, but he was renowned for collapsing in his craft only to revive miraculously and win an event or avoid an imminent tragedy.\textsuperscript{131}

King has stated that from 1874 Hanlan attracted backers who formed the 'Hanlan Club' and they sponsored him as a full-time sculler.\textsuperscript{132} He matched all-comers, but dismissed those not prepared to risk £500, while, at times, he also picked 'easy marks' and profited handsomely.\textsuperscript{133} As the man who had humiliated Trickett and deflated Laycock his reputation had preceded him to Australia. John Blackman reflected that "the defeat of Trickett was really the making of our Australian rowing" which suggested that the Canadian's saturation of the northern hemisphere contests eventually forced him south.\textsuperscript{134}

The southern colonies received him enthusiastically.\textsuperscript{135} He emphasised that his visit was as a gentleman and sportsman,\textsuperscript{136} but his

\begin{tiny}
\begin{thebibliography}{136}
\item Adair, op. cit., pp.57-60.
\item London Standard, in, \textit{Sydney Mail}, 7 March 1885 p.515.
\item \textit{Echo}, 1 July 1882 p.4.
\item Laumann, Wharton & King, op. cit., p.119.
\item \textit{Echo}, 1 July 1882 pp.4-5; \textit{Referee}, 21 June 1888 p.8; \textit{Sun}, 6 June 1915 p.7; Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906, 28 July 1906 p.18.
\item Sydney Mail, 8 August 1906 p338b; Brown, op. cit., p.6.
\item Sydney Mail, 22 March 1884 p.557; \textit{Argus}, 9 June 1884 p.7; \textit{Argus}, 17 March 1884 p.6; Brown, op. cit., pp.12, 16-19.
\item Town And Country Journal, 22 March 1884 p.560.
\end{thebibliography}
\end{tiny}
manipulative skills quickly replaced rhetoric and he commenced a commercial venture which profited him over four years. Commentators have suggested that the Canadian taught Australians the science of sculling, but few have indicated that he also 'educated' the public in the techniques of commercial enterprise.

Within four months after his March 1884 arrival, Hanlan had concluded several exhibitions, a world championship contest and an extravaganza on Lake Albert in Victoria. His Victorian engagement drew 20,000 spectators of whom half paid admission. The attendance indicated Hanlan's public esteem, as outside New South Wales professional sculling was unfashionable.

Hanlan declared that either Trickett or Laycock should attempt to reclaim the world championship for Australia at £500 a side. His sportsmanship was underplayed by the fact that he considered either man an easy mark. He ruffled the aquatic fraternity by implying that the Nepean River surpassed the Parramatta River and that the championship course was ripe for foul play. He also made overtures that he would race on no other river than the Nepean. The sculling fraternity considered that Trickett and Laycock were past their best and it wished to match the improving William Beach against Hanlan. Beach, however, refused to race off the Parramatta. It was a risk for the champion to defend his crown on the tidal, salt water Parramatta River and Hanlan had high regard for the Australian, as he had wagered on Beach against Trickett in a preliminary contest.

The Nepean simulated Canadian racing conditions and as Laycock was Hanlan's preferred alternative, a victory over Laycock would whet the public's appetite for a Hanlan/Beach Parramatta River contest and profit the

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137 Australian Oarsman, 10 May 1941 p.21; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1942 p.4; Australian Oarsman, 10 September 1942 p.19; Age, 9 June 1884 p.3; Reference, 27 February 1907 p.1; Brown, op. cit., p.44; Francis Adams, in Sydney Morning Herald, 28 November 1887 p.4; Halliday, op. cit., p.207.
138 Argus, 9 June 1884 p.7.
139 Sydney Mail, 22 March 1884 p.55.
140 Sydney Mail, 29 March 1884 p.605.
141 Town And Country Journal, 19 April 1884 p.55; Echo, 7 May 1884.
142 Trickett, op. cit., p.97.
Canadian handsomely. With these foundations laid, Hanlan enlightened the locals in the art of exploitation.

The Parramatta River was deemed the championship course and it had been surveyed as such by the Harbours and Rivers Department in 1879. A telegraph cable had also been laid to provide an immediate wire of results. The river ran through the heart of greater Sydney and a championship race could draw upwards of 100,000 spectators. In contrast, the Nepean River was approximately 30 miles west of Sydney near the hamlet of Penrith. The district had neither a rowing club nor had an outrigger been seen on the river. Hanlan's fame and the other colonies' interest in staging a world championship coaxed the New South Wales parliament into creating a rowing course on the Nepean. T.R. Smith, M.L.A., led a committee which oversaw the river's dredging, organised transportation and spectating facilities and prevailed upon the government to declare a public holiday on race day for the Parramatta, Penrith, Camden and Windsor districts. It was one peculiarity to create a course for the Canadian, but it was another oddity for these arrangements to begin without a definite contest.

Elias Laycock, who did not seek a match, was drawn into the contest in May 1884. Although Laycock was recovering from a broken leg, the race's promoters guaranteed him a profit whether he won or lost. He stated that the Nepean was an inconvenient and expensive course for spectators and he believed that insufficient numbers would be attracted to cover the promoters' expenses. It was evident that the promoters would risk a loss at the Nepean so as to capitalise on a Hanlan/Beach race on the Parramatta River.

Sections of the press could not conceive the ruse nor could they fathom the public's acceptance. Commentators were at a loss to explain.

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143 Town And Country Journal, 6 September 1879 p.459.
144 Clarence And Richmond Examiner, 6 September 1879 p.2.
145 Sydney Mail, 29 March 1884 p.605.
146 Brown, op. cit., pp.12-14; Sydney Mail, 29 March 1884 p.605; Illustrated Sydney News, 12 April 1884 p.2; Daily Telegraph, 21 May 1884 p.5.
147 Daily Telegraph, 22 May 1884 p.5.
148 Sydney Mail, 29 March 1884 p.605.
149 Daily Telegraph, 22 May 1884 p.5.
150 Sydney Mail, 29 March 1884 p.605; Illustrated Sydney News, 12 April 1884 p.2.
Hanlan’s influence on civic and civil leaders, but they were animated about the scheme enriching Hanlan, “the Government or others.” ‘Charon’ stated that he gave “Hanlan every credit for fair and manly dealing in his overtures, but past experience has shown the difficulty of appreciating whether his good generalship is more worthy of admiration than his ability as a champion oarsman.” The *Daily Telegraph* suggested that Hanlan “had an unshaken faith that Australians liked to be humbugged.”

Whether they were deceived or not, Hanlan knew the limits of his appeal and he anticipated his audiences’ habits. The Canadian visited Australia in 1884/1885 and 1887/1888, his first trip as champion and his second as challenger. He had nine match races, won three and his Australian backers, R.A. Watson and Thomas Alcock, were associated closely with the sport’s leading financiers, the Spencer brothers. Although Hanlan lost six of his match races, it appeared that his business acumen gained him between £5,000 and £8,000 on his first trip and possibly a similar amount on his second. Even upon his Canadian return, his influence gained him a theatrical tour of £30 per week plus expenses. His appeal waned in New South Wales towards the end of his second visit, but it remained high in the other colonies. However, on the water, his nemesis was William Beach.

**William Beach**

After Hanlan’s victory over Laycock at Penrith in May 1884, Beach was promoted as his next challenger. Hanlan was resigned to a Parramatta River contest and a match was arranged for August 1884. The general consensus believed that Hanlan was unbeatable, but Beach was expected to be competitive. Hanlan was 5 to 1 on to retain his title but the support for

151 *Sydney Mail*, 29 March 1884 p.605.
152 *Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1884 p.4.
154 *Referee*, 3 October 1888 p.1; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 November 1942 p.3.
155 *Sydney Mail*, 7 June 1890 p.1277.
158 *Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1884 p.5; *Sydney Mail*, 16 August 1884 p.328.
Beach eased the champion to 5 to 2 on. The *Daily Telegraph* suggested that the excitement was contagious and even persons with little regard for national sports had been inoculated with the spirit. It was in this context that professional sculling once again came to the forefront as a symbol of Australian identity, character and nation building; furthering sport, or more specifically athleticism, as an Australian marker for international recognition.

This does not suggest that professional sculling manifested Australian nationalism or that it surpassed other sports, in particular cricket, as a source for unifying the colonies towards federation. It was but one source that contributed to a sense of identity and nationalism and it was no less significant in this respect than the contributions made by other sports.

Mandle, Inglis and Cashman provide convincing evidence that cricket generated a sense of identity and nationalism and they argue that the game’s production of heroes and teams’ successes gave it uniqueness in measuring social progress. They have also argued that cricket reinforced imperial bonds and broke down perceptions of Australian cultural and racial inferiority. They suggest further that cricket played a major unifying role for the colonies and the nationalism the game developed helped the cause of federation. Lane and Jobling argue that intercolonial amateur rowing provided a more engaging depiction of Australian nationalism than did professional sculling. They suggest that the colonies’ disputes in arriving at a uniform amateur definition contributed to the nationalisation of amateur rowing. These arguments imply that the ingredients to create identity and build a nation relied on team activities, intercolonial rivalry and the necessity to make England the measuring stick for social development. They also sit comfortably with what Phillips described as “the interpretation of amateurism.

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159 Brown, op. cit., p.21; *Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1884 p.5; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 September 1942 p.19.

160 *Daily Telegraph*, 16 August 1884 p.5.


in the Australian context [being] consistent with the formation of national identity.\textsuperscript{163}

Professional sculling, as a money-driven, individual-based sport, confined to New South Wales, and supposedly despised by amateur officials, nevertheless between 1876 and 1913 measured blades twice with England, fails to meet the above criteria. Mandle suggested that the sporadic appearance of champion scullers lessened its importance in this regard as against cricket’s uniqueness in its contribution to nationhood through its continuous international history and its struggle against England.\textsuperscript{164}

Australian champion scullers may have appeared infrequently between 1876 and 1907 but for 22 of those 31 years they were the world’s best. So pitied was England’s sculling weakness that the rowing fraternity would have welcomed an English world champion.\textsuperscript{165} Such was the Australian confidence in its national and international standing that it found no fear in openly criticising England and the other sculling nations.\textsuperscript{166} Cricket may have encouraged “an unfilial yearning” to beat the ‘Motherland’, but professional sculling had grown-up and was prepared to thrash all-comers.

Montefiore suggested that the judging of Australian cricket during the late 1880s as an indicator of the benefits of federation have been somewhat illusory.\textsuperscript{167} He stated that “The slump of the 1880s demonstrated that particular developments of nationalistic or imperialist achievement in the sporting arena remained prey to parochialism, intercolonial rivalries and class tension.”\textsuperscript{168} But to stress the point of cricket’s uniqueness in helping the cause of federation, Mandle and Inglis cite the Bulletin, which declared that:

This ruthless rout of English cricket will do - and has done – more to enhance the cause of Australian

\textsuperscript{164} Mandle, op. cit., p.47.
\textsuperscript{165} Sydney Mail, 4 July 1896 p.40.
\textsuperscript{166} Sydney Mail, 18 October 1884 p.708; Referee, 3 May 1888 p.8.
\textsuperscript{167} Montefiore, D., ‘Cricket In The Doldrums: The Struggle Between Private And Public Control Of Australian Cricket In The 1880s’, ASSH Studies In Sports History No.8, 1992, pp.59-60.
\textsuperscript{168} Montefiore, op. cit., pp.79-81.
nationality than could ever be achieved by miles of erudite essays and impassioned appeal.\textsuperscript{169}

Such sentiment had been part and parcel of professional sculling.\textsuperscript{170} Sculling was perceived as achieving more in promoting national sentiment than governments and their handbooks.

The merits of one sport's contribution to national identity and nation building over another can be argued and counter-argued. Sport generally, and athleticism specifically, formed the foundation for Australia's international recognition. Whether the sport was cricket, sculling, cycling or boxing, each one had furthered nationalism in its own particular fashion. Each sport produced heroes who were denoted as representative of what was Australia and Australian. Although professional sculling lacked the ascribed parameters required to create identity and nation building, its contribution towards ideological and social development was no less significant than cricket, amateur rowing or other sports, which continued to remodel understandings of type and character after federation.

Therefore, to appreciate how professional sculling helped advance the concept of an Australian type and identity, one must understand the circumstances of William Beach. At 34 years of age and with three years of professional sculling experience, he was asked to restore Australian pride against the invincible Canadian. Hanlan had not only humiliated Australia's best, his record included the ridiculing of English, Canadian and American scullers.\textsuperscript{171} Trickett's losses had brought on a sense of despair or as Bennett described, "a national calamity."\textsuperscript{172} Australian manhood and worth were only partially revived by Australia's cricket victories over England in 1882 and 1883. Australian self-doubt was demonstrated by the colony's legislators 'moving a mountain' to accommodate Hanlan on the Nepean River and the public's infatuation to glimpse "the only living aquatic wonder" at his work.

Prior to his New South Wales arrival, the Mercantile Rowing Club had awarded Hanlan honorary club membership and placed its facilities at the

\textsuperscript{169} Inglis, op. cit., pp.170-171; Mandle, op. cit., pp.64-65.
\textsuperscript{170} Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342; Town And Country Journal, 24 October 1906 p.45; Illustrated Sydney News, 23 September 1884 p.2; Sydney Morning Herald, 19 July 1876.
\textsuperscript{171} Clarence And Richmond Examiner, 12 August 1879 p.2.
\textsuperscript{172} Bennett, 'Professional Sculling In New South Wales', op. cit., pp.132-133.
Canadian's disposal.\textsuperscript{173} Hanlan proceeded to entertain a procession of dignitaries, parliamentarians and socialites at the clubrooms.\textsuperscript{174} The Mercantile, which was a foundation member of the New South Wales Rowing Association, an advocate for the manual labour bar and a denouncer of professionalism, perceived that the privileges by its association with Hanlan outweighed any fears of the professional taint. Beach, too, was accorded honorary membership of the recently formed Balmain Rowing Club, which permitted some manual labour members.\textsuperscript{175}

What was also significant about the Hanlan/Beach contest was the contrast in character, athleticism and idealism. Hanlan, the flashy, self-promoting showman, had revolutionised sculling so that the small man could use his whole body to overcome those who possessed brute strength. He "rowed with his head." His training regimens were considered soft and his diet resembled that of a gourmand.\textsuperscript{176} He placed money above patriotism, thrived on manipulation and taunted his rivals. Hanlan provided an antithesis to the muscular Christian agenda.

In contrast, Beach was a muscular Christian exemplar. He was admired for his remarkable, hard muscular appearance.\textsuperscript{177} He was characteristically resolute, assiduous to rowing and possessed a modest and honest constitution.\textsuperscript{178} He had a blunt but hearty way and overall was a philosophical character.\textsuperscript{179} His training regimens were "of a most severe and trying nature" but "he took to his work kindly and cheerfully, so that at the close of each day he felt that he had done 'something'."\textsuperscript{180} There were no fancy menus for Beach.

A crowd of up to 100,000 crammed the Parramatta River and watched their muscular Christian defeat Hanlan easily.\textsuperscript{181} Twenty minutes on the Parramatta River would change the Dapto blacksmith's life and invigorate new confidence into the Australian people. Not only had Trickett been

\begin{footnotes}
\footnoteref{173} Town And Country Journal, 15 March 1884 p.512.
\footnoteref{174} Town And Country Journal, 16 August 1884 p.350; Daily Telegraph, 18 August 1884 p.6.
\footnoteref{175} Australian Oarsman, 10 June 1941 p.21; May, op. cit., p.23.
\footnoteref{176} Town And Country Journal, 16 August 1884 p.350; Daily Telegraph, 18 August 1884 p.6.
\footnoteref{177} Daily Telegraph, 19 August 1884 p.5.
\footnoteref{178} Age, 18 August 1884 p.5; Town And Country Journal, 23 August 1884 p.391.
\footnoteref{179} Daily Telegraph, 18 August 1884 p.6.
\footnoteref{180} Sydney Mail, 23 August 1884 p.381.
\footnoteref{181} Sydney Mail, 23 August 1884 pp.368-369.
\end{footnotes}
avenged, but New South Wales could boast the best bowler, the best batsman and the world’s champion sculler.\textsuperscript{182}

The impact of Beach’s win was initially very provincial and self-serving.\textsuperscript{183} Thomas Alit, the Balmain Rowing Club’s vice-president, considered that Beach “had won the honours for the colony and for the Balmain rowing club.”\textsuperscript{184} However, as Adair stated, “Beach’s victory did not remain provincial in its significance.”\textsuperscript{185} He was soon embraced by all the colonies as the Australian world champion and was fêted accordingly.\textsuperscript{186}

Beach’s victory provided a tremendous Australian augmentation. His name and that of Australia were cabled across the world and no better advertisement could be found than the public and private international responses. Comparisons between the colony’s meagre population and the world’s millions were aired constantly. The \textit{Daily Telegraph} explained the win as “a crushing answer to those who have so often and so confidently predicted the physical deterioration of the British race in this climate.”\textsuperscript{187}

Although England, Canada and America responded sourly to the result, the domestic press was unabashed in reprinting the overseas derision.\textsuperscript{188} It provided fuel for Beach to travel and convince the northern hemisphere of Australia’s worth and it reinforced Hanlan’s opinion that no other country paid more attention to aquatic sports than Australia.\textsuperscript{189}

The victory, and Beach’s subsequent defences of his title, provided a valuable social and moral lesson for the colonies. Bennett suggested that Beach’s modesty and honesty were perceived as the essence of sportsmanship and he was projected as a role model.\textsuperscript{190} Thomas Alit encouraged his junior clubmen to imitate Beach’s example, while John

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 18 August 1884 p.4.
\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 18 August 1884 pp.5-6; \textit{Sydney Illustrated News}, 23 September 1884 p.2.
\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 21 August 1884 p.5.
\textsuperscript{185} Adair, op. cit., pp.60-61.
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 18 August 1884 p.4.
\textsuperscript{188} \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 4 October 1884 p.713; \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 11 October 1884 p.766; \textit{Sydney Mail}, 18 October 1884 p.708.
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 19 August 1884 p.5.
\textsuperscript{190} Bennett, ‘Professional Sculling In New South Wales’, op. cit., pp.133-134.
\end{footnotesize}
Blackman reflected in 1896 that “Muscle may have made his fame, but it is honesty, pluck, and manliness that keep it a pleasant memory.”\(^{191}\)

Beach’s win over Hanlan provided fertile meaning for Australian society. From a sculling, and later an economic and social context, the race marked an important transition in the backers’ and scullers’ connection with the ordinary public. The sport would be adapted to accommodate the wealthy patron in preference to the wage earner. This stemmed from the chaos created by the river traffic and the ensuing regulations which limited the number of craft allowed to follow races.

**Marine Board Restrictions**

The magnitude of the river traffic caused problems in keeping a clear course for the scullers. One main offender was Beach’s following steamer, the *Tomki*, which Hanlan accused of bringing about his downfall.\(^{192}\) Although his claims were dismissed as sourness,\(^{193}\) the New South Wales Marine Board was urged to restrict the steamer traffic on race days.

Following the “disgraceful behaviour of owners of steamboats, steam launches, members of rowing clubs, and the floating population generally”\(^{194}\) that occurred after a February 1885 contest, the Marine Board regulated that only one steamer could follow the Parramatta River races but other vessels were permitted to berth along the foreshores prior to a race start.\(^{195}\)

Whereas the regulations were endorsed as a safety measure, the Board was criticised for allowing only one following steamer instead of two, because it restricted the scullers’ income.\(^{196}\) Despite lobbying to secure two steamers, the Colonial Treasurer remained adamant and the one steamer rule stood.\(^{197}\) The new laws were expected to impact on the Beach/Hanlan March 1885 re-match, however, the scullers anticipated the verdict and £3

\(^{191}\) *Sydney Mail*, 5 September 1896 p.513; *Daily Telegraph*, 21 August 1884 p.5.


\(^{193}\) *Sydney Mail*, 23 August 1884 p.381; *Daily Telegraph*, 18 August 1884 p.6.

\(^{194}\) *Sydney Mail*, 21 February 1885 p.398.

\(^{195}\) *Sydney Mail*, 28 February 1885 p.454.

\(^{196}\) Ibid; *Town And Country Journal*, 7 March 1885 p.506.

\(^{197}\) Brown, op. cit., p.30.
was charged for each of the 350 places on the steamer *Inflexible* while 20 reserved seats commanded £10 each.\(^\text{198}\) All places were sold by race day.

The one steamer rule remained in place until the Kemp/Clifford 1888 world championship match when the Marine Board permitted each sculler a following steamer.\(^\text{199}\) This rule was relaxed further for the Towns/Tresidder July 1904 world title race when three steamers were allowed.\(^\text{200}\)

**Beach To England**

In 1885 Beach successfully defended his crown against Hanlan and the local scullers, Thomas Clifford and Neil Matterson. Having exhausted the domestic talent Beach arrived in England in May 1886 where he defended his title against the Canadians, Jacob Gaudaur and Wallace Ross. He also captured the lucrative Hop Bitters Trophy race, defeating all-comers.\(^\text{201}\)

Beach’s return to Australia in November 1886 confirmed the significance that sport and sportsmen played in the development of a nationalistic psyche. He had defeated all-comers and planted Australia and Australians at the world’s forefront. English crowds had witnessed him outrow northern hemisphere aspirants. Being English-born, they had tried to claim him as an Englishman, but Beach rejected their assertions.\(^\text{202}\) His feats fostered perceptions of the healthy, strong Australian while his successes and demeanour provided a model for youth and adults alike.

He received civic welcomes in Adelaide and Melbourne. So excited was the Adelaide crowd that “they nearly tore him to pieces.” In Melbourne he was fêted for three days “and he nearly got to do without any sleep.”\(^\text{203}\) In Sydney, his docking vessel was escorted into the harbour by a flotilla that comprised of the members of each of Sydney’s amateur rowing clubs.\(^\text{204}\) Sydney rose en masse to welcome the champion and those in the crowd

\(^{198}\) Ibid; *Sydney Mail*, 28 March 1885 p.678.

\(^{199}\) *Sydney Mail*, 18 February 1888 p.380.


\(^{201}\) *Town And Country Journal*, 4 December 1886 p.1183.

\(^{202}\) *Echo*, 4 December 1886 p.5; *Referee*, 19 January 1888 p.5.

\(^{203}\) *Echo*, 4 December 1886 p.5.

\(^{204}\) Ibid; *Town And Country Journal*, 4 December 1886 p.1183.
wore the Balmain Rowing Club's black and gold colours.205

Language

What was significant from Beach's first win in August 1884 and was borne out by his 'regal' Sydney welcome of 1886 was the evolution of a nationalistic language. Beach had considered himself an Australian instead of a New South Welshman and he promoted this aspect in his public engagements.206 The colony-centric emphasis began disappearing in the press and the sculling fraternity articulated a more nationalistic focus. For example, the Town And Country Journal imagined an Australian professional eight-oar crew that could take on the world.207 No mention was made of New South Wales or England, this was implied, but it indicated that the 'nation' was focusing on the expansive rather than the diminutive.

The civic leaders were perceiving sportmen as Australian ambassadors. Beach and professional sculling were media through which unity could be enhanced and the mindset could be moved away from provincialism to embrace a national perspective. J.P. Garvan, M.L.A., who umpired the Hanlan/Clifford race of February 1885, declared that:

The progress of nations was closely connected with that energy and spirit which showed itself in the love of athletic sports and there was no greater proof that Australia would become one of the greatest nations than that men of the finest type should contend for aquatic honours on Australian waters. Although Clifford was defeated, he was no discredit to his country.208

The race was a private arrangement between the Canadian and an Illawarra farmer turned sculler. Any suggestions that a Clifford victory may have encouraged provincial grandstanding were dispelled when Beach defeated Hanlan for the second time in March 1885. George Reid, M.L.A., stated that "They were particularly proud of Beach as being a New South

205 Echo, 4 December 1886 p.5.
206 Sydney Morning Herald, 19 August 1884 p.8; Sydney Mail, 4 April 1885 p.735; Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.704; Echo, 4 December 1886 p.5.
207 Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713.
208 Town And Country Journal, 14 February 1885 p.342.
Welshman but his victory had a wider significance, as it affected the whole of Australia throughout the length and breadth of the land."\textsuperscript{209} Reid added that he was glad that Beach was not native-born because he demonstrated how English babies thrived on Australian soil.

John Young, Sydney's mayor, who welcomed Beach in December 1886, stated that "he had maintained the honour of this country untarnished in every respect. Every man, woman, and child in Australia was proud to welcome such a man back again."\textsuperscript{210} William Dalley P.C., M.D.C., supported Young's testimony but added that Beach had contributed "to the early realisation of that federation" which would link the Australian people.\textsuperscript{211}

Not all civic leaders were enamoured with unification. Sir John Robertson K.C.M.G., and former New South Wales premier, was an anti-federationist.\textsuperscript{212} His address at Beach's November 1887 testimonial, after the champion had beaten Hanlan for a third time, baited intercolonial relations. Robertson suggested that the other colonies could not breed champion scullers but they were good at 'blowing'. He mocked that Victoria "found fault with our colony being called 'Australia'; but he could tell them that the colony was Australia before Victoria had any existence."\textsuperscript{213}

Beach's reign lasted for three years. He raced seven times for the world championship and retired unbeaten as world champion. Francis Adams suggested that compared to Hanlan, Beach was unimportant in the history of rowing. "He marks no epoch; he contributes nothing to the intelligence of sport."\textsuperscript{214} But Beach's impact was demonstrated off the water. His temperament, integrity and stamp as an Australian contributed more to social and political Australia than "an ignorant Southsea islander could do" in a boat or a Canadian who "was the first man who applied the truly modern intelligence" to sculling.

\textsuperscript{209} Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713.
\textsuperscript{210} Echo, 4 December 1886 p.5.
\textsuperscript{211} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{212} Daily Telegraph, 26 March 1884 p.6.
\textsuperscript{213} Sydney Morning Herald, 2 December 1887 p.9.
\textsuperscript{214} Sydney Morning Herald, 28 November 1887 p.4.
Peter Kemp

After Beach defeated Hanlan in November 1887 on the Nepean River,215 Peter Kemp, the champion’s pacer, challenged for the world title and Beach relinquished it by default.216 Beach’s handover drew considerable domestic and northern hemisphere criticism.217 The domestic anger resulted from Kemp’s low ranking and the likelihood that Hanlan would win the title and secure the crown in Canada. The northern hemisphere perceived that the arrangement would exclude all-comers, specifically Hanlan, and that Australia was attempting to monopolise the title. England was particularly frustrated that a colony was treating it contemptuously.218

The sculling championship, though, held greater significance for Australia than the demands from a whining, third-rate, sculling nation. England may have been ‘Home’ but the enriched Australian confidence softened imperial bonds and energised the Australians to continue as prominent internationalists. Although Kemp’s ability caused consternation, the northern hemisphere’s slighting and Hanlan’s suspected absconding with the crown galvanised the local support for the Australian.

John Blackman warned that the Deeble camp, which was backing Beach and Kemp, was too astute to leave itself vulnerable.219 The Referee stated that England’s sculling record afforded it no say in the championship disposal. “These English sports think that they have a monopoly of ‘tricky’ affairs, and get righteously indignant if any other country’s sports can hold their own on that hand”, it sneered.220

Australia was confident in dealing with overseas’ criticisms and Beach’s arrangement was vindicated when Kemp defeated Thomas Clifford and Hanlan twice for the world championship in 1888.221 The Referee concluded that “We, who have a right to know a bit more about the sculling

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215 Sydney Morning Herald, 26 November 1887 p.11; Sydney Morning Herald, 28 November 1887 pp.3-4.
216 No race contested.
217 Sydney Mail, 10 December 1887 p.1253; Sydney Mail, 3 December 1887 p.1200; Referee, 28 June 1888; Sydney Mail, 12 May 1888 p.1029.
218 Sydney Mail, 10 March 1888 p.541; Referee, 28 June 1888.
219 Sydney Mail, 10 December 1887 p.1253.
221 Sydney Mail, 18 February 1888 pp.380-381; Sydney Mail, 12 May 1888 pp.1028-1029; Referee, 3 October 1888.
championship than anyone in England can tell us, are quite satisfied that we have a recognised champion now."²²²

Beach’s social standing had helped justify his passive handover of the world title and Kemp, the perceived pedestrian, not only became the world’s best sculler, but he also ended Hanlan’s first-class career. Kemp’s rise from obscurity to become world champion reinforced the belief that Australia was producing superb types who were developing a national character.

John Blackman argued that “a strong arm is as much a gift of heaven as a large brain or a fluent tongue. All require developing to ensure success.”²²³ He reiterated that the lack of recognition for the scholar or scientist was not the fault of the sportsman who promoted national pastimes. As for hero-worship, he stated that the public needed no apology. The importance of sport in Australia’s development was reflected in Blackman’s comments prior to the Kemp/Hanlan May 1888 race. He stressed that “Kemp has either to reach the height of fame or to sink almost out of sight. There is no medium stage. His position is unenviable to the last degree, for defeat means something almost dreadful.”²²⁴

With Hanlan’s demise, Australia housed the world’s two best scullers in Kemp and Beach²²⁵ and there were three up-and-coming men in Henry Searle, James Stanbury and John McLean also creating headlines.²²⁶ Searle, in particular, was an outstanding prospect and his backers, who were keen to capitalise on their star’s rise, challenged Hanlan to a private match. Hanlan remarked that “[Searle] won’t make his reputation out of me.”²²⁷

Henry Searle

The Canadian’s refusal to race indicated to the Searle camp that the highest reputation could be achieved.²²⁸ Kemp accepted Searle’s challenge for an October 1888 world championship match amid reservations that the

²²² Referee, 28 June 1888.
²²³ Sydney Mail, 11 December 1886 p.1235.
²²⁴ Sydney Mail, 18 February 1888 p.381.
²²⁵ Referee, 3 October 1888; Town And Country Journal, 12 May 1888 p.954; Echo, 7 May 1888 p.3.
²²⁶ Referee, 21 June 1888 p.8; Referee, 3 October 1888; The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly, 1 October p.40, Personal Clippings File.
²²⁷ Australian Oarsman, 10 December 1942 p.4; Referee, 3 October 1888.
²²⁸ Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.
challenger was far from seasoned, although he had an outstanding record against second-grade opposition.

Searle was exciting to watch and he offered the public youth. Beach and Kemp had been 34 years old when they had gained the world championship and Hanlan, at 33 years, had passed his zenith. The 22-year-old Searle projected an extra dimension into the Australian consciousness. A youth, from the humblest beginnings as a Clarence River farm lad, was set to test the pre-conceived notions of the Australian type.

Bennett suggested that upwards of 30,000 viewed the race, however, Humphries concluded that “there was hardly a person on the streets of Sydney that day; almost the entire population was on the banks of the Parramatta.” Searle astonished the onlookers as he blitzed Kemp by some 150 yards. Australia had its fourth and potentially greatest world champion sculler, which led the Daily Telegraph to declare that “young Searle had been regarded as the coming man, though but few thought that he would come so soon.”

For the Referee, it was proof that the southern climate enhanced British stock. “They breed ‘em very bad in the slums and back alleys [of England]”, it reiterated. Australians were of a different stamp. There were no “knock-kneed scum” among the colonials. The Town And Country Journal aired a few home truths. New South Wales had upheld southern hemisphere sculling and it had made Australians and Australia famous throughout the world. If `she' wanted to “blow”, she had some excuses for it.

John Myers, the umpire and captain of the East Sydney Rowing Club, was undoubtedly pleased. The club had granted Searle and his trainer Neil Matterson honorary membership and its blue and white club colours would

229 Ibid.
230 Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.21-29; See also, Bennett, The Clarence Comet, Appendix; Australian Oarsman,10 July 1940 p.26.
231 Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.34; Humphries, R., p.34, Personal Clippings File; Sydney Mail, 3 November 1888 pp.924-925.
232 Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.36-37; Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.
233 Daily Telegraph, 29 October 1888 p.5.
234 Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.
235 Town And Country Journal, 3 November 1888 p.924.
gain as much international exposure as Balmain’s black and gold had done through Beach.\textsuperscript{236}

Despite the *Town and Country Journal*’s outburst, Searle’s win was received enthusiastically in the other colonies. He and Matterson enjoyed a civic welcome in Melbourne and the public’s reception was equivalent to that in Sydney. By November’s end they had arrived in Brisbane whereupon the civic leaders and the public courted them as a prelude to Brisbane’s largest aquatic carnival to that date.\textsuperscript{237}

**The Brisbane Grand Aquatic Carnival**

The entrepreneurial Hanlan had encouraged sports enthusiasts to promote a series of rich sweepstake races to capitalise on sculling’s popularity.\textsuperscript{238} The Brisbanites accepted and a carnival of heats culminating in a final was planned for December 1888.\textsuperscript{239} The event was accorded national significance and the colony’s government declared the first day a public holiday.\textsuperscript{240}

The carnival was a grand opportunity for the professionals to develop the sport in Queensland. A congregation of superb athletes demonstrating the skills that had given Australia international prominence had been foreign to Queenslanders. What was even stranger for them was Searle’s and Matterson’s fouling of Beach in their heat, which angered the ex-champion into withdrawing from the series.\textsuperscript{241} Although they were disqualified from the heat, Searle and Matterson were reinstated for the final.

The Searle/Matterson camp had lost substantially on the disqualification, but it was to recoup these losses on Searle in the final.\textsuperscript{242} The *Brisbane Courier* declared that professional sculling offered no more

\textsuperscript{236} Bennett, *The Clarence Comet*, op. cit., p.36; Matterson gained life honorary membership of Mercantile Rowing Club in December 1886; See also, *Sydney Mail*, 11 December 1886 p.1235.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid; *Referee*, 9 August 1888 p.8.
\textsuperscript{239} *Referee*, 21 November 1888 p.1.
\textsuperscript{240} Bennett, *The Clarence Comet*, op. cit., p.40.
\textsuperscript{241} *Argus*, 8 December 1888 p.11; *Brisbane Courier*, 12 December 1888 p.4.
than the other wagering pastimes such as cricket, football and the animal sports.243

The colonial press debated the reason why professional sculling was confined to New South Wales244 and provided conservatives with further proof that the amateur ideal was a superior moral and social model.245 Arguably, the public’s enthusiasm for champions and its sense of occasion was preferred over ideology. The crowd on the carnival’s final day exceeded the 15,000 of the public holiday. While Searle’s victory was met with some mockery, overall, he was cheered.246

John Blackman was circumspect about the Grand Aquatic Carnival. As a staunch amateur idealist one would have expected his condemnation of the professionals. Instead, Blackman suggested that the fierce rivalry between Searle’s and Beach’s camps had brought on the unsavoury incident. Image and perception seemed important to Blackman who admitted that Searle would suffer, but he advised that the public should “do freely full justice [sic] to the young man who will probably be our champion sculler for many years. A stain on him is a discredit upon our sport.”247

Bennett suggested that Searle’s backers were not perturbed over the Brisbane reaction and this was indicated by their efforts to secure further racing for the champion. His superiority over the local men forced his backers to seek overseas matches and William O’Connor, the unbeaten Canadian and American champion, was their mark.

Searle v O’Connor v Illness

As both men were reluctant to meet on one another’s water, a match was arranged for September 1889 on the Thames. The Brisbane fiasco seemed not to affect Searle’s popularity for a large crowd saw him off to Melbourne and he was received officially and enthusiastically in Adelaide.248

243 *Brisbane Courier*, 12 December 1888 p.4.
244 *Argus*, 8 December 1888 p.11; *Sydney Mail*, 12 December 1888 p.1308.
245 *Brisbane Courier*, 12 December 1888 p.4; Bennett, *The Clarence Comet*, op. cit., pp.44-47;
246 *Brisbane Courier*, 12 December 1888 p.5.
247 *Sydney Mail*, 22 December 1888 p.1308; See also, *Referee*, 10 December 1887 p.4.
His champion status and his international mission seemed to have softened the hardest of consciences, unless he was beaten.

Searle was not beaten. In front of an enormous crowd he defeated the Canadian easily.\textsuperscript{249} Bennett suggested that "The victory was another chance Australian colonists had of reinforcing the growing attitude that they should think of themselves as Australians first and inhabitants of separate colonies second."\textsuperscript{250} But the colonists received an even greater invitation to unite because by the 10th December 1889 Searle was dead. He had contracted typhoid on his home voyage and died in Melbourne.\textsuperscript{251}

A profound sorrow consumed the colonies.\textsuperscript{252} Some 40,000 paid their respects as the coffin was transported to the Spencer Street railway station en route to Sydney.\textsuperscript{253} The procession in Sydney, from Pyrmont to Circular Quay, drew upwards of 170,000.\textsuperscript{254} Searle's remains were shipped to Maclean cemetery on the banks of the Clarence River.

Searle's death had fortified the colonies' adoration of sportsmen. Such mourning had never been witnessed.\textsuperscript{255} The cocktail of youth, success and tragedy eternalised Searle's name through generations. Because his short career precluded failure, it may be contended that his death exaggerated his station as the world's all-time greatest sculler. Hanlan, considered unbeatable, was beaten. Beach retired unconquerable, was revered, but never deified. The Brisbane fraud seemed forgotten in the circumstances.\textsuperscript{256} The New South Wales Rowing Association forwarded condolences to Searle's parents that specifically expressed the Association's great respect for their son and for his genuine conduct at all times.\textsuperscript{257}

\textsuperscript{249} Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.61-65; Town And Country Journal, 14 September 1889 p.11.
\textsuperscript{250} Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.66.
\textsuperscript{251} Argus, 11 December 1889 p.8.
\textsuperscript{252} Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.73-80.
\textsuperscript{253} Argus, 12 December 1889 p.8; Age, 12 December 1889 p.5.
\textsuperscript{254} Sydney Morning Herald, 19 December 1889 p.4; Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.85; Sydney Morning Herald, 16 December 1889.
\textsuperscript{255} The jockey Thomas Corrigan (died 1894) and the swimmer Bernard (Barney) Kieran (died 1905) were two sportsmen whose deaths also produced widespread public grief. See, McKernan, M., (ed.), The Makers Of Australia's Sporting Traditions, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1993, pp.63-64, 135-136; Vamplew, W., Moore, K., O'Hara, J., Cashman, R. & Jobling, I., (eds), The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, pp.97, 197-198; Dunstan, op. cit., pp.64-66.
\textsuperscript{256} Adair, op. cit., p.67.
\textsuperscript{257} Sydney Mail, 14 December 1889 p.1337.
There were critics of the public’s outpouring. The Melbourne Age was horrified that the worship of muscularity took precedence over respect for intellect.\textsuperscript{258} It may be argued that such critics were misinterpreting the significance sport and athleticism held for the public in its attempts to define its identity and character.

The amazing transition of Searle from sculling champion to national idol indicated coming Australia’s thirst for recognition and representation. Possibly, Searle’s death predicated this need and, while scullers and sculling helped create an identity and character, they were only a part of the processes that fashioned a national maturity, achieved at federation.

Sportsmen proposed a monument to Searle’s memory. The provision was a conventional Victorian response but it was extraordinary to decorate a sportsman in the same vein as a civic or civil leader.\textsuperscript{259} In a patriotic context, Searle’s monument would symbolise professional sculling’s contribution to the Australian social fabric and provide a testament to the sport’s and its champions’ prominence for future generations.\textsuperscript{260}

A Sydney committee canvassed for donations, but inept management contributed to a disappointing sum of £289/14/1.\textsuperscript{261} This amount purchased a 21 feet, broken marble column set on a granite base,\textsuperscript{262} which was erected in the Parramatta River on the third Brothers rock, off Henley Point. It was unveiled on the 10th December 1891.\textsuperscript{263} The monument would signify the finish line of future sculling contests.

\textbf{An Old New Champion}

Searle’s demise left the world title vacant and Hanlan declared that he would take on all-comers to arrive at a new champion. O’Connor, supported by sections of the English press, claimed the title on the grounds that he was the last challenger.\textsuperscript{264} Local opinion was divided between a sweepstakes

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{258} Age, quoted in, Bennett, \textit{The Clarence Comet}, op. cit., p.89.
\item \textsuperscript{259} Bennett, \textit{The Clarence Comet}, op. cit., p.93.
\item \textsuperscript{260} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 19 December 1891 p.1377.
\item \textsuperscript{261} Referree, 24 December 1890 p.1; Referree, 26 March 1890 p.8.
\item \textsuperscript{262} Bennett, \textit{The Clarence Comet}, op. cit., p.93; \textit{Sydney Mail}, 19 December 1891 p.1377.
\item \textsuperscript{263} Humphries, R., 14 July 1972, Personal Clippings File.
\item \textsuperscript{264} \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 18 December 1889 p.5; \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 10 December 1889 p.6; \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 20 December 1889 p.5.
\end{itemize}
contest and Kemp, the previous holder, resuming the title.265

Amidst the claims and vitriol over the world championship, the Sydney Morning Herald debated the meaning and organisation of professional sculling. The Herald's tone supported the behavioural and attitudinal directives representative of the amateur ethos. Money was not the issue. The Herald's concern was professional sculling's lack of consortium and charter within the social context of codification.266 The Herald argued that professional sculling's lack of governance exacerbated the world championship dispute, as no individual had the right to appoint himself as champion. Furthermore, the Herald believed that the title was intangible, as no country possessed a trophy signifying that it held the championship. There was also no organisation to preserve or protect the honour of the championship or the rights of a champion.

The Herald's observations warned the professionals that they needed to address the question of organisation and control and it envisaged that the sport might languish without order and codification. As will be examined in the subsequent chapters, the professionals failed to heed the warning.

Nevertheless, the northern hemisphere's push, particularly England's, for O'Connor to take the title fuelled Australia's irritation.267 Such was the Australian annoyance that John Deeble, Kemp's principal backer, claimed the world title on his sculler's behalf and welcomed all challenges.268 Blackman stated that the "action is generally approved, and it is certainly expedient under the circumstances, as some outside man might "jump" the title."269

Australia's superiority in all facets of professional sculling had been demonstrated since Beach's first win over Hanlan. It had dictated the sport's development, dominated internationally and mocked England's poor sculling record. It had shunned the English press, reversed imperial intimidation and helped create an Australian personality. Australia's might encouraged

265 Ibid.
266 Sydney Morning Herald, 21 December 1889 p.11.
267 Referee, 1 January 1890 p.8; Sydney Mail, 11 January 1890 p.98; Referee, 22 January 1890 p.6; Referee, 2 April 1890 p.8.
269 Sydney Mail, 4 January 1890 p.42.
extensive stays from Hanlan, the English champions George Bubear and George Perkins, and the New Zealand champions William Hearne, Charles Stephenson and Thomas Sullivan. Kemp's promotion as world champion snubbed the northern hemisphere and O'Connor realised that he had to journey south or remain idle.

In the meantime, Kemp defended his title against Neil Matterson in April 1890 and John McLean, the Richmond River sculler, in May 1890. O'Connor, who had arrived in Sydney amidst much ceremony, was circumvented by the local backers and forced into a preliminary match against James Stanbury in June 1890. Stanbury defeated him convincingly and the Canadian relinquished any further matches.

Stanbury had been forecast as the Coming Man and the Mercantile Rowing Club anticipated his potential and elected the professional as an honorary member. His time as world champion came quickly. McLean defeated Kemp in a re-match in December 1890 and after a brief reign was defeated by Stanbury in April 1891. Stanbury consolidated his position in July 1891 by beating McLean in a re-match.

Australian professional sculling, though, was on the verge of collapse. The backers' single-mindedness to maintain Australia's supremacy without underlying organisational infrastructure, and their lack of endeavour in forging an international council to foster rivalry within a controlled environment, made the sport vulnerable in times of economic downturn and social change. The sport's leaders made little provision to absorb or contend with these changes and the sport's transition from a dynamic pastime to an insignificant event occurred swiftly and irrevocably.

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270 Australian Oarsman, 10 December 1942 p.4; Australian Oarsman, 10 April 1943 pp.17-18; Sydney Morning Herald, 26 November 1887 p.11; Sydney Mail, 10 December 1887 p.1253.

271 Referee, 12 March 1890 p.8; Referee, 9 April 1890; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 4 March 1890.

272 Australian Oarsman, 10 May 1941 p.22.

273 Sydney Mail, 12 April 1890 p.830.
Outside Challenges

By 1891, Australia was sinking into economic depression.\textsuperscript{274} Ian McLean suggested that the western goldfields lured enough of the population to depress private demand in the south-eastern colonies.\textsuperscript{275} Kingston has indicated that many financial institutions went bankrupt and that business and personal failure was widespread.\textsuperscript{276} Unemployment in New South Wales and Victoria rose to 11% by 1896 and the instability of the labour climate led to a loss of optimism and opportunity.\textsuperscript{277} For a money-based sport such as professional sculling the depression had dire consequences.

The copious amounts of money that had been the sport’s trademark shrivelled as speculators refrained from backing events. Hundreds of pounds were required to prepare for and stage world contests and costs for minor racing could reach £500.\textsuperscript{278} The high risk and diminishing returns made professional sculling one of the least attractive forms of financial surety. The overseas sculling stocks were low and the expense incurred in searching for international matches with uncertain returns encouraged the backers to seek alternative investments.\textsuperscript{279} The cost for a workingman for a steamer view was expensive. An average wage ranged between 5/- and 7/- per day and steamer charges were normally upwards of £2.\textsuperscript{280} The sport itself was in a transitional stage. The Beach, Kemp and Searle era had passed, while Stanbury was perceived to be unmatchable.\textsuperscript{281}

The stocks of rowers who used their skills as part of everyday working life were depleting. Commercial and transportation networks were utilising


\textsuperscript{275} McLean, I., \textit{Recovery From The 1890s Depression: Australia In An Argentine Mirror}, University Of Adelaide, paper presented at ALL-UC Economic History Conference, University Of California, Los Angeles, 3 June 1996, p.4; See also, Ward, R., \textit{A Nation For A Continent: The History Of Australia 1901-1975}, Heinemann Educational Australia, Richmond, Victoria, 1977, p.21.

\textsuperscript{276} Kingston, op. cit., pp.44-45, 50-51; See also, Ward, \textit{A Nation For A Continent}, op. cit., p.21.

\textsuperscript{277} Macintyre, op. cit., pp.9-10.


\textsuperscript{279} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 3 May 1890 p.998; \textit{Sydney Mail}, 24 December 1892 p.1438.

\textsuperscript{280} Cashman, 'Ave A Go, Yer Mug!' op. cit., p.188; Kingston, op. cit. p.46; Macintyre, op. cit., p.103; \textit{Referee}, 31 October 1888 p.3; \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 18 August 1884 p.5; \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 16 May 1890 p.6.

steam vessels more or depending less on water transport. Those in the sculling ranks needed stable employment to supplement the diminishing purses offered in professional racing. The lack of primary and secondary racing fixtures and Stanbury’s probable domination for a decade or more gave scullers little incentive to join the professional ranks. Few men had the luxury of backers freeing them from employment to concentrate on sculling. With backers such as John Deeble and the Spencer brothers preferring to invest in pony racing, professional sculling faced an uncertain future.

The emergence of other organised sport as a popular spectacle and gambling concern also interfered with professional sculling. Up until the 1890s professional sculling had competed with only two organised spectacles of any significance. They were horseracing and cricket. Once Randwick racecourse was established in 1860, horseracing flourished. The spin-off was that other courses followed and from the mid-1880s a boom in pony racing occurred.

Cricket offered gamblers another outlet where betting, supposedly prohibited, continued well into the 1890s. The regularity of intercolonial and test matches proliferated wagering and the public was catered for with a variety of gambling options. Admission prices for cricket matches, which offered a total spectacle, ranged from 6d at club games to 2/6 for stand entrances at first-class matches. Cashman stated that entrance fees for the working class at international fixtures were high. But in comparison to those charged for sculling matches, the ordinary person was better off attending the cricket.

The commercialisation of minor sports from the 1890s, particularly those not reliant on money and gambling, attracted large crowds because of their capacity to deliver a total spectacle. Whereas sculling races offered glimpses, sports such as rugby, swimming, billiards and cycling gave

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282 Bulletin, 29 August 1896 p.27; Sunday Times, 27 October 1912 p.20; Sydney Mail, 4 January 1890 p.41; Referee, 26 May 1926 p.11; Sportsman, 23 October 1912 p.5; Truth, 27 October 1912 p.9.


uninterrupted views. Cashman claimed that the introduction of the pneumatic-tyre safety bicycle, around 1890, promoted a cycling craze,\textsuperscript{286} while Hickey suggested that Rugby flourished from the mid-1880s by means of establishment in the private schools, the University of Sydney and the main country centres.\textsuperscript{287}

**A Quiet River**

For professional sculling, the repercussions were adverse. James Stanbury waited ten months to be matched, and then defeated Thomas Sullivan, New Zealand's first world championship representative, in May 1892,\textsuperscript{288} but this was the last world championship contested in Australia until 1904. Sullivan departed for England where he considered that his opportunities were brighter. This situation was extraordinary because English professional sculling had been in prolonged despair.\textsuperscript{289} The situation in Canada and America was slightly better.\textsuperscript{290} These destinations lured the second-raters Charles Stephenson and Charles Dutch in 1891,\textsuperscript{291} but in 1893, Stanbury returned from America unmatched and out-of-pocket.\textsuperscript{292} Stanbury could not be matched until July 1896.\textsuperscript{293}

Between May 1884 and May 1892, 14 world championships had been decided on the Parramatta River and two on the Nepean River. There were also numerous private, first-class and minor matches, sweepstakes and handicaps. Within 12 months the public went from 'feast to famine'. As the sport offered no great race, a stagnant title and an idle champion, the public sought alternatives, which were quickly and efficiently accommodated.\textsuperscript{294}

\textsuperscript{286} Cashman, *Paradise Of Sport*, op. cit., p.52.
\textsuperscript{287} Hickey, T., *They Ran With The Ball: How Rugby Football Began In Australia*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1993, pp.179-182.
\textsuperscript{288} *Sydney Mail*, 7 May 1892 p.1068.
\textsuperscript{290} *Sydney Mail*, 12 November 1892 p.1110; *Sydney Mail*, 7 June 1890 p.1277.
\textsuperscript{291} *Sydney Mail*, 28 November 1891 p.1219.
\textsuperscript{292} *Sydney Mail*, 14 October 1893 p.821.
\textsuperscript{293} *Sydney Mail*, 29 August 1896 p.462.
\textsuperscript{294} Cashman, *'Ave A Go, Yer Mug!* op. cit., pp.35-42.
The tumult of the Trickett, Beach, Kemp and Searle reigns was replaced by the production of champions in other sports.\textsuperscript{295} Press focus increased on sports, such as cycling, athletics, lawn bowls and golf and Crotty suggested that sculling's press coverage in Sydney between 1890 and 1910 reduced by approximately 50 percent.\textsuperscript{296}

**Image and Perception**

Cashman has argued that the press helped to democratise Australian cricket in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{297} He contended that the elevation of working-class stars contributed to Australian nationalism and gave the ordinary person role models and a sense of identity. These images and perceptions had fallen away in professional sculling.\textsuperscript{298} The sport's contributions towards creating identity and character and furthering nation building had been surpassed by the consolidating fortunes of other sports.

James Stanbury's 1893 American departure reflected the sport's loss of meaning for the public. The world champion's farewell "was quieter in its nature than even that which members of the pugilistic ring of second-rate quality are usually accorded."\textsuperscript{299} Although exaggerated,\textsuperscript{300} this observation demonstrated that professional sculling had offered an inaugural expression of Australianism and little more.

The sport's image suffered further in 1896 when Stanbury finally defended his title. Charles Harding, the English champion, offered hope of a revival when he challenged the Australian.\textsuperscript{301} Harding stipulated a £500 a side race on the Thames and he allowed Stanbury £50 expenses. Stanbury forfeited his championship privileges to secure the match and he defeated Harding in July 1896.\textsuperscript{302}

\textsuperscript{295} Swimming – Cavill brothers; athletics Edwin Flack; cricket Darling, Noble, Trumble; boxing Jackson.
\textsuperscript{297} Cashman, 'Ave A Go, Yer Mug!' op. cit., p.46.
\textsuperscript{298} *Sydney Mail*, 24 December 1892 p.1438; *Sydney Mail*, 28 November 1891 p.1219; *Sydney Mail*, 16 September 1893 p.613; *Sydney Mail*, 28 December 1895 p.1325.
\textsuperscript{300} Referee, 22 February 1893 p.8.
\textsuperscript{301} *Sydney Mail*, 7 December 1895 p.1184.
\textsuperscript{302} *Sydney Mail*, 29 August 1896 p.462.
The Australian press regarded the race as a mismatch. Harding was a second-rate sculler and the men's physical disparity did little to showcase Australian prowess and fair play. But it was not the Harding match that deflated professional sculling as a national symbol. The Canadian, Jacob Gaudaur, challenged Stanbury for a September 1896 match on the Thames.

The Australian sporting press disparaged the Canadian as it considered him, at best, ordinary. Stanbury agreed and accepted a match for £250 a side and offered the Canadian £50 expenses. So cheaply did Stanbury view the race that he trained casually and paid the ultimate price. The 38-year-old Gaudaur won comfortably and realised the Australian fear that if a Canadian won the world title, it would never be defended outside of Canadian shores.

Stanbury's loss portrayed professional sculling as a cheap sport and the championship title as cheaper still. The Bulletin did not miss Stanbury in its criticisms and asked, "If [his backer's] princely treatment is the consolation for one defeat, what might Stanbury have experienced if he had lost both races?"

Stanbury returned to New South Wales out of favour. There were no welcoming committees or hordes of followers awaiting the ex-champion. The Sydney Mail suggested that "It wasn't much of an advertisement to pay a little attention to the defeated sculler, so the crowd which is aquatic sometimes, and something else when aquatics are at a low ebb, stayed away." What disappointed sculling followers mostly was that Stanbury was the world's best sculler and clearly superior to his contemporary Australian oarsmen.

The public's scorn cut deeper than the disappointment of a beaten champion. The sporting press seemed like-minded. There were no

303 Sydney Mail, 4 July 1896 p.40; Sydney Mail, 11 July 1896 p.93.
304 Stanbury six feet, 12½ stone; Harding five feet five inches, nine stone five pounds.
305 Sydney Mail, 25 July 1896 p.201; Referee, 9 September 1896 p.3.
306 Sydney Mail, 12 September 1896 p.566.
307 Referee, 21 October 1896 p.6; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1940 p.12; New Zealand Sports, September p.96. Personal Clippings File.
308 Referee, 7 October 1896 p.1; Sydney Mail, 31 October 1896 p.953.
310 Sydney Mail, 24 October 1896 p.893.
311 Ibid.
campaigns for a Stanbury re-match or a boasting of his superiority. Instead, the sporting press sought a dependable Coming Man, one in the mould of Beach, who could instil a fresh, genuine image and lift the sport to its former glory.

The Country Influence

Although professional sculling lapsed through the 1890s, the country centres' impetus avoided a full collapse. The depression had hindered professional sculling in the regional centres, but country committees continued to provide racing that their communities supported. Dependence on water transport was still vital for country folk, as their bulk trades were shipped or boated. Most country centres had water brigades whose strong participation at rowing carnivals attracted crowds and measurable support when they raced outside their districts.

The New South Wales Rowing Association's manual labour bar contributed to professional sculling's continuation in the country areas. The country clubs had neither the numbers nor finances to segregate their members, which meant that they catered for the manual labourer, rendering them ineligible for affiliation to the NSWRA. His advancement was through the professional ranks, which helped maintain the sport. By 1896, the Hunter River district was regarded as the new "home" of professional rowing.

The Hunter River supporters suspected that they had, in George Towns, a sculler who could develop into a first-class waterman. He had a competent regional record with his most notable performance being a win over Chris Neilsen at Raymond Terrace in August 1896. Of particular interest in this race was that Neilsen competed in his "stump" outrigger and Towns piloted his 25 foot outrigger designed by his father.

312 Australian Oarsman, 10 January 1943 pp.16-18.
313 Sydney Mail, 5 September 1896 p.513; Sydney Mail, 31 October 1896 p.953; Referee, 9 June 1897 p.5; Australian Oarsman, 10 January 1943 pp.16-17.
315 Lewis-Hughes, op. cit., pp.36-43.
316 May, op. cit., p.50; Referee, 18 October 1893 p.8; Sydney Mail, 24 December 1892 p.1438.
317 Sydney Mail, 31 October 1896 p.953.
318 Sydney Mail, 5 September 1896 p.513; Referee, 27 January 1897 p.3.
319 Sydney Mail, 5 September 1896 p.513.
320 Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1942 p.16; See, Appendix 2.
Towns’ Australian prospects were limited. His obvious match was with Stanbury but the ex-champion was considered clearly superior. Towns focused on the 1897 English season, for the money to be won there was above that available in New South Wales.\(^{321}\) He envisaged that with sufficient improvement he could dominate the English scene and gain the credentials to challenge Gaudaur.\(^{322}\) Towns had regional support and a subscription fund was organised to free him from financial worry.\(^{323}\)

Towns’ venture contrasted with traditional overseas excursions by Australian professional scullers. Previous representatives were either Australian or world champions and, with the exception of Richard Green, they had extensive backing from Sydney. Towns, on the other hand, had failed to race a first-class sculler. His support came mainly from a country region, the Hunter.

In his analysis of professional sculling’s decline, Bennett stated of Towns that “One Australian challenger, soon to be World Champion, was forced to work his way to England as a ship’s steward, a far cry from having his fare paid by a backer as had been usual.”\(^{324}\) Whereas Bennett demonstrated the sport’s malaise, his example is abridged to furnish his argument. His tone and implication failed to address Towns’ then-status in the sport’s and the period’s context.

The Towns venture, which would have attracted minor press some five years prior, received glorious praise.\(^{325}\) Towns was catapulted before the public as the Coming Man. The sporting press created in Towns the archetypal Australian and defined what it meant to be Australian. He was embellished with every quality – good-looking, tough, game, fast, cool, skilful, reliable, trustworthy and fully capable of representing us.\(^{326}\) The *Sydney Mail* urged public donations to send Towns overseas and designated which sums would place the Coming Man closer to the world title.\(^{327}\)

\(^{321}\) Referee, 10 February 1897 p.5; Referee, 24 March 1897 p.3.

\(^{322}\) Referee, 17 February 1897 p.5.

\(^{323}\) Referee, 10 February 1897 p.5.

\(^{324}\) Bennett, ‘Professional Sculling In New South Wales’, op. cit., p.137.

\(^{325}\) Sydney Mail, 27 February 1897 p.465.

\(^{326}\) Sydney Mail, 27 February 1897 p.465; Sydney Mail, 27 March 1897 p.678.

\(^{327}\) Sydney Mail, 27 February 1897 p.465.
Bullish as these views were for a novice aiming to tackle second-class English scullers, the disfavoured James Stanbury was aggrieved that public money was sought to send an unproven man when he, the best sculler, was being ignored.\textsuperscript{328} Others in the rowing fraternity questioned Towns' credentials and pressured him to race Stanbury. Towns' supporters concluded that their man should race Stanbury before an England voyage.\textsuperscript{329}

The Coming Man, though, personified those abstract moral, social and psychological characteristics attributed to the Australian type. Towns refused Stanbury and headed for England in April 1897,\textsuperscript{330} with financial assistance from close friends. He also used his own money and saved his fare by working as ship's steward aboard the \textit{Ophir}.\textsuperscript{331} Richard Coombes (Referee), John Blackman (\textit{Sydney Mail}) and 'leviathan' bookmaker Joseph Thompson were some who presented Towns with letters of introduction.\textsuperscript{332}

It took Towns a further four years to develop into a first-class sculler. During this period he fostered an image that the self-reliant, ordinary colonist was an adventurer whose initiative, practicality and independence 'could get the job done' in all parts of the globe. He was above all else, a 'typical' Australian.\textsuperscript{333}

Whilst in England, Towns introduced the 25 feet outrigger and promoted the adjustable swivel rowlock and sculls to suit left and right hands.\textsuperscript{334} He also coached in England and Hamburg and in May 1899 he won the English championship. In September 1901, the Coming Man arrived when he beat Jacob Gaudaur, in Canada, for the world championship.\textsuperscript{335} What was particularly significant for Australian professional sculling was that Towns' victory occurred in the year of federation.

\textsuperscript{328} \textit{Newcastle Morning Herald And Miners' Advocate}, 18 March 1897 p.3.
\textsuperscript{329} \textit{Referee}, 17 March 1897 p.8.
\textsuperscript{330} \textit{Referee}, 24 March 1897 p.5.
\textsuperscript{331} \textit{Referee}, 24 March 1897 p.5; \textit{Referee}, 21 April 1897 p.3; \textit{Referee}, 21 April 1897 p.3; It was not uncommon for second-rate scullers to work their passages on ships to save fares. James Wray (Australia), Charles Stephenson (New Zealand), George Perkins (England) and George Bubear (England) were some who worked their passages.
\textsuperscript{332} \textit{Referee}, 31 March 1897 p.8; \textit{Referee}, 31 March 1897 p.3.
\textsuperscript{333} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 28 September 1901 p.827; \textit{Referee}, 12 November 1902 p.4; \textit{Referee}, 10 December 1902 p.6.
\textsuperscript{334} \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 August 1942 pp.15-16.
\textsuperscript{335} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 7 September 1901 pp.635-636.
Federation

The arrival of nationhood with its themes of homogeneity, optimism, development and identity propagated images of Australia maturing and connecting with the world's nations. Upon reaching adulthood, there was greater emphasis on defining, protecting and promoting things Australian. These included the development of modern industry, the maintenance of racial 'purity', moral soundness, wholesomeness and independence.336

Certain arrogance was needed to popularise what was distinctively Australian. Australian identity relied, in part, on the fostering of patriotic sentiment337 and one means of demonstrating the coming of age was through sport. The importance of perceiving the nation as virtuous, fit and capable of striving internationally was associated with sport, athleticism and hero-worship.

In George Towns, the nation had a shining example of young Australia. Whereas other sportsmen had sponsorships when venturing overseas, Towns returned as an autonomous champion.338 His road to victory demonstrated the magnitude of Australian prowess and Quarton Deloitte, the New South Wales Rowing Association president, stated that Towns possessed all the character traits that enabled a man to succeed.339

The qualities reflected in Towns, the public's energy in his welcome home,340 and the patriotic vigour encouraged by federation injected life into professional sculling and promised a fresh and thrilling revival. The foundations for this revival were harboured in the country regions, particularly the Hunter, where professional sculling had been prominent during the previous decade.341

338 Referee, 12 November 1902 p.4; Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Referee, 27 July 1904 p.1.
339 Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6.
340 Sydney Mail, 17 December 1902 p.1610; Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6.
341 Sydney Mail, 31 October 1896 p.953; Referee, 9 June 1897 p.5.
Busy Waters

The sculling fraternity perceived that if professional sculling was to regain its nineteenth-century status, then the sport's core needed to be Sydney-based. The metropolis had the population for extensive support and the sentimentality of the Parramatta River as the championship course convinced most that Sydney was the sport's linchpin. A guide as to whether Towns' victory had encouraged the public to come back occurred in March 1903 when Richard Tresidder, from Newcastle, and Harry Pearce, from Sydney, matched for the Australian championship on the Parramatta.342

Tresidder had dominated Newcastle sculling, whereas Pearce had had a measure of success along with Towns in England and Canada.343 Thousands flocked to the river, which persuaded the Town And Country Journal to declare that "professional sculling commands now as much public interest and enthusiasm as it did in what is termed the palmy days."344 The forecast was substantiated. A crowd upwards of 90,000 converged on the Parramatta to watch Towns defend his world title against Tresidder in July 1904.345

The Towns/Tresidder match was the first world championship race rowed in the country since May 1892 and the first since the Commonwealth's inauguration. As well as the huge crowd, it was a race marked by heavy betting.346 Similarly, the Tresidder/Pearce match had also been the medium for substantial wagering.347 The consensus was that Sydney had "welcomed back its old love again",348 but there was a degree of caution that a sense of novelty and occasion may have influenced the resurgence.349

These doubts were extinguished when Towns met James Stanbury in July 1905. The match was a genuine test of the public's enthusiasm for professional sculling. Stanbury's 13-year absence from the Parramatta River and nine years out of a scull marked his unfamiliarity to a new generation of

342 Referee, 11 March 1903 p.1; See also, Appendix 1.
343 Sydney Mail, 28 December 1901 p.1674.
344 Town And Country Journal, 11 March 1903 p.53.
345 Adair, op. cit., pp.72-73; Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1.
346 Referee, 27 July 1904 p.1; Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1.
348 Town And Country Journal, 3 August 1903 p.50; Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1.
349 Sydney Mail, 10 August 1904 p.379.
spectators. At 37 years of age, the rigours involved in his weight reduction and training left doubts that the contest would be genuine. On the other hand, Towns had only a five-week preparation, which was considered inadequate.

In scenes reminiscent of the ‘Golden Age’, crowds assembled on vessels and riverbanks to watch the aspirants train. The betting indicated a close race as most transactions were of small denominations. On the day, upwards of 90,000 watched the race. There were suggestions that the crowd had exceeded previous contests.

The Role Of Economics In Maintaining Identity

Stanbury’s nine-month training regime overcame Towns’ light preparation and he re-claimed the championship. The anticipation of a close contest and the rivalry between the pair drew a massive crowd and revived professional sculling as one of the nation’s premier sports.

The lessons from the sport’s nineteenth-century collapse, though, had not been learnt. Its twentieth-century resumption relied on backers to maintain the sport but again there was little organisational infrastructure for the sport’s rudimentary tiers. What differed from the nineteenth century was the money sources, which had been previously Sydney-specific. In the northern hemisphere, the New Zealanders, Thomas Sullivan and Spencer Gollan, and Englishman James Field backed Towns. In New South Wales, Samuel Arnott led a committee of Newcastle and Sydney backers that sponsored Towns both before and after his overseas venture. Tresidder’s support was Newcastle-based, while Stanbury’s backing

351 Referee, 19 July 1905 p.1; Sydney Morning Herald, 23 July 1905 p.11; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6; New Zealand Sports, September p.96, Personal Clippings File.
353 Ibid.
354 Referee, 26 July 1905 p.1; Town And Country Journal, 26 July 1905 p.50.
356 Sydney Mail, 26 July 1905 p.249; Sydney Morning Herald, 22 July 1905 pp.11-12.
357 Sydney Mail, 7 September 1901 p.636; Australian Oarsman, 10 August 1942 pp.15-16.
358 Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6; Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1; Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9.
359 Referee, 20 July 1904 p.3; Referee, 27 July 1904 p.1.
derived from Newcastle (£100), Ryde (£100) and Nowra (£225), to which John Beales, Stanbury’s backer to England in 1896, contributed the balance of the £500 stake.\textsuperscript{360}

The shift in the sport’s financial base indicated its growing decentralisation, but Sydney’s population meant that the Parramatta River returned maximum profit. Irrespective of the psychic income\textsuperscript{361} and the abstract qualities popularised by the sport, profit was the sport’s primary motive.

If social conscience played a part in the sport, the Hunter should have hosted the race as Newcastle supplied the bulk of the stake money. This possibility was considered only as an after thought when Sydney’s financial prospects appeared duller than first anticipated.\textsuperscript{362}

The Sydney Harbour Trust had granted permission for three steamers to follow the race. Additionally, the scullers hired four steamers, which were to be moored near the finishing line.\textsuperscript{363} The steamer operators offered the scullers only one-quarter of the takings and “they had to pay ‘through the nose’ to obtain the vessels.”\textsuperscript{364} The scullers had also arranged to hire private property, at Henley, adjacent to the finishing line. However, the landowners demanded a larger share of the entry fees than was originally agreed.\textsuperscript{365}

The scullers dismissed the Parramatta River sentiments and appraised the Hunter River.\textsuperscript{366} However, the Hunter offered less profit than a Sydney contest. The scullers, in opting for the Parramatta, moved history and tradition by concluding the race 400 yards above Searle’s Monument.\textsuperscript{367} By finishing the race opposite the Abbotsford shore, the landowner guaranteed the scullers one-third of his gate takings.\textsuperscript{368}

\textsuperscript{360} Referee, 15 February 1905 p.9.
\textsuperscript{361} Adair, D., “‘On Parade’: Spectacles, Crowds, And Collective Loyalties In Australia, 1901-1938”, unpublished PhD thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, 1994, pp.22-23; See also, Adair, “‘Two Dots In The Distance’…”, op. cit., p.52.
\textsuperscript{362} Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\textsuperscript{363} Sydney Mail, 5 July 1905 p.58.
\textsuperscript{364} Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\textsuperscript{365} Referee, 7 June 1905 p.6; Referee, 19 July 1905 p.1; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.1; Sydney Morning Herald, 22 July 1905 p.11.
\textsuperscript{366} Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\textsuperscript{367} Referee, 19 July 1905 p.1; Sydney Morning Herald, 22 July 1905 p.11.
\textsuperscript{368} Sydney Mail, 12 July 1905 p.123.
Considering the crowd’s size, the scullers’ returns were poor. The three following steamers, one at £1 per head and the two others at 10/-, were filled.\textsuperscript{369} Of the four stationary steamers, at 2/6 per head, one was crowded but the three others were poorly patronised.\textsuperscript{370} The scores of privately owned steamers were well filled. These owners charged 1/- for transport to the race and 9d return.\textsuperscript{371} John Blackman, in criticising the latter brigade, stated:

It is a pity but true, that thousands who would have you believe they have a great interest in rowing, and know all about it, take their fun cheaply, and do not consider for a moment that they are under the least obligation to the scullers themselves.\textsuperscript{372}

Under the articles of agreement, Stanbury upon winning the match received £132/1/- from the steamers and Towns gained £320/18/6.\textsuperscript{373} From the Abbotsford gate, where the entry fee was 1/- per head,\textsuperscript{374} each man received £35.\textsuperscript{375}

The public’s trait of shying away from paying at sculling contests was common. A berth on a following steamer was costly and working people sought cheaper options. For the Towns/Stanbury race many land areas, which previously were under-attended, were packed and the majority of them were free of charge.\textsuperscript{376} The long, straight Parramatta River course made it impossible for organisers to secure every vantage point for financial gain and the competition from private operators also curbed the scullers’ profits.

\textsuperscript{369} Town And Country Journal, 27 July 1905 p.50.
\textsuperscript{370} Sydney Mail, 26 July 1905 p.249.
\textsuperscript{371} Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\textsuperscript{372} Sydney Mail, 26 July 1905 p.249.
\textsuperscript{373} Referee, 1 March 1905 p.4; Referee, 19 April 1905 p.4.
\textsuperscript{374} Sydney Morning Herald, 24 July 1905 p.7.
\textsuperscript{375} Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\textsuperscript{376} Sydney Mail, 26 July 1905 p.249; Town And Country Journal, 26 July 1905 p.50; Sydney Morning Herald, 24 July 1905 p.7.
Grandstands

The conduct of professional sculling races on the Parramatta River prevented the use of grandstands as a profit-making means. The following steamers were essential for scullers to cover their costs and provide a profit. The high embarkation fees discouraged the low wage earner, but attracted those with the means to wager. For most backers, wagering was their profit-making means and gambling options were enhanced aboard the steamers.

For example, in the Kemp/Searle 1888 race, Kemp’s backers wagered that Kemp would lead after one mile. In the Towns/Stanbury match, gambling on the outcome was one option. Other choices included who would lead after the first mile, or whether or not Stanbury would complete the course. For bettors, a place on the following steamers was essential.

The Towns/Stanbury match also demonstrated the scullers’ difficulties in profiting from land areas. Landowners controlled the profit ratios from their holdings and the scullers were responsible for erecting and dismantling temporary structures. Grandstand entry fees needed to be 2/- or less to compete with the scores of privately owned steamers, which plied the river on race days. The landowners would also determine the meagre grandstand profits. It is evident that as a means of profit the use of grandstands for viewing races held in the conventional and traditional manner on the Parramatta River was impractical.

Adair contended that grandstands situated inside enclosed areas were prevalent at sculling championships held on the Parramatta River. He stated that “the charging of admission to spectators was an integral part of major professional sculling contests at least from the early 1880s.” He rejected Bennett’s argument that the lack of enclosure, spectator payment and the improvement in spectator facilities in other sports were major factors in professional sculling’s decline. To emphasise his argument, Adair examined the Hanlan/Laycock 1884 match on the Nepean course.

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377 *Australian Oarsman*, 10 January 1941 p.23.
379 Adair, “‘Two Dots In The Distance’...”, op. cit., pp.68-70.
381 Adair, “‘Two Dots In The Distance’...”, op. cit., pp.68-70.
A more relevant example to challenge Bennett’s assessment would be the grandstand’s role at a Parramatta River championship contest. This is precisely the point. There is insufficient information to suggest that grandstands were used on the Parramatta, either to supplement or compete against the steamers. If grandstands were used, their contribution towards the scullers’ expenses was negligible because the landowners controlled the profit flows. There is compelling evidence that the focal point for profit making was on the following steamers and the filling of these vessels was of prime importance. Adair implied that “temporary grandstands were built near the finish line”\(^{382}\) on the Parramatta, but the evidence suggests that this was rarely the case.

Adair elaborated on the Hanlan/Laycock contest as an example of the promoters’ use of the grandstand and enclosure to secure financial returns. But the example distorts professional sculling’s organisational context and adds weight to Bennett’s assessment. Adair implied that professional sculling races were conducted as uniformly on the Nepean as they were on the Parramatta and that the grandstand was fundamental to both.

For the Hanlan/Laycock match, the promoters did erect a grandstand and enclosure at the finishing line. Respective charges were 10/- and 2/6, while concessions of £1 for a rail and grandstand ticket and 8/- or 6/- for a rail and an enclosure ticket were available.\(^{383}\) It was the first time that promoters relied on land accommodation to secure a return. This was because the Nepean was too narrow and too shallow to accommodate any craft over 11 tons in weight.\(^{384}\) Adair gives a misleading impression that there were steamers following the race and that the water police used their boats to limit water traffic.\(^{385}\) The only steamers on the course were the ‘umpire’s’ small vessel and the police launches keeping order along the riverbanks.\(^{386}\)

The grandstand’s capacity was 6,000 spaces while a further 2,000 could be accommodated inside the enclosure. The grandstand reached one-

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\(^{382}\) Ibid.

\(^{383}\) Brown, op. cit., p.13.

\(^{384}\) *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 1887 p.6.

\(^{385}\) Adair, “Two Dots In The Distance”..., op. cit., pp.68-69.

\(^{386}\) *Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 1884 p.5; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1884 p.8; Brown, op. cit., p.15.
third of its capacity, while the remainder of the crowd assembled inside and outside the enclosure.\textsuperscript{387} The \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} suggested that the day’s crowd reached 6,000,\textsuperscript{388} while the \textit{Daily Telegraph} estimated that 10,000 attended, of whom 3,000 to 4,000 used the grandstand and enclosure.\textsuperscript{389}

Without the steamer revenue, the promoters had little option other than the grandstand and enclosure to retrieve their financial returns. Adair stated that the grandstand was potentially lucrative for promoters,\textsuperscript{390} but this was not the case. The promoters were prepared for a loss\textsuperscript{391} and Laycock indicated that there would be insufficient patronage to pay for the undertaking.\textsuperscript{392} It must be remembered that the Nepean course was created to accommodate Edward Hanlan’s whim and it was not conducive for profit making.

The course was a one and a half hour train trip from Sydney.\textsuperscript{393} The time lost, the expense incurred going to and from and the lack of accommodation “would preclude it from being the favourite convincing water.”\textsuperscript{394} The grandstand offered the best vantage point but the course’s openness afforded unobstructed viewing from the riverbanks.\textsuperscript{395} The \textit{Town And Country Journal} suggested of the 1887 Beach/Hanlan world title race, which was also staged on the Nepean River, that the grandstand was an unnecessary construction because of the open views obtainable from the riverbanks.\textsuperscript{396} Needless to say, the grandstand was “scantily patronised”. Judge Alfred Backhouse stated of the Nepean course in 1907 that “the trouble was that people could not get there, no matter how small the charge, because many could not afford the money.”\textsuperscript{397}

As discussed previously in this chapter, the Hanlan/Laycock race was a contrived affair with the intention of thronging the steamers for the 1884

\begin{footnotes}
\item[387] Brown, op. cit., p.15.
\item[388] \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 23 May 1884 p.8.
\item[389] \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 23 May 1884 p.5.
\item[390] Adair, “Two Dots In The Distance”…’, op. cit., p.69.
\item[391] \textit{Sydney Mail}, 29 March 1884 p.605.
\item[392] \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 23 May 1884 p.5.
\item[393] Ibid.
\item[394] \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 28 November 1887 p.5.
\item[395] \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 3 December 1887 p.1185; \textit{Sydney Mail}, 3 December 1887 p.1200.
\item[396] \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 3 December 1887 p.1185.
\item[397] \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 6 March 1907 p.51.
\end{footnotes}
Hanlan/Beach race on the Parramatta River. From this latter match, the scullers netted £1,300 from the steamers.\textsuperscript{398}

Within the organisational context of professional sculling, Adair's emphasis on grandstands and enclosures for promoters to maximise their returns is exaggerated. Profit revolved around the hired steamers and it was crucial for promoters and scullers to fill these steamers. Steamer returns to the scullers or promoters were normally three or four pence in the shilling.\textsuperscript{399} For the Towns/Stanbury match the net steamer receipt for the scullers was £452/19/6, whereas the Abbotsford land return was £70.\textsuperscript{400}

While other leading sports, like cricket, thoroughbred and pony racing, had enclosures, admission charges, and throughout the 1890s, they upgraded their patrons' facilities,\textsuperscript{401} it was the emerging games, such as rugby union, which took full advantage of their group structures and began asking regularly for admission fees. Stoddart suggested that rugby union patrons had been familiarised with entrance fees by the century's turn.\textsuperscript{402}

While Adair admitted that "terraced arenas, such as at cricket and football, offered panoramic views",\textsuperscript{403} this was precisely one of the reasons why professional sculling declined. As this chapter has discussed and as the following chapters will demonstrate, those men who controlled professional sculling relied almost solely on the steamers to cater for their clientele and to garner their profits. During the 1890s, when organised sport emerged, professional sculling, in Sydney, was comatose. As the sport was revived in the twentieth century, those in control trusted the nineteenth-century practice of filling the steamers to meet costs. There were few attempts to offer facilities to those outside the steamers. Land accommodation was seriously broached only when the steamers were not an option. Contrary to Adair's assumptions, the grandstand's role and the use of enclosures at professional sculling races were of minor importance.

\textsuperscript{398} Australian Oarsman, 10 September 1942 p.19; Referee, 24 September 1930 p.20.
\textsuperscript{399} Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.7.
\textsuperscript{400} Referee, 1 March 1905 p.4; Referee, 19 April 1905 p.4; Sydney Morning Herald, 24 July 1905 p.7; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\textsuperscript{401} O'Hara, op. cit., pp.103-108; Cashman, 'Ave A Go, Yer Mug!' op. cit., pp.40-47.
\textsuperscript{402} Stoddart, op. cit., p.120.
\textsuperscript{403} Adair, "'Two Dots In The Distance'...", op. cit., p.70.
The Professional Ranks Swell

Adair also suggested that the Towns/Tresidder match indicated that the sport "could still draw large crowds" and the Towns/Stanbury race added weight to his inference. The sport's popularity also drew more scullers into the professional ranks and their presence renewed the public's interest in those tiers below championship level. Richard Tresidder, Harry Pearce and Charles Towns were well-established in aquatic circles. Others to emerge were William Fogwell, Benjamin Thoroughgood and Richard Arnst. Fogwell was touted as a future top-liner, while the other two were enigmatic figures. Thoroughgood, from the Hunter River and at 36 years of age, had been the undisputed heavy-boat champion, but withdrew from the sport because of a lack of competition. The upsurge in sculling tempted him back in the outrigger, a craft with which he was unfamiliar. Arnst, from New Zealand, was a leading Australasian professional cyclist who had won the 1906 "Sydney Thousand", which boasted the largest prize money for a southern hemisphere cycling race. The New Zealand businessman, James Parker, led a consortium which convinced Arnst to try professional sculling and in the long term hopefully elevate him to be New Zealand's first world champion sculler. The group, which included Sir Heaton Rhodes, financed the ex-cyclist under George Towns' tutelage.

The Amateurs' Influence

The attention on professional sculling brought new challenges for the influential in aquatic circles. The amateur sports authorities, John Blackman and Richard Coombes, had concerns with the professional sport's lack of codification. Blackman was alarmed that sculling had been unregulated since its inception and for over a decade he had lobbied the

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404 Adair, "Two Dots In The Distance"..., op. cit., p.74.
405 Sydney Mail, 28 February 1906 p.595.
406 Referee, 19 June 1907 p.9.
407 Referee, 18 July 1906 p.9; Referee, 11 July 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 28 February 1906 p.595.
408 Referee, 28 March 1906 p.8; Sydney Mail, 28 March 1906 p.819.
410 Sydney Mail, 18 July 1906 p.189.
411 Sydney Mail, 1 March 1922 p.3; Referee, 1 March 1922 p.11.
413 Sydney Mail, 7 June 1890 p.1277; Sydney Mail, 4 January 1902 p.58; Referee, 23 June 1897 p.1.
professionals to structure their sport. He also had concerns that the professionals could self-destruct if they allowed money to dictate the sport.\footnote{Sydney Mail, 28 December 1901 p.1674; Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.510.}

Blackman stated that “The whole history of the title shows friction, misunderstanding, and a high-handed independence, with a self-interest that knew no consideration for the rights, if any, of a challenger.”\footnote{Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570.} He argued that Australia’s dominance gave it the prerogative to constitute a set of world championship rules and regulations.\footnote{Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9.} A committee, which formulated the laws and conditions by July 1906, included the backers Arnott, Beales, Deeble, John Spencer and Matthew Cranney, the scullers Beach, Kemp, Neilsen, Rush, Stanbury and Towns, and the amateur officials Blackman, Coombes, Vicary Horniman and Nat McDonald.\footnote{Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; See also, Appendix 3; Horniman was Captain of North Shore Rowing Club and state selector; McDonald was Captain of Mercantile Rowing Club and state selector.}

It was significant that during the same period other sports were undergoing organisation and codification, and consolidating their governing bodies.\footnote{Cashman, Paradise Of Sport, op. cit., pp.42-69.} Administrators, such as Coombes, were involved heavily in the structuring of a number of sports,\footnote{Vamplew, W., Moore, K., O’Hara, J., Cashman, R. & Jobling, I., (eds), The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, pp.231-232; McKernan, (ed.), op. cit., pp.59-61, 162-165.} but many of them relied on and were restricted by English controlling boards. Cricket, rugby and amateur rowing were some that were constricted by imperial ties and governed by rules and regulations distributed from England. The confidence demonstrated by the professional sculling rulemakers that Australia’s international voice was not an echo of England’s was expressed in their commitment to lead the sport internationally by means of regulation and structure.\footnote{Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570; Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9.}

Coombes suspected that the northern hemisphere would disregard the proposals, particularly as a recognised board of control had not been formed to implement and manage the changes.\footnote{Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9.} The committee would rely on the integrity of the champion and his backers to enforce the rules and maintain a
clean profile for the sport. It was a dangerous precedent, but the committee was confident, if not naive, in believing that the parties who controlled the world title would abide by the conditions.\footnote{Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.8.} Nevertheless, the rules and regulations were forwarded to the relevant world parties for adoption.\footnote{Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16; Sportsman, 26 May 1920 p.1.}

Another important aspect was the co-operation between the amateur and the professional. The two codes had had a strong relationship at the official level throughout the nineteenth century. The amateurs were conspicuous in the administration of professional racing,\footnote{Sydney Mail, 28 February 1885 p.454; Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.} accommodating the professionals with training facilities\footnote{Town And Country Journal, 16 August 1884 p.350; Daily Telegraph, 26 November 1887 p.6; Referee, 28 June 1905 p.9.} and entertaining the professionals either socially or ceremonially.\footnote{Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713; Referee, 12 March 1890 p.8.} Their twentieth-century relationship seemed as resilient, for the amateurs continued in their official roles\footnote{Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.} and they were responsible for organising and codifying professional sculling.

\section*{A Dent In The Image}

Prior to the application of the world championship rules and regulations, Stanbury and Towns came to terms for a re-match.\footnote{Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9.} The race was fixed for July 1906 at £500 a side on the Parramatta River. The scullers returned to the traditional course from Ryde railway bridge to Searle's Monument and relied on three following steamers for their financial returns, although they were offered a percentage from the Milne Park takings.\footnote{Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.7.}

The estimates for the race crowd ranged between 50,000 and 90,000,\footnote{Town And Country Journal, 1 August 1906 p.50; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.6.} but "the attendance certainly equalled that of the days when the old-time champions fought for supremacy."\footnote{Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.7.} The \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} reflected the sport's link with patriotism when it described Australia as the home of professional sculling and claimed that Australia's record and strength validated its framing of the sport's guidelines and the distribution of

\begin{small}
\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{1} Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.8.
\bibitem{2} Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16; Sportsman, 26 May 1920 p.1.
\bibitem{3} Sydney Mail, 28 February 1885 p.454; Referee, 31 October 1888 p.3.
\bibitem{4} Town And Country Journal, 16 August 1884 p.350; Daily Telegraph, 26 November 1887 p.6; Referee, 28 June 1905 p.9.
\bibitem{5} Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713; Referee, 12 March 1890 p.8.
\bibitem{6} Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
\bibitem{7} Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9.
\bibitem{8} Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.7.
\bibitem{9} Town And Country Journal, 1 August 1906 p.50; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.6.
\end{thebibliography}
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these throughout the world. Other publications were similarly disposed, but the press needed to express more passion and persuasion if it were to defend professional sculling following the Stanbury/Townsend outcome.

Stanbury appeared to have Townsend beaten, but broke down and the ex-champion swept away to win by 150 yards. Stanbury met with a hostile public demonstration. "I got a real hot time from the crowd," he admitted, "and I don't think all the water in the Pacific would wash me clean in their sight." The public's ire was raised further when Stanbury's backers confessed that the ex-champion required morphine to combat an arthritic complaint and was incapable of fast trials in the 10 days leading up to the championship.

Columnists defended Stanbury and the sport's credibility, while they embellished Townsend's character and integrity to help diffuse the controversy. The *Sydney Morning Herald* insisted that men of Townsend's calibre maintained the sport's honour and there was no fear of it degenerating. The *Sydney Mail* announced that "the grossly unfair conduct of a few hoodlums should not be taken as a verdict of the people." The *Referee* argued systematically that Stanbury had not "sold the race", but concluded that both men should retire for the good of the sport.

**Veterans Salvage Disappointments**

Public disillusionment was tested on the weekend following the championship when a much-publicised veterans' and ladies' day of sculling was held. The concept was organised by Stanbury's backers Beales and Cranney who endeavoured to capitalise on the world championship. Their was a fresh approach to sculling contests. The course ran east to west, from Abbotsford to Mortlake, and was approximately one mile and 600 yards long.

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433 *Referee*, 1 August 1906 p.1; *Town And Country Journal*, 1 August 1906 p.50.
434 *Town And Country Journal*, 1 August 1906 p.50.
435 Ibid.
437 *Referee*, 1 August 1906 p.1.
438 *Town And Country Journal*, 1 August 1906 p.50.
440 *Sydney Mail*, 1 August 1906 p.317.
441 *Referee*, 1 August 1906 pp.1, 9.
which enabled them to condense the crowd along the foreshores. This assisted in raising a realistic return from the land areas. For example, an affordable 6d entry fee was charged for the Montgomery's Palace Hotel enclosure, which was situated at the Mortlake picnic grounds.443

The backers hired six steamers; three were moored at Mortlake and three followed the racing. Places were segregated on the steamers, but the fares were conducive to general patronage. Aboard the Bronzewing, 10/- could purchase a selective place, while 5/- covered general admission. Similarly, aboard the Kirribilli and the Greyhound, the special areas were 3/- and general admission 2/-, while 1/- accessed the moored steamers.444 The favourable pricing led Blackman to comment that the steamers "were uncomfortably crowded – indeed, more people were following than turn up at even a world's championship."445

The ladies' event was for the New South Wales Double Sculling Championship and attracted entries from Port Macquarie, Newcastle, Port Hacking and Sydney. The backers guaranteed the women prize money of £84 for their heats and final. The veterans, Beach, Kemp, McLean, Green, Rush, Laycock, Charles Reynolds and Harry Pearce snr, were guaranteed £170.446 The amateurs officiated with Horniman umpiring, McDonald judging, Blackman timekeeping and King Giltinan as starter.

Public trust was demonstrated as upwards of 5,000 assembled at Abbotsford while 20,000 were estimated at Mortlake.447 The day was undeniably successful in monetary terms and it also demonstrated the public's high regard for the sport, its bygone heroes and their contribution to the national type and character. The veterans' race drew phenomenal interest considering that the youngest competitor, McLean at 51 years, and the eldest, Green at 70 years, would not have been seen competing for generations. The day also impressed that, even in retirement, the Australian

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443 Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906, 28 July 1906 p.23.
445 Sydney Mail, 8 August 1906 p.338b.
446 Aquatic Carnival Official Programme 1906, 28 July 1906 pp.12-13; Referee, 1 August 1906 p.9.
447 Sydney Mail, 8 August 1906 p.338b.
was a manly, athletic specimen who could rise to the situation.\footnote{Referee, 8 August 1906 p.9; Referee, 14 August 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 8 August 1906 p.338b.}

An Extreme Test

One other factor that helped the sport overcome the Stanbury/Towns controversy was the challenge to Towns by the Canadian champion, (John) Edward Durnan.\footnote{Referee, 8 August 1906 p.9.} The fascination in an international championship match against Hanlan's nephew, and Towns' impending retirement, helped draw attention towards the sport's future. But the fabric of professional sculling was threatened in September 1906 by the introduction of the New South Wales Gaming And Betting Act.\footnote{Seaton, G., The Law Relating To Gaming, Betting And Lotteries, Law Book Co. Of Australasia, Sydney, 1948; Referee, 24 October 1906 p.1; Sydney Morning Herald, 20 August 1906 p.7.} The parliament, acting upon zealous lobbying by Protestant moral and social reformers, moved to curtail widespread gambling.\footnote{O'Hara, op. cit., pp.130-151; Daily Telegraph, 3 August 1906 pp.6-7; Broome, R., Treasure In Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity In New South Wales Society 1900-1914, University Of Queensland, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1980, pp.149-153.} The government's edict prohibited wagering anywhere other than on licensed racetracks; a licensed course requiring a minimum circumference of six furlongs.\footnote{Town And Country Journal, 19 September 1906 p.45.} The intentions were to eradicate betting shops and houses and street betting, and, curtail if not destroy pony racing.\footnote{Referee, 29 August 1906 p.1; Sportsman, 15 August 1906 p.4; Sydney Mail, 4 July 1906 p.52.} Licensed tracks were contrived to control and regulate betting, while the revenue from an expected increase in attendance was anticipated to bolster the thoroughbred sport.\footnote{Sportsman, 29 August 1906 p.4; Sportsman, 19 August 1906 p.4; Town And Country Journal, 19 December 1906 p.45.}

By restricting gambling to racecourses, professional sports were in danger of losing patrons and bookmakers who had frequented sports for wagering. The bill's heavy-handedness grouped professional sports, such as sculling, in cahoots with betting shops, street and minors betting. Professional sculling had attracted vast crowds, but prohibition threatened the sport's composition or, as some columnists predicted, its virtual existence. 'Martindale' stated that:
Under our freshly-made betting laws, those people except the turfite will be guilty of breaking the law if they have a bet on their favourite sport. Now, why such should be the case it is hard to say. The doings of R.A.W. Green, Edward Trickett, W. Beach, E. Searle, and others in the aquatic world, did more to bring Australia generally, and New South Wales in particular, before the world, than anything that our members of Parliament or Governments have done during the last hundred years. Yet in one blow we knock out aquatics, except in an amateur sense, and what is more than strange, so far as our amateurs are concerned we have invariably been beaten.\footnote{455}

The \textit{Sportsman} suggested that the bill was class legislation and deemed it the "Rich Man's Betting Act, 1906".\footnote{456} There was little hullabaloo from the sculling fraternity, however, previous gambling reforms suggested that after initial law enforcement wagering returned to its unrestricted forms.\footnote{457} The Charles Towns/Ben Thoroughgood match on the Hunter River in November 1906 indicated that gambling at sculling races would continue, albeit, selectively. While a large number of police attended intent on preventing wagering, the "money that did change hands was at evens."\footnote{458}

But these options would not secure a sport that was driven by money and gambling. The following chapters will examine how the 1906 betting act helped reveal that the sport was geared towards the profit-making few who continued to run the sport on exclusive and self-indulgent lines. What will also be exposed is that vigorous betting was transacted between rival camps and that their greed overshadowed any commitment to structuring the sport or providing compensation for setbacks such as the public's betting restrictions.

Nevertheless, the gaming and betting legislation had the potential to devastate professional sculling and the effect of the gambling restrictions was expected for the Towns/Durnan world championship match of March 1907.

\footnote{455 \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 24 October 1906 p.45.} \footnote{456 \textit{Sportsman}, 15 August 1906 p.4; \textit{Sportsman}, 29 August 1906 p.4.} \footnote{457 O'Hara, op. cit., pp.136-139.} \footnote{458 \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 14 November 1906 p.50.}
**Towns v Durnan**

The contest was the first held under the newly devised world championship rules and regulations, but it was feared that Towns' consent to row on the Nepean River would have graver consequences for the sport than the betting legislation.\(^{459}\) The Nepean was not conducive to paying crowds, but a Penrith committee had guaranteed the scullers £1,000.\(^{460}\)

The Railway Department offered Sydneysiders a 5/- package, which included fare and entry into the finish enclosure,\(^{461}\) and while the sporting press predicted a 20,000 crowd,\(^{462}\) the dispatching of 60 constabulary to police the betting laws prompted the *Sportsman* to forecast that "a train load of wowsers will be the only ones able to enjoy the event."\(^{463}\)

Some 2,000 travelled from Sydney and, while the crowd of 15,000 was below expectations, the attendance of mainly local and mountains folk should have suggested to the professional sculling fraternity that the district could grow into a solid supporter base.\(^{464}\) Instead, the financial shortcomings occupied the main focus with the Penrith committee blaming the *Gaming And Betting Act* for the smaller than expected attendance.\(^{465}\) The *Referee* believed that the gambling legislation had little to do with the disappointing crowd. It argued that Durnan was so mismatched that the Sydney public found little curiosity in the contest. The *Referee* claimed that the 3 to 1 against Durnan "went begging, and perhaps that [the odds offered] is as near a record as anything connected with the event."\(^{466}\)

Towns defeated Durnan and was promptly challenged by his brother Charles.\(^{467}\) George Towns declined the bid, which brought to a close his remarkable sculling career. His retirement concluded the era of those scullers who had essentially learnt their skills and had attained international success in the pre-federation era. He was the last of the pioneers who had helped create the basis for an Australian type, identity and character and the

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459 Town And Country Journal, 27 February 1907 p.50; Referee, 6 March 1907 p.1.
460 Town And Country Journal, 27 February 1907 p.50.
461 Sydney Mail, 27 February 1907 p.574.
462 Town And Country Journal, 27 February 1907 p.50.
463 Sportsman, 13 February 1907 p.8.
466 Referee, 6 March 1907 p.1.
467 Referee, 10 April 1907 p.9.
last of the Australian ambassadors who had maintained the sport's high profile and had given professional sculling the seal of integrity and manliness.

Thus, abiding by the 1906 world championship rules and regulations, Charles Towns received the world crown from his brother by default.468

Conclusions

The re-examination and re-interpretation of the previous works on New South Wales professional sculling has addressed a number of apparent inadequacies in those works and has also provided a substantial context for the following chapters. In terms of analysis and interpretation, the previous works offer a too-narrow focus and minimise professional sculling's significance in the broader context of social and sports history.

Instead of providing a finite and easily categorised story, a situation cultivated by those authors previously examining the sport, this large and complex chapter has provided an analysis showing the breadth and depth of sculling and has avoided framing the argument on the mechanical discussions and examples duplicated in the previous works. Such works have illustrated that professional sculling provided a straightforward and one-dimensional contribution to Australian sports and social history.

This chapter has provided an analysis of professional sculling's role and its social impact on and within Australian culture. What it offers and where it differs from the previous works is that it pinpoints and analyses the shifts in cultural perceptions and values. It sheds new light on the era's ideologies and socio-cultural practices and their bearing on the social, economic and political spheres and it provides a clearer understanding of the social context in which national unification and nation building took place and the enhancing of Australia's political and social culture. By studying the complexities of the amateur/professional association to the specifics that the outrigger provided the medium for international relationships, the analytical depth provided in this chapter has opened new lines of inquiry and challenged the conditional and conventional interpretations put forward in the previous works.

468 No contested race.
The outrigger’s introduction into the British colonies from the mid-nineteenth century broadened imperial ties and created a new dimension for professional sport and Australian patriotism and nationalism. As the outrigger became the standard racing craft in the English-speaking world, it provided the means for international competition. The Australian scullers’ skills in the craft enabled them to dominate that world for most of the period between 1876 and 1907.

England’s introduction of a world championship in 1876 provided New South Wales, and progressively Australia, a forum in which to gain a presence on the international stage. This presence had widespread consequences for Australian culture and society. The Australian domination of the sport produced a sense of worth for society and dissipated fears of racial degeneration and unsophistication. At the same time, the ascendancy over England, Canada and America provided a measure for social progress.

Australian superiority gave credence to the middle-class concepts of muscular Christianity and athleticism as a means of developing a respectable society and as vehicles for nation building. The champion scullers were used to give concrete meaning to the perceptions of an Australian type, identity and character. They also embodied the middle-class, egalitarian concept that every man could improve his lot by hard work and dedication.

As an instrument towards nation building, professional sculling helped to give substance to the concept of unity through the language of international sporting dominance. The sport was a New South Wales phenomenon, but once it spread internationally, the success transformed from the parochial and provincial to Australian. Scullers became Australian ambassadors and their prominence on the world stage inspired the confidence that, although they were from British stock, they were Australians first. This confidence was demonstrated by the manner in which Australians took charge of the sport and meted out control to the other sculling nations and dominions. The organisers and administrators had little fear of imperial intimidation and such was their self-assurance that they began to regulate and codify the sport internationally. Professional sculling’s Australian leadership contrasted with other mass-spectacle sports, such as cricket, which flourished under England’s imperial umbrella.
Image and perception were crucial to the sport's eminence, especially for a sport based on and driven by money. Professional sculling, as a gambling medium, was vulnerable to shady practices. The sport's prominent support from civic and civil leaders and amateur sports officials, who in this case appeared to find little conflict between professional and amateur ideologies, aided the sport's image of integrity. As a money sport, professional sculling was considered relatively clean and its clean image was helped by the presence of prominent and eminent citizens. Politicians and businessmen gained exposure and gave the perception of community-mindedness. On the back of sculling, amateur rowing gained national and international recognition. Professional sculling offered the amateurs extensive endorsement and enhanced the social position and status of amateur rowing administrators.

The sport provided meaning and satisfaction for the public. One major advantage which professional sculling enjoyed was a large slice of the spectator pie because of the limited number of rival organised sports. Professional sculling revelled in this popularity, but there were signs warning that a serious remodelling of the sport's structures and direction was needed if it were to remain a leading pastime and a profit-making venture.

The 1890s depression demonstrated that money alone would not sustain the sport and it illustrated the need for sophisticated structuring. Similarly, there were no measures to address the 1906 Gaming And Betting Act, which restricted betting to licensed racecourses. The reliance on steamer patronage, to the detriment of land accommodation, demarcated the affluent and the masses. The emergence of other organised sports competing for their share of the spectator pie, and offering enclosures, facilities and affordable admission fees made considerable inroads into sculling's support. This challenge threatened to capture a significant portion of the professional sculling audience.

These were some of the crucial issues which threatened professional sculling's existence. Yet, the sculling fraternity's apathy towards addressing the challenges suggested that the sport's core was willing to confine the sport within its traditional mode of operation for betting purposes. Rather than confront the challenges, it seemed easier to do nothing.
CHAPTER THREE

THE ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT OF PROFESSIONAL SCULLING 1876-1907

Although professional sculling was predominantly a New South Wales phenomenon, scullers competed overseas as Australian representatives even before the federation of the colonies. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, between 1876 and 1907 Australia dominated world professional sculling. This has been described as a ’Golden Age’¹ and one that was followed by the apparent dissipation of the sport. Although no serious examination has been attempted in the existing literature to determine the reasons behind that collapse, it has been attributed diversely to the sport’s corruption by gambling, irregular competition and a narrow supporter base.

This chapter will provide a new perspective on the declining fortunes of professional sculling in the post-1907 era by providing an analysis of professional sculling’s organisational infrastructure and the ideas and forces which sustained it in its heyday. Changes to that infrastructure and the reasons behind those changes will place post-1907 in a new context enabling a more reliable explanation of professional sculling’s apparent decline. In particular, the chapter will provide an examination of the way in which the sport was organised and administered, its goals and how they were situated in the ideology of sport at the turn of the century. It will also examine the nature and priorities of the people who controlled the sport throughout its period of success. The organisation and fortunes of amateur rowing and of professional sculling in rural areas will also be considered to provide additional points of reference and further insights into the structure and fortunes of the metropolitan professional sculling scene.

To produce a succession of superior scullers, New South Wales required more than good fortune. Economic, social and environmental factors contributed to the colony's sculling dominance by fashioning a society enthusiastic for organised recreation and regular spectacles, and success fed off success. For four decades from the 1850s, New South Wales was buoyant financially, living conditions equalled the world's best and employment levels remained healthy. A warm climate and ample waterways favoured outdoor activities. In the absence of extensive road networks, inhabitants' lives revolved around waterways for employment, commerce and leisure. Water dependence and the development of water skills produced numerous scullers who competed against one another for stakes, purses or wagers.

The introduction of a world sculling championship by England in 1876 provided an opportunity for backers to incorporate an international campaign. Backers realised that worldwide competition, if managed carefully, could produce lucrative remuneration. It was in this overall context that they intensified their control and shaped the nature and structure of the sport in the late-nineteenth century.

The Structure Of Professional Sculling

Australian professional sculling imitated the English watermen's tradition of competing for money and betting on outcomes. Racing rules, in New South Wales, were adapted from the English system where competition was loosely based and a sculler would challenge a rival to race for an agreed sum. A series of such challenges determined the best sculler who then claimed the title of champion. This approach to racing was not unusual in the nineteenth century. A number of sports grew from similar beginnings.

Most top scullers hailed from country areas where daily life involved the

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use of a rowing boat.\textsuperscript{5} Many were self-taught rowers who gained strength from manual labour. Those talented and ambitious enough were lured to Sydney by the stake money and wagering. Promising scullers were taken in-hand by wealthy businessmen, known as backers, who sponsored their oarsmen by providing the stake money for challenges and housed them during training. Backers attempted to recover their outlays and obtain profit by betting on their charges.\textsuperscript{6} Such was the speculative nature of the business that the backer was crucial to the sport’s existence.

Professional sculling, worldwide, operated on a similar basis. In England, considered the home of rowing,\textsuperscript{7} professional sculling boomed during the 1860s and 1870s and its popularity led to the establishment of the world sculling championship which provided both northern and southern hemisphere scullers with monetary incentives as well as global and domestic prestige. The sculling world was essentially English-speaking and comprised England, the ‘Mother’ country, and its dominions Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the former colony, the United States of America.

In Australia, as in England, the sport functioned on laissez-faire principles without any central authority. Backers, who sponsored the leading scullers, assumed responsibility for the sport’s welfare and management. Once a sculler had been deposed of a title, the new champion and his backers appropriated control of that title and managed the title defences. Administration to preserve the sport’s respectability relied on the probity of its players.\textsuperscript{8} Backers promoted the idea of a healthy, character-building, remunerative but authentic sport and portrayed themselves and their charges as genuine sportsmen and upright citizens. Bona fide imagery endorsed honesty and credibility, as public perception of integrity was vital for a sport

\textsuperscript{6} Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.341; Sydney Mail, 7 March 1885 p.518; Sydney Morning Herald, July 1906 p.30; Sun, 9 July 1911 p.7; Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.14, 24-25.
\textsuperscript{8} Referee, 29 April 1891 p.1; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.6; Sydney Mail, 11 May 1889 p.989; Referee, 15 April 1890 p.1.
founded and dependent on money.  

Once Edward Trickett had won the 1876 world championship, the entrepreneurial skills of his Australian backers were adjusted to a more global focus. The sport’s fundamental structure required higher levels of expertise. Backers were committed to accommodating international scullers and their supporters, chaperoning their own men overseas, catering for massive crowds, conducting world championships, and sustaining the sport to procure maximum profit on a regular basis.  

Control and direction became the backers’ domain. Their authority enriched and augmented the sport between 1876 and 1907. During this period, Australia dominated world sculling, hosting 23 world championships and boasting seven of the nine world champions. While this success may be attributed to the skills of the scullers, it was also due, largely, to the managerial skills of the backers who husbanded carefully the domestic rowing scene and arranged the challenges to achieve maximum benefit.  

Australian world dominance and the sport’s high domestic profile negated the need for a governing body to oversee and arbitrate. Such an assembly may have impeded the entrepreneurial flavour and hindered Australia’s supremacy by imposing strict laws and rules. While backers emphasised tradition and equitable practice, certain initiatives favoured the well being of their financial interests and those of their scullers. The lack of interest in a regulatory body privileged the sport and its backers rather than the scullers, who remained at the mercy of their backers in a master/servant type relationship.

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9 Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.341; Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6; Town And Country Journal, 26 July 1905 p.50.  
10 Town And Country Journal, 7 July 1877 pp.20-21; Sydney Mail, 23 August 1884 p.368; Town And Country Journal, 23 August 1884 p.391; Town And Country Journal, pp.765-766; Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1940 p.25; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1941 p.16.  
11 It may be deduced that Kemp, McLean and Stanbury were held back from world championship racing until the current champion demised. The Australian Oarsman (10 September 1940 p.30) suggested that Stanbury “was held in reserve so long as Kemp was capable of upholding the honours.” The Deeble group controlled Beach, Kemp and Stanbury. The Spencers backed Searle and McLean. Kemp was Beach’s understudy and on Beach’s retirement he was presented with the title and given his first race at 34 years. Kemp and Beach never matched. McLean was never matched with Searle. Upon Searle’s demise, McLean, at 35 years of age, was promoted against Kemp.  
12 Daily Telegraph, 6 December 1887 p.4; Sydney Mail, 10 December 1887 p.1253; Referee, 1 January 1890 p.8; Sydney Mail, January 1890 p.42.
A governing body was deemed unwarranted while backers continued to produce champion scullers and accumulate a profit from which funds could be funnelled back into the sport. Once the 1890s depression suppressed cash flows and public demand crashed, the big backers' inclination towards the sport deteriorated, and calls for a controlling body surfaced.\textsuperscript{13} By then there were also more administrative and governance models emerging in Australian sport. These involved regularising competition, establishing rules and centralising administration. During the 1876 to 1892 period, though, backers prospered from their resourcefulness; their endeavours and fortune being assisted by a lively economy and the environment.

**Prosperity**

Backers were advantaged by the New South Wales climate and geography. The favourable climate and an east coast streaked with waterways allowed rowing year round, whereas, the northern hemisphere was restricted to the summer months. Organised rowing events created and capitalised on a following. Professional sculling offered the population one of the few organised spectacles.\textsuperscript{14} In return, backers had a plethora of scullers from which to choose, ready-made crowds and profit. Remuneration for backers and their charges between 1876 and 1892 proved substantial. Edward Hanlan stated his worth in 1887 at £10,000 and he emphasised that his supporters were less generous than those of William Beach.\textsuperscript{15}

During the four decades from 1850 to 1890, backers prospered. Offering an organised spectacle and programming around the few other organised sports, such as horseracing and cricket, backers drew enormous patronage, administering with little financial hindrance. The gold rushes, primary production and land speculation facilitated an economic boom that raised living standards to a level at least equal in affluence to the most

\textsuperscript{13} *Sydney Mail*, 16 May 1906 p.1317; *Sydney Mail*, 15 July 1908 p.189; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1906 p.8; *Sydney Mail*, 19 December 1891 p.1377; *Sydney Mail*, 6 July 1891 p.1282.


prosperous northern hemisphere countries. The economic and social climate provided disposable incomes, which encouraged the colony’s zest for wagering and provided opportunity for speculators. Backers were able to fund high-stakes racing, mentor many scullers and secure revenue to promote the sport. Money control interlaced with power and this integration produced centralised authority. The particular holders of that authority (the individual backers), though, changed whenever a champion lost to a man from a rival camp.

**Professional Sculling’s Entrepreneurs**

Between 1876 and 1892, control of the sport was confined to two camps. Principals of the groups were the publican, John Deeble, and brothers, Thomas Spencer, a pharmacist, and, John Spencer, a dentist. Deeble backed Beach, Kemp, Stanbury and Neilsen while the Spencers backed Trickett, Searle, McLean, Clifford, Matterson and Sullivan.

The Deeble and Spencer camps organised a network of operations, which strengthened their control and enabled the sport to flourish, arguably, beyond their expectations. The network, simple by modern standards, was revolutionary in rowing circles and produced many top scullers who maintained Australia's world championship dominance. They achieved this through improved training/coaching methods, careful recruitment programmes, prudent management of challenges, and through their entrepreneurial/promotional skills, which included a carefully developed relationship with the press and the stage management of main events.

The camps employed full-time sculling trainers and fitness instructors who supplemented technique tuition with pacemaker work. Generally, trainers were muscle manipulators or masseurs. Normally they accompanied their charges to all contests, including overseas racing. Fitness instructors were also skilled in sculling execution, which complemented the trainers’

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16 Cashman, op. cit., p.35; McLean, I., *Recovery From The 1890s Depression: Australia In An Argentine Mirror*, University Of Adelaide paper presented at ALL-UC Economic History Conference, University Of California, Los Angeles, 3 June 1996, p.3

expertise and bolstered the camps' mastery.\textsuperscript{18} Either the trainer or the instructor was proficient in boatbuilding and rigging, which ensured that the sculler was boated correctly.

Previously, a sculler was accompanied throughout his training by fellow rowers who took turns 'to give him a spin'. Scullers generally prepared themselves by rowing, walking and tree-felling.\textsuperscript{19} The Deeble and Spencer camps, as well as some less successful backers, maintained their scullers during training.\textsuperscript{20} These periods were generally between eight and 13 weeks and the costs of keeping a sculler was approximately £10 per week.\textsuperscript{21} The Spencer and Deeble camps faced even greater expense when they engaged permanent attendants and a collection of scullers.

For the most part, correct boating was the sculler's responsibility. The cost of a new craft was approximately £1 per foot and extra contrivances made the craft more expensive.\textsuperscript{22} Many scullers, who typically had few personal resources, rowed in second-hand boats as the cost of a new craft was beyond their means.\textsuperscript{23} Elite scullers were boated in new craft. Their backers often supplied them with new boats or boats were donated by boatbuilders to publicise their craftsmanship.\textsuperscript{24} Followers, occasionally, funded a new craft in appreciation for a victory that had netted them substantial winnings.\textsuperscript{25} Deeble and the Spencers readily boated their men in new craft, as did subsequent backers of their magnitude.\textsuperscript{26} Size of investment and the resulting profit were too significant to be dashed by inferior equipment. Raising preparatory standards was part of an overall process used by the Deeble and Spencer camps to produce the finest

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 5 April 1890 p.773.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 6 December 1887 p.4.
\textsuperscript{22} Interviews conducted with Jim Latham (December 1998) and Reg Hyde (July 1999); \textit{Sydney Mail}, 28 November 1891 p.1219.
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 February 1941 p.24; \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 July 1941 p.17; \textit{The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly}, February 1935 p.29.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Referee}, 5 March 1890 p.3.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 21 February 1885 p.398; \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 4 April 1885 p.704.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Referee}, 3 May 1888 p.8; \textit{Sun}, 23 July 1911 p.5.
scullers. To help acquire the best both camps also introduced a finder system.

Rowing talent scouts were utilised in country regions. They reported the progress of oarsmen and recommended new talent. Whether scouts were paid is unknown, however, capable scullers were invariably introduced to Deeble or the Spencers.27 Both camps were adept in choosing novice scullers who were housed and tutored until they reached their full potential. Recruitment by this method produced six of seven world champions and three runners up.28

Harnessing Control

Drawn onto the international stage and confronted by an enormous following, the rival camps organised match racing29 to protect their influence, increase their wealth, and relegate other speculators to the secondary circuit.30 Through judicious management and their feeder systems the Deeble and Spencer camps became the power and authority of professional sculling.

Match racing developed into an involved process. Backers were forthright in protecting their self-interests and maintained authority throughout negotiations.31 Literacy levels amongst oarsmen were poor32 and business acumen inferior to the requirements needed in high-level bargaining and organising. Backers were the financiers and demanded compliance from their charges.

A match came into being once a backer, on his sculler's behalf, challenged a rival to race for a nominated sum. A deposit accompanied the challenge and was placed in the hands of a stakeholder, a reputable person, such as a parliamentarian, alderman, editor or publican, who administered all monies concerned with the stake. The stakeholder notified the backers of

28 Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5.
30 Australian Oarsman, 10 January 1941 p.24.
31 Town And Country Journal, 30 August 1884 p.454.
the challenged sculler who, in turn, covered the deposit and then forwarded terms to the challenger.

Negotiations were conducted to determine the course, date and time of race, expenses, stake and dates of subsequent deposits. This period entailed vigorous and prolonged bargaining until a compromise was reached and articles of agreement signed. As control of racing consolidated, challenges became territorial and contractual. Solicitors or justices of the peace generally drew up the articles of agreement once backers bargained each other into concurrence. This practice filtered through domestic ranks and most match racing was conducted under a legal or binding agreement.³³ Normally, second deposits were paid 21 days before and final deposits seven days before the race.³⁴

Making challenges to champions, whether international or domestic, became a frustrating process. Champions were invested with the right to nominate all facets of a race. Such privilege entitled his backers to negotiate to the challenger's detriment. Most often a challenger accepted undesirable terms in order to bind a match.³⁵ This practice gave the Deeble and Spencer camps considerable power, which subsequent champions' backers abused.³⁶

Backers sometimes needed assistance in raising the stake money. The wealthy, such as the Spencer and Deeble camps, were able to use their own funds but less affluent backers sought public subscription to provide the shortfall. Canvassers were deployed to gather capital and press articles were used to encourage contributions. Subscribers were normally named and the extent of their contributions made public, a tactic which was designed to encourage further donations and present an image of community support for the contestant.³⁷

The Spencer brothers and Deeble engineered the framework for race days. Officials, such as umpires, judges and the timekeepers, were appointed from both professional and amateur ranks. While the amateurs

³⁴ *Sydney Mail*, 18 February 1888 p.381; *Town And Country Journal*, 27 April 1904 p.51.
³⁵ *Town And Country Journal*, 23 August 1884 pp.400-401; *Sydney Mail*, 7 June 1890 p.1277.
were enthusiastic to participate and promote the sport and its idealism, the mix of amateur and professional officials conveyed an air of rectitude to the public. Additionally, parliamentarians' alacrity to involve themselves in an official capacity promoted an image of honesty and respectability for the sport.\textsuperscript{38}

Committees were assembled to organise and delegate responsibility for race days. Accommodating spectators, at times up to 100,000, involved considerable and careful planning. Government authorities endorsed proposals and undertook the duties necessary to achieve successful race days. The marine authority was entrusted to keep a clear course and supervise moorings for spectator craft. The police presided over crowd behaviour and managed vehicular traffic, while rail and tram authorities were engaged to transport spectators.\textsuperscript{39} To entice city and country patronage, the latter services were encouraged by committees to offer cheap fares or packages, which included entry to enclosures.\textsuperscript{40} Accordingly, it can be seen that conducting a successful match race involved the co-operation of significant sections of the local community.

Steamers were hired for race days and patrons were charged admission for extensive viewing. Returns for the scullers were normally one-quarter of the total steamer receipts, which were used to cover their costs. The scullers, who also had to cover any shortfalls in the steamer takings, normally kept any residuals beyond the costs. For scullers in the twentieth century, declining steamer returns contributed to their disillusionment with and their abandonment of the sport.\textsuperscript{41} Grandstands and enclosures were used when the steamer option was unavailable and enticements of cheap transport to and from the stands was offered.\textsuperscript{42}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{38} Sydney Mail, 6 September 1879 p.369; Sydney Mail, 23 August 1884 p.368; Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342.
\textsuperscript{39} Sydney Mail, 3 December 1887 p.1200.
\textsuperscript{41} Referee, 18 April 1906 p.9; Referee, 22 July 1908 p.6.
\textsuperscript{42} Sydney Mail, 3 December 1887 p.1200; Town And Country Journal, 3 December 1887 p.1185; Brown, op. cit., pp.13-15; See also, Chapter Two, pp.117-120.
\end{flushleft}
Establishing A Supporter Base

Backers and their scullers were among the earliest of Australian sportsmen to realise the importance of having the press on their side. The press was accommodated on the 'umpire's' steamer, which also housed officials, dignitaries and merchants. This steamer provided the prime focal point and understandably, press coverage and subsequent publicity were favourable. Backers allowed the press to attend training sessions; they gave reporters access to contestants and afforded them places at the settling convention. Several pressmen even presided in official capacities for professional sculling events or acted as stakeholders. Some even joined working committees, which strengthened the backer-press alliance.\(^{43}\)

Publication of news and articles increased public interest and motivated the population to follow, attend and idolise. Scullers were lionised \(^{44}\) and their daily activities were embellished for public consumption. Backers, portrayed as stalwart and conscientable, were championed for their dedication in perpetuating the sport and delivering Australian providence. Overall, press involvement was a means to sanctify the sport and animate a timeless pursuit, which, optimistically, generations would endorse.\(^{45}\)

The complicity of dignitaries and businessmen was mostly with the backers' agenda. The sport's profile permitted backers to gather the support of civic and commercial leaders who accepted invitations to endorse a sport drawing massive support and enthusiastic press coverage. The collaboration extended further than pageantry. Eminent persons were conspicuous in official roles, such as those of judge and umpire, and on occasions they presided over the convention of settling stake money.

These leaders willingly established testimonials for scullers, which, at times, included their trainers. Family trusts were established to secure the future of scullers' families and hearty contributions were forwarded during the

\(^{43}\) Australian Oarsman, 10 December 1942 p.4; Town And Country Journal, 3 November 1888 p.925; Sydney Mail, 3 December 1887 p.1200; Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.704.

\(^{44}\) Hanlan was referred to as 'invincible' and 'unconquerable'. Beach was claimed as the, 'doughty son of Vulcan'. Searle was labelled as the, 'greatest sculler who ever raced'. Kemp was tagged, 'redoubtable'.

\(^{45}\) Sydney Mail, 23 August 1884 p.381; Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.341; Town And Country Journal, August 1904 p.503.
settling or at subsequent meetings. These financial contributions included the whole New South Wales colony as municipal mayors and newspaper editors were deputised to receive donations. The press was most particular in recording contributors' gifts and reporting accumulated totals.

In domestic match and handicap racing, businessmen were generous with sponsorships and prizes and it was not uncommon for them to assist a sculler gather a stake. They also guaranteed cups or prizes for feature races and they generally attached conditions before an award could be claimed. The terms were not restrictive, rather, they expressed endeavour and consistency. Such benefaction also peddled progressional advertising, for instance, when a sculler was asked to win three successive races before claiming an award.

Although these important citizens were prominent during a sculler's training and racing, their liberality at the settling confirmed the significance such symbolism played in bolstering community perceptions and beliefs.

The Settling

The settling concluded race day formalities. The occasion highlighted a celebration of the sport, the participants and even the organisers. Settling was often conducted at a distinguished hotel, often owned by a backer, and entry was restricted by invitation or ticket. A dignitary who had attended the race performed the role of master of ceremonies. The evening's business was the presentation of stake money and allocation of the gate but this was done with much pomp and celebration. Cheques were apportioned so that the winner's share included the stake money prize, his backers' outlay and nett percentage of the gate. The losing sculler received only his gate proceeds.

46 Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713; Sydney Morning Herald, 2 December 1887 p.9; Sydney Mail, 4 April 1885 p.735.
47 Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713; Town And Country Journal, 3 November 1888 p.925.
48 Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713; Town And Country Journal, 3 November 1888 p.925.
49 Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342; Sydney Mail, 4 April 1885 p.735; Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.704.
50 Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713; Daily Telegraph, 8 May 1888 p.4.
51 Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342; Daily Telegraph, 2 December 1887 p.5.
The settling was full of self-congratulations, toasts and monologues. These gatherings were parochial and infused by reminiscence. The tone depicted Australians as intrepid stock that rose to all occasions. Much bravado characterised settling, a pivotal device to father intense pride and well being in the sport and in the population at large.

Settling was an important tradition and a means of perpetuating the sport. It drew in society's influential and wealthy, a cross-section of those interested in the sport's betterment, those enticed by betting and those promoting masculine authority. Their endorsement reinforced the sport's profile and status, while their contribution, administratively and financially, alleviated the backers' need to deputise an external body charged with the elevation of the sport's influence and profile. It removed the need for any centralised controlling body to assume responsibility for awarding the honours and prizes.

**Potency And Control**

As the Deeble and Spencer camps fought for ascendancy in controlling the sport, the antagonism between the two intensified when William Beach returned from his 1886 English tour. On this occasion, the public welcomed him en masse and ceremonies were heavy with eminent persons, however, the Spencer camp was excluded from the organising and reception committees.

In February 1887, the rivalry was brought before the courts following Peter Kemp's and James Stanbury's wilful fouling of Neil Matterson in the Lake Bathurst Handicap. Kemp was disqualified from the event because he had "dealt Neil a very severe blow" from which Matterson required surgery to correct a broken nose. Kemp, consequently, was brought before the Water Police Court charged with assault.

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52 Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6; Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342; Town And Country Journal, 4 April 1885 p.713.
53 Town And Country Journal, 23 August 1884 p.392; Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
54 Echo, 4 December 1886 p.5; Town And Country Journal, 11 December 1886 p.1236.
55 Echo, 6 December 1886 p.5.
56 Referee, 10 February 1887 p.4.
57 Referee, 27 January 1887 p.5.
The camps' feuding was again apparent upon Henry Searle's 1888 challenge to Kemp for the world championship. The Spencers offered £500 to match Searle and Kemp, but the Deeble group, in gauging its rival's confidence, asked for £5,000. John Spencer startled his opponents by claiming the match with £500 as his first deposit. In the ensuing furore, Thomas Spencer and William Beach came to blows, but reason prevailed and the scullers were matched for £500 a side.\(^{58}\)

The ill feeling continued, as the Referee noted of the Kemp/Matterson October 1888 race, when neither man shook hands, which was uncustomary and a sign of poor sportsmanship.\(^{59}\) But Matterson and Searle's deliberate fouling of Beach in the 1888 Brisbane Handicap manifested the camps' bitterness.\(^{60}\)

Whereas these examples demonstrated serious provocation between the two camps, it was their command of the world championship that explained the magnitude of their power and authority over professional sculling. A clear illustration involved the managing of the world championship following Henry Searle's demise. A number of aspirants wished to claim the vacated title without the need of a contest.\(^{61}\)

The English press supported the claim of William O'Connor,\(^{62}\) Searle's previous challenger. However, John Deeble stated that Peter Kemp would resume as the world champion and he would be open to race all-comers.\(^{63}\) It became apparent to O'Connor that Australia's sculling strength could see the world championship remain for decades in the southern hemisphere.\(^{64}\) O'Connor's chance for world honours was more favourable against an aging Kemp rather that the younger Stanbury who was considered superior to his 'stable mate', the current world champion.\(^{65}\)

\(^{58}\) Sunday Times, 28 September 1920.
\(^{59}\) Referee, 27 January 1887 p.5.
\(^{60}\) Brisbane Courier, 12 December 1888 p.4; Sydney Mail, 22 December 1888 p.1308.
\(^{61}\) Sydney Mail, 21 December 1889 p.1381, Sydney Morning Herald, 18 December 1889 p.5; Sydney Morning Herald, 21 December 1889 p.11.
\(^{62}\) Referee, 1 January 1890 p.8; Referee, 9 April 1890 p.1.
\(^{63}\) Sydney Morning Herald, 24 December 1889 p.5; Sydney Mail, 4 January 1890 p.42; Town And Country Journal, 4 January 1890 p.39.
\(^{64}\) Sydney Mail, 11 January 1890 pp.97-98.
\(^{65}\) Echo, 5 April 1890 p.7; Echo, 1 February 1890 p.7.
Upon O'Connor's Canadian departure, the Spencer camp posted Matterson as Kemp's first challenger for £200 a side. Thomas Spencer explained that "when they challenged Kemp, it was only done with the view of keeping the championship here when they heard that O'Connor was coming." Similarly, Deeble agreed that if John McLean won his private match against Matterson, he too could race Kemp for the championship at £200 a side. These schemes were intended to frustrate O'Connor. As long as Kemp could be protected, the Deeble camp could afford to hold back Stanbury and profit from Kemp.

Upon his arrival, O'Connor condemned the sport in Australia and the sport's backers. He accused the latter of collusion and reprehensible and shameful behaviour. R.A. Watson, who was acting for McLean, advised the Canadian to cease snivelling and wait while the Australians sought to find their best sculler. The Deeble camp suggested that O'Connor would race Kemp but at £500 a side. O'Connor's inducement was a preliminary match with Stanbury before a race with Kemp.

The Canadian had been compromised from the moment he had departed from his homeland. The Deeble camp had demonstrated the potency of those who were fortunate enough to control the world championship. John Blackman argued that O'Connor would pursue an identical course to the Deeble camp if he was the world champion. He added that "Kemp has the title, and he knows the value of it, and it is not at all likely that he will give away a real good thing." O'Connor accepted the Stanbury race out of frustration, but his decision played into Deeble's hands.

Stanbury added to O'Connor's final insult when he defeated the Canadian comprehensively. O'Connor returned immediately to Canada with, presumably, many accounts of Australia's interpretation of sportsmanship.

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66 *Echo*, 5 April 1890 p.7; *Sydney Mail*, 5 April 1890 p.773.
67 *Sydney Mail*, 5 April 1890 p.773.
68 *Australian Star*, 8 April 1890 p.5.
69 *Australian Star*, 9 April 1890 p.3.
70 *Australian Star*, 9 April 1890 p.5.
72 *Sydney Mail*, 7 June 1890 p.1277.
73 *Australian Star*, 12 April 1890 p.5.
The O'Connor example demonstrated the Australian backers' authority over professional sculling. At first appraisal it indicates their patriotism and nationalism in keeping Australia foremost in international sport. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, backers and scullers promoted professional sculling as a manly sport and advanced themselves as role models and international ambassadors. But the O'Connor example also questions the extent of the backers' commitment to national pride and nation building.

Priorities

After Beach won the world championship in August 1884, backers argued that they needed to safeguard the championship because they feared that a Hanlan or O'Connor would abscond with the title and make conditions impossible for Australians to regain the crown. This threat encouraged the backers of the Australian world champion to dictate challenges and the sport's direction. This contributed to the Australian domination, backers' ongoing profits, and set the platform for the generation of immense patriotism and nationalism. Blackman argued that, "Some [backers] have lost money, some gained, but all have helped Australia to make the splendid stand which is recognised by all the world to be the highest attained by any country."

But one must question the backers' commitment to patriotism and nationalism when these concepts interfered with their profit making. The Australian backers Watson and Thomas Alcock appeared unperturbed that Hanlan would abscond with the world championship. They backed the Canadian against Beach and Kemp. In fact, Watson supported Hanlan in six defeats and at £500 per race he demonstrated considerable loyalty to the Canadian. It is interesting to note that Hanlan, despite losing, claimed a profit on both of his Australian tours. It also seems incredible that his Australian backers would persevere with the losing Canadian over a four-

75 Sydney Morning Herald, 19 August 1884 p.8; Sydney Mail, 18 February 1888 p.381; Sydney Mail, 7 June 1890 p.1277.
76 Sydney Mail, 11 May 1889 p.989.
77 Sydney Mail, 14 February 1885 p.342; Daily Telegraph, 6 December 1887 p.4.
78 Sydney Mail, 5 April 1890 p.773.
79 Referee, 3 October 1888 p.1; Referee, 28 June 1888.
year-period when normally a sculler who failed to gain results was dismissed. ‘Pendragon’, writing in the London Referee, may have touched on a probable answer. On the Kemp/Hanlan May 1888 world championship match he stated that "I do not like the fact that [Hanlan] was favourite being so industriously advertised to England as a matter of great importance, while at the same time commissions to back Kemp were wired all the way from Australia to operators in the London market."¹⁰⁰

The Spencer brothers made an issue of blocking O’Connor’s world championship claims by matching Matterson with Kemp. However, their sentiments for the world title to remain within Australia vanished as they backed the Canadian against Stanbury. They were also prepared to support him in a world title race against Kemp.¹⁰¹ The Spencers also took in-hand the New Zealand champions, Charles Stephenson and Thomas Sullivan, in their endeavours to capture the world crown. Whereas the former did not rise to their expectations, Sullivan was backed against Stanbury in the May 1892 world championship race.¹⁰²

The Brisbane Handicap of December 1888 also raises questions about the backers’ commitment to patriotism and nationalism. At the time, Beach was arguably Australia’s most famous and respected international sportsman. Yet, Searle and Matterson deliberately fooled him in his heat. While the press condemned their actions, it also blamed the Spencer camp for compelling its men to row to instructions.¹⁰³ Such was the Spencers’ weight of money on Searle’s victory in the final that the pressure brought upon the race officials saw them reinstate Searle and Matterson in the final. Compared to the Spencer camp’s profiteering, it seemed that the reputations of Beach, the sport and Australia were less significant.

These examples support the claim that the backers’ primary concern was profit making but they also demonstrate the power and authority that the backers had in professional sculling. The Deeble and Spencer camps had developed such a contained web of control that they were able to engineer

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¹⁰⁰ Referee, 28 June 1888.
¹⁰¹ Sydney Mail, 24 May 1890 p.1165.
¹⁰² Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1942 p.4.
¹⁰³ Brisbane Courier, 12 December 1888 p.4; Argus, 13 December 1888 p.8; Sydney Mail, 22 December 1888 p.1308; Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., pp.43-47.
Australian domination and dictate the sport's course and direction. Consequently, their thirst for profit and control eventually led to the sport's market saturation.

The Cost Of Arrogance

While the Spencer and Deeble groups created a social and sporting phenomenon, their sudden withdrawal from supporting professional scullers signalled the sport's decline. The 1890s depression crippled the sport's speculative nature and diminished the colony's investment capacity and economy. Money was available for major contests, but a lack of depth in the elite ranks and the unwillingness to back or insufficient backing for overseas scullers to journey to New South Wales made speculation unfavourable.\(^4\) Additionally, with the disappearance of the two main development programmes, the ranks of potential champions were depleted. Second-rate scullers left the colony for the northern hemisphere searching for monetary gain. Few races were conducted on the Parramatta River and the focus of domestic sculling shifted to the country where scullers competed for small stakes and prize money.\(^5\) May 1892 saw the last world championship raced on Australian waters until July 1904. The Australian world champion, James Stanbury, was unmatched between May 1892 and July 1896.

With Henry Searle's demise in 1889, the Spencer camp lost both world champion and world championship. The scullers the group supported in subsequent racing had mixed success and the camp was unable to recoup its losses. Its stable of scullers disbanded through retirement and travel overseas.\(^6\) The costs of sustaining a novice over a number of years had overtaken returns, making such investment uneconomical. Sullivan's loss in May 1892 followed by the financial disaster of the 'Parramatta River Sculling Handicap' forced the Spencers' withdrawal from the financing of professional sculling. The camp contained astute businessmen who speculated on other

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\(^4\) *Sydney Mail*, 7 June 1890 p.1277; *Sydney Mail*, 6 July 1891 p.1282; *Sydney Mail*, 12 November 1892 p.1110.

\(^5\) *Sydney Mail*, 28 November 1891 p.1219; *Sydney Mail*, 16 September 1893 p.613.

\(^6\) *Sydney Mail*, 12 April 1890 p.830; *Sydney Mail*, 18 July 1891 p.154.
ventures and foresaw a bleak future for professional sculling.\textsuperscript{87}

The Spencer brothers sought greater fortune. By mid-1889 they had purchased five acres at Lillee Bridge and invested approximately £20,000 to create the Lillee Bridge sporting grounds (Harold Park Paceway c.1929). The unique complex opened on New Year's Day, 1890, and catered for pony racing, trotting, cycling and pedestrianism. The added spectacle for patrons was night racing and each sport was represented on the programme.

Established beside the Forest Lodge tram terminus, the grounds offered a 4,000 capacity grandstand, rooms for participants and stabling facilities. By 1893 racing was conducted three nights per week to large attendances.\textsuperscript{88} In comparison, professional sculling paled as an investment. The Spencer brothers were beyond subsidising a sport with poor returns. Nevertheless, they kept an interest in the sport, when called upon, in an official or advisory capacity.\textsuperscript{89}

The Deeble camp prospered initially from Searle's passing when Peter Kemp resumed as world champion. James Stanbury followed Kemp, but after his victory over Sullivan he became unmatchable. Stanbury was superior to local men and in a bid to capitalise on his fame he was backed on an American trip in February 1893. What promised to be a full year of profitable racing, including title defences, capitulated into a barren exercise.\textsuperscript{90} Stanbury returned in October under-raced, unmatched and out-of-pocket. The sport in America proved as limp as it was in New South Wales. The Deeble group was devoid of up-and-coming men and it possessed an unmatchable world champion. The contingent deduced that further involvement in the sport was fruitless.

Deeble, like the Spencers, kept ties with the sport in an advisory capacity.\textsuperscript{91} His commitments, outside of rowing, were predominantly pony racing and trotting. These included roles as secretary of the Brighton Race Club and Epping Trotting Club (Harold Park Paceway c.1929), where he

\textsuperscript{87} Sydney Mail, 3 May 1890 p.998; Sydney Mail, 22 October 1892 p.994; Sydney Mail, 24 December 1892 p.1438.
\textsuperscript{88} Sydney Mail, 4 January 1890 p.41.
\textsuperscript{89} Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11.
\textsuperscript{90} Sydney Mail, 25 February 1893 p.416; Sydney Mail, 16 June 1893 p.1196; Sydney Mail, 14 October 1893 p.821; The depression in America peaked between 1893 and 1896.
\textsuperscript{91} Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 24 June 1908 p.1673.
acted as stakes promoter, provider, starter and general overseer. As one of the driving forces behind the establishing of a strong pony and trotting circuit, Deeble officiated as a committeeman for the United Pony Clubs and the Associated Pony Clubs. A respected inventor, he invested in patent starting machines. He spent a great deal of time on the Royal Agricultural Society’s committee and he officiated as assistant ringmaster at their shows. These responsibilities and investments were more profitable than the high cost and meagre returns from professional sculling post-1892.

Others from the Deeble camp had flourishing investments outside professional sculling. George Hill, for example, was part owner of the Hobartville Stud and he raced numerous top-class thoroughbreds. Until 1897, he was one of the longest serving Australian Jockey Club members, during which time he was also treasurer of Tattersall’s Club. Other investments outside the thoroughbred industry included ownership of several high-grade coursing dogs and ownership of the Criterion Theatre. Hill was principal backer of champion boxer Larry Foley. However, the uncertainty of returns from professional sculling in the 1890s made the sport unattractive to the big backers.

The Spencer and Deeble departures damaged the sport irrevocably. Attempts to revive professional sculling wilted and new benefactors were unobtainable. The two camps, undeniably, created a social and sporting phenomenon, however, their phenomenon had been composed for and around themselves. Their initiatives, the infrastructure, finance, control and direction were apportioned for their dominance. Other than for personal gain or as a reinforcement of their power, little facilitation was extended beyond the elite scullers.

It may be reasoned that both camps were justified in rationalising their control as they funded the sport and carried losses. The aim of professional sport is profit, not benevolence, and both groups consisted of businessmen who were in the game to benefit. Nevertheless, either short-sightedness or

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92 Bulletin, 29 August 1896 p.27; Sunday Times, 27 October 1912 p.20.
93 Referee, 7 April 1897 p.5.
94 Sydney Mail, 22 October 1892 p.944; Sydney Mail, 15 June 1895 p.1236.
95 Sydney Morning Herald, 23 October 1912 p.4, Australian Oarsman, 10 October 1942 pp.13-14; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1942 pp.3-4; Australian Oarsman, December 1942 p.4.
greed fashioned the camps' deliberate neglect of a solid infrastructure for the sport. All the ingredients needed to strengthen the sport through the lower ranks were available. Business support, high-profile endorsees, committeemen, officials, considerable press and public approval were available to channel into the sport and construct a powerful and lasting network. Instead, the two camps collected the best scullers and used them to make Australian international sculling superior, exclusive and dominant to the detriment of both overseas and local competition.

Without underbelly to the international scene, the Deeble and Spencer departure left a massive void from which the sport failed to recover. Those remaining had little foundation or compensation from which to rebuild.⁹⁶ In the midst of economic depression few speculators had the courage to finance a sport with limited and risky opportunities.⁹⁷ Such a vacuum should have extinguished the sport. However, where the city sculling collapsed, the sport's rural nursery survived.

The Country Scene

Country centres continued to provide regattas for their oarsmen. Local committees and backers promoted small stakes competition, which attracted strong community support. Most competent oarsmen confined themselves to their immediate municipalities, but those fortunate enough to gather sufficient funding travelled to outer regions. Country areas, by their nature, could sustain rowing competitions. Small populations, continuing water dependence and an aquatic culture maintained the sport of boat pulling.

Towns and villages had established a more stable infrastructure than their metropolitan counterparts. Local aquatic clubs or similar bodies organised and managed regattas and even with smaller populations a range of watersports was programmed. Rowing was accommodated substantially. Youths, amateurs, ladies, mixed and professionals raced in single, doubles

⁹⁷ *Sydney Mail*, 11 February 1893 p.312; *Sydney Mail*, 16 September 1893 p.613; *Sydney Mail*, 4 May 1895 p.927.
and crews. Water brigades were a mainstay for country regattas.\(^98\)

While providing essential community services, water brigades and aquatic bodies were interwoven and regatta administration stemmed from these groups. Prizes and prize money were raised by local businesses, which supplemented race entry fees, donations and backers' stakes. The stake money for match racing paled in comparison to city racing, however, stakes of £100 were not rare.\(^99\) While the organisation of country racing copied aspects of the metropolitan and international sport it was far less dependent upon a couple of rival camps. The local organisation and committees provided a more stable base that could survive the departure of a few individuals.\(^100\)

Management and organisation were communal efforts where success reflected favourably on the district. Larger regattas incorporated amusements, various exhibitions and commodity stalls, which heightened festivities and extended a tradition for host districts.\(^101\) The convivialities combined with competition sometimes lured prominent city-based scullers who were forward in their praise of the regattas. Metropolitan press, anxious to boost columns and offer a glimmer of a revival, afforded country regattas extensive coverage where previously only brief mentions had been the norm.\(^102\) Overall, the longevity of country rowing was founded on ongoing, stable administration, and community and commercial support. Importantly for the professionals, rowing survived because of this country stability.

Despite continued interest in the sport in rural districts, efforts to revive professional sculling on the Parramatta River floundered. Profit-to-loss ratio was low and by 1895 the sport dipped to further despair when the heavily promoted 'Great Sculling Tournament' capitulated due to lack of acceptors.\(^103\) The tournament, the first earnest attempt to provide high stakes and repair professional sculling since the failed 1892 'Parramatta


\(^99\) Referee, 4 May 1892 p.8; Sydney Mail, 12 November 1892 p.1110; Sydney Mail, 8 June 1895 p.1185; Sydney Mail, 12 September 1896.

\(^100\) Referee, 9 June 1897 p.5; Sydney Mail, 31 October 1896 p.953; Lewis-Hughes, op. cit., pp.42-43.

\(^101\) Referee, 22 November 1893 p.3.

\(^102\) Sydney Mail, 7 March 1891 p.547; Sydney Mail, 8 June 1895 p.1185.

\(^103\) Sydney Mail, 9 March 1895 p.510.
River Sculling Handicap, confirmed the sport's metropolitan disintegration. Whereas new entrepreneurs tried to generate interest, the void created by the Spencer and Deeble camps had crushed the sport. Nevertheless, while the big backers played a major role in the sport's decline, there were other factors that also contributed to the deterioration.

A Mobile And Changing Society

As discussed above, the economic climate and a lack of support structures proved adverse. Without a formal framework external factors presented as great a threat as internal depletion. By 1895, other sporting codes had established an association or group structure. Amateur athletics and rowing, swimming, bowls, hockey, tennis and cycling were controlled by or affiliated with senior bodies, while cricket and rugby union had an established framework. Commercial traders, like Anthony Horderns, became prominent in supplying and supporting work-based teams for retail/industry sporting competitions. A reduction in weekly working hours from 54 to 48 had flowed from the 1850s and the spread through the workforce of the half-day Saturday holiday, from the 1870s increased leisure time and freed the population to participate in and watch a variety of activities. Horseracing had boomed from the 1880s with thoroughbred, proprietary and trotting offering gamblers a glut of meetings. The cycling craze began from 1890 with the introduction of the pneumatic tyre. This innovation enabled the population mobility and freer forms of entertainment and recreation. So popular was the bicycle that by 1897 130 models were available.

By the 1890s, railways had opened up New South Wales. Tenterfield, Bourke, Hay, Albury and Newcastle were linked to Sydney, which

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105 Cashman, op. cit., p.98; Referee, 15 January 1890 p.7.
107 O’Hara, op. cit., pp.103-110; Peake, W., ‘Proprietary Pony Racing In Sydney 1888-1942’, PhD thesis work in progress, University Of Western Sydney, Bankstown.
strengthened commercial trade and provided superior transport for the population. Country areas took on new dimensions through increases in settlement and industry, while Sydney grew as a service point and an immense commercial and financial centre. Rail and tram lines had opened up greater Sydney. Transport assisted population growth, especially westwards, and throughout the 1880s this increase outstripped Sydney city. Manufacturing was relocating from the inner city to the western and southern suburbs, which attracted and entrenched a workforce.

With increasing numbers settling in suburban areas, one priority for people was recreation. As suburbs expanded, the construction of ovals near rail and tram stops and the formation of sporting clubs became a feature of the new settlements. Sporting clubs helped provide a sense of community for suburban dwellers by reinforcing confidence and obligation.

Competition were organised at local, district and metropolitan levels. A number of sports, such as cricket, were redefined to increase their base and teams competed in broader competitions, which expanded participation and spectatorship. By the turn of the century, the powerful momentum of suburban-based sport set it as a dominant recreation form. However, the popularity of these sports meant that more were competing for the spectators’ attention. Professional sculling’s problems revealed that it could not compete effectively and consequently it lost much of its supporter base in a period when sport in general appeared to be booming. Neither money nor the fascination of claiming a world champion could sustain the sport.

The Amateur Challenge?

Rowing which did not depend on money fared much better during this period. Although much has been written about muscular Christianity and social Darwinism influencing amateur ideology, the strong structure and organised networks that amateur rowing had created were more realistic

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110 Cashman, op. cit., pp. 94-98.
threats to professional sculling than amateur idealism. Amateur rowing had established a widespread domestic base effecting rational recreation principles. Schools, colleges and rowing clubs had nurtured and replenished their ranks, albeit while reinforcing ideals of body, mind and soul, through a progression system.\textsuperscript{111} Years of patient and stringent management enabled strong and regular local and intercolonial competition that attracted and inspired participants and spectators. Alternatively, the professionals had little infrastructure and relied on money to foster their game. Reaching the top ranks was available to only a select few. If backing was not forthcoming, these ranks would dwindle and the sport would lose its nucleus.

Amateurism emerged as a power by the century's turn.\textsuperscript{112} Historians such as Cashman, Booth and Tatz, Crotty and Solling, have documented the fanaticism for amateur purity demonstrated by leading sporting administrators and influential journalists.\textsuperscript{113} In rowing, columnists such as Blackman (\textit{Sydney Mail}) and Coomes (\textit{Referee}) were passionate and parochial in endorsing amateur wholesomeness.\textsuperscript{114} Coomes offered a pragmatic approach towards the professionals. He suggested that the professionals had a place if a responsible [amateur] body controlled them.\textsuperscript{115} Administrators, however, were stringent with their rules and disallowed amateur competition against professionals.\textsuperscript{116} Nonetheless, these men had a conviction for rowing. This conviction drew them closer to the professionals than any defiance in print, management or convention.

Professional sculling had a narrow focus. The sport, based on money, concentrated on single sculls racing. The amateurs were more concerned with crews' racing and offered a broader range of competition. The professionals were restricted, predominantly, to New South Wales and it may

\textsuperscript{112} Adair & Vamplew, op. cit., pp.36-39; Bennett, 'Professional Sculling In New South Wales', op. cit., p.139; Cashman, op. cit., pp.57-62.
\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Referee}, 23 June 1897 p.1.
\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 28 November 1891 p.1219; \textit{Sydney Mail}, 8 June 1895 p.1185.
be argued that the rise of amateur rowing and its idealism reinforced this isolation.117 However, the professionals disregarded intercolonial contests in search of ultimate recognition and became fully international by 1876, extending to world domination until 1907. Amateurs gained international status only in 1912.118

There is little doubt that professional sculling created a high profile and a mass spectatorship for rowing as a whole. Few could argue against the important role the sport played in inspiring nationalism throughout the colonies and promoting patriarchal and athletic values. Throughout these times, those obligated to the amateur ethos were at the forefront of professional sculling in administrative capacities. Clark, Davis, Driver, Horniman, McDonald, Scott and Thornton were some of many amateur bastions who officiated, promoted and, by their presence, sanctioned professional sculling.119 Blackman and Coombes were inspirational in developing the sport.

Coombes was a tireless worker acting as a regular stakeholder and chairing settling. He headed many committees and presided at meetings that devised rules and regulations governing world, national and state titles. As an instigator of the `Referee Challenge Cup' and `The Sculling Championship of the World and the Hagon Cup', Coombes was foremost in attempts to restore the sport to its former glory.120 Blackman provided as much energy as Coombes.121 He undertook varied duties as umpire, judge, timekeeper and handicapper. He officiated for the professionals at city meets and travelled extensively to control race day proceedings at country regattas. Like Coombes, he conducted settling and produced the laws for championship racing. Within their columns both men eulogised the sport,

117 Sydney Mail, 30 November 1901 p.1403; Sydney Mail, 14 June 1902 p.1527.
119 Daily Telegraph, 2 December 1887 p.5; Referee, 12 March 1890 p.8; Referee, 2 April 1890 p.8; Referee, 22 February 1893 p.8; Town And Country Journal, 14 November 1906 p.50.
120 Town And Country Journal, 3 August 1904 p.50; Town And Country Journal, 26 July 1905 p.50; Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Referee, 20 November 1912 p.1; Referee, 15 June 1927 p.16.
121 Sydney Mail, 19 December 1891 p.1377; Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Australian Oarsman, 10 December 1942 p.4; Sydney Mail, 8 March 1911 p.57; Sydney Mail, 1 March 1922 p.3; Referee, 1 March 1922 p.11.
promoted potent nationalism and reverence for both champion and second-rate scullers.\textsuperscript{122}

The cordiality shown to professional sculling was extraordinary considering the much-discussed taint with which it was feared the professionals were likely to smear amateurs.\textsuperscript{123} Furthermore, amateur rowing clubs, when extending honorary membership to the professionals, showed little sense of a conflict of interest. Beach (Balmain), Matterson (Mercantile and East Sydney), Searle (East Sydney), Stanbury (Mercantile) and the Canadian Hanlan (Mercantile) were some accorded memberships. Trickett, Beach, Kemp and, later, Towns coached and boated amateur rowers, extending the association between professionals and amateurs.\textsuperscript{124}

Amicability between professionals and amateurs extended across decades. Disagreements between the two focused mainly on gambling and racing for money. The protectors of amateur ideals, though, proved an anomaly. They were motivated to officiate, collaborate and report on professional activities amidst the stakeholding, the gambling and the settling. Whilst they feared that their amateur oarsmen could be tainted competing against the professionals they considered themselves immune.

While the professionals attained the highest profile, it was in the amateur's interests to collaborate and contribute to the euphoria. The threat to professional sculling was not muscular Christianity or rational recreation, but the lack of an organised structure and a recruiting system to enable a strong participant base and progression through ranks beyond the channels of two strong stables. The amateurs had established such a network. It proved to be a powerful and, later, dominating force.

\section*{Change In Context}

From 1892, professional sculling had faded as a mass spectacle and powerful nationalistic tool. The big backers were deserting the sport and the

\textsuperscript{122} Sydney Mail, 27 February 1897 p.465; Referee, 20 July 1904 p.1; Sydney Mail, 11 July 1896 p.93; Referee, 7 August 1912 p.11.


\textsuperscript{124} Sydney Mail, 12 April 1890 p.830; May, A., Sydney Rows: A Centennial History Of The Sydney Rowing Club, Sydney Rowing Club, Abbotsford, New South Wales, 1970, pp.18, 60.
standard of the remaining scullers was mediocre. Attempts to revive professional sculling petered out and the sport found itself in an unenviable position of housing an unmatchable world champion in Stanbury. The sport was not alone in this downturn. Amateur rowing was also experiencing a decrease in numbers and a fall in crowds.\textsuperscript{125} However, the amateurs were maintaining up to 40 meets per year.

Between 1892 and 1895 the sporting press covered international and country rowing as a means of keeping alive the interest in the professionals.\textsuperscript{126} The career of New Zealander, Tom Sullivan, in England, "whom we may claim as one of our men", was given widespread coverage. The adoption of Sullivan demonstrated the desperation the press had to generate interest in the sport and keep Australia at the forefront. The general illusion within the sporting press was that someday the backers would return, rowing ranks would swell, and the public would come back in droves.\textsuperscript{127} By December 1895, a hint of a recovery surfaced in England.

The Englishman, Charles Harding, reversed an established custom when in 1895 he dictated terms in challenging Stanbury for the world championship. Desperate to secure the match, Stanbury forfeited a Parramatta River contest and accepted a meagre £50 in expenses to race on the Thames.\textsuperscript{128} This transition highlighted the sport's depression in New South Wales. Stanbury was forced to choose between compliance or remain unmatched. The champion obtained backing from a Sydney syndicate, with John Beales as principal backer and travelling companion.\textsuperscript{129}

Upon Stanbury's victory in July 1896, the Canadian Jacob Gaudaur challenged and Stanbury again waived most of his rights to secure the match. It must be noted that Stanbury and Beales considered Gaudaur 'easy pickings' and their greediness to make easy money was demonstrated by their acceptance of unfavourable terms. Their other motive was to hold

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{125} Sydney Mail, 24 December 1892 p.1110; Sydney Mail, 11 February 1893 p.312.
\textsuperscript{126} Town And Country Journal, 11 November 1893 p.40; Referee, 22 November 1893 p.3; Sydney Mail, 15 June 1895 p.1236.
\textsuperscript{127} Sydney Mail, 28 November 1891 p.1219.
\textsuperscript{128} Sydney Mail, 7 June 1890 p.1277; Sydney Mail, 7 December 1895 p.1184.
\textsuperscript{129} Sydney Mail, 7 December 1895 p.1184; Sydney Mail, 24 October 1906 p.893.
\end{footnotes}
the contest as quickly as possible and then depart forthwith to arrive in Australia in time for the Melbourne Cup.\textsuperscript{130}

Whatever interest in the sport had been rekindled by Stanbury's racing, the press seized the chance to swell that interest by acclaiming Australians, through Stanbury, as superior if not unimpeachable.\textsuperscript{131} To fuel interest on the domestic scene, a match between the second-raters George Towns and Chris Neilson, held at Raymond Terrace, was billed as 'the great race'. Towns won 'the great race', however, despite the press hyperbole, Stanbury was defeated.\textsuperscript{132} After a 12-year dominance the championship was lost and regardless of the press puffery the Sydney scene remained comatose.

**Newcastle Emerges**

Country centres continued to prolong professional sculling domestically. Newcastle emerged as the core, due primarily to its strong aquatic heritage and culture.\textsuperscript{133} The Hunter River provided courses, including Stockton, Mayfield, Raymond Terrace and Morpeth, while the district was served to the south by Lake Macquarie. Local oarsmen had been prominent in the professional ranks from the middle of the century. These were men such as the Hickey and the Towns brothers, Tresidder, Thomas Croese and Thoroughgood. As discussed in the previous chapter, on Stanbury's demise the Newcastle rowing fraternity believed they had a Coming Man in George Towns.\textsuperscript{134}

Towns' followers were eager for their man to reach England for the 1897 rowing season and they proposed that Towns' trainer and Stanbury's former mentor, Peter Kemp, should accompany him. To fund the venture, the backers would call upon public subscription and finance the shortfall.\textsuperscript{135} The cost for both men was expected to be over £1,000. The campaign, in light of the sport's poor standing and Towns' uncertain quality, was a remarkable risk and demonstrated the daring and parochialism of the district.

\textsuperscript{130} *Sydney Mail*, 29 August 1896 p.462; *Referee*, 21 October 1896 p.6; *Sydney Mail*, 24 October 1896 p.893; *Bulletin*, 31 October 1896 p.20.
\textsuperscript{131} *Sydney Mail*, 5 September 1896 p.513.
\textsuperscript{132} *Sydney Mail*, 24 October 1896 p.893.
\textsuperscript{133} *Sydney Mail*, 31 October 1896 p.953; *Referee*, 10 February 1897 p.5.
\textsuperscript{134} *Sydney Mail*, 24 December 1892 p.1438; *Sydney Mail*, 27 February 1897 p.465.
\textsuperscript{135} *Sydney Mail*, 27 February 1897 p.465.
Not since the Spencer and Deeble times had speculation been so enterprising.

Stanbury's indignance at an unproven Towns representing Australia at public expense became more than an obstacle. Stanbury's tirade divided Towns' backers with the majority advocating for a Towns-Stanbury match. Towns' decision to reject his backers' instructions and travel to England provided an added dimension and increased interest in the sport.

Between 1897 and 1904, the Newcastle district continued to grow as the centre for professional sculling. Regular competition, well-organised carnivals, the advantage of several courses and the perception that Newcastle was the leading rowing centre helped boost the sport's popularity. Samuel Arnott, who assisted Towns to England, emerged as the main administrator. He, as principal of "his merry men", was instrumental in building and consolidating the sport in Newcastle.

Arnott's probity was respected throughout the district and was based on his business conduct and organisational ability. However, an added attribute emphasised by the press was that as a non-gambler. Arnott conveyed a sense of trust and integrity for professional sculling.

At a time when professional sports' bona fides were questionable and middle-class attitudes were shifting towards Protestant orthodoxy, Arnott's thrust in elevating professional sculling was portrayed as a breath of fresh air. Underneath this, the practicality of it all was that his men were effective organisers interested in maintaining rowing as a whole rather than concentrating on only the best oarsmen. This situation broadened community involvement and strengthened the sport at the various centres along the Hunter River. The camp's organisational and financial expertise

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136 Newcastle Morning Herald And Miners' Advocate, 16 March 1897 p.3.
137 Newcastle Herald, 18 March 1897 p.3.
138 Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Sydney Mail, 30 November 1901 p.1403; Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1900 p.3; Newcastle Herald, 1 January 1902 p.3.
139 Sydney Mail, 10 May 1902 p.1207; Referee, 11 March 1903 p.6; Sportsman, 14 December 1918 p.7; Sydney Mail, 31 October 1896 p.953; Newcastle Herald, 8 January 1899 p.7; Newcastle Herald, 1 January 1902 p.3.
140 Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1901 p.3; Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1902 p.5.
141 Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1; Referee, 26 July 1905 p.6.
142 Town And Country Journal, 3 August 1904 p.50.
143 Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1901 p.3; Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1902 p.5.
lifted the sport's profile and popularity. Increasing attendances enabled other local backers to promote match racing and races had stakes up to £100.\textsuperscript{144}

The sport's match-racing mechanisms changed little from the previous era with backers controlling management and organisation. A supporting feature in the Newcastle case was that backers and scullers also belonged to local rowing clubs, which provided them with both regular competition and exposure. Unlike rowing in Sydney, these scullers and backers were 'home-grown' and raced and conducted themselves in front of parochial crowds. Scullers who competed outside the district represented Newcastle, firstly, and brought fame to the area.\textsuperscript{145} Newcastle's rise as the home of professional sculling was elevated by Towns' overseas victories. His successes also renewed interest in Sydney. Where Stanbury had failed, the Newcastle man had restored Australian glory.

\textbf{Sydney Revitalised}

In the 1876 to 1892 period, the standing of country-based sculling was limited, but by the turn of the century country sculling was placed in higher regard than Sydney's. Nevertheless, regardless of a strengthening country circuit and Newcastle's emergence, the sport's revival needed Towns' international successes. Without Towns' world championship reclamation, the sport would have remained a restricted country pastime. His win catapulted professional sculling from mediocrity to a mass spectacle equivalent to the 1876-1892 period.\textsuperscript{146}

The reverence for Towns and the framework established by the Newcastle backers were the combinations needed to energise the sport and thrust the district's standing beyond that of a small-time concern. In addition to Towns, Newcastle had the capacity to produce a succession of top scullers in Richard Tresidder, Alfred Worboys, Charles Towns and Benjamin Thoroughgood. These men ensured Newcastle's continued prominence and laid the foundations for country dominance over Sydney scullers.

\textsuperscript{144} Sydney Mail, 10 May 1902 p.1207; Sydney Mail, 28 December 1901 p.1675.
\textsuperscript{145} Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Referee, 14 August 1906 p.9; Referee, 4 March 1908 p.9.
\textsuperscript{146} Sydney Mail, 17 February 1902 p.1610; Referee, 12 November 1902 p.4; Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Sydney Mail, 10 December 1903 p.1545.
The Newcastle push was strengthened by Tresidder's Australian championship win over Harry Pearce in March 1903. This race, promoted as Newcastle against Sydney, drew an unprecedented crowd and underlined the significance of Towns' victories as well as the Newcastle influence.\(^\text{147}\) The race was viewed as a stepping stone to challenge Towns\(^\text{148}\) and the district held the distinction of producing both world and Australian champions and for the first time two Newcastle men would row for the world title. Tresidder's Australian championship win carried his principal, William Marsden, to the forefront. The district housed the sport's two leading principals, in Arnott and Marsden, and they maintained the Newcastle profile and rejuvenated the Sydney scene. They were not blinkered by regional parochialism when conducting world championships. With the sport's rising appeal, the biggest gate was on the Parramatta River and they planned accordingly.

While it appeared that the Newcastle power base ran the risk of repeating the problems caused by the Deeble/Spencer monopoly, the Newcastle contingent conceded its opportunity for absolute rule by approving and complying with a set of rules and regulations to govern the world championship.\(^\text{149}\) This concession was intended to put professional sculling on a par with other codified sports and help break down the backers' dictatorial rule and arrogant determination for profit. But, by relocating the sport to Sydney at only an elite level, and with the lack of organisational infrastructure in the metropolis, they did indeed reintroduce the backer into the influential role of dominating professional sculling.\(^\text{150}\)

Nevertheless, the sport's prominence between 1903 and 1907 rivalled that of the nineteenth-century's 'Golden Age'. Led by Towns and Arnott, professional sculling seemed assured of a continuing high profile and further Australian world domination. Newcastle maintained its prominence and the Clarence and Richmond Rivers' districts were building strong rowing bases, however, it was a re-emerging Sydney that inspired confidence within rowing.

\(^{147}\) Referee, 11 March 1903 p.1.
\(^{148}\) Referee, 3 August 1904 p.1; Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.8.
\(^{149}\) Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 4 January 1902 p.58.
\(^{150}\) Sun, 6 August 1911 p.5; Sun, 9 July 1911 p.7; Referee, 17 February 1909 p.10.
circles. Towns and Peter Kemp, respectively, established boatbuilding businesses and rowing sheds at Gladesville and Abbotsford in Sydney. Rules and regulations, drafted from John Blackman's 1901 proposal, for the world championship, were approved and implemented. Similar conditions were suggested for the Australian championship. These were seen as necessary after an embarrassing realisation that few, if any, rowing supporters could fathom how Tresidder and Pearce raced for the Australian championship when, previously, there had been no such title or race. Similarly, the William Webb/James Stanbury 1906 match for the New Zealand championship had a similar history. The view held was that backers and their scullers could invent a title race with the victor claiming his right as champion.

Although the 1906 *Gaming And Betting Act* removed open wagering, the sport appeared to be both stable and advancing. With the sport's popularity seemingly returning through Australian international dominance and a powerful domestic competition, sculling officials had the platform and confidence to initiate an organisational structure for the sport. However, the desire to provide guidelines for the world title removed any serious focus on a domestic framework and while local competition seemed strong and progressive, sculling officials were content to allow it to roll along. Australian scullers were expected to hold onto the world championship for many years and under this pretext those in charge were satisfied that the sport would continue to sustain its popularity.

**New Zealand Involvement**

Sculling officials, however, underestimated the rise of New Zealand professional sculling. They also misjudged the hunger New Zealand sportsmen had to capture the world championship and they miscalculated the considerable capital New Zealand backers were willing to invest. The New Zealand Sculling Council was ready to offer a title race and both the New Zealand *Press* and *Otago Witness* were eager to publicise the idea. The **New Zealand Sculling Council** offered a title race and the New Zealand *Press* and *Otago Witness* were eager to publicise the idea.

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152 *Sydney Mail*, 20 March 1907 p.765; *Sydney Mail*, 15 April 1908 p.1025; See, Appendix 1.
153 *Sydney Mail*, 20 March 1907 p.765.
Zealand impetus began on two fronts. Firstly, in mid-1906, champion cyclist, Richard Arnst, was induced by a New Zealand syndicate to learn the sculling art and he was sent to George Towns for tutelage. Arnst's backers funded his preparations and by December 1908 they had a contender for the world championship. Secondly, William Webb, the New Zealand amateur champion, won his first professional race against James Stanbury in December 1906. The race was for the New Zealand professional sculling championship and Webb's victory persuaded his principal, William Tuck, to challenge for the world title.

It is interesting to note, from a financial perspective, that in 1907, New Zealand's per capita income had increased by 40% from the 1890s depression, while Australia's had returned to its 1890 level by 1907. Interpreting these figures in broad terms, it can be suggested that the New Zealand backers were entering professional sculling from an expanding and lively economy that generated confidence to speculate. On the other hand, the Australian economy, in growth and expenditure, was nearly 20 years behind. The New Zealand assurance was demonstrated by Arnst's backers' preparedness to sponsor his learning over two years before seeking a return on their investment. Tuck, Neilson and Corby, who were Webb's backers, displayed similar confidence.

George Towns' 1907 retirement from the sport was expected, as was the handing down of his crown to his primary challenger, and brother, Charles. Samuel Arnott, the latter's principal, accepted William Webb's challenge and the scullers met in August 1907.

Webb's subsequent victory provided a critical change in direction for the sport. The win began New Zealand's five-year world domination and introduced a number of wealthy backers who infiltrated the Australian ranks where they controlled most of the top scullers. While the Australian

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156 Sydney Mail, 18 July 1906 p.189; Sydney Mail, 19 September 1906 p.770; Christchurch Star-Sun Sports, 28 November 1953 p.1.
158 McLean, op. cit., p.4.
159 Arrow, 26 October 1912 p.1.
160 Town And Country Journal, 13 March 1907 p.50; Sydney Mail, 20 March 1907 p.765.
161 Arnst – Backers Parker, Heaton Rhodes, Buchanan, Bourke and Thacker; Fogwell and Paddon – Seifert; Pearce – Buchanan and Seifert.
backers struggled to finance their men, those scullers with New Zealand principals had little monetary concern. Webb's victory, on a national and personal level, was embraced in New Zealand in a manner similar to the victories of Trickett, Beach and George Towns in Australia. For instance, the Wanganui Council was so taken by his achievement that it changed the name of the local Grey Street to Webb Street.\textsuperscript{162}

**A Recurring Flaw**

Charles Towns' unexpected loss exposed the sport's vulnerability in Australia. Towns had been expected to reign long and be followed by a procession of Australians. The loss also removed the Arnott camp as leading financiers. This was a huge blow considering the Stanbury camp disbanded at the beginning of 1907.\textsuperscript{163} Similar to the Deeble and Spencer departures of the early 1890s, the loss of the two main backing groups in 1907 left the sport in a void. Although his close supporters regretted Towns' loss, the sporting press was far from kind. The press pilloried Towns and his performance, with Blackman criticising Towns' judgment in not manipulating a race foul to make it appear worse than it was.\textsuperscript{164} Press vilification of Towns contributed to the sculler's retirement and a five-year absence from the sport.

From 1907 the face of professional sculling transformed from Australian dominance to that of New Zealand and England supremacy. New Zealanders Webb and Arnst held the world championship between 1907 and 1912 and the Englishman, Ernest Barry, who remained undefeated until 1919, replaced them. During this period, Australians attempted but failed to regain their lost laurels. On the domestic scene, the sport nosedived. As quickly as public support had amassed, that same support evaporated. With the increasing popularity of other organised sports and the low ebb of professional sculling, the sporting press either culled or deleted its coverage to accommodate the more popular games.\textsuperscript{165} In the face of diminishing


\textsuperscript{163} *New Zealand Sportsman*, September pp.96-97, Personal Clippings File.

\textsuperscript{164} *Sydney Mail*, 14 August 1907 p.450; *Bulletin*, 9 July 1908 p.28; *Bulletin*, 6 August 1908 p.28.

\textsuperscript{165} Crotty, M., 'Rowing In Victoria, 1875-1914: A Social History', unpublished MA thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1996.
crowds, declining press and decreasing backing, sculling officials and followers were challenged to keep the sport operating.

Conclusions

The period from 1876 to 1907 for Australian professional sculling has been described, by some, as the "Golden Age". It was a celebrated period in which Australia dominated the world for 22 years and produced seven world champions. Whereas previous studies have attributed Australia's domination to factors such as temperate climate, healthy lifestyle, blessed by a succession of prime athletes, generous backers and a desire for national and international identity, this chapter has provided an examination of greater depth and breadth and has also provided a new perspective on the fortunes of professional sculling. By analysing the sport's organisational infrastructure and the ideas and forces which sustained it in its heyday, a clearer understanding of the sport's mechanisms, character and culture is gained and the contradictions and omissions conspicuous in the previous works have been resolved. This understanding and clarification has also provided a new view of the context for the post-1907 period, enabling a more reliable explanation of professional sculling's apparent decline.

Unlike the previous studies, this chapter has investigated the people who accumulated power within the sport and the means by which they applied their authority to accomplish such a record within the context of a changing society and an emerging economic depression. The chapter has also demonstrated that professional sculling remained one of the few laissez-faire enterprises in a society where other organised sports were committed to building organisational structures and frameworks and implementing controlling bodies as a means of consolidating and advancing their games. These contrasting administrative models were competing for ascendancy within the context of a British ideology of muscular Christianity, social Darwinism and rational recreation. Aspects of this ideology influenced professional sculling, particularly the corporeal elements and social

construction of character, which were promoted to arouse and capitalise on a growing sense of identity and worth for the wider society.

The phenomenon created by professional sculling encouraged the involvement of amateur rowing and amateur sports officials who envisaged that the sport could enhance amateur rowing’s exposure, offer an Australian international identity, and enrich their social positions. It was in the amateurs’ interests to contribute to the professionals’ high profile so as to promote Australian rowing as an outstanding character builder and a source for Australian ambassadors.

But ‘big-time’ professional sculling was a lucrative business and to maintain their profits the sport’s backers seized autonomous control. This pruned the amateurs’ influence and reduced the effectiveness of the other sculling nations and effectively reversed cultural imperialism and imperial intimidation. Sculling nations were forced to adopt the Australian managerial model and its sculling methodology or face obscurity.

Within these parameters, the Australian backers maintained their power and profit by monopolising the best scullers, manipulating the rules and relinquishing any responsibility for domestic competition to sustain world domination. This management style was most effective in times of economic stability, however, in between these high points, this management model exposed glaring inadequacies that could neither be counteracted nor obscured by euphoric times.

Regional areas, such as Newcastle, had demonstrated that a different organisational model with more substantial organisational infrastructure could be effective. However, when provided with opportunities to claim world titles the Novocastrians also fell back on the traditional model, where victory was everything and loss meant complete collapse.

Towards the end of 1907, proposals to address the sport’s transitory nature were tabled. The following chapter will investigate the processes taken to rebuild professional sculling and will analyse these implementations and outcomes in the light of a new management structure and the implications arising from the failure of these changes to produce a world champion.
CHAPTER FOUR

REBUILDING 1906-1912

The revival of professional sculling during the first decade of the twentieth century drew from the country regions, predominantly Newcastle, and combined with George Towns' recapture of the world championship to create a euphoria that appeared to re-establish the sport as a mass spectacle in Sydney. At a time when various sporting codes, both amateur and professional, were consolidating their organisational frameworks and establishing efficient managerial networks,¹ professional sculling still relied on its traditional laissez-faire practices. Nevertheless, the unstructured nature of professional sculling had enabled the sport to prosper and often captivate the population. However, economic or social instability greatly depressed the sport. Professional sculling lagged behind most amateur and professional sports in becoming a well-organised, structured and managed entity. The sport, as a regular spectacle and a meaningful pastime, was sporadic in nature and lacked the conviction to regenerate itself beyond its nineteenth-century mode of operation.

This chapter will examine the attempts by the professional sculling authorities to organise and codify the sport over the 1906 to 1912 period. It was during this time that Australia lost the world crown and the sculling authorities sensed that in the absence of that title and without structure and direction, the sport's relevance would fade and its support base would defect to those sports with competent managements and that offered regular spectacles. In particular, the chapter will examine the influence and roles of amateur luminaries in persuading the professional authorities to construct a framework for the sport's elite competition levels. This was to be achieved

within the expectation that the professional authorities would continue the processes of organisation and control of the sport across the subordinate levels. This chapter will also investigate the immense task faced by these advocates of change if they were to harness and manage an intractable and fragmented sport. Another consideration will be the range of complexities confronting these advocates in arriving at a sound managerial model that could restrain self-interests and limit the backers' influence, while maintaining their financial support.

This chapter will also explore the advocates' shortcomings as they addressed and implemented a fresher, but more rigid, design for professional sculling. It will also consider their lack of unanimity as to the nature of the demands on and changes in the sport's direction. Correspondingly, the sport's consolidation in the country centres will also be examined to provide a point of reference for the sport's progress in Sydney, but it will also demonstrate that the country centres gravitated towards a more regional and parochial temper.

Unfettered Or Controlled?

During professional sculling's euphoric period of the first decade in the twentieth century, two prominent amateur sportsmen, journalists John Blackman (Sydney Mail) and Richard Coombes (Referee), argued that the sport required regulatory authority if it were to be a viable and popular future concern.

Blackman and Coombes had advocated a formal structure for professional sculling over a number of years. While both men championed the amateur cause and were entrenched in its organisational and regulatory framework, they were also engrossed in the transient success of

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2 Sydney Mail, 7 June 1890 p.1277; Referee, 23 June 1897 p.1; Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570.
professional sculling. Both men were willing to foster the professional sport as a means to promote rowing as a whole. Whereas backers were content to strive for the forthcoming dollar or maintain their position as the sport's controllers, Blackman and Coombes foresaw that the professionals needed an administrative system to consolidate their high profile or the sport would, once again, degenerate from a lack of structure and regulatory control.⁴

Blackman, particularly, was incensed that Stanbury had failed to be matched over a long period, which had wasted the champion's talents and depressed the sport. He was livid when the Canadian sculler Gaudaur won the world title in 1896 and subsequently abused his position by obstructing challengers by imposing impossible terms.⁵

At the height of the sport's revival in 1906, Coombes and Blackman instigated the first serious move towards the sport's regulation. They gathered the sport's leaders and tabled a set of rules and laws for the conduct of world championships when rowed in Australia.⁶ On the basis that Australia was the dominant holder of the championship and that at that time the country housed the world champion, it was reasoned that the move to secure a regulatory code would be perceived by other sculling nations as legitimate and just.⁷ Their hope was that the other sculling countries would adopt the Australian proposal.⁸ By implementing a code of conduct for the championship, the Australian expectations were: the initiation of regular competition, the eradication of a champion stalling or obstructing challenges, the encouragement of more aspirants into the sport, and the maintenance of public interest and support.⁹ It was envisaged that once the championship was secured, further regulation could be introduced which would result in a structural formation and would enable professional sculling to continue as a strong, ongoing entity.

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⁴ Referee, 25 April 1906; Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Sydney Mail, 25 March 1908 p.829.
⁵ Sydney Mail, 25 July 1896 p.201; Sydney Mail, 28 December 1901 p.1674.
⁶ Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317.
⁷ Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317.
⁸ Sydney Morning Herald, 30 July 1906 p.8; Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9.
Coombes advocated that the new regulations should be forwarded to all the rowing nations in an attempt to gain universal consent. For domestic competition, he was prepared for an amateur body to control the sport if the professionals could not assemble and organise a formal structure. His main criticism of the professionals was their indifference to forming a body to enforce strict control. This was contentious territory for the professionals who, traditionally and successfully, had operated in an unbridled fashion. One fear was that restriction could jeopardise backers' profitability or act as a disincentive for new speculators.

Blackman was more concerned in structuring the world championship to remove the fractious elements of match making and ensure regular competition. By 1901, he had drafted a set of rules and regulations for the government of the world championship. Although professionals and amateurs alike applauded the document, the draft proceeded no further at that stage. For Blackman it was a matter of consistent lobbying. He had to convince prominent professionals and amateurs that regulation would enhance and prolong professional sculling as a powerful domestic and international force. Over the next few years he was successful in building-up support from Coombes, Quarton Deloitte (President of the Sydney Rowing Club) and Vicary Horniman (Captain of the North Shore Rowing Club). He lobbied George Towns and Peter Kemp, both of whom were enthusiastic to promote sculling's betterment, and James Stanbury, who had long advocated greater regulation. Chris Neilson, who persevered through the 1890s in trying to rekindle the sport, indicated his support. The coup for Blackman was the backers' compliance. The principals of the time, Arnott, Beales and Cranney, were visionary and believed that regulation would enhance the sport. Former backers, John Deeble and John Spencer, were also willing to

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10 Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 24 April 1911 p.52; Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16.
11 Referee, 23 June 1897 p.1; Referee, 25 April 1906 p.9.
13 Referee, 3 April 1907 p.9; Referee, 11 March 1908 p.9; Referee, 18 March 1908 p.11.
14 Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570; Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317.
15 Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570; Sydney Mail, 6 July 1891 p.1282.
16 Sydney Mail, 28 September 1901 p.827; Sydney Mail, 4 January 1902 p.58; Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570.
17 Sydney Mail, 30 August 1905 p.570; Sydney Mail, 28 September 1901 p.827.
draft rules and regulations and they were joined by Thomas Kelly (Beach's trainer) and ex-sculler, Michael Rush.\textsuperscript{18}

The new laws were effected on 1st August 1906, and they were anticipated as the forerunner of more tenets designed to regulate the sport. Blackman's next target was the Australian championship. However, a series of setbacks doused enthusiasm from the professional brigade. Stanbury's retirement at the beginning of 1907 removed Beales and Cranney from the sculling fraternity. Charles Towns' shock loss of the world championship in August 1907 disbanded the Arnott camp. Press pillorying of Towns, his retirement, an inexplicable title loss and the victorious William Webb's pledge not to defend his crown outside New Zealand, unsettled the public's hankering for the professional sport.

With the removal of Stanbury, the Towns brothers, and the prominent backers, the Sydney sculling fraternity had little to offer the public.\textsuperscript{19} Harry Pearce had hardly raced since 1903 and the backers of Australian champion, Benjamin Thoroughgood, were loath for their man to race outside Newcastle.\textsuperscript{20} Public confidence was further shaken by suggestions that George Towns' pupil, New Zealander Richard Arnst, should be backed as an Australian against Webb.\textsuperscript{21} The proposal reflected the desperation within professional ranks but the suggestion was far from ludicrous. Previously, the Spencer brothers, Watson, Alcock, Punch and others had supported Hanlan, O'Connor and Sullivan, all overseas men, against the Australian world champion of the time.\textsuperscript{22}

It was evident again that the sport's spontaneity could take it to a pinnacle and also be its undoing. The sport functioned efficiently and commanded huge audiences, if unhindered, but a 'glitch' exposed the sport's fragility. Whereas the Sydney situation operated on a boom and bust basis, country rowing continued to strengthen and was rarely affected by the irregularities of its metropolitan counterpart.

\textsuperscript{18} Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9.
\textsuperscript{19} Sydney Mail, 6 January 1909 p.54; Sportsman, 10 July 1912 p.3; Sportsman, 14 August 1912 p.4; Sydney Mail, 1 January 1908 p.61; Sydney Mail, 6 January 1909 p.54.
\textsuperscript{20} Sydney Mail, 12 August 1908 p.445; Sydney Mail, 3 February 1909 p.61; Referee, 2 June 1909 p.1.
\textsuperscript{21} Sydney Mail, 18 December 1907 p.1617; Referee, 4 March 1908 p.9.
\textsuperscript{22} Sydney Mail, 5 April 1890 p.773; Town And Country Journal, 7 June 1890 p.38; Australian Oarsman, in, The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly, 10 November 1942 p.4.
The Richmond and Clarence Rivers districts were attracting bumper crowds to their regattas, drawing quality scullers and producing their own Coming Men in George Day (Richmond) and Jack Mitchell (Clarence). Newcastle housed two champions in Thoroughgood and Tresidder and had formed a nucleus of up-and-coming men. Newcastle held a proud record of having not fewer than 20,000 attend its New Year's Day regatta, an event inaugurated in 1864. Although country centres progressed steadily, the Sydney scene without formal structure had lost momentum and its former problems re-surfaced.

The lack of backers in Sydney reduced match racing and small stake monies were offered to second-grade scullers. Most of the top scullers were country-based and supported locally. This intensified the country scene, but it was detrimental to Sydney sculling, for domestic championships and grand handicap events were contested outside the metropolitan area. One peculiarity was that the Sydney public had never seen its Australian champion in competition, as he was restricted to the Hunter River. Yet, the Sydney public was treated to a widespread choice of alternative sporting codes that conducted regular competitions and were expanding nationally and internationally. These sports were producing state, national and international elites, which undermined the position of Australian professional sculling as the champion of nationalism. Furthermore, national competition was likely to remain non-existent as the professionals struggled to maintain the sport in Sydney alone.

The loss of the world championship had dampened enthusiasm and this was further deflated when Tresidder failed against Webb in February 1908. His loss added to the perception that Australia's top scullers were inferior to its past best and below the current overseas men. Augmenting the

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23 *Sydney Mail*, 22 May 1907 p.1346; *Sydney Mail*, 7 August 1907 p.385; *Sydney Mail*, 30 September 1908 p.906; *Referee*, 8 September 1909 p.8; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 January 1943 pp.16-18; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 February 1943 pp.7-8.

24 *Sportsman*, 8 November 1916 p.2; *Newcastle Morning Herald And Miners' Advocate*, 3 January 1899 p.7.


28 *Referee*, 4 March 1908 p.9; *Referee*, 3 June 1908 p.4; *Bulletin*, 4 June 1908 p.28.
loss and questioning the sport's viability was the open talk of Tresidder's 
forfeit because he could not fund his stake money. Last minute finance had 
enabled Tresidder to race, however his defeat ended his career and finished 
his supporters, who lost not only their £500 stake money, but an estimated 
£1,000 in wagers.29

The Bulletin in 1908 summed up a general feeling towards 
professional sculling when it suggested that "in Australia Thoroughgood and 
Fogwell are talking about rowing for the championship of Muddy Creek or 
somewhere adjacent. How have we slumped!"30 Circumstances were to 
worsen for the sport. The abovementioned match was for the Australian 
championship of July 1908 rowed at Raymond Terrace. Thoroughgood, who 
had 16 weeks training, retained his crown. However, once expenses were 
deducted from his winnings, he received a profit of only £27. Fogwell had a 
£75 deficit.31 In November 1908, also on the Raymond Terrace course, 
Thoroughgood retained his title against the New Zealander, George Wheelch. 
His profit from this match was £17.32 The Bulletin implied that the standard 
of Australian sculling had degenerated, but so had a sculler's opportunity to 
make a realistic financial gain.

Nevertheless, John Blackman rallied the sculling hierarchy and by the 
end of June 1908 he had formed a committee to adopt a code of rules and 
regulations for the Australian championship.33 A trophy, the William Beach 
Cup, was proposed and bound by conditions which included that the 
champion must win three successive title races to claim the prize. The aim of 
consecutive victories was to foster consistent performance and produce a 
sculler capable of regaining the world championship. A significant provision 
in the laws was that a race had to be sanctioned by the committee and the 
belief was that the committee could control the standard and authenticity of 
matches and contribute towards the beginnings of an overall organisational 
framework. Other controls tabled were that races would be open to all-

29 Referee, 8 January 1908 p.7; Referee, 29 January 1908 p.9; Referee, 5 February 1908 p.5; Referee, 4 
March 1908 p.9; Referee, 29 January 1908 p.9.
30 Bulletin, 4 June 1908 p.28.
31 Referee, 22 July 1908 p.6.
33 Referee, 1 July 1908 p.10.
comers, but had to be rowed within Australia; a champion had two months to accept a challenge and race within four months of acceptance; and that an Australian champion winning the world crown had to forego the former title.\textsuperscript{34} The endeavours of Blackman, a man categorised as an exclusionist,\textsuperscript{35} to persuade the professional sculling officials to accept those changes was a remarkable achievement. His offerings urged the professionals to continue and establish a framework to cover all tiers of the sport. Contributing factors to Blackman’s success were his drive to keep Australian rowing at the world’s forefront and his independence from professional sculling’s pecuniary influences.\textsuperscript{36} He had advocated the sport’s need for regular competition and a frequency of high-grade or championship matches to uphold standards and maintain the public’s interest. From the days of Edward Trickett, the professionals had been able to conjure up enormous patronage for their feature events. In 1908, in the midst of this inactive period, the sport once again drew a sizeable attendance.

**Pearce v Arnst**

The Sydneysider, Harry Pearce, had rowed infrequently since being defeated by Tresidder in 1903. The sport’s downturn and the lack of high-grade metropolitan scullers encouraged Pearce to dedicate himself to sculling again with the possibility of challenging for the Australian and world titles.\textsuperscript{37} His challenger, the New Zealander Richard Arnst, was an intriguing personality. Tutored by George Towns and the esteemed Peter Nelson\textsuperscript{38} he had astonished the rowing world by challenging his countryman William Webb for the world championship immediately after the champion had disposed of Tresidder. Arnst had won four of his seven handicap races, but had never matched.\textsuperscript{39} Nevertheless, his potential was well known to Webb

\textsuperscript{34} *Referree*, 1 July 1908 p.10; *Sydney Mail*, 1 July 1908 p.61.
\textsuperscript{36} *Sydney Mail*, 10 May 1902 p.1207; *Sydney Mail*, 24 July 1897 p.1897; *Sydney Mail*, 8 June 1895 p.1185.
\textsuperscript{37} *Referree*, 21 July 1909 p.8; *Referree*, 5 August 1908 p.10.
\textsuperscript{38} *Referree*, 17 June 1908 p.10; *Referree*, 8 July 1908 p.4.
\textsuperscript{39} *Referree*, 5 August 1908 p.10; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 February 1943 p.7.
who accepted the challenge, but imposed unreasonable terms upon the challenger.\textsuperscript{40} Webb's conditions were considered a means of forcing the challenger's withdrawal.\textsuperscript{41} His backers were not bound by the championship's rules and regulations (although they competed under such against Charles Towns) and their behaviour emphasised Coombes' fears that the championship's laws could be undermined without their governance by a controlling body. Nevertheless, Arnst's backers instructed their man to accept all conditions and race.\textsuperscript{42} Before contesting Webb, the ex-cyclist was instructed to row Pearce.

Pearce and Arnst met in August 1908 on the Parramatta River in the first race of note since the August 1907 world title. They drew a crowd of 15,000 with most interest centred on the New Zealander.\textsuperscript{43} Arnst, a convert who knew nothing of sculling pre-1906, had fallen out of his shell in one of his handicap races, was the world championship contender, was deemed nevertheless, to be worth paying a £137 gate to see against a polished waterman in Pearce. While Arnst was acknowledged as 'doing everything wrong', his power enabled an easy win. Subsequently, Arnst vanquished Webb in December 1908 and he dominated the world until 1912.\textsuperscript{44}

**Randomness And Rudderless**

The Arnst victory ensured New Zealand's continued world sculling dominance. Between December 1908 and April 1910, the country hosted four world championships, three of which were between local men. New Zealand backers, such as Tuck, Corby and Messena, attempted to capitalise on the sport's standing and they promoted two big-money handicaps in New Zealand in December 1909 and January 1910.\textsuperscript{45} The races were invitation only events and Richard Coombes and John Blackman were invited as selector and handicapper respectively.\textsuperscript{46} It was the first time that Australian

\textsuperscript{40} *Sydney Mail*, 3 June 1908 p.1481; *Bulletin*, 4 June 1908 p.28; *Sydney Mail*, 24 June 1908 p.1673.

\textsuperscript{41} *Referee*, 3 June 1908 p.4; *Sydney Mail*, 3 June 1908 p.1481.

\textsuperscript{42} *Bulletin*, 25 June 1908 p.26; *Sydney Mail*, 30 September 1908 p.906.

\textsuperscript{43} *Bulletin*, 6 August 1908 p.28; *Sportsman*, 5 August 1908 p.5; *Referee*, 5 August 1908 p.10; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 February 1943 p.7.

\textsuperscript{44} *Marlborough Express*, 13 June 1921; *Referee*, 5 August 1908 p.10.

\textsuperscript{45} *Referee*, 3 November 1909 p.8; *Referee*, 10 November 1909 p.8; *Referee*, 19 January 1910 p.15.

scullers had deserted their domestic competition and Australian backers could not match the overseas moneymen. What compounded the Australian backers' plight was that the New Zealand promoters recorded a £400 deficit, but they indicated that they would maintain the competition.\textsuperscript{47} The plenitude of New Zealand money was evident after the Arnst/Pearce match.

Upon Pearce's defeat, John Buchanan, one of Arnst's principals, organised a consortium to back Pearce against Thoroughgood for the Australian championship. He was the one Sydney-based top-liner and if he defeated Thoroughgood his backers assured him of support against the country regional champions in Jack Mitchell (Clarence River) and George Day (Richmond River).\textsuperscript{48} Thoroughgood was the undisputed 'king' of Australian heavy-boat racing who had raced in outriggers for three years, but at 40 years of age the Newcastle man was at the end of his sculling career.\textsuperscript{49}

On the end of paltry returns from racing in the Newcastle area, he consented, against his backers' wishes, to race on the Parramatta River.\textsuperscript{50} His supporters abandoned him and in January 1909, he called a supporters' meeting to reach a compromise, but only one backer attended. The Australian champion was reduced to euchre nights and similar fundraising schemes to gather his stake. He contributed £65 of his own money and Pearce, sportingly, allowed him £20 expenses.\textsuperscript{51} Thoroughgood announced that the Pearce race would be his last at this level. Pearce won the contest and he arranged for the 'hat to be passed around' to ease Thoroughgood's financial crisis.

The Thoroughgood example demonstrated both the sport's deterioration and the backers' power. The champion's backers had profited from his Hunter River wins but they had refused him support outside the Newcastle district.\textsuperscript{52} The satisfaction of housing the Australian champion meant little and their disinterest in finding a £100 stake reflected the sport's struggle. Indicative of the sport's downturn was that confining Thoroughgood

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Referee}, 19 January 1910 p.12; \textit{Referee}, 12 January 1910 p.15.
to the Hunter River assisted the sport locally but offered little leverage for expansion.

Whereas Thoroughgood and Pearce rowed under the terms of the recently constituted Australian championship laws, their situation exposed glaring inadequacies. Thoroughgood had two months to accept Pearce's challenge and race within four, yet it actually took seven months for Pearce and Thoroughgood to match; the bulk of the time was taken by the latter gathering his stake. Both men waived the rule and the committee concurred.\(^{53}\) The sport was in a tenuous position and the committee, if allowing the Australian champion who was keen to race to forfeit, would have opened the sport to ridicule and withered the slim core of support. Thoroughgood's displacement would have acknowledged his backers' intimidation, but the committee's compliance to Pearce's and Thoroughgood's prolongation of the match period emphasised its and the new laws' weaknesses.

It may appear that by 1910 professional sculling was at a point of ruination but this was far from the case. Country rowing was buoyant and metropolitan sculling continued through minor match racing and handicaps, while New Zealand backers kept the sport's elite level operating by supporting the best Australians. The marked disparity of public support between the Towns/Stanbury and the Pearce/Thoroughgood eras indicated that the sport might never regain its prominence, but that it would continue to function, albeit, in a diminished form. The paradox was that the sport had proved repeatedly that enormous crowds and a strong following could be gained and sustained if high-grade and/or regular competition were offered to the public. The likelihood of the sport changing its operating mode or reducing its reliance on finance appeared remote and the longer the sport persevered with its laissez-faire approach, the more difficult the task would be to regain any noteworthy standing.

Loss Of The World Title

One point that needs to be discussed is the affect upon the sport that the 1907 world championship loss played. Historians, such as Bennett and Adair, have claimed that the loss and failure to recapture the crown guaranteed the sport's decline. Bennett suggested it was an important factor, whereas Adair considered organisational and economic factors more consequential, but he agreed that the failure to regain the title was significant.

These observations are difficult to challenge. There were downturns when Trickett lost, Searle died and Stanbury was beaten in England. Upon William Webb's success and the crown crossing the Tasman Sea, Australian professional sculling again suffered a popularity decline. However, as discussed above, other factors overwhelmed the sport even more than the world title loss. John Blackman remarked that Trickett's loss to Hanlan in 1880 was the making of Australian rowing. He also suggested that Stanbury's 1896 loss to Gaudaur would prove positive for Australia. Blackman believed that the losses would open international competition and strengthen Australian domestic sculling.

While Webb and his vanquisher Richard Arnst hoisted New Zealand rowing onto the international front, it was Arnst's influence on Australian sculling that helped stabilise the sport. Arnst had been an Australian resident since 1905 and he would remain a resident until 1921. He learned his sculling in Australia and Australians coached and backed him throughout his world reign and later career. The issue is that the world sculling champion, by residing and competing in Australia, provided the sport with a ledge from which it could re-group and re-assess its situation.

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56 Sydney Mail, 12 September 1896 p.566; Sydney Mail, 8 August 1906 p.338b.

57 Untitled Article, New Zealand Sporting Hall Of Fame Clippings File, 7 September 1912; Bulletin, 12 August 1920 p.38; Referee, April 1921 p.30.

58 Sydney Mail, 18 July 1906 p.189; The Weekly Graphic And New Zealand Mail, 30 June 1909 p.30; Referee, 29 October 1913 p.12.
Arnst differed from previous world champions. He possessed remarkable sporting prowess. He won the 1906 'Sydney Thousand' cycling event, at the time arguably the world's richest cycling race.\(^59\) Arnst was a prominent sporting figure in Australia before he ventured into sculling. Throughout his sculling career he raced in New South Wales country and metropolitan centres and the bulk of his press was Australian generated. Unlike William Webb, who stated that he would not race outside New Zealand, Arnst raced as world champion in New Zealand, Southern Africa (Rhodesia), Australia and England. As world champion, he abided by the Australian world championship rules and regulations, but his earnestness was not capitalised on or promoted by the sculling fraternity. Instead, his dependability instilled complacency in the sculling authorities that all world champions would be as accommodating.\(^60\)

Sydney domestic sculling was assisted by Arnst's presence. He was a drawcard and a headline maker.\(^61\) He coached and unearthed local men, conducted exhibition tours incorporating motion picture technology, lectured to community groups and promoted the sport at all levels.\(^62\) For local scullers and the general public, the world champion and world championship were part of the community, within immediate reach and the title was tantalisingly close to being recaptured.

On a social and sporting level, Arnst contributed to a diverse sporting community. He established far-reaching contacts in the cycling and rowing worlds. Arnst was an international marksman and also captured the Australian and New South Wales wing shooting championships.\(^63\) He was part of the boxing world where Larry Foley trained him as a heavyweight with

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\(^59\) Marlborough Express, 13 July 1921; Referee, 28 March 1906 p.8; Arnst and his brother John faced a five-year cycling ban from January 1910 for improper practices. (See Referee, 9 February 1910 p.15). The disqualification, presumably, compelled Arnst to embrace professional sculling as his main calling and the ban also steered his brother into sculling.

\(^60\) Sydney Mail, 2 February 1910; Sun, 8 October 1911 p.16; Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16; Sun, 16 November 1913 p.20.

\(^61\) Sun, 29 January 1911 p.10; Sportsman, 23 March 1911 p.6; Sun, 23 June 1911 p.5; Sun, 8 June 1913 p.22.

\(^62\) Referee, 23 December 1908 p.3; Sportsman, 8 February 1911 p.8; Sun, 8 October 1911 p.16; Referee, 7 June 1911 p.11; Referee, 7 January 1914 p.11; Referee, 11 February 1920 p.11.

\(^63\) Christchurch Star-Sun Sports, 28 November 1953 p.1; Untitled Article, New Zealand Sporting Hall Of Fame Clippings File, December 1953.
long-range goals of meeting the world champion Jack Johnson. His versatility was incomparable. He played cricket for an Australian eleven in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), while the Australian team was on tour to England. These feats enabled the champion sculler to join a number of communities in which he became a prominent and newsworthy figure. His exposure also stamped him as a leader, role model and contributor to Australian life.

Armst married an Australian and conducted a number of businesses in the country. His commercial enterprises, which ranged from pigeon-raiser to fisherman, tied him into a broad society. Although he lost his sculling crown in 1912, Armst continued to reside and participate within the Australian community. As the *Sydney Sportsman* suggested, “Before Armst finishes this life he will have done everything except teach music and practice midwifery.”

The point of this argument is to demonstrate that Australia's loss and failure to recapture the world championship from 1907 had only a minor influence in professional sculling's downturn. Armst's presence, involvement in and contribution to Australian sporting and social life prevented a complete collapse of professional sculling. His accessibility provided an incentive for local men to remain in the game. When Armst eventually lost his crown to the Englishman Ernest Barry in July 1912, the impact on Australian professional sculling was far greater. There were only three defences by Barry on the Thames, two involving Australians, up to September 1914. World War I ended international competition until October 1919, when the first post-war title race was won by the Australian, Alfred Kelton.

**Interest And Activity**

Armst's presence and the influx of New Zealand money guided professional sculling through a lean period. The champion lured men, such

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65 Untitled Article, New Zealand Sporting Hall Of Fame Clippings File, December 1953.

66 *Referee*, 3 July 1913 p.11; *Sun*, 24 September 1911; *Sportsman*, 7 May 1913 p.3; *Referee*, 21 May 1913 p.1; *Sunday Times*, 9 May 1920 p.5; *Sportsman*, 3 March 1920 p.3; Article Titled, 'Rowing: Dick Armst Leaves For Australia’, New Zealand Sporting Hall Of Fame Clippings File.

as Frank Hagney and Frank Starr, to try the game.\textsuperscript{66} By 1910, Hagney was
touted as a forthcoming domestic champion, while Starr was considered
potentially even better.\textsuperscript{69} Current Australian champion, Harry Pearce, had
repaid his backers with victories over Thoroughgood, Mitchell and Day. Also,
William Fogwell (Richmond River) had been taken in-hand by the New
Zealander George Seifert who was assembling a `stable' of Australians.\textsuperscript{70}

This activity re-awakened Sydney sculling. Local backers were
inspired by the movement on water and with two drawcards in Arnst and
Pearce training on the river, they decided to cash in. The `Parramatta
Hundred' handicap was born in April 1910 and 29 scullers nominated.\textsuperscript{71}
Arthur Andrews, the \textit{Sun}'s sporting editor, took charge of the organisational
matters and John Blackman was appointed as handicapper. The race was
well programmed for it attracted Arnst's participation before his title defence
in Southern Africa and acted as a forerunner to the lucrative Northern Rivers
regattas in September.

The New South Wales Northern Rivers district overshadowed the
Newcastle region as the centre of professional rowing from the latter half of
1909.\textsuperscript{72} Match racing in outriggers and heavy boats had increased and races
such as the North Coast Amateur Championship and the Novice Handicap
for professionals offered incentives to rising stars. The district's strength
could be gauged by the production of Day, Fogwell and Hugh McKinnon
(heavy boats) and the enormity of the 1910 regattas. Outrigger events alone
totalled £250 in prize money, with Coraki offering £75 first prize, the richest
club-based prize ever given in Australia. The series attracted professionals
from across the state, exclusive of Arnst who was defending his world title.\textsuperscript{73}

During 1910, the sport's momentum began to turn around. Heavy-
boat racing returned to the Parramatta River with matches of between £5 and
£50 a side.\textsuperscript{74} Peter Kemp fostered a number of novices and he also

\textsuperscript{66} Referee, 27 January 1909 p.4; \textit{Sun}, 8 October 1911 p.16.
\textsuperscript{69} Referee, 19 January 1910 p.12; \textit{Sun}, 14 May 1911 p.14; Referee, 21 June 1911 p.11.
\textsuperscript{70} Sunday Times, 26 January 1913 p.14; Referee, 12 November 1913 p.11.
\textsuperscript{71} Referee, 13 April 1910 p.12.
\textsuperscript{72} Referee, 28 September 1910 p.10; Referee, 31 August 1910 p.10; Sydney Mail, 30 August 1911
p.57; Referee, 4 April 1911; Referee, 2 October 1912 p.11.
\textsuperscript{73} Referee, 10 August 1910 p.11; Referee, 28 September 1910 p.10.
\textsuperscript{74} Referee, 13 April 1910 p.12; Referee, 20 April 1910 p.13; Referee, 10 August 1910 p.11.
promoted women's events. With regard to the latter, it may be assumed that they were arranged to accommodate competition for his daughter, Fern, who was emerging as an outstanding oarswoman. Although big money was rare, backers were returning or joining the sport and were prepared to sponsor small-money events and race regularly.

Towards the end of 1910, Charles Seifert upped the ante and backed Pearce for £200 against William Webb, in New Zealand, a match the Australian duly won. He followed up with a victory over Sid Kemp for the Australian championship in April 1911. Pearce was at the peak of his career and his Australian supporters were keen for him to tackle Arnst. Thomas Kelly, who had formed a syndicate with the purpose of gaining the world crown, replaced Seifert as principal backer. Seifert's withdrawal was not surprising as his estimate of Pearce's ability was reflected in his preparedness to back Fogwell against the Australian champion.

At the beginning of 1911, competition in Sydney was increasing, money was filtering back into the sport and public interest was on an upturn. The Kemp novice and women's races were drawing a following. Scullers pledged support for the Anniversary Day and Port Hacking regattas and the Parramatta Hundred committee, led by Andrews, Blackman, Harry Floyd and John Spencer had proposed another handicap for the end of March. The committee furnished a set of rules for the conduct of the handicap. These gave it arbitrary power to enforce its rulings in dispute claims. The sponsors (which included the Sun) tempted the contestants of the women's Australian heavy-boat championship with £10 above their stake money to row on the carnival's last day. Cash prizes were also offered for the most lavishly decorated spectator craft. The Parramatta Hundred was expected

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75 Referee, 21 December 1910 p.11.
76 Sun, 29 October 1911 p.16; Referee, 1 August 1912 p.11; Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11; Referee, 22 April 1914 p.11.
77 Referee, 20 April 1910 p.13; Referee, 29 June 1910 p.13; Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8; Sydney Mail, 14 June 1911 p.57.
78 Referee, 28 September 1910 p.10.
79 Sun, 4 April 1911 p.3; Sportsman, 19 July 1911 p.7; Sun, 30 July 1911 p.8.
80 Sun, 23 April 1911 p.22; Sun, 14 October 1911 p.14; Referee, 17 May 1911 p.11.
81 Sun, 29 January 1911 p.10; Sun, 12 March 1911 p.10.
82 Sydney Mail, 15 March 1911 p.56.
83 Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8.
84 Sun, 12 March 1911 p.2.
to be a grand series and a catalyst to lift the sport back to prominence. It was also primed as a precursor for the Pearce matches against Sid Kemp and Fogwell for the Australian championships, Arnst for the world championship, and Fogwell’s race against George Whelch for the New Zealand championship.

The Seeds Of Organisation

In early January 1911, Peter Kemp promoted a further novice handicap, which attracted 13 contestants. His aim was to foster rowing and his handicaps were raced for non-cash prizes, which invited the amateurs to compete. Whether Kemp considered the amateur ethos to be a pertinent grounding for young men or he was influenced by the practice, which was promoted on the Northern Rivers, he perceived that a strong novice base, competing regularly, was a positive investment for the future of sculling.

Kemp insisted that novices should be schooled through a handicap system and once nurtured be competent to match. His focus in building the sport from base to apex contrasted with the established professional sculling view. The backers’ emphasis was to maintain the elite so young men would aspire to the top ranks to emulate their superiors. Backers did take young scullers in-hand, but only the outstanding novices. Those remaining were left to fend for themselves. Novices had to be staked and matched and, subsequently, few survived this process. If finance was tight, the elite were accommodated, but profit margins would not then allow developmental expenditure on the lesser men. Such a corridor was too narrow and extended the distance between the better sculler and the untried men, rather than boosting young aspirants.

However, not all backers were motivated solely by their profit margins. Kemp had evolved through the sport’s traditional system and had achieved rowing’s pinnacle. His hankering to nurture young scullers and progress

85 *Sydney Mail*, 18 January 1911 p.51; *Referee*, 11 January 1911 p.10; *Referee*, 4 January 1911 p.11.  
86 *Sun*, 8 January 1911 p.3; *Referee*, 11 January 1911 p.10; *Referee*, 18 January 1911 p.10.  
87 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1906 p.8; *Sydney Mail*, 15 July 1908; *Sun*, 9 July 1911 p.7.  
them through the ranks replicated the social ideology of the time. Professional sculling was also undergoing a generational change. Kemp, George Towns, Floyd, Andrews and Seifert were at the forefront, while William Beach was a stalwart for the encouragement of juniors. Towns, especially, was involved with both the amateur and professional codes. The prominent scullers, Arnst, Pearce and the Hoppings (heavy boats), were tutors and promoters of sculling and they encouraged interested persons to take up the game. Kemp's model offered the professionals an opportunity to look towards an organisational system that would provide a foundation from which the sport could compete with other codes on a regular basis.

Kemp planned a series of novice and women's events for 1911 and at a January 23rd meeting the interest in his concept was overwhelming. A twelve-man committee formed to conduct the series included such prominent men as Arnst, Pearce and Beach. Fifteen novices indicated their support and a programme of handicap heats and a final were scheduled for the 4th of March. A women's double sculls handicap in heavy boats was planned to coincide with the novice races and the committee took the bold step of hiring a steamer to follow the events. Trophies were arranged as prizes. The March race provided a stepping stone for the better novices to try their hands at the Parramatta Hundred where they would receive liberal starts.

The Parramatta Hundred

A record 40 scullers accepted for the March 1911 Parramatta Hundred with nominations from men statewide and from New Zealand. The field ranged from the novice to the world champion and organisers realised an imminent windfall and an opportunity to hoist professional sculling to the forefront of Sydney sport. The expected public support was reflected in the hiring of three following steamers and the Motor Boat Club of New South Wales suspending its competition for the Hundred's duration.

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99 Cashman, op. cit., Chapter Four.
90 May, op. cit., pp.60, 67; Referee, 30 June 1909 p.10.
91 Referee, 24 February 1909 p.10; Sun, 29 October 1911 p.16; Newcastle Herald, August 1914 p.5.
92 Sportsman, 25 January 1911 p.5; Sportsman, 1 February 1911 p.7; Referee, 25 January 1911 p.10; Referee, 8 March 1911 p.11; Referee, 31 May 1911 p.11.
93 Sportsman, 8 March 1911 p.8; Referee, March 1911 p.15.
94 Sun, 12 March 1911 p.10.
The ingredients for success were tangible. Scullers held a genuine desire to compete for the prizes. As the name implied, first prize for the handicap was £100. A break down of individuals' costs to compete revealed that in the economic climate it was worth outlaying expenses to obtain £100. For the Hundred, a sculler was likely to spend £22 or more for his craft, £2 entry fee, £8 accommodation over four weeks and for country and overseas competitors, the travel costs to Sydney. Overall, the estimated cost for 40 scullers to compete in the Hundred was £1,500.95

For the public, the diversity of entrants ensured intense competition and the thrill of an unknown being unearthed while, for some, the chance to view Arnst and Pearce was a drawcard. Moreover, handicap racing offered the public a wide range of betting opportunities. The illegality of sports betting did not deter the presence of bookmakers or the willingness of speculators to gamble.96

There was criticism concerning the steamer arrangements and Arnst's 'exhibition' row, however, the carnival proved successful.97 Attendances were estimated to be in the thousands and the general consensus was that professional sculling was back as a public favourite.98 Sculling authorities needed to capitalise on the Hundred's immediate success through the opportunities offered by the big match races ahead. Long-term success for the sport required more than a one-off extravaganza.

The Handicap Dilemma

The aftermath of the Parramatta Hundred again indicated the sport's fragility and demonstrated that it required an overhaul of its charter. As indicated previously, the promotion of big handicap races to revitalise the sport normally failed and the promoters were largely out-of-pocket from the exercise99 and generally left the sport. However, the 1911 Parramatta Hundred was a complete reversal. The series was an overwhelming

95 Ibid.
96 Referee, March 1911 p.24; Sportsman, 29 March 1911 p.5.
97 Sportsman, 23 March 1911 p.6; Sun, 19 March 1911 p.8; Sportsman, 29 March 1911 p.5.
98 Sun 19 March 1911 p.8.
99 Sydney Mail, 22 October 1892 p.944; Sun, 12 May 1912 p.12; Sydney Mail, 4 May 1895 p.927.
success.\textsuperscript{100} A record number of entrants and enormous public support provided the promoters with financial gain. Overall, the handicap was a positive event for the sport.

Yet, amidst the triumph, the Hundred's promoters resolved that the big handicaps were to be discontinued.\textsuperscript{101} Although they made a profit from the event they failed to make the anticipated 'killing'. Steamer hire cost £78 and prize money totalled £178 while "incidental expenses were very heavy."\textsuperscript{102} Whereas entry fees covered steamer costs, the promoters were responsible for the prize money and incidental expenses. With the three following craft reported as well-filled, the implication may be drawn that the promoters made a handsome profit with tickets costing 5/- for the 'umpire's' steamer, 2/6 for the two others and 1/- for the stationary steamer at the finishing line.\textsuperscript{103}

However, the arguments offered for the discontinuation of the Parramatta Hundred included heavy expenses and the burden on the few men in the aquatic world prepared to invest their money and their time to organise the affair.\textsuperscript{104} More pertinent to the promoters' impatience was that professional sculling was not a means to make a fortune. Mainly the elite scullers and their backers made good money over time. The Sun suggested, "the promotion of big sculling handicaps is not a very successful speculation from a financial stand-point."\textsuperscript{105} It should be noted too that during this period other investments in sporting enterprises offered better returns. Sports that offered sharper returns than professional sculling, included pony racing,\textsuperscript{106} professional boxing,\textsuperscript{107} running\textsuperscript{108} and rugby league.\textsuperscript{109} While the 1911 race

\textsuperscript{100} Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid; An example of expenditure for a major event see, Saul, Jim, \textit{Album Of Rowing And Sculling}, Vaughan Evans Library, Sydney.
\textsuperscript{103} Referee, March 1911 p.24; Sportsman, 29 March 1911 p.5.
\textsuperscript{104} Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
and the 1910 Hundred were both profitable, promoters did not gain their expected results and it appeared that they were not prepared to spend their money and time for profit on that scale.

A contributing factor was the conduct of race days. The tram and ferry companies not hired by promoters profited greatly from moving vast crowds. These transport utilities did not offer inducements to the sport in general."10 While the minority paid for the sport, the majority was treated for free and this soured promoters' patience."11 The danger for professional sculling and the paradox involved were exemplified at the conclusion of the Parramatta Hundred. Whereas, previously, promoters withdrew from the sport when afflicted by losses, this time the promoters folded after making a profit.

As profit was the name of the game, scullers who reached elite status also used the sport as a business venture. The 1911 Parramatta Hundred was no exception. Some scullers demanded appearance money to compete in the final."12 While the requests were not from Arnst or Pearce, those insisting on handouts were attempting to cash in on the series' success. Arnst, however, did profit from the series. As one of the promoters it was in his financial interests to enter the handicap, as his presence was a major drawcard."13

The Parramatta Hundred had laid a foundation for public support to continue and the highlight for the rowing world was the Arnst/Pearce world championship match to be conducted on the Parramatta River on the 29th July 1911. Expectations were for a sizeable crowd and Arnst had convinced Pearce to row on the aforementioned date, as the race would not clash with other big sporting events."14

A Sydney Club Formation

Meanwhile, the Kemp sculling committee had been conducting its handicaps around the major events. By June 1911, the committee had promoted five successful days and, buoyed by the support, it formed the

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"10 Sydney Mail, 4 January 1911 p.57; Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8; Sydney Mail, 14 June 1911 p.57.
"11 Sydney Mail, 14 June 1911 p.57.
"12 Sportsman, 29 March 1911 p.5; Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8.
"13 Sportsman, 29 March 1911 p.5.
"14 Sun, 11 June 1911 p.20.
Kemp Professional Sculling Club.\textsuperscript{115} George Towns was appointed to the committee, which drafted a set of rules and regulations. Twenty-five members were attracted and it was anticipated that all Sydney professional scullers would join. A half-yearly subscription was set at 10/6 and Kemp granted the use of his boatshed as the clubhouse so there would be no expense in locating premises.\textsuperscript{116} The club's charter was to promote professional sculling by conducting regular meets for all grades, including women's races and novelty events. The club's ambition was to keep the Sydney professionals' interest and form a nucleus from which the sport could compete regularly with other codes for public interest.\textsuperscript{117} The committee had no grand plans to revolutionise the sport, but it had the leverage to organise a programme from which it and the sport could consolidate. The foresight and framework of the Kemp club was a new initiative for Sydney professional sculling, however, country centres were years ahead in this respect.\textsuperscript{118}

**Interest Rekindled**

By 1911, sculling in country centres was expanding. Record money was being offered at the big regattas and Sydney scullers were lured to the carnivals for the stakes.\textsuperscript{119} Heavy-boat racing, which had featured in country rowing and was being revived in Sydney, had been re-vamped with a number of match races contested for substantial money. Most of the matches were between men from the Richmond, Clarence and Hunter Rivers and interest in the Australian heavy-boat championship re-surfaced\textsuperscript{120} following the retirement of Benjamin Thoroughgood, who had held a stranglehold on this class of racing. The culmination of two years of intense country competition produced the first Australian heavy-boat championship of the twentieth century in December 1911 over the Raymond Terrace course.

\textsuperscript{115} *Sportsman*, 14 June 1911 p.6; *Sun*, 25 June 1911 p.15.
\textsuperscript{116} *Sun*, 9 July 1911 p.7; *Referee*, 9 August 1911 p.11.
\textsuperscript{117} *Sun*, 9 July 1911 p.7; *Referee*, 12 July 1911 p.11.
\textsuperscript{118} *Sydney Mail*, 12 July 1911 p.57.
\textsuperscript{119} *Referee*, 8 September 1909 p.8; *Referee*, 28 September 1910 p.10; *Referee*, 31 August 1910; *Referee*, 5 April 1911 p.11.
\textsuperscript{120} *Newcastle Herald*, 3 April 1911; *Sydney Mail*, 30 August 1911 p.57; *Referee*, 4 October 1911; *Sun*, 8 October 1911 p.16; *Referee*, 18 October 1911.
At the beginning of July 1911, professional sculling had begun to recover. Public interest had been generated by the Parramatta Hundred and the subsequent high-grade match races and supported by the Kemp handicaps. Indirectly, events such as Fogwell winning the New Zealand championship, his acceptance of Englishman Ernest Barry's challenge to race for the England title on the Thames in September, and Barry's challenge for a world championship match with Arnst for 1912, kept public enthusiasm bubbling. The sport's acid test, though, was the Arnst/Pearce world title race upon the Parramatta River in July 1911.

**Arnst v Pearce**

The championship's build-up provided the public with both fascination and frustration. The world champion had avoided signing articles until the last moment, which fuelled uncontested rumours of the champion's indisposition; a fear to race Pearce; a shortfall in stake money; and backers' desertion. These tactics swelled Pearce's reputation and his supporter base, which enabled the Arnst camp to bet regularly and in large denominations. So adept was the strategy that Pearce's supporters were "selling their shirts and evening dress to stack on". Nationalistic effusiveness was also helped by the perception that Pearce would be too formidable for the New Zealander and an Australian would once again rule the world.

Professional sculling was Arnst’s business and up to the Pearce match he had accumulated £4,000 in stake winnings alone. For his current race, Arnst was operating towards a gate of £800 and for motion picture rights of approximately £500. The champion was known as a betting man and the uncertainty he had created would initiate, for him, a shade of odds.

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121 Sun, 25 June 1911 p.15.  
122 Sydney Mail, 24 May 1911; Sun, 4 June 1911 p.3; Referee, 29 June 1911 p.11; Referee, 19 July 1911 p.11.  
123 Sun, 14 May 1911 p.14; Sportsman, 19 July 1911 p.7; Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5.  
124 Sportsman, 19 July 1911 p.7.  
125 Sportsman, 19 July 1911 p.7; Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5.  
126 Sun, 6 August 1911 p.5.  
127 Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5.  
An estimated 80,000 people attended the race in which Arnst defeated Pearce comfortably. Each man netted £300 from the gate and the motion picture rights were split two-thirds to the winner and one-third to the loser. The controversy that surrounded Arnst up to the race continued upon the revelation that the champion was offered £2,500 to lose. Pearce denied allegations that the offer was from his camp. Betting on the match suggested that the Pearce camp had committed themselves up until the final week before the championship, when Arnst trialled magnificently. While Arnst was a 7 to 4 on favourite, Pearce's supporters asked for odds against for their man. These were given, although heavy support for the champion firmed him into 2 to 1 on. On race day, Arnst's supporters were unable to be set even at that price. Midway through the race, Arnst's camp offered up to 5 to 1 against Pearce, with no takers. At the mile point of the race, Arnst encroached into Pearce's water and the latter was presented with the opportunity to foul the champion and claim the event. Instead, he permitted Arnst to clear and the pair settled down to complete the race.

The Sun insisted that while Arnst was offered a lifetime opportunity to be well off financially, his honest and ethical character made him row the race of his life to win approximately £1,200. In turn, the Sun suggested that only a clean sport could draw such a massive crowd.

The argument was a sufficient indication of the sport's standing and its public perception during 1911. While not suggesting that the sport was above suspicion from shady practices, the general conduct of the sport and its players was depicted in a favourable light. The northern hemisphere nations, notably England, had suffered from disreputable acts, which had

129 Sun, 30 July 1911 p.8; Town And Country Journal, 2 August 1911 p.15; Sun, 6 August 1911 p.5; Referee, 2 August 1911 p.1.
130 Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5; Sun, 30 July 1911 p.5.
131 Sun, 6 August 1911 p.5.
132 Sunday Times, 13 August 1911 p.12.
133 Sun, 23 July 1911 p.5.
134 Sun, 30 July 1911 p.8.
135 Sun, 30 July 1911 p.8; Sun, 19 May 1912 p.13.
136 Sun, 6 August 1911 p.5.
contributed to falling interest in professional rowing.\textsuperscript{137} The efforts by those in Australia to keep the sport clean were reflected in the sport's ability to conjure up enormous crowds for big races. Additionally, the heavy involvement of amateurs in the professional ranks on a long-term basis, indicated that the sport held an acceptable brand of integrity and the events of 1907 to 1911 give the lie to suggestions that the sport collapsed post-1907 due to betting, corruption and distrust.\textsuperscript{138}

\textbf{Money v Virtue}

Arnst placed high monetary value on the title.\textsuperscript{139} During his preparations for the Pearce match, Arnst was challenged by the Englishman Ernest Barry for a race worth £500 a side on the Thames. Previously, the expenses offered by Englishmen to Australian scullers had been £50 or £100. Arnst demanded £750 expenses from Barry and he stated that once he had settled into a commercial venture in New South Wales, minimum expenses would be £1,000. Arnst iterated, "While I am champion of the world I can do big business, so I am not going to hawk the title half way round the world for Barry's sake unless his supporters make it worth my while."\textsuperscript{140} It was big business for the champion. Since 1903, as a cyclist and then professional sculler, Arnst had earned more than £1,000 per year.\textsuperscript{141} At 28 years of age, the champion envisaged a long and profitable world reign. If he enticed Barry to row on the Parramatta River, Arnst could win approximately £950. A similar amount would be won if Barry agreed to Arnst's terms for the Thames, with the bonus of the world champion being fêted at 'Home'.\textsuperscript{142}


\textsuperscript{138} Note the involvement of the amateurs in official and social capacities throughout 1876-1927, e.g. Blackman, Coombes, Deloitte, Hogue, Horniman, McDonald, McGregor, Nash, Scott, Myers & Thornton.

\textsuperscript{139} Referee, 22 December 1909 p.13; Referee, 1 May 1910 p.13; Sun 24 April 1911 p.9; Referee, September 1912.

\textsuperscript{140} Sun, 24 September 1911 p.9.

\textsuperscript{141} Arrow, 26 October 1912 p.1.

\textsuperscript{142} Sun, 29 October 1911 p.16.
As an aesthetic quality, the world title was in danger of insignificance. Betting generally outstripped the monetary value of the world crown, but the focus now was on the subsidiary elements. Substantial money could be made from expenses, gate, film rights and other endorsements regardless of the stake money and whoever won the race.\textsuperscript{143} The result was that backers and/or public subscribers would be asked for stake money as well as expenses that were well above the coveted prize.\textsuperscript{144} This was an example of maximum exploitation of professionalism and, under the constructs of professional sculling as they stood, perfectly legitimate as a business venture.

While it can be argued that profiting from the sport's subsidiary elements differed little from previous eras, the practice was condoned in the nineteenth century because sport's hegemony had a professional flavour. In the twentieth century, sport's hegemony was influenced predominantly by amateur idealism,\textsuperscript{145} which viewed profiteering unfavourably and detrimental to national symbolism. Nevertheless, in Arnst's case, to row and be beaten in England should not leave him out-of-pocket, at least in the short term.\textsuperscript{146}

**Building A Framework**

While Arnst was negotiating with Barry, approximately 100 persons attended the Kemp Professional Sculling Club's opening ceremony in August 1911. President George Turner stipulated that "the object of the newly-formed club was to stimulate more enthusiasm among the professional scullers, and to provide a convenient channel for the transit of aspirants to professional honours to a successful goal."\textsuperscript{147} Turner assured that the club would not poach from the amateur brigade, while George Towns foresaw a successful future as long as the committee could uphold the sport's integrity.


\textsuperscript{145} Cashman, op. cit., pp.61, 70-71.

\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Referee}, 25 October 1911 p.1; \textit{Referee}, 27 September 1911 p.11.

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 9 August 1911 p.50; \textit{Referee}, 9 August 1911 p.11.
Significantly, the club received endorsement from the New South Wales Rowing Association, which considered the formation as no threat to its interests. From an inauspicious beginning, the Kemp Professional Sculling Club had evolved into a body with tangible membership and an ambition to exert control over the sport.

The club, though, faced a mammoth task. Small-scale novice racing was relatively easy to fund and promote but grander racing required sponsorship, which was more difficult to elicit. The Parramatta Hundred promoters were returned a profit, yet they disbanded, while Harry Floyd stated that few men were prepared to support the game financially. Although the top races drew enormous crowds, only a few thousand paid for the spectacle and this decreased dramatically as the status of racing lessened. Attracting country centres into affiliation was also debatable. It was problematic that the strong and thriving country rowing centres would abide by the demands of a fledgling Sydney club.

While the club had no mandate to revolutionise the sport, to have a genuine voice it needed to infringe upon the sport's traditional culture and make inroads into the sport's waywardness and stabilise self-indulgence. This meant that at some stage the club would be forced to challenge the backers' control and, at the same time, keep the backers' interest and finances generating the sport. Otherwise, the club would remain a small concern producing talent that backers would plunder to reinforce their control.

Towards the end of 1911, the active work of the committee enabled the club to announce a £100 handicap to replace the Parramatta Hundred in 1912. Sportsmen, who were content to make a return on contributions, promised funds for the race and any profits were to be channelled into the club. The feelings were so positive that club members voted in December to take charge of professional rowing. The Professional Rovers' League was

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148 *Sydney Mail*, 9 August 1911 p.57; *Referee*, 4 October 1911.
149 *Sun*, 6 August 1911 p.5.
150 *Sydney Mail*, 14 June 1911 p.57.
151 *Referee*, 4 December 1912 p.1; *Referee*, 12 February 1913 p.11; *Referee*, 4 October 1911.
152 *Referee*, 4 October 1911; *Referee*, 31 January 1912 p.11.
153 *Sydney Mail*, 27 September 1911 p.56.
formed with a mandate to affiliate country centres and, in a combined effort, control Australian professional rowing. The committee was empowered to design a constitution and involve country delegates in the draft. The League would operate under its parent body, the Kemp Professional Sculling Club.

The Need For Organisation And Control

At the beginning of 1912, rowing again seemed to be in a healthy and popular position. The amateurs were preparing for the 5th Olympiad in Stockholm and interest was high with the Australian team being the first amateur rowing squad to represent the nation at an international level. Interest also remained high with the professionals. The Northern Rivers' regattas and Australian heavy-boat championship were successful carnivals and the Northern Rivers' sculling championship and a second heavy-boat title were organised for April. The Kemp Professional Sculling Club had programmed its Hundred Handicap and the inaugural women's Australian outrigger championship for April. To enhance numbers, the Kemp organisation asked for a 30/- entry fee for its Hundred which incorporated club membership. The constitution for the Professional Rowers' League had been drafted and a suggested time for its approval was over the handicap carnival, when state and metropolitan scullers were in Sydney.

The need for a controlling body of professional sculling was highlighted on the eve of the Kemp Hundred handicap when the Australian heavy-boat championship, to be rowed at Raymond Terrace, deteriorated into farce. Benjamin Thoroughgood, who had retired from rowing in 1910, returned to skiff racing due to the resurgent interest in the craft and the revival of the title and was matched, for a £200 stake, against defending

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154 Sydney Mail, 20 December 1911 p.56.
155 Referee, 24 January 1912 p.1; Frederick Septimus Kelly (1886-1916) was Sydney-born. From age 12 he was educated at Eton and lived in England where he represented Eton, Leander and the United Kingdom in rowing and sculling. Kelly won the Henley Diamond Sculls in 1902, 1903 and 1905 but the ambivalent Australian response to his victories suggests that Kelly was considered more an Englishman than an Australian.
156 Referee, 17 April 1912 p.11.
157 Referee, 24 January 1912 p.4.
158 Referee, 7 February 1912 p.11.
159 Referee, 17 April 1912 p.11.
160 Referee, 19 June 1907 p.9; Referee, 17 January 1912 p.11; Newcastle Herald, 1 January 1912; Referee, 22 July 1908 p.6; Referee, 10 April; 1912 p.11.
champion, Alex Ripley.

On the evening before the match, Thoroughgood, bedridden from a lumbago seizure, sought a postponement but Ripley, under backers' orders, refused.\textsuperscript{161} The matter continued on race day. Thoroughgood, armed with a medical certificate was again refused. At the appointed race start time, Ripley paddled the course and demanded the stake money.\textsuperscript{162} Whereas rules and regulations had been constituted for the Australian sculling championship in 1908, there were no such laws for heavy-boat racing. Under the articles, Ripley's demand for the stake money was legitimate.\textsuperscript{163} Irrespective of the apparent lack of sportsmanship or what damage the action may have done to the sport, his backers were in the game to make money and under the race's contract no provision was made for incapacitation.\textsuperscript{164} The matter was forced to arbitration through solicitors Reid and Reid (Newcastle) who arranged a compromise for both parties.\textsuperscript{165}

The Ripley/Thoroughgood example demonstrated the backers' ruthlessness and also emphasised the need for a controlling body that could have intervened and ruled on the matter. Instances such as these were generally detrimental to professional sculling. In this case, the two following steamers had to be stopped from Newcastle and the public was forced to abandon the day's proposed spectacle. The insult to most followers was the unsportsmanlike walkover at the expense of a local 'hero'.\textsuperscript{166}

From their compromise, the pair agreed to race in May 1912.\textsuperscript{167} A large crowd and two well-patronised steamers attended the race. It may be implied that the generous attendance was on hand to witness a heavily backed Thoroughgood avenge the treatment handed out to him by the Ripley camp in April.\textsuperscript{168} This he did by 100 yards.

\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 16 April 1912.
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Referee}, 17 April 1912 p.11; \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 15 April 1912.
\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Sun}, 19 May 1912 p.13.
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 16 April 1912; \textit{Sportsman}, 17 April 1912; \textit{Referee}, 1 May 1912 p.11; \textit{Sun} 19 May 1912 p.13.
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 20 April 1912.
\textsuperscript{166} \textit{Sportsman}, 17 April 1912 p.4.
\textsuperscript{167} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 20 April 1912.
\textsuperscript{168} \textit{Sportsman}, 15 May 1912 p.3; \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 13 May 1912.
Dissent And Division

The incident might have provided a test case for the Professional Rowers' League, however, that body had not yet been ratified and the Kemp Professional Sculling Club had more concerns with its Hundred handicap. Three following steamers had been hired, the New South Wales Rowing Association had offered its boathouse as a grandstand facility with enclosed surrounds so that entry fees could be charged. The attractions included two brass bands. Thirty-nine scullers had nominated for the handicap, including two drawcards in former world champions Kemp and Towns.

However, on the eve of the carnival, events soured. The submitted handicaps for the race were altered without consultation. Umpire, William Beach, and Australian champion, Harry Pearce, withdrew over the interference. One handicapper, Robert Hopping, accused Towns and Kemp of favouring their relatives on the re-issuing of handicaps and suggested the professional club was a guise to further the boatbuilding community. Harry Floyd challenged the club's administration. He implied that country scullers were excluded from the handicap if they refused club membership.

The organising committee was lambasted for its management on the opening day. The Sportsman suggested that little advertising was undertaken and few of the general public knew of the handicap. It claimed that the committee's 'cocksuredness' clouded its judgment. One steamer was left at its moorings as patronage was down, while the other two were late in arriving and those on board missed the first heat. Adding to the inconvenience, the Lady Rawson struck a rock and her passengers had to be transported to the second steamer.
The women's heats were conducted in the twilight and allegations were made that Fern Kemp was 'coached' throughout her heat. Further insinuations were directed at those who altered the handicaps; four of them were competitors and four of their relatives made the final field of nine. The criticism brought a 'smell' upon the club and the sport.

The aftermath from the Hundred handicap provided little relief for the club. Besides generating a £125 deficit, the resultant criticism developed into an ongoing and bitter slanging match. The brawl of words highlighted in the press extended from April until August and deteriorated into personal abuse and character slurs. The fracas gave the impression that the sport was 'crook' and thoroughly disorganised. Some observers believed that irreparable damage had been done.

After its the first 12 months of operation, the club that had promised a new sculling era had failed dismally. The Professional Rowers' League was buried beneath the club's internal turmoil and the newspaper war. The diatribe in the press was not the only contributor. Two schools of thought were represented on the club's committee. The Kemp/Turner side wished to channel young rowers through the ranks. By ensuring a solid foundation, the goal was to perpetuate the sport from novices to title aspirants. The control of professional sculling for them was a secondary consideration.

The John Spencer/George Towns group wanted to control the sport. While the two parties attempted to work amicably, dissent was evident concerning the sport's direction. The club's name was an issue. Spencer/Towns believed it availed Kemp free publicity for his boatbuilding business and did not reflect expansive ideals for sculling. Kemp/Turner contended that the concentration on the Hundred handicap in preference to a series of small handicap races lost sight of the sport's re-building

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177 *Sportsman*, 1 May 1912 p.8; *Sportsman*, 29 May 1912 p.8.
178 *Sportsman*, 15 May 1912 p.3; *Sportsman*, 29 May 1912 p.8.
179 *Sportsman*, 10 July 1912 p.3; *Sportsman*, 17 July 1912 p.3.
180 *Sportsman*, 1 May 1912 p.2.
181 *Sportsman*, April 1912 to August 1912.
182 *Sportsman*, 12 June 1912 p.5; *Sportsman*, 19 June 1912 p.4; *Sportsman*, 14 August 1912 p.4.
183 *Sportsman*, 10 July 1912 p.3; *Sportsman*, 17 July 1912 p.3.
184 *Sportsman*, 14 August 1912 p.4.
185 *Referee*, 13 November 1912 p.15.
186 *Referee*, 4 September 1912 p.11.
processes.\(^{188}\) Adding to the antagonism was the committee’s reluctance to conduct events within four months of the Hundred handicap. While the war of words in the press did little to stabilise relationships, the Kemp contingent was convinced that its voice in the club was being silenced. Hitherto, the opposing camp believed the Kemp faction was stonewalling its ambitions.\(^ {189}\)

By September 1912, the two groups formed individual clubs. The Kemp/Turner supporters maintained the original name and their focus for the sport. The Spencer/Towns brigade became the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club.\(^ {190}\) The new club focused on control of the sport by means of a board charged with leadership, careful scrutiny and arbitration. A statewide club network was proposed and regular competition for both sexes in all boat classes was part of its agenda. Included in the club’s long-range plans was the introduction of the New South Wales Sculling Championship, a race designed as a stepping stone to the Australian and world championships. Assisting in its formulation were the amateur officials, John Blackman, Nat McDonald, John McGregor and John Scott.\(^ {191}\)

The club’s speed in assembling its committee and agenda suggested that its split from the Kemp Club had been planned for a considerable time.\(^ {192}\) Almost immediately after its split the PRPSC conducted its first carnival.\(^ {193}\) The determination to mobilise quickly and distance itself from the Kemp Club reflected its desire to counteract the low esteem brought upon the original body and to regain public confidence in the sport.

**Indulgence v Organisation**

In the broader context of rowing, the efforts to organise and foster professional sculling in Sydney were largely ineffective. Outside the clubs’ confines, professional sculling continued much as it had done before, in an

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\(^{188}\) Referee, 24 July 1912; Sportsman, 14 August 1912 p.4.

\(^{189}\) Sportsman, 18 September 1912 p.5; Referee, 30 October 1912 p.11; Referee, 24 December 1912 p.11; Referee, 26 February 1913 p.11.

\(^{190}\) Referee, 2 October 1912 p.11; Referee, 13 November 1912 p.15.

\(^{191}\) Referee, 4 September 1912 p.11; Referee, 4 December 1912 p.11; Referee, 5 February 1913 p.11; Victor Foy was club patron; See, Referee, 11 May 1910 p.3 and Referee, 4 May 1910 p.1, re coursing; Richard Coombes was a founder and President of the New South Wales National Coursing Association and the Australasian Coursing Union; Sun, 2 June 1912 p.10, re Mark Foy and professional sculling.

\(^{192}\) Referee, 26 February 1913 p.11.

\(^{193}\) Referee, 20 November 1912 p.11.
unrestrained fashion. In July 1912, Richard Arnst lost his crown to the Englishman, Ernest Barry, on the Thames. For the Australian rowing fraternity proximity to the title was now an issue.\textsuperscript{194} Whereas the title had been domiciled in Australasia for the previous 11 years, Barry stipulated he would not race outside England.\textsuperscript{195} This demand further removed the prize from Australian aspirants and distanced its significance from the public.\textsuperscript{196} To the casual sports follower, Arnst held no peer in Australasia and his loss made it probable that the title may remain in the northern hemisphere for a considerable time.\textsuperscript{197} Some of the rowing fraternity, however, had a different view.

Arnst's defeat surprised the rowing community\textsuperscript{198} and they concluded that he had erred in not taking his mentor, Harry Floyd, to England. Gauging by his race preparation, unfitness was a plausible explanation for his defeat. Arnst had not raced for nine months and to be competitive he shed 42 pounds in three months.\textsuperscript{199} The savage weight reduction induced illness, which, reportedly, he carried into the race.\textsuperscript{200} Furthermore, his trip to England was also a honeymoon celebration and there were suggestions that Arnst was more interested in sightseeing and competing in shooting matches than in training for the contest.\textsuperscript{201} While this belief might have engendered hope in Arnst's ability to regain the title, that was dashed by suggestions of his imminent retirement. On the other hand, doubts remained about Barry's ability and those doubts spurred the rowing fraternity to produce a new challenger.

Australian champion, Harry Pearce, was promised backing of up to £240 and the \textit{Referee} agreed to launch a public subscription fund to finance a race with Barry.\textsuperscript{202} The world champion accepted Pearce's deposit three

\textsuperscript{194} \textit{Referee}, 3 July 1912 p.11.
\textsuperscript{195} \textit{Referee}, 7 August 1912 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 11 September 1912 p.11; \textit{Sportsman}, 30 July 1913 p.3.
\textsuperscript{196} \textit{Referee}, 7 August 1912 p.11.
\textsuperscript{197} \textit{Sun}, 2 February 1913 p.16.
\textsuperscript{200} \textit{Referee}, 31 July 1912 p.11.
\textsuperscript{201} \textit{Sportsman}, 31 July 1912 p.5.
\textsuperscript{202} \textit{Referee}, 14 August 1912 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 7 August 1912 p.11.
weeks after his victory over Arnst, but articles of agreement were not signed until April 1913, which was well outside the stipulated three months period. Paragraph six of the laws governing the world championship, as they had been constituted in Australia, stated that a challenge had to be accepted within three months and rowed within nine months of acceptance. The extension was to enable Pearce sufficient time to gather his stake. Barry and Pearce agreed to race in July 1913. The Australian sculling authorities, surprisingly, registered no criticisms of the rule’s breach. It may be suggested that the sculling fraternity was unconcerned as long as the Australian clinched his match.

Australian sculling officials had placed great faith in the rules and regulations governing the world championship. They depended on the players’ sincerity to abide by the rules for the sport’s success, as there was no world authority or governing body with judicial powers or arbitration arms. From 1906, when the laws had been adopted, Australasian men had held the world championship. They adhered to the conditions, enabling the contests to be run with little controversy. With contests occurring in close proximity, sculling authorities were able to opinionise, which carried weight in keeping race organisers conversant with the laws. However, precisely because of the trust held by sculling authorities in the viability of the whole arrangement it lessened the perceived need to form a universal board of control to manage professional sculling. While scullers and their backers complied with the laws, sculling officials became increasingly complacent.

In 1906, a draft of the rules and regulations had been forwarded to the prominent sportsmen and scullers of the time. Men such as Barry, Durnan and Arnst had approved of and raced under these conditions. However, it was evident that a change of world champion would result in alterations. The Arnst/Barry match of 1910 was a clear indication. Barry wished to row

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203 Referee, 21 August 1912 p.11.
204 Sportsman, 4 June 1913 p.8.
205 Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9; Appendix 3.
206 Referee, 4 September 1912 p.11.
208 Referee, 4 September 1912 p.11.
209 Referee, 4 September 1912 p.11; Sun, 8 October 1911 p.16; Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16.
210 Sun, 8 October 1911 p.16; Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16.
under the governance of the Thames racing rules. Arnst had insisted that the world championship laws would govern the race. Barry consented, but on the understanding that if he won, he had the right to draft new rules for the championship. This understanding was soon forgotten as Arnst won the match and reigned, under the Australian conditions, for a further two years.

Barry, as champion, proved to be less willing to race under the Australian terms. Following his agreement to race Pearce, challenges came from the Canadian Durnan and Arnst who had deferred his retirement. If the Australian-devised rules and regulations were to be adhered to, these challenges would be scheduled after the Pearce race. The Sportsman (London) insisted that Arnst was the legitimate challenger, for he complied, not with the world championship rules and regulations but with the English championship conditions.\(^{211}\) Barry, though, held little brief for rules and regulations.\(^{212}\) He wanted to make money and as world champion he held the station to gain profit.\(^{213}\) By confining his racing to England and screening his opponents, Barry hoped to reign for a considerable period. He considered Durnan a 'soft snap' and accepted the Canadian's challenge to race in October 1912.\(^{214}\) In meeting Durnan before Pearce, Barry was breaching the world championship rules and regulations.

It became apparent that the first champion to disregard the rules and regulations could do so with impunity. There was no international board to enforce the championship laws and in Barry's case, being London-based, southern hemisphere criticism lost its sting through distance. The champion held the honour of being the first Englishman to win the coveted title and, in England, the notion that a small group of Australians could control the conditions for the world championship was considered absurd.\(^{215}\) Barry's actions, though, differed little from those of the past champions. Professional sculling was a livelihood and those in possession of the world championship seized every opportunity to profit.

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\(^{211}\) Referee, 4 September 1912 p.11.
\(^{212}\) Referee, 31 December 1913 p.11.
\(^{213}\) Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11; Referee, 31 December 1913 p.11.
\(^{214}\) Referee, 28 August 1912 p.11.
\(^{215}\) Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16.
Australians were hesitant to influence the happenings in England and they hid their inadequacies behind the belief that Barry would beat Durman and then race Pearce. While the *Sportsman* (Sydney) suggested that the world championship rules and regulations were "not really worth the paper they are written on", Australian sculling authorities were content to project the regulations as the form of control required to keep the world championship authentic. This delusion had succeeded whilst the championship was housed in Australasia, but proved ineffective once the sport had a new player who followed his own guidelines and was based well outside Australian jurisdiction or influence.

Harry Pearce, of course, was in an invidious position. If Durman defeated Barry, Pearce's world title bid would be in tatters. His support was for a title race against Barry and backing for any other option was precarious. Pearce's only avenue was to raise his stake and expense monies and hope that Barry won. While Pearce's world title bid was at an unsatisfactory stage, his situation on the domestic scene was even worse.

By October 1912, Pearce had collected £400 from public donations and he was endeavouring to raise the balance by personal means. His efforts, though, were about to be ambushed. Peter Kemp, George Towns and Harry Floyd believed Pearce was inferior to other local men and they were against him representing Australia. They insisted that he test his skills before contemplating a race with Barry. Pearce had lodged his £100 deposit in August to row Barry and he had accumulated public money in good faith. There had been ample opportunity for his detractors to object when Pearce first mentioned his desire to race Barry. These sculling officials were working under the premise that if a local man defeated Pearce, the victor would substitute as Australia's representative and Barry would agree to the alteration. What was bemusing was that these outspoken detractors were the champions of the 'new age' of professional sculling. Kemp and

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216 *Referee*, 11 September 1912 p.11.
217 *Sportsman*, 31 December 1913 p.7.
218 *Referee*, 4 September 1912 p.11.
219 *Referee*, 30 October 1912 p.11.
220 *Arrow*, 26 October 1912 p.1.
221 *Arrow*, 26 October 1912 p.1; *Referee*, 6 November 1912 p.11.
Towns were officials of the Kemp Professional Sculling Club and the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club, respectively, and they were charged with the promotion and fostering of sculling. It appeared that their self-interest took precedence over their clubs' edicts and ideals. By the end of October 1912, it could be argued that the sport's ongoing practice, that of self-indulgence, was the major reason for the attack on Pearce.²²²

Ernest Barry defeated Durnan in October 1912, which accorded Pearce his race for July 1913. Pearce expected to leave for England in January 1913 for training and acclimatisation.²²³ However, at the end of October 1912, Alfred Felton, supported by Kemp; Charles Towns, who had come back from retirement and was represented by brother George; and James Paddon, backed by Harry Floyd, challenged Pearce for the Australian championship.²²⁴ These representatives stipulated that the laws governing the Australian championship must be adhered to and although Pearce committed himself to race his challengers upon his return from England, the three parties refused that offer. As the champion would be forced to forfeit his title each party claimed that the honour should go to their man.²²⁵

The folly of the situation exposed the extent of disorganisation surrounding the sport. The two newly formed professional clubs had no jurisdiction to interfere and, if they considered conciliation, conflict of interest charges would be levelled. There was no other body empowered to arbitrate upon professional sculling matters. With the sport in turmoil, the task of intercession befell the editor of the Referee, Richard Coombes, assisted by A. H. Aldworth, Managing Director of the Sunday Times.²²⁶

Coombes and Aldworth were presented with an opportunity to stamp

²²² Referee, 11 September 1912 p.11; Arrow, 26 October 1912 p.1; Referee, 30 October 1912 p.11; Referee, 6 November 1912 p.11.
²²³ Pearce departed for England in February 1913. He required extra time to raise stake money to enable him to take his trainer.
²²⁵ Referee, 4 December 1912 p.1; Referee, 12 January 1913 p.12.
²²⁶ Referee, 4 December 1912 p.1.
their authority on the sport and restore order. A suggestion by George Towns, in early November 1912, that a trophy be provided for the Australian championship was the edge both men used to secure control.\textsuperscript{227} The \textit{Referee Challenge Cup}, valued at £100, was offered to the sport but conditions were attached. A new set of rules and regulations drafted arbitrary powers to the Cup trustees and all matters concerning the championship were to be administered by the \textit{Referee}.\textsuperscript{228} The changes were convened too late to save Harry Pearce.\textsuperscript{229} Alfred Felton became the Australian champion by default and he was matched against Charles Towns in January 1913. The victor would race James Paddon in February with the likelihood of the overall winner challenging the victor of the Barry/Pearce match.\textsuperscript{230} While the Sydney scene was embroiled in conflict and struggled to maintain discipline, the country centres appeared unfazed by the doings of their metropolitan counterparts.

\textbf{Outside Of Sydney}

The Northern Rivers regattas continued as strong sporting entities offering lucrative prize monies and drawing sizeable crowds. On a day marred by rain, Coraki drew 2,000 spectators to its October 1912 'Hundred'. Good attendances were recorded at the Ulmarra, Grafton, Woodburn, Ballina and Broadwater regattas. Record entries were received for Ulmarra and Grafton and, overall, the carnivals were the best conducted to date.\textsuperscript{231} The area unearthed a new force for professional sculling in James Paddon, who was touted as a forthcoming Australian and world champion.

The Newcastle area provided a series of heavy-boat and sculling match races throughout the year. These races culminated in the Lake Macquarie Handicap on Boxing Day and the Newcastle New Year's Day Regatta of 1913. Speers Point hotelier, Frank D'Archy, who sponsored the £75 outrigger race and went to the extraordinary length of providing boats for

\begin{footnotes}
\item[227] \textit{Referee}, 6 November 1912 p.11.
\item[228] \textit{Referee}, 20 November 1912 p.1; Appendix 3.
\item[229] \textit{Referee}, 18 December 1921 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 24 December 1912 p.11.
\item[230] \textit{Referee}, 15 January 1913 p.1; \textit{Referee}, 15 January 1913 p.11.
\item[231] \textit{Referee}, 2 October 1912 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 16 October 1912 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 30 October 1912 p.11.
\end{footnotes}
the competitors, promoted the Lake Macquarie carnival. Over 20,000 attended the New Year's Day regatta where a feature of the day was an exhibition by the Olympic eight. The outriggers' handicap totalled £50 in prize money and minor events offered £10 first prize.

The country centres, in terms of organisation and enthusiasm, were far more advanced than their Sydney counterparts. Their community and club-based approach to foster sport and produce top-flight sportsmen was indicative of what Sydney lacked. The important elements of encouraging scullers and promoting the sport, such as D'Archy providing competitors' craft as against the Sydney clubs requiring their members to provide their own boats, suggested that the Sydney scene lacked method. The sport's Sydney arm may have dreamt of organisation and control, but it was in danger of losing sight of the basic ingredients required to attract young men to the sport and offer the seasoned follower reasons why he should continue his support.

Conclusions

The endeavours by the professional sculling authorities to codify the sport were, in part, an attempt to maintain the sport's high profile and popularity by raising its administrative and managerial levels to fit in with society's and conservative sportsmen's expectations. Amateur luminaries played a significant role in persuading the professionals to construct a framework and provide a measure of authority for the sport's elite competitions. The amateurs' input was a functional and conscientious attempt to provide governance and avoid the previous experiences when the sport had degenerated from a lack of structure and regulatory control. The amateurs' hands-on approach provides further evidence that, at a managerial level, amateur rowing administrators helped shaped professional sculling as a meaningful social and cultural contribution.

However, the sport's complexities and transience provided an obstacle that revealed that assertive commitment was required to bring the sport under a workable and controllable framework. The advocates of change were charitable as they set down the sport's guidelines, because they were

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232 Referee, 28 August 1912 p.11; Referee, 4 September 1912 p.11; Referee, 2 October 1912 p.11.
unable to protect or enforce their recommendations with a governing body. Their reliance on the probity of backers and scullers to uphold the sculling laws was both courageous and perilous, especially in a profit-based sport where big money could be made without adhering to those guidelines.

By the end of 1912, public perception of professional sculling was one of confusion. What had promised to be a progressive period lost cohesion and ended awry. The hope for a body to take charge of the sport fell through with the disintegration of the Kemp Professional Sculling Club, which split to form two bodies. There was optimism that the two groups could settle their differences, but the ill will carried into 1913. The self-interest of some prominent sculling figures served to disrupt Pearce's efforts to race world champion Ernest Barry and brought criticism from the rowing fraternity and the public. Further tainting the situation was Barry's breach of the rules and regulations governing the world championship, which revealed that formal regulations alone were no substitute for a universal controlling body. In a broader context, the sport appeared to have an insurmountable task of establishing any convincing form of organisation and control while self-interest remained in the sport's marrow. Counterbalancing the situation, though, was a new scope for the sport in Australia. The country had a world contender and three aspirants for the domestic title, from which one was expected to provide a challenger for the highest honour. Some semblance of stability was offered by the Referee, which assumed control of the Australian championship.

The country centres had maintained their strength throughout the decades in contrast with the topsy-turvy nature of the sport in the metropolitan arena. Although Sydney professional sculling had blundered through turbulent and controversial years there were signs that the sport might emerge with a regime to stabilise conflict and create some order. The Referee provided an initial form of control by managing the Australian championship, however, the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club still had plans to become a wide-ranging controlling body for the sport.

233 Sportsman, 12 February 1913 p.3; Sportsman, 19 February 1913 p.5; Referee, 17 September 1913 p.11.
234 Referee, 20 November 1912 p.11; Referee, 11 December 1912 p.11.
CHAPTER FIVE

ORGANISATION, CONTROL AND DIFFUSION: THE PARRAMATTA RIVER PROFESSIONAL SCULLING CLUB AND THE NEW SOUTH WALES SCULLING AND ROWING LEAGUE

By the second decade of the twentieth century most amateur and professional sports had established sophisticated governance models and national and international networks. Highly organised processes of selection, training, coaching and competition had been developed where athletes were channelled towards national and international success. Sports administrators of mass-spectator sports, such as horseracing, cricket, boxing, rugby union and rugby league, had accustomed their patrons to paying entry fees into enclosed arenas, which offered at least facilities and sometimes comfort. The provision of such facilities, regular and high-grade competitions and the habitual method of patrons paying for their entertainment enabled sports administrators to develop a rapport and ritualised following between their sports and the public.

Professional sculling authorities, on the other hand, had taken steps to codify the sport's elite levels, but there was little correlation or interrelationship between their organisational models. This incongruity contributed to disharmony and stifled advancement, but emerging from the discord was the strongest body, the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club. Its delegates aimed to structure and manage professional sculling but such a task required commitment to establish a strong domestic body and to re-create the sport on a similar platform as rival games.

This chapter will investigate the conditions and plans professional sculling authorities had to invest in an organisational framework and how they could consolidate on this structure and regenerate the sport by establishing a central controlling body to transform the sport's multifariousness, absorb each section under one umbrella, and restrain the
selfish practices that had beset the sport over decades. Correspondingly, the chapter will examine how a strong, structural foundation could produce a clear direction and, importantly, conform to society's expectations of the meaning of sport and how sport could be commodified as a form of entertainment for public consumption.

As a point of comparison, the fortunes of rival organised sports will also be discussed. Rugby league, in particular, will be investigated to demonstrate how a well-organised and managed professional sport targeted and utilised its resources to overcome difficulties and emerge as a mass-spectacle sport and representative of Australian masculinity. One significant issue, which will be examined, is the sculling authorities' lack of endeavour to cater for the working-class spectator whose level of sophistication was being courted and capitalised on by rugby league and rival sporting codes.

The chapter will also examine whether the sculling authorities had the fundamental strategies in place to achieve their vision and whether they exhibited the necessary commitment to attain a formalised structure and central controlling body. It will also analyse the implications of their Sydney-centric mindset and the extent to which it paralysed endeavours to manage the sport outside this confine. The chapter will also investigate how sculling authorities, either to protect their own agendas or to entertain imperial unity, condoned the sport's unbridled nature with the result that the public's perception of professional sculling remained ambivalent.

Towards Control

By January 1913, the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club had drafted its charter to include the formation of a rowers' league to control New South Wales professional sculling.¹ The club's statewide preliminary work attracted five clubs to support the concept of a league. The PRPSC amateur associates, Blackman, McDonald, John Scott and John McGregor, insisted that a league would rectify the sport's aimlessness. McDonald also suggested that public confidence had been regained due mainly to the club's sound and honest administration. He added that the professionals were as

¹ Referee, 11 December 1912 p.11.
clean as the amateurs.²

The new club began scheduling races for its members and it established the New South Wales Sculling Championship with the inaugural race set down for April 1913. The new title was envisaged as a stepping stone to the Australian and world champion honours and excluded the former and current champions in order to encourage up-and-comers. The initial race was open to Australian and New Zealand citizens. The winner would claim the New South Wales title and would then revert to the traditional match-racing format for title defences. These would be governed by rules and regulations designed specifically for the state title.³ Angus and Coote, the jewellers, donated a £50 shield for the title and the PRPSC donated £65 to cover prizes.

The PRPSC was swift in excluding non-members from its club meets. This bar was aimed at the Kemp Professional Sculling Club,⁴ while most Kemp carnivals were open to all-comers.⁵ Kemp competitions were mostly free of charge to the public⁶ and the club was loath to support the grand plans of its rival, being content to conduct small but regular competitions. The sporting press urged a compromise, especially with a league close to realisation.⁷ It stressed that the Sydney clubs' estrangement would weaken the formation of an efficient controlling network.

The PRPSC was driven to achieve its objectives regardless of its detractors. Club races had received limited patronage, but were a financial success, as was the state title despite drawing only a fraction of the expected crowd.⁸ While spectator numbers were disappointing, the club was determined in its agenda and optimistic that the public would return with newfound confidence in the sport and the new administration.

The club achieved remarkable success within its first 12 months. Membership reached 101, five regattas were conducted with prizes totalling £220, the state sculling championship was established, and the committee

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² Referee, 5 February 1913 p.11; Referee 2 April 1913 p.11.
³ Referee, 11 December 1912 p.11; Referee, 2 April 1913 p.11; Appendix 1.
⁴ Referee, 11 December 1912 p.11; Referee, 26 February 1913.
⁵ Referee, 11 December 1912 p.11; Referee, 18 December p.11; Sportsman, 19 February 1913 p.5.
⁶ Referee, 11 December 1912 p.11.
⁷ Sportsman, 19 March 1913 p.3.
⁸ Referee, 26 February 1913.
⁹ Sportsman, 16 April 1913 p.8; Sportsman, 23 April 1913 p.3.
assisted in the formation of two further metropolitan professional clubs. The George's River Sculling Club, based at Como, was established in June 1913, and the Pioneer Ladies' Professional Sculling Club (Leichhardt) was formed in July.

**Grand Ideas**

The PRPSC, confident with the groundwork undertaken, launched its attempt to control professional sculling in September 1913. The country centres were targeted as these areas carried a strong professional quotient and had a history of producing leading scullers and financial supporters. A significant reason for concentrating on the country areas was the possibility of attracting sportsmen rejected by the New South Wales Rowing Association.

Country rowing clubs, by nature, were amateur concerns, however, the lack of population prompted officials to allow mixed competition. Similarly, amateur oarsmen who raced for money, but donated their proceeds to their clubs, were frowned upon by the amateur hierarchy, as were those who may have rowed as true amateurs, but competed against professionals or accepted cash in other sports. While the NSWRA had lifted its ban on manual labour amateurs in 1903, it maintained its one-year suspension for country men seeking reinstatement. Within that year, these men were forced to adhere strictly to the amateur code, which for country sportsmen virtually condemned them to 12 months inactivity.

Country rowing clubs were unable to obtain affiliation with the NSWRA, which, because of its intransigence, had confined its activities to the metropolitan area. The amateur controlling body was an exclusively Sydney-based entity and contact between the NSWRA and the country

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9 *Referee*, 3 September 1913 p.11.
10 *Sun*, 14 September 1913 p.16.
11 *Sportsman*, 17 September 1913 p.8.
12 *Sportsman*, 5 February 1913 p.7.
13 *Referee*, 18 June 1913 p.11.
15 *Referee*, 20 August 1913 p.11.
16 Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.12.
centres was occasional, uncompromising and sometimes derisive.\textsuperscript{17}

From 1905, the NSWRA had considered affiliating country clubs in an endeavour to strengthen the amateur sport.\textsuperscript{18} The burden of altering its rules and interfering with the amateur definition was perceived as too compromising. The NSWRA failure to embrace the country clubs enabled the new professional body to petition country organisations and strengthen its endeavours in controlling professional sculling.\textsuperscript{19}

The NSWRA was jolted from its complacency by the PRPSC. Initially, the NSWRA consented to the formation of the original Kemp Professional Sculling Club. Its interests did not conflict with the amateurs and the latter were keen for the professionals to forge control over their branch of the sport. Men, such as McDonald, Blackman, Scott and McGregor, initially formed part of the PRPSC working committee. However, the club’s attempted capture of the country centres and, specifically, its insistence on promoting and racing crew events angered the amateur brigade and led to their withdrawal from the club.\textsuperscript{20}

The sporting press was adamant that the two codes could exist harmoniously and rowing would be strengthened by two well-organised entities.\textsuperscript{21} It commended the professional branch in its endeavours to control its arm of the sport and its belief that professional sculling would flourish under organised administration. The press fired a broadside at the NSWRA suggesting that the body’s delay in exerting proper control over amateurs across the state would tax the amateur cause.\textsuperscript{22} Countering the blast, the NSWRA announced that it was endeavouring to reach a compromise with the country centres.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Referee}, 26 July 1905 p.6; \textit{Referee}, 16 February 1910 p.13; \textit{New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting}, 9 September 1913.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Referee}, 18 June 1913 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 20 August 1913 p.11.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Referee}, 10 September 1913 p.11; \textit{Sportsman}, 10 September 1913 p.7.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Referee}, 1 October 1913 p.11; \textit{Sportsman}, 8 October 1913 p.3.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Referee}, 20 August 1913 p.11.
Thin Scope

The New South Wales Professional Sculling And Rowing League was founded on the 11th September 1913, and delegates from George's River, Cronulla, Coraki, Wagga Wagga, the Pioneer Ladies' Sculling Club and the PRPSC were appointed to the committee. Conspicuous by their absence were members of the Kemp Professional Sculling Club.²⁴

The amateurs had little to fear from the professional organisation. While there was discussion of controlling New South Wales professional sculling and that the League's formation would serve such a purpose, it was difficult to fathom what undertakings the League would perform. As an extension of the PRPSC, it was limited in its power and scope,²⁵ though it was able to administer and oversee the New South Wales Sculling Championship, formerly under PRPSC control, and arbitrate on contests of its own creation. It had the capacity to accept regatta nominations, a function performed by the PRPSC and newspaper editors, and it accepted challengers' deposits for match races, which could also be lodged with reputable persons. The League had no influence with the Kemp Club, which controlled the Australian women's championship. It had no influence over the Australian championship, which was administered by the Referee, no influence on the world championship, and very little say in racing conducted by bodies with or without League delegates.²⁶ Although a handful of amateur oarsmen defected to the professionals in October 1913, their move was a mere ripple.²⁷

The League was created as the professional's version of the New South Wales Rowing Association. However, as a controlling body it paled in comparison. Its main roles were that of an advisory body and a creator of new championships. Similar roles were already in place with the PRPSC and the Kemp Club. For the public's consumption, the League was promoted as the body empowered to control professional sculling and keep the sport free of malpractices. In reality, the League's authority was restricted to its own

²⁴Referee, 17 September 1913 p.11.
²⁶Sportsman, 31 December 1913 p.7; Referee, 1 April 1914 p.11; Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11; Referee, 22 April 1914 p.11.
²⁷Referee, 1 October 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 29 October 1913 p.5.
competitions. Its committee's three country delegates and 11 metropolitan representatives did not constitute statewide control and in any case it had no judicial authority over its members or other clubs. With little or no influence over the majority of competitions, the League was as confined in its managerial role as any of the professional clubs. The sport functioned in three categories; local events, domestic championship and the world title, with the separate branches holding no influence over one another. The League's role in the organising and running of the higher titles was little more than that of a spectator.

The Other Worlds

By January 1913, Harry Pearce had forfeited his domestic championship. On the eve of his departure for London to race Barry for the world title, Richard Arnst lodged a second challenge to the world champion claiming Pearce's challenge had lapsed on the grounds that articles of agreement had not been signed within three months of the challenge.28 The sporting press questioned Arnst's sportsmanship,29 but remained silent over his reason for challenging and his testing of the rules.30 Presumably, the press sympathised with Pearce and wished him to race.31 With the rowing hierarchy clinging to its laws as its one means of control the press buried any further controversy. It may be assumed, too, that the press would not sacrifice an Australian challenger over a rule uncertainty.

The Australian championship was passed onto Alfred Felton who, in his first defence in January 1913, defeated Charles Towns. He lost the title to James Paddock in February and Arnst challenged Paddock. An estimated 200 were spread aboard the two hired steamers for the January race. High charges of 7/6 and 4/- and poor programming were blamed for a meagre attendance.32 The Paddock/Felton match fared a little better with 5/- and 3/- being the steamer charges.33 The Sportsman suggested that "the sport of

28 Referee, 29 January 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 29 January 1913 p.8; Appendix 3.
29 Referee, 29 January 1913 p.11; Referee, 12 February 1913 p.11.
30 Referee, 29 January 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 29 January 1913 p.8; Sun, 2 February 1913 p.16; Referee, 12 February 1913 p.11.
32 Sportsman, 29 January 1913 p.8.
33 Referee, 12 February 1913 p.11.
sculling is coming back, but the clock was put so far back by questionable tactics that the public still look askance at the sport."\textsuperscript{34} Although attendances were unflattering, rowing men felt that the sport was verging on success.\textsuperscript{35} Minor match racing was regular, the PRPSC and Kemp Club were conducting frequent regattas, the New South Wales Sculling Championship was established, Arnst had challenged Paddon for the Australian championship and Pearce was racing for the highest honour.

**The Art Of Challenging**

Some gloss was removed from the anticipated revival when the Arnst/Paddon negotiations became farcical. Paddon stipulated that the race would be rowed on the Richmond River, or that Arnst would need to provide £100 expenses to entice him to the Parramatta. For Arnst to race on the Richmond, he demanded that Paddon should provide all accommodation costs for himself and his trainer and a specified portion of the gate.\textsuperscript{36} Arnst would allow Paddon £100 expenses to row on the Parramatta, but he would claim the gate. This offer was outside the Australian championship conditions, which committed competitors to divide the gate equally.\textsuperscript{37} The *Referee*, which administered the championship, failed to dismiss Arnst's offer. It argued that Paddon would refuse the offer, as Arnst could possibly collect up to £300.\textsuperscript{38} The *Referee* demonstrated, once again, that rules and regulations concerning the higher titles were insisted upon only if self-interests were in jeopardy. In this case, the sport's momentum required another high-profile race on the Parramatta River and the Arnst/Paddon match was a suitable drawcard. Neither man would compromise and by April's end Arnst withdrew his challenge.

This haggling prompted a rowing follower, H. Mason, to highlight concerns with the Australian championship rules and regulations.\textsuperscript{39} He argued that the laws were neither registered nor constituted legally and there

\textsuperscript{34} *Sportsman*, 5 March 1913 p.8.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{36} *Referee*, 16 April 1913 p.11; *Referee*, 28 May 1913 p.11; *Sportsman*, 11 June 1913 p.7.
\textsuperscript{37} *Referee*, 24 December 1912 p.11.
\textsuperscript{38} *Referee*, 9 July 1913 p.11.
\textsuperscript{39} *Referee*, 28 May 1913 p.11.
was no power to bind or censure a sculler who infringed the rules. He believed that demanding expenses could also be litigated.

Mason's observations were perhaps even more pertinent to the world championship conditions. Its laws had no body to censure infringers. Mason's argument was based upon the 1908 rules, however, these had been replaced by the Referee Challenge Cup conditions, whose trustees held the power of approval or veto. The case of a sculler requesting expenses had been a standing tradition and was not covered by any rules. Paddon's claim for £100 was exorbitant when compared to Barry's £100 allowance for Pearce.\(^{40}\) Arnst offering Paddon full expenses in lieu of the gate was a rule breach and the trustees were remiss for not censuring the challenger. Mason reflected the disquiet within the rowing ranks and he indicated too, the ease with which an astute party could abuse the existing laws with little fear of reproach.\(^{41}\)

Nevertheless, in July 1913, Paddon offered to row Arnst on the Parramatta if the challenger allowed him £25.\(^{42}\) A major reason for Paddon's back down was that his backers were looking towards meeting the winner of the Barry/Pearce match.\(^{43}\) Paddon's chance at world honours was to be gauged by the Arnst race. Presumably, another reason for Paddon to meet Arnst was to demonstrate consistency in attitude. The Paddon camp was one of three which had insisted that Pearce should row the local men to find the best representative against Barry. Based upon this argument, Paddon was wise to race Arnst who was rated the best Australasian sculler.\(^{44}\)

Arnst offered Paddon £10 expenses and insisted that his offer was generous. He argued that if Paddon's backers were genuine in wanting to find the best Australasian sculler, then the Australian champion should row on the Parramatta without expenses.\(^{45}\) Paddon eventually gave in and clinched a match for November 1913.\(^{46}\)

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\(^{40}\) Sportsman, 4 June 1913 p.8.
\(^{41}\) Referee, 28 May 1913 p.11.
\(^{42}\) Referee, 2 July 1913 p.11.
\(^{43}\) Sportsman, 23 July 1913 p.5.
\(^{44}\) Referee, 4 December 1912 p.1; Sportsman, 19 February 1913 p.5; Referee, 9 July 1913 p.11.
\(^{45}\) Referee, 9 July 1913 p.11.
\(^{46}\) Referee, 16 July 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 6 August 1913 p.8; Referee, 20 August 1913 p.11.
Paddon v Arnst

The scullers moved closer to complete professionalism by appointing G. Hay Wilson as race manager. Race days had been organised traditionally by committees made-up from rowing authorities or members of the contestants' camps. On this occasion, Hay Wilson was responsible for obtaining as much exposure and profit as possible. It was a progressive and timely move and launched during the period when the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League was established, the professional clubs were conducting regular competitions, and there were the indications that either Paddon or Arnst could capture the world championship.

Hay Wilson gained Harbour Trust permission to have the Parramatta course closed to all craft other than the three following and one stationary steamers. Prices to board were settled at £1, 10/-, 5/- and 2/6. One enterprising promotion was arranged with leading retailers Gowing Bros. The firm, situated in the city's centre, exhibited a rowing extravaganza. Its window display included a mural reproduction of the championship course, memorabilia and photographs, the Referee Challenge Cup, Angus And Coote Shield and the Australian Ladies' Championship Belt. Reports suggested that the exhibition proved so popular that "it had been exceedingly difficult to get near it."

Paddon defeated Arnst in front of a reported 100,000 crowd. This seems an exaggerated figure considering the sport was rebuilding. Steamers' takings approached £400 and the Sun suggested that a similar amount could have been retrieved if collection boxes were taken through the crowds on the banks. A basic calculation would place the crowd between

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47 Sportsman, 22 October 1913 p.7; Hay Wilson was a promoter of professional running. He was an associate of Rufe Naylor, particularly in South Africa, where they promoted races for Arthur Postle and 'Jack' Donaldson. See, Referee, 9 February 1910 p.9; McKernan, M., (ed.), The Makers Of Australia's Sporting Traditions, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1993, pp.182-183.
48 Referee, 29 October 1913 p.12.
49 Sunday Times, 26 October 1913 p.10.
50 Referee, 29 October 1913 p.12.
51 Sun, 9 November 1913 p.14.
52 Ibid.
30,000 and 40,000. Nonetheless, the financial returns were adequate and the race enabled Paddon to pursue his world title aspirations. The day's success was expected to boost the causes of the League and professional clubs.

Exploiting The Rules

Events, though, were turbulent within the champion's camp. Paddon's mentor, Harry Floyd, withdrew his services three days before the championship race and subsequently removed the £100 deposit covering Paddon's challenge to Barry. Another of Paddon's backers in George Seifert re-issued the deposit and challenge. According to the Referee, Seifert's lodgment replaced the original deposit and no break had occurred. While these actions were acceptable, Paddon's challenge to Barry in the context of following the world championship guidelines was synthetic.

Self-interest, once again, demonstrated that the rules and regulations were called for only when one party's interests were in jeopardy. On 16th July Floyd had lodged a challenge and a £100 deposit for Paddon to row the winner of the Barry/Pearce match. Barry cabled in early September that he had not received a formal challenge from Paddon in accordance with the [Australian] championship rules and regulations. In fact, Barry would not receive a formal challenge until the 20th November, which was four months from when the initial challenge was lodged.

Paddon's backers were covering all possibilities. Paddon's challenge was cabled to England, but the deposit was kept at the Referee office. If he had lost to Arnst, a match with Barry was pointless and Paddon's backers

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53 Based on the Sun's estimate that £400 could have been amassed if collection boxes were passed through the crowd, a silver coin (3d) donated by 32,000 people would raise the approximate amount. It should be noted that not everyone would have contributed a silver coin and the Sun might have been implying that only one-third of the crowd would have donated. However, other publications (except the Daily Telegraph) did not issue a crowd figure which was unusual if races attracted a substantial attendance; Daily Telegraph, 3 November 1913 p.10.
54 Sun, 9 November 1913 p.14; Referee, 12 November 1913 p.11; Referee, 26 November 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 26 November 1913 p.3; Referee, 24 December 1913 p.11.
55 Referee, 12 November 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 12 November 1913 p.8.
56 Referee, 8 November 1913 p.11; Referee, 21 January 1914 p.11.
57 Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11.
58 Referee, 31 December 1913 p.11.
59 Sportsman, 31 December 1913 p.7; Referee, 21 January 1914 p.11.
could reclaim their deposit. If the deposit had accompanied the cable to England and Paddon had lost to Arnst then Barry could claim the £100. The one difference between the Pearce and Paddon challenges was that Pearce cabled his deposit with his challenge.

The Art Of Indemnifying

Richard Coombes, one of the authors of the world championship rules and regulations, admitted that Paddon's camp had left its challenge in abeyance while waiting for the result of the Paddon/Arnst match. He also admitted that for the Pearce/Barry match six months were allowed to lapse before articles of agreement were signed. He suggested, "Articles are supposed to be signed within a period of three months, but in the case of an Australian challenger to an English sculler that is not always done."

Coombes insisted that Paddon should race Barry, who had successfully defended his title against Pearce. The Referee, which had offered Barry a minimum £500 share of the gate if he raced Paddon on the Parramatta River, bolstered Coombes' stand. The eagerness to bring the two men together had shunted aside the world championship conditions, but Barry rejected the offer, sticking to his conviction of racing on the Thames.

Coombes failed to criticise a rules breach and he failed to insist on the Paddon camp complying with the championship laws. His silence strengthened perceptions that the championship laws were useless without a governing board and bore out the covetousness endemic in professional sculling. The lack of criticism, too, from the Australian rowing fraternity gave subsequent backers the opportunity to deviate from the world championship rules.

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60 Referee, 19 November 1913 p.11.
62 Referee, 5 November 1913 p.16; The Referee offered Barry a guaranteed minimum £500 appearance' money of which would have been made up of the gate money and, if need be, topped up by a Referee donation; See also, Referee, 19 November 1913 p.11; Referee, 31 December 1913 p.11; Referee, 14 January 1914 p.11.
63 Sun, 9 November 1913 p.14.
rules and regulations.\textsuperscript{64}

In October 1913, the Englishman William Albany interrupted Paddon's plan when he challenged Barry for the championship and £200 a side. Albany's challenge, made in accordance with the [Australian] world championship rules and regulations, was issued after the Paddon challenge had expired.\textsuperscript{65} Albany's bid was the first legitimate challenge, but the Referee discounted Albany's claim and insisted that Paddon's July deposit took preference.\textsuperscript{66}

The Sun took exception to the cozy arrangements. It stated that Albany was the first legitimate challenger\textsuperscript{67} because Paddon had failed to sign articles within the prescribed time. It added that if the championship rules were not to be adhered to then they may as well be destroyed and the sport "would revert to the comic opera days." It insisted that Paddon and Barry knew the rules and that they should abide by them.\textsuperscript{68}

The Sportsman supported Paddon's cause.\textsuperscript{69} It assured readers that if pressed beforehand, Paddon's backers would have finalised arrangements. The Sportsman supported the Referee by declaring that the longevity of Paddon's deposit nullified the Englishman's claim. It was evident that the sporting press' agenda was to thwart opposition to Australia's 'white hope' racing Barry.\textsuperscript{70}

Barry, in refusing to row Albany for less than £500 a side, helped the Australian cause.\textsuperscript{71} Albany's backers refused him support above £200 and he stated he required that amount only to race a countryman.\textsuperscript{72} In the context of the whole situation, the Referee insisted that clause three of the championship rules must be followed.\textsuperscript{73} For international contests a minimum of £500 a side applied and for local men a minimum of £200 a side.

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\textsuperscript{64} Sun, 9 November 1913 p.14; Referee, 19 November 1913 p.11; Sun, 9 March 1920 p.2; Referee, 23 November 1921 p.13.

\textsuperscript{65} Referee, 7 January 1914 p.11; Referee, 21 January 1914 p.11.

\textsuperscript{66} Referee, 31 December 1913 p.11; Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11.

\textsuperscript{67} Sun, 9 November 1913 p.14; Sun, 16 November 1913 p.16; Sportsman, 4 February 1914 p.1.

\textsuperscript{68} Sun, 9 November 1913 p.14.

\textsuperscript{69} Sportsman, 31 December 1913 p.7; Sportsman, 14 January 1914 p.1.

\textsuperscript{70} Referee, 12 November 1913 p.11; Referee, 19 November 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 26 November 1913 p.3; Sportsman, 31 December 1913 p.7; Sportsman, 28 January 1914 p.4.

\textsuperscript{71} Arrow, 8 November 1913 p.1.

\textsuperscript{72} Referee, 17 December 1913 p.14; Sun, 28 December 1913 p.22.

\textsuperscript{73} Referee, 31 December 1913 p.11.
There was no upper ceiling, which enabled a champion to demand an exorbitant stake and tie-up the crown.

Whereas English opinion sympathised with Albany, the Australian consensus was unmoved. The Tyne sculler took the unprecedented step of appealing to the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League to arbitrate. He pleaded for the League's support and for the body to uphold the [Australian] world championship rules and regulations.

The League had no jurisdiction to rule on the outcome. However, it held the power to criticise, advise and offer a lead for the sport. It also had the influence and opportunity to create an issue of the flagrant disregard of the championship laws and emerge as the voice of dissent. But it was far easier for the League to hide behind its lack of authority and suggest that Barry's attitude was "unreasonable". It chose to use "all its influence to assist Paddon".

Strange Bedfellows

Barry disregarded Albany and accepted Paddon's challenge. However, his decision stirred the opinions of English rowing supporters. Harold Blackstaffe, an ex-amateur champion and long-time Barry associate, lamented the lack of a controlling body. He conceded that while ever the sport operated without centralised authority, it should endeavour to uphold the current [Australian] championship rules and regulations.

The Australian consensus had justified to itself that Paddon's challenge complied with the world championship conditions. Upon the three-month expiration of Albany's challenge, the Tynesider claimed the world championship, but his claim received no support from the rowing world and was dismissed completely.

Paddon's task was to raise his stake money and expenses, estimated at £800. Canvassing committees were located particularly in the townships

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74 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1906 p.8; Appendix 3.
75 *Sun*, 28 December 1913 p.22.
76 *Referee*, 14 January 1914 p.11; *Sportsman*, 14 January 1914 p.1; *Referee*, 4 November 1914 p.11.
79 *Referee*, 25 March 1914 p.11; *Referee*, 22 April 1914 p.11.
along the Richmond and Evans Rivers and a metropolitan body was also established with Harold Judd, from the PRPSC and the League, acting as honorary secretary.

The push from the rowing hierarchy for Paddon to compete in England contrasted with the earlier experience of Pearce. William Beach declared that Paddon was the man to reclaim the world title and the Australian champion should go to England unhindered financially.60 This attitude differed markedly from the lukewarm support afforded Pearce. Beach assisted in canvassing funds and the amateur officials John Blackman and Albert Nash, the New South Wales Rowing Association Chairman and Vice-President, accompanied him.51

It was apparent that the occasional professional crews' race contravened the amateurs' interests and forced certain amateur officials to withdraw their support, on principle, from the PRPSC. However, there appeared to have been no ideological problem for two amateur patriarchs appealing for funds to send a professional sculler to England. It also seemed that it was ethical for two amateur officials to raise funds for a professional sculler who would race for cash and carry many wagers into a race.

The amateurs' decision to support Paddon most likely was part of a desire to re-establish Australian rowing as a dominant force. Paddon's reclamation of the world championship would attract new men and both amateur and professional would benefit from the sport's increased profile. Blackman had been a mainstay for the professionals across three decades and his efforts to inject organisation and direction into the sport had been rarely rivalled.

Nash's support for Paddon, considering the amateurs' fallout with the PRPSC, was more surprising. It was customary for the NSWRA to involve itself in the well-wishing of a champion or a prospective champion in his quest. The amateurs, possibly, realised that the professionals had neither the strength nor the infrastructure to threaten their domain. Paddon hailed from Evans Head on the Evans River, which isolated him from the metropolitan turmoil, and he held no membership of any of the Sydney

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60 Sportsman, 4 March 1914 p.8; Referee, 6 September 1914 p.10.
51 Referee, 18 March 1914 p.11.
professional clubs.\textsuperscript{82}

The metropolitan response to the `Paddon Fund' should have alarmed the committee and the general rowing fraternity. The target was £800 and on the eve of his April departure only £497/19/- had been collected.\textsuperscript{83} A breakdown of subscriptions revealed that Paddon's backer, George Seifert had posted £100, Paddon himself £50, the Northern Rivers £271 and Sydney £76/19/-\textsuperscript{.} Seifert's pledge to fund the balance and Paddon's diminished exposure to a Sydney audience possibly contributed to the meagre metropolitan takings.\textsuperscript{84}

\textbf{The Context Of Professional Sculling In New South Wales Sport}

However, it was also becoming apparent that for the Sydney public, professional sculling held only casual appeal. The sport, as a pioneering nationalistic and parochial symbol, had been overtaken by other sporting codes. Cricket, rugby league, boxing, cycling, athletics, surf bathing and swimming were the sports that had replaced professional sculling as a premier spectator and participant pastime.

Cricket, for example, attracted 386,674 people to 16 first-class matches in its 1910/1911 season.\textsuperscript{85} Of these, five tests against South Africa drew 210,767, six South African matches against state teams drew 108,498 and five domestic games pulled 67,409. The 1911/1912 season also offered 16 first-class matches and attracted even more supporters. Five tests against England attracted 342,145, five tourist versus state teams matches drew 100,020, and six domestic games attracted 77,972. Six only domestic matches attracted 90,774 in 1912/1913, while in the 1913/1914 season nine first-class games were played of which six domestic matches drew 99,068 and three New Zealand versus state teams games attracted 16,834.

From 1876, a total of 105 international cricket matches had been played in Australia. In comparison, 24 professional sculling world

\textsuperscript{82} Referee, 29 April 1914 p.12; Sportsman, 29 April 1914 p.5; Paddon raced mostly on the Richmond River and for the purpose of this text is recognised as a Richmond River sculler.

\textsuperscript{83} Referee, 22 April 1914 p.11; Referee, 29 April 1914 p.20.

\textsuperscript{84} Referee, 29 April 1914 p.12; Referee, 29 April 1914 p.20.

championships were conducted in New South Wales. Of these, Canadians rowed in seven contests and New Zealanders in three. By 1914, the Australian Board of Control of cricket, created in 1905, had admitted Western Australia to its assembly. Each state was represented and delegates had voting powers. On the other hand, professional sculling had established only the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League, which was confined to that state and had powers that covered only the tournaments it could invent.

Another example of a sport which had established appropriate organisational infrastructure in this period was surf bathing. The Surf Bathing Association of New South Wales, founded in 1907, had established 28 clubs and recorded a membership of 2,683 by 1914. John Blackman lamented that declining rowing numbers were due to the mass exodus to the seaside.

Female swimmers were organising as well. The New South Wales League of Swimmers, functioning since 1910 and formed by female competitors, had 703 members, 131 of whom were enrolled at Newcastle. The League was a separate body from the New South Wales Ladies' Amateur Swimming Association and the New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association. From 1900, swimming was conducted at the Olympic games and during 1905 Australian men held all world records. Between 1900 and 1914, Australia had 15 swimming representatives, who totalled 10 Olympic medals. Swimmers, such as Beaurepaire and Durack, elevated the sport's international and domestic profile. In 1910, Beaurepaire had 41 international contests for 41 successes and returned to Australia to a reception equivalent to those of Trickett, Beach and Towns. Durack won gold in 1912 with a world record swim. Although occurring amidst the

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86 Town And Country Journal, 1 July 1914 p.51.
88 Sydney Mail, 3 February 1909 p.61.
89 Town And Country Journal, 4 November 1914 p.41.
90 For a study of women and swimming up to 1912 see, Raszeja, V., 'A Decent And Proper Exertion: The Rise Of Women’s Competitive Swimming In Sydney To 1912', ASSH Studies In Sports History No.9, 1992.
'women swimming in public' controversy, Booth and Tatz suggested that "Australia's chronic lust for olympic [sic] gold, and with it the opportunity to counter feelings of national inferiority, was stronger than gender prejudice."\(^{94}\)

Australians also had been prominent in international cycling and the professionals were dominant in the 1914 world championships in America. The Australians Clark, Walker, Spears, Piercey, Grenda and Goulett were all successful against the international riders.\(^{95}\) While the cycling craze had waned somewhat from 1906, the sport sustained a dedicated following in Australia where it maintained prominent patrons and held national interest. The sport produced a number of world champions, including those named above as well as later men such as McNamara, Opperman, Patterson and Mockridge.\(^{96}\)

Even within the rowing world the professional sport was being challenged by the growing status of its amateur counterpart. Amateur rowing had achieved international success in 1912 when the Sydney Rowing Club members of Australia's Olympic Eight won the paramount English trophy, the Grand Challenge Cup.\(^{97}\) This victory held equivalence with the occasion when Trickett defeated Sadler for the professional world championship in 1876. The amateurs' success broke the sway that the professionals held in international competition. The latter's crown was further dented in 1913 when the Tasmanian, Cecil McVilly, won the time-honoured Diamond Sculls in England.\(^{98}\) The two overseas amateur victories capitalised on the 50,000 crowd for the intercolonial championships in Perth of 1912 and contributed to the diminution of professional sculling in terms of its importance to Australian sport and sports followers.\(^{99}\)

While alternative sporting codes were consolidating their participant and supporter bases, professional sculling was struggling to compete with its rivals. It could draw a large crowd to its major races, but these were

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\(^{96}\) Dunstan, op. cit., pp.270-275.


\(^{98}\) *Referee*, 9 July 1913 p.11; May, op. cit., pp.76-77.

\(^{99}\) *Referee*, 15 May 1912 p.11.
becoming fewer and the antics between the competitors, which prolonged negotiations and paralysed regular competition, soured even its ardent followers as well as occasional supporters. As an organised entity, the sport was deficient and the small endeavours made to create cohesion and unity were insignificant in comparison with the efforts and the networks established by rival codes.

An Organisational Model For Professional Sculling?

Rugby league's formation, for example, demonstrated the expediency by which a professional body could achieve its aims. A commitment to blend enterprise and organisation helped to consolidate the code within the community and emerge as a leading and lasting pastime. Like professional sculling, rugby league was a geographically confined sport, which operated predominantly in New South Wales and Queensland and competed internationally against England and New Zealand.

From the 1870s, rugby union was the dominant football game in New South Wales. The sport had the capacity to attract paying crowds of 15,000 to 20,000 to its club games and across 1907 and 1908 rugby union achieved two of its best seasons. Rugby union's feats during 1907 included an aggregate attendance of 123,000 for three matches against New Zealand's All Blacks. A record 52,000 viewed the New South Wales versus New Zealand game and the gate takings for the three-match series totalled £5,900. In 1908, rugby union purchased its own ground, had a

\[^{100}\text{Sportsman, 6 August 1913 p.8.}\]
\[^{102}\text{Cunneen, C., 'The Rugby War: The Early History Of Rugby League In New South Wales, 1907-15', in, Cashman, R. & McKernan, M., (eds), Sport In History: The Making Of Modern Sporting History, University Of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1979, p.293.}\]
\[^{103}\text{Dunstan, op. cit., p.237.}\]
\[^{104}\text{Sydney Mail, 24 July 1907 p.254.}\]
\[^{105}\text{Ibid.}\]
successful playing tour of England and won Olympic gold in London.\textsuperscript{106}

During the same period, discontent among players encouraged a gathering of Sydney businessmen to establish a professional code. Concerns focused on aspects of player's insurance, loss of income and general out-of-pocket expenses. The businessmen encouraging the breakaway envisaged that they could remunerate players and obtain a return for themselves.\textsuperscript{107} They enticed prominent rugby union players with financial incentives and embarked on playing matches against a New Zealand professional team.

The first match drew 20,000 spectators, who, some described as motivated by a `curiosity factor' rather than support for professionalism.\textsuperscript{108} The \textit{Sydney Mail} suggested that 30,000 would have attended if the match had been played at the Sydney Cricket Ground.\textsuperscript{109} The second match, played on a Wednesday, drew 4,000 and would have given strength to the claim of a novelty factor.\textsuperscript{110} The breakaway movement formed the first rugby league competition (1908) in which nine district clubs participated,\textsuperscript{111} but a financially disastrous tour of England and a break down of the local competition during 1908 and 1909 almost ruined the concept. Towards the latter part of 1909, new backing was negotiated,\textsuperscript{112} which allowed the League to stabilise and entice more rugby union players.\textsuperscript{113} A re-structured competition and another set of international matches against England on Australian soil also helped threaten rugby union's mantle. League crowds, at times, were more than double those of rugby union and the game's popularity enticed more converts.\textsuperscript{114}

By 1913, management had convinced Sydney's Marist Brothers schools to adopt rugby league in its sports' programme and by 1915 began

\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 21 August 1907 p.515.
\textsuperscript{110} Lester, op. cit., p.25.
\textsuperscript{111} Cunneen, op. cit., p.297.
\textsuperscript{112} Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.58-59; Vamplew, \textit{et.al.}, op. cit., p.296.
\textsuperscript{113} Cunneen, op. cit., p.299; Phillips, op. cit., pp.164-165.
\textsuperscript{114} Phillips, op. cit., pp.164-165; Cunneen, op. cit., p.300.
measures to formalise the code in country areas.115 Contrary to the amateur policy, rugby league continued its competition throughout the war years, which helped increase its supporter base.116

Some members of the Union's hierarchy proposed remunerating players up to 10/- per day for loss of income, compensating injured players for medical expenses and income loss and, offering representative players up to 5/- per day for out-of-pocket expenses.117 The rugby union rejected these suggestions as detrimental to the amateur ethos, although the 1908 Wallabies were paid 3/- per day on their tour of Britain for 'wine money'. Instead, the rugby union expelled players who turned out for League matches and promoted international games to detract from the League's programme.118

At the 1909 annual general meeting of the New South Wales Rugby Union one resolution was agreed that:

In addition to the acts of professionalism as provided for, the union declares an act of professionalism playing or refereeing in any football association declared by the council of this union to be a professional body.119

The rugby union hierarchy initially was unperturbed by the League's formation. An entrenched belief amongst most amateur sportsmen was that professional sports usually had a short rise and self-destructed through greed and improper practices.120 The spirit of amateurism and strengths of its idealism were tools to combat interest shown in professional sports. These themes were common in the amateur sporting columns which may help to explain partly the Union's initial lack of concern about the League's rise. The Referee suggested that ''The history of sports in which professionalism under false guise has worked its way, or in which professionals have held a controlling influence, is the history of decay.'"121

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117 Sydney Mail, 21 August 1907 p.515.
118 Phillips, op. cit., p.163.
119 Sydney Mail, 7 April 1909.
120 Cashman, op. cit., pp.59-60, 70-71; Lester, op. cit., p.23; Sydney Mail, 8 April 1908 p.953; Sportsman, 17 April 1912 p.4.
121 Referee, quoted in, Lester, op. cit., p.25.
Other factors that weakened rugby union were poor financial decisions and tour losses, suspension of its competition during World War I and the failure to overcome League's solid working-class base. Cunneen suggested that rugby league had ousted rugby union as the leading New South Wales football code between 1910 and 1912 and had consolidated its position by 1915.

The emergence of rugby league, as a leading pastime and a nationalistic and parochial force, demonstrated that professional sports could achieve and maintain a prominent profile. The commitment of a body to organise and integrate entrepreneurial strategies enabled the administration of the sport under one umbrella, using a centralised network to strengthen its station within the community and foster the game. While the League was not without conflict and internal difficulties, one key to rugby league’s success was its founders’ ability to integrate the resources on hand and maximise opportunities to consolidate each stage of its advancement.

The Professional Sculling Organisational Model

In comparison with rugby league, professional sculling offered the public little incentive to provide it with regular support. The professional clubs conducted minor carnivals, but the lack of regular high-profile racing provided few high points. The organisational culture of all championship levels had rarely altered from the 1880s. The custom was for a handful of hired steamers to follow the races and offer an expensive spectator view.

The Sun suggested that the practice of cramming the hired steamers with paying customers was detrimental to the sport. It suggested that steamers were so crowded that many racing views were obstructed. These interruptions combined with the high steamer charges convinced the general

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123 Cunneen, op. cit., p.303; Phillips, op. cit., p.165.

124 Sydney Mail, 5 July 1905 p.58; Town And Country Journal, 1 August 1906 p.50; Sportsman, 27 July 1911 p.6.

125 Sun, 20 September 1914 p.11.
public to watch racing from the riverbanks. Other columnists were only too ready to criticise the riverbank crowds for not contributing financially. These barbs, if directed at the sculling authorities, may have instigated an overhaul in the organisational culture. The erection of grandstands, roped-off areas, concourses and shortened courses were tried. When these measures failed initially, there was no perseverance to assess if they were workable over time. While Arnst and Paddon utilised Hay Wilson to manage their November 1913 match, Hay Wilson relied on the security of the hired steamers for returns. To boost the profit, his sole new strategy was to achieve a clear course, intended to lure more steamer patronage.

Generally, the sculling fraternity was content to struggle for funds. Managements would expend enormous time, effort and preparation to promote a spectacular event, congratulate themselves on a job well done, and then revert to their former 'hand-to-mouth' status. It was apparent that over the decades those in control were burdened by the sport's tradition and culture. They strove for short term and quick returns rather than implementing plans for consolidation over a prolonged period, showing no patience to receive rewards further along. The public's perception of professional sculling's tradition and culture had become firmly entrenched and it acted accordingly.

Professional sculling, also, had created its own elitism. With the basic wage in 1914 around £2/2/- per week and steamer charges relatively stable at £1, 5/- or 2/6, the majority were excluded from following the events on the water. Whereas rival sporting codes had captured spectator/participant interaction by providing facilities, professional sculling tried rarely to elicit spectator rapport other than from those who paid for a steamer berth. The irregular nature of quality sculling events contributed to the transience of the paying rowing crowd, which enabled rival sports to

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126 Sydney Mail, 4 January 1911 p.57; Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8; Sydney Mail, 14 June 1911 p.57.
127 Sydney Mail, 5 July 1905 p.58; Town And Country Journal, 6 March 1907 p.51; Sydney Mail, 5 June 1907 p.1474.
128 Sydney Mail, 2 April 1913 p.8; Sportsman, 1 April 1914 p.8; Sportsman, 1 July 1914 p.8.
130 Sydney Mail, 7 May 1892 p.1068; Town And Country Journal, 3 August 1904 p.50; Sun, 16 July 1911 p.15.
entice and hold these spectators on a more regular basis. Over the decades, the sculling hierarchy lacked the resolve to consolidate on the sport’s drawing power. Opportunities to reinforce the sport in the public’s hearts were allowed to slip away.

Whereas the public was offered numerous choices by the expansion of rival spectator sports, professional sculling had rarely moved with the times. Even the sport’s ceremonial occasions, such as the settling, were closed affairs,\textsuperscript{131} which reinforced the status quo.

The bulk of participants were labouring men from labouring families and the majority of champions had similar backgrounds. The volumes of spectators were working-class and engaged in manual labour occupations, yet these were the groups not catered for by the sport’s organisers. The middle-class entrepreneurs of rugby league utilised the working-class base to strengthen their code. This enabled community expression and district loyalty and provided an ongoing and long-term following. The middle-class speculators and administrators within the sculling hierarchy generally catered for patrons outside the working-class communities. The result was a weakened and insular sport that struggled to survive upon the memories of Trickett, Beach, Searle and Towns.\textsuperscript{132} The former trio, though, were from an era unknown to the majority of the population.\textsuperscript{133} With a broad range of sports on offer and a number competing at local, state, national and international levels, it was hardly surprising that the interest from the public in financing a sculler to compete overseas would be lukewarm.

**The Public Interest**

The poor response of £76/19/- towards Paddon’s fund from a city with a population above 750,000 people\textsuperscript{134} emphasised to the sculling authorities that professional sculling required a complete re-assessment and overhaul. Paddon was to race for the professionals’ ultimate prize, an honour that at


\textsuperscript{132} *Sydney Mail*, 21 August 1907 p.518; *Sun*, 23 July 1911 p.5; *Referee*, 29 April 1914 p.12; *Referee*, 27 May 1914 p.11.

\textsuperscript{133} *Referee*, 10 June 1914 p.11; *Referee*, 16 December 1914 p.16.

\textsuperscript{134} Commonwealth Bureau Of Census And Statistics Year Book, 1901-1915, no.9 1916, Mitchell Library, Sydney, p.114.
times captivated not only Sydney but also the nation. The Australian champion had been lauded as Barry's conqueror.\textsuperscript{135} If victorious, those who contributed to his fund would be recompensed for their donations, but the public refrained from supporting Padden even though he was thought to be a prospective winner.

As a result of strenuous canvassing, Padden's Sydney fund eventually reached £225 by mid-June 1914. It was wired to the Australian who was in London,\textsuperscript{136} but his financial battle continued in England when Barry reneged on his £100 expenses offer in September 1914.\textsuperscript{137} The world champion suggested that due to the onset of World War I the attendance at their match would not reach the original expectations and this forced him to withdraw his expenses offer. The trip to England was another expensive experience for backer Charles Seifert. Not only did the New Zealander top up Padden's Sydney fund, he covered the lost English expenses and dropped several hundred pounds in wagers.\textsuperscript{138}

Barry defeated Padden on the Thames in September 1914. Due to World War I, this race was the last world championship match until October 1919. Barry held the title throughout the war years and he was not called upon to defend his crown until, at 37 years of age in October 1919, he faced another Australian, Alfred Felton.

\textbf{Control Of Professional Sculling}

During the first decade of the twentieth century, attempts by sections of the professional sculling fraternity to create organisation and order in their sport had been indefinite and moderate. The support for professional sculling had been outstripped by other sports and certain sculling authorities realised that their sport needed reform to save it from oblivion. It may be assumed that sculling authorities accepted that professional sculling would be unlikely to repeat its dominance or the position of importance it held

\textsuperscript{135} \textit{Sportsman}, 29 April 1914 p.5; \textit{Sunday Times}, 6 September 1914 p.10; \textit{Referee}, 9 September 1914 p.11.
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Referee}, 2 September 1914 p.11.
\textsuperscript{137} \textit{Referee}, 16 September 1914 p.11; \textit{Bulletin}, 17 September 1914 p.32; \textit{Sportsman}, 23 September 1914 p.3.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Referee}, 4 November 1914 p.16.
during its 'Golden Age'. There was confidence, though, that through organisation and control the sport could survive and capture lost leeway.\textsuperscript{139}

**The New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League**

As discussed above, the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club had established its niche within the professional sculling world. The small but successful advancements made by the club provided the enthusiasm to established the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League in September 1913.

The League’s agenda was to manage and control professional sculling in New South Wales.\textsuperscript{140} The original body comprised three country and 11 metropolitan delegates and it was expected to expand once the League had developed its constitution. It was envisaged that the League would centralise administration and provide the power to sanction, oversee and adjudicate on the sport. This, in turn, would offer confidence for the public to return as spectators and participants.\textsuperscript{141}

The League’s aims were to provide a supporting network managed by a central body. Following preliminary statewide groundwork and capitalising on the small but rapid successes of the professional clubs, the aquatic fraternity and the sporting press welcomed the move for the sport’s control.\textsuperscript{142} The professional clubs were conducting regular carnivals and the country centres provided one of the sport’s strengths. The Arnst/Paddon match indicated that quality, well-organised racing could still command public attention and it was this support on which the League could capitalise. The ingredients to forge a competent network and assume control were available to the League and expectations suggested that the sport was on the verge of a come back.\textsuperscript{143}

The League’s mission suggested that professional sportsmen were

\textsuperscript{139} *Referee*, 10 September 1913 p.11; *Sportsman*, 10 September 1913 p.7.

\textsuperscript{140} *Sun*, 14 September 1913 p.16; *Referee*, 17 September 1913 p.11; *Sportsman*, 17 September 1913 p.8.

\textsuperscript{141} *Referee*, 17 April 1912 p.11; *Referee*, 24 April 1912 p.11; *Sportsman*, 17 September 1913 p.8; *Sportsman*, 8 October 1913 p.3.

\textsuperscript{142} *Referee*, 10 September 1913 p.11; *Sun*, 14 September 1913 p.16; *Sportsman*, 17 September 1913 p.8.

\textsuperscript{143} *Referee*, 10 September 1913 p.11.
willing to address the lack of organisation and control, however, the genuineness of their support was questionable. Encouragement declined if the body infringed upon others' self-interests and the sporting press supported the League only while the League operated within the press' definition of the body.\textsuperscript{144}

**Limited, Limp And Lazy**

The League had been hailed as the much-needed body to inject enthusiasm into the sport, but in actuality it lacked both scope and breadth. While it inaugurated three state championships and accepted control of one other,\textsuperscript{145} its powers were confined to these events. Men's and women's Australian championships and the world championship were outside its jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{146} This was an impractical situation if the League had been formed to control professional sculling. Throughout the sport's history only one national title had been conducted outside New South Wales (in Perth, Western Australia) and all Australian-based world championship contests had been contested in New South Wales. All domestic and Australian world champions were New South Welshmen and the bulk of scullers not from the state were from overseas. To invest in the League a mandate to control New South Wales professional sculling, but exclude the body's input into the Australian and world championships, relegated its function to that of just another professional sculling club.

The League's impotence was reflected, also, by its lack of relevance to the country centres. Despite the original three country delegates, there were no country rowing clubs affiliated with the League, indicating that the body's formation was either premature or that the country centres were wary of metropolitan or professional interference. Country clubs were predominantly amateur concerns, relying on professional sportsmen to bolster numbers and events,\textsuperscript{147} but professional numbers could neither justify nor sustain a club in the long term if it crossed over. The one exception, in

\textsuperscript{144} Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11; Sportsman, 25 March 1914 p.8; Sportsman, 14 January 1914 p.1.

\textsuperscript{145} Town And Country Journal, 16 September 1914 p.42.

\textsuperscript{146} Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11; Sportsman, 25 March 1914 p.8; Referee, 22 April 1914 p.11; Referee, 7 April 1915 p.11.

\textsuperscript{147} Sydney Mail, 24 December 1892 p.1110; Referee, 17 September 1913 p.11.
terms of population and professional numbers, was the Newcastle district. The League, however, made few inroads into that district and had failed to entice a committee representative from the area.

The League had no consideration or funds to finance the creation of country clubs and it was relying on support from established clubs or regatta committees. Frank D'Archi, the Speers Point hoteller who promoted the Lake Macquarie handicaps, suggested that too much capital was required to form a club\textsuperscript{148} and his alternative was the sponsorship of handicaps and matches. D'Archi's suggestion followed the traditional financing of professional events. While the costs of establishing a professional sculling club may have been high, to leave the situation in abeyance indicated that the League had few strategies to overcome such problems.

The League's alternative was to form an alliance with promoters and provide administrative and managerial support. Such a move would promote an image that the League was at the sport's forefront and committed to administer and foster professional sculling statewide. Instead, the League confined most efforts to its own championship events and relied on country centres and promoters to approach its body. This further reduced its effectiveness.

The League committee comprised three country delegates of whom two represented the Coraki regatta committee. The third member was a Wagga Wagga promoter whose desire was to conduct a carnival on Lake Albert.\textsuperscript{149} While such a carnival was far from an advertisement for the professionals, by the end of 1914 the New South Wales Rowing Association was in the throes of affiliating the Wagga Wagga Rowing Club.\textsuperscript{150} This effectively ended any rise of professional sculling in the area and the Wagga Wagga representative did not seek further nomination.

By September 1914, the League had gained the affiliation of the Northern Rivers clubs Coraki and Wardell, both based on the Richmond River.\textsuperscript{151} Unfortunately, both clubs suspended their major carnivals due to

\textsuperscript{148} *Referee*, 28 December 1912 p.11.

\textsuperscript{149} *Referee*, 23 April 1913 p.11; *Referee*, 28 January 1914 p.11; *Sportsman*, 28 January 1914 p.4.

\textsuperscript{150} *Referee*, 8 October 1913 p.11; *Referee*, 20 January 1915 p.11; *New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting*, 10 March 1914, 12 January 1915.

\textsuperscript{151} *Town And Country Journal*, 16 September 1914 p.42.
the outbreak of World War I. The situation concerning the Northern Rivers' carnivals, generally, questioned the League's groundwork and demonstrated its ineffectiveness in persuading country sportsmen into an alliance.

Ballina announced it would conduct its main carnival in October 1914, whereas the other townships on the Northern Rivers remained undecided because of the expected impact of the war. The northern carnivals traditionally were sequential, which maintained public support and enabled regatta committees to attract the visiting scullers for an extended period, but Ballina acted without consulting the other regatta committees.

Arthur Breaden, honorary secretary of the PRPSC, suggested that the scheduling of the northern carnivals would benefit regatta committees if it were placed in the hands of a local body or the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League. Breaden suggested that "a roster could be published giving the dates of various fixtures on the rivers, and thus let the scullers and public generally have something definite to work on." Such co-operative organisation was an example of why the League had been created and, yet, the League's input into decision-making in the northern area was negligible.

There appeared, also, to be a lack of communication between the League and the northern region. Breaden suggested to Ballina that it should postpone its regatta until November, which might entice James Paddon and his entourage to the carnival. This advice, in terms of leadership and public relations, should have come from the League. It could have demonstrated to the north and to observers from elsewhere that its commitment to the sport was a statewide commitment.

The League's idleness was reflected also in the uncertainty felt by the sculling fraternity and the public as to whether the northern regattas would go ahead. The *Referee* resolved the ambiguities through direct contact with regatta secretaries, one of whom, the Wardell secretary, had League affiliation. It must be remembered too, that there was a lack of

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152 *Referee*, 28 October 1914 p.11.
153 *Referee*, 16 September 1914 p.11.
154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid; *Referee*, 23 September 1914 p.11.
communication between the League and the Kemp Professional Sculling Club. The Kemp Club was unrepresented on the League’s committee and remained alienated from the PRPSC. The latter body had a representative majority within the League, which effectively negated any informal input from the Kemp Club.  

Defining The League’s Role

While the League held little authority over the country regions and was excluded from participation in Australian and world titles, it faced as well constriction and credibility problems within its metropolitan domain. The sporting press was emphatic that the body could transform professional sculling but it soon became obvious that the columnists hankered for change only insofar as it was compatible with their own beliefs and agendas. The Referee, for example, applauded the League’s formation and the concept of controlling New South Wales professional sculling, but it refused to hand over control of the Australian title. The Sportsman quickly re-defined its position once the League disagreed openly with the views of its columnists. Upon the League’s suggestion that Barry was "unreasonable" for not racing his compatriot Albany for £200 a side, the Sportsman condemned the League for interfering with the world championship. It directed that in the League’s agenda "it was necessary to hasten slowly, and by not seeking for opposition, win over all supporters of professional rowing."  

The press, certainly, defined the League as a limited entity and the body even struggled to achieve consistency in the management of its own competitions. In the case of the state sculling championship, which was originated by the PRPSC, the first race was open to all-comers. This was equitable and established a clear method for establishing a champion. However, in March 1914, contestants in a private match in mixed double sculls approached the League to sanction their race as the inaugural state

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159 Referee, 17 September 1913 p.11; Town And Country Journal, 16 September 1914 p.42.
160 Referee, 17 September 1913 p.11; Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11; Referee, 25 March 1914 p.11.
161 Sportsman, 8 October 1913 p.3; Sportsman, 14 January 1914 p.1; Sportsman, 25 March 1914 p.8.
163 Referee, 26 February 1913 p.11; Referee, 2 April 1913 p.11.
championship. The League’s incompetence and irrationality. The Sportsman was far from kind and suggested the League’s sanctioning was a "vanity decision".

Another perplexing decision concerned the 1914 state sculling championship. The race came under the League's auspices, yet the body allowed the Referee to administer the match. It raised the question of what role, other than that of another professional sculling club, did the League actually play? Another dilemma posed was whether those outside the League’s immediate purview took the body seriously, and even whether the League was capable of making its mark either within the sport or with the general public.

For example, in September 1914, one of Richard Arnst’s backers proposed a £1,000 sweepstakes handicap limited to the top eight scullers. The backer would provide both Arnst’s and Alfred Felton’s £100 entry fees and he guaranteed £200 to make up the total prize. The race was to be rowed on the Parramatta River and the backer believed the lure of a big prize and the best scullers would provide a sizeable gate. The backer sought assistance from Richard Coombes of the Referee whom he asked to establish a committee to organise the race. Neither the backer nor the Referee deemed the League’s approval or support necessary.

A further challenge to the League’s significance transpired when a group of promoters and the jeweller, Percy Marks, who offered a trophy, decided to provide a race for the state championship in heavy boats. The League’s lack of profile was highlighted when the Sportsman stated that the race promoters had no knowledge that the League existed or that it controlled New South Wales professional sculling.

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164 Referee, 18 March 1914 p.11.
167 Referee, 1 July 1914 p.11; Referee, 29 July 1914 p.11; Referee, 16 September 1914 p.11.
168 Referee, 9 September 1914 p.11.
169 Referee, 7 October 1914 p.11.
170 Sportsman, 12 August 1914 p.7.
Irrespective of such anomalies and its ineffectiveness, the League provided the public with a perception that professional sculling had some centralised control. The sculling fraternity insisted upon a controlling body for the sport, but few were prepared to accept its authority if it infringed upon their interests. The League warranted the opportunity to govern the sport wholly, or at least participate in the decision-making and organisational control at the various levels. It required implicit and explicit support from the sculling fraternity but by 1914's end this response was not forthcoming and professional sculling had progressed little.

Conclusions

The Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club's initial efforts to organise professional sculling gave the authorities the confidence to form the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League as the body to administer and control the sport. The League was heralded as the much-needed body to re-invent and promote the sport as a mass spectacle and revive it as symbolic of Australian sporting prowess and nationalism. The sport's leaders had a wonderful opportunity to orchestrate a statewide network, consisting of regional delegates and affiliates and filter the sport's administration and control through the League. One of the administrators' greatest challenges was the sport's diffusion, but this could be overcome through adept planning, long-range goals and a system of provision and mediation.

But the sculling authorities' vision suffered from conceit and delusion. Their inefficient groundwork across the state failed to establish a clearly defined structure and the League's jurisdiction extended no further than its self-devised, minor competitions. These were concentrated in the metropolitan area and it was apparent that other bodies and unaffiliated individuals could also undertake similar administrative tasks. The League failed to support and promote sculling as an accessible and rewarding pastime. The rudimentary requirements for success, such as inventories for coming events or subsidy systems to attract sportsmen, were ignored; in much the same way the backers, their scullers and some prominent officials ignored the League itself. The declaration that the League was the sport's controlling body and the expectation that all and sundry would conform to its
arrangements smacked of poor planning and arrogance.

The League, too, failed to challenge the sport's vested interests and selfish practices that undermined reform and contributed to the perception that the sport was muddled. Emerging from this failure was the re-formation of imperial ties with England. The sympathetic, but at times contemptuous, attitude the Australians had for English sculling was reversed sharply. Australia's sculling strength, its history of domination, its lead in codification, reform and organisation were relinquished to accommodate a patronising English world champion.

Professional sculling's days as a torchbearer for Australian virility, patriotism and nationalism had faded behind the increasing international attainments posted by other sports. Rival sporting codes had established sophisticated organisations, they had captured loyal followings, and had created ritual spectacles. Professional sculling had struggled to achieve a semblance of this style of governance and perennial appeal. The public had clearly tired of the sport's waywardness, its lacklustre management and the lack of regular high-profile racing. The public had also tired of providing funds to swell the pockets of a few, while the greater part of the sport did not benefit. Public cynicism was reflected in its reluctance to subsidise the sport and pay to watch the spectacle as long as the sculling authorities catered only for those with disposable incomes. Public support was essential in the organisation and control of professional sculling, yet sculling authorities ignored the very foundation on which the sport could rebuild.

Nevertheless, sculling authorities did have the League and, although it was a constrained body, it did provide a focus and it retained the potential to create an administrative force for the sport. Whereas the outbreak of world war in 1914 was expected to reduce sporting competitions and shelve expansion plans, the war, in a perverse sense, availed professional sculling authorities with yet another opportunity to found an organisational framework and establish the League as the sport's administrative and controlling body.
CHAPTER SIX

WORLD WAR I

The Great War's onset heightened Australian patriotism for Britain and its Empire to an extent that patriotic fervour swept the nation. The upsurge, driven mainly by middle-class Protestants, demanded total involvement in the Empire's cause by forgoing all other concerns. The muscular Christian ideology, which had gained momentum in Australia from the 1870s, that athleticism and involvement in team games helped prepare individuals for higher duties and produced great expressions of manliness, began translating itself into a significant concrete form. Sportsmen were targeted as ideal recruits because of their youth, fitness and the presumption that sport was an exceptional character builder and training ground for war service. It was deemed that every sportsman was a possible soldier. Continued participation in sport was seen as a failure by athletes in their patriotic duty.¹

The patriotic forces considered sport an ideal preparation for battle but condemned sport's continuation during wartime. The patriots believed that the playing of games obligated sportsmen to their clubs and competitions and the extension of sport during the war was thought to encourage sportsmen to defer enlistment, placing the need of their clubs before the need of the nation. Sport's inappropriateness, though, extended beyond the sportsmen. Its drawing power was seen as a rival to that of the recruiters. The patriots believed that eligible men would continue to favour the spectacle rather than answer the nation's call. It was feared that sport's continuation would encourage followers to carry on their lives regardless of the Empire's crisis.²


McKernan has shown that a vocal middle class, who viewed organised sport as a distraction, led the wartime opposition to sport. By the end of 1915, much of Australia's spectator and participant sport had been cancelled. The patriotic movement lobbied governments to prohibit the remaining fixtures in order to increase recruitment. Overall, the playing of games at a time when Britain demanded commitment was judged as unpatriotic and detrimental to enlistment.3

In general, amateur sporting bodies reacted substantively to the patriotic cause. The curtailment of amateur sport was a persuasive measure for its sportsmen to fulfil their duties and enlist as soldiers. Publicising and glorifying the number of enlisted sportsmen offered the amateur bodies further opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty. This was also a strategy to encourage those who were undecided to join the armed forces. Professional sporting bodies generally undertook a contrary approach and endeavoured to continue their competitions. As far as these professional sportsmen were concerned, enlistment was a choice of conscience. Professional authorities believed that the continuation of sport would neither interfere with nor jeopardise recruitment. A more pertinent inference, though, was that the professional managements feared that an abandonment of competitions would ruin their sports and their livelihoods.4

Although McKernan's studies have provided a good overall analysis of the fate of sport during the war, there has been no detailed study of rowing's reaction to the calls for the abandonment of sport. This chapter will focus on the war's influence upon professional sculling and the reactions and measures taken by the sculling hierarchy and the scullers to preserve the sport through a national crisis.

The primary analysis will include managements' roles, specifically the roles of the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League, the Parramatta

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3 McKernan, The Australian People, op. cit., pp.94-115; McKernan, Australians In Wartime, op. cit., pp.3-48; See also, Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.96, 100-101; Blair, "'The Greater Game'…", op. cit., pp.93-95; Adair, D. & Vamplew, W., Sport In Australian History, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997, p.47.

River Professional Sculling Club, the Hunter River Professional Sculling Club and the backers. Another consideration will be the extent of the sculling fraternity’s patriotism towards the war effort and its attempts to maintain the sport and what attitudes were directed at the professionals as they attempted to balance Empire loyalty and conduct competitions. The sporting press’ reaction towards the amateur’s abandonment of organised competition compared with the professional’s continuation will also be examined and of particular importance will be the analysis of the perceptions the sporting press conveyed to its readers.

Previous chapters have demonstrated that the professional sculling authorities were afforded numerous opportunities to organise and develop a strong infrastructure and that they failed to capitalise on these occasions. This chapter will examine another such opportunity presented to the professionals and will investigate what measures they employed to gain control.

Issues concerning the division between middle-class patriotism and working-class pragmatism, Protestant fanaticism and Catholic circumspection, spiritual vilification or racial antagonism have been researched in depth and at length by other historians, particularly McKernan. Accordingly they will not be repeated here. This chapter’s aim is to examine the impact the war played on professional and amateur rowing, the players’ efforts to overcome the war’s incursions and the sport’s future as peace returned to the Empire.

1914-1915

Sydney’s professional sculling circles concluded 1914 with an optimistic air. The inaugural state heavy-boat championship had been decided, champion Arthur Pearce had agreed to defend his title against Benjamin Thoroughgood, Charles Towns and Sidney Kemp were matched

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for the state sculling championship and a private race of unusual interest was scheduled between Alfred Felton and up-and-comer Robert Ford. James Paddon had returned from England and, although beaten for the world title, had maintained a following who believed he would become the next world champion.  

In November 1914, the Sun provided a positive overview of the sport. It stated that the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club was pursuing a successful formula to revive public interest. The Referee, in December, went even further suggesting that a sculling revival was in the offing. This opinion grew from the number of scheduled match races and the number of scullers training daily on the Parramatta River. Although there was confidence in the sport's immediate future, the war's encroachment came swiftly. Initially, the amateurs, by circumstance and/or design, were reduced to occasional scratch crews' races. The professionals lingered on into mid-1915 when the war's effects curtailed most contests.

The war's impact was felt initially in the country regions. Other than the Ballina carnival, the 1914 Northern Rivers' regattas were abandoned, as was the 1915 Newcastle New Year's Day spectacular. Some compensation for the Newcastle disappointment was provided when the Stockton residents conducted their own New Year's Day carnival. South of Sydney, the Dapto Regatta Club managed a New Year's Day carnival, but closer to the metropolitan centre, the Port Hacking regatta was abandoned. In early January 1915, three important Sydney carnivals, Pittwater, Manly and Lane Cove, were cancelled, which not only cost the professionals exposure but also over £50 in prize money. It was estimated that 50 professionals were training to compete at the various regattas. The Sun suggested that the PRPSC would offer a restricted programme for the

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6 Sportsman, 28 October 1914 p.7; Referee, 4 November 1914 p.11; Referee, 4 November 1914 p.16; Referee, 23 December 1914 p.11.
7 Sun, 22 November 1914 p.11.
8 Referee, 23 December 1914 p.11; Referee, 30 December 1914 p.11.
9 Sun, 11 July 1915 p.10; Sportsman, 7 July 1915 p.3; Referee, 25 August 1915 p.11; Referee, 17 November 1915 p.10; Bulletin, 30 December 1915 p.32.
10 Referee, 30 September 1914 p.11; Sportsman, 16 December 1914 p.5.
11 Newcastle Morning Herald And Miners' Advocate, 2 January 1915.
12 Referee, 6 January 1915 p.11; Sun, 10 January 1915 p.9.
13 Sun, 10 January 1915 p.9.
season's remainder, although the professionals could continue and provide public spectacles if sweepstakes were promoted.\textsuperscript{14} Expectations were that the PRPSC would keep the scullers busy and the public entertained. Nevertheless, there were a number of match races being negotiated as well as those scheduled that kept the professionals and the press optimistic.

The amateur branch commenced its restrictions towards the end of 1914. Aquatic representatives decided on a curtailed programme for Sydney's Anniversary Day Regatta,\textsuperscript{15} an annual and major carnival, which had originated in 1837. The meeting concluded that during a national crisis the public should not "subscribe towards amusement".\textsuperscript{16} Originally, the day's proposal deleted professional sculling events. Representations from the PRPSC, but surprisingly not the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League, permitted one sweepstake handicap with the PRPSC contributing £10 prize money.\textsuperscript{17}

The reduced programme commenced an overall downscaling of amateurs' events. The cancellation of other popular regattas and the suspension of interstate racing was due mainly to insufficient funds. However, this trend coincided with the amateur drive to abandon structured competition during wartime.\textsuperscript{18} Their impetus was to decrease members' obligations towards their clubs and open the way for amateur rowers' enlistment. The Sun indicated that the lack of racing for the amateurs offered no incentive "to keep [them] wrapped up in the sport."\textsuperscript{19}

The professionals attempted to keep their momentum going. Besides the scheduled match racing, the PRPSC programmed sweepstake handicaps and introduced a point score trophy, while the George's River Club conducted handicap events. As a means of holding the professionals' interests, cricket matches were organised between the two clubs.\textsuperscript{20} The New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League emerged as a leader during these

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Referee, 20 January 1915 p.11.
\textsuperscript{17} Sportsman, 6 January 1915 p.3.
\textsuperscript{18} Referee, 13 January 1915 p.11; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 13 June 1915, 12 October 1915.
\textsuperscript{19} Sun, 10 January 1915 p.9.
\textsuperscript{20} Referee, 17 February 1915 p.11.
difficult times. The League organised a cricket match against a Combined Theatres team and forwarded the proceeds to the "Patriotic Fund". This and other charity events conducted by the League were designed also to deflect criticism of the professionals as "unpatriotic" because of their continued racing. By the end of February 1915, the League had assisted in the formation of the Double Bay Ladies' Rowing Club, however, it had its sights set on broader territory.

The Newcastle Push

Benjamin Thoroughgood, of Stockton, had defeated Arthur Pearce for the state heavy-boat championship. Part of his prize was a seven guinea gold medallion donated by property broker and professional sculling enthusiast Thomas Dessaix. By the end of March, the League, which controlled the championship, organised a medal presentation for Thoroughgood in Newcastle. At the presentation, League representatives proposed that a professional sculling club should be formed in Newcastle. At a time when the patriotic movement attempted to close down all games and competition, the League's push was a bold move. Its bid also contrasted with the locals' failure to stage the New Year's Day regatta, although the Stockton carnival had been well patronised. Nonetheless, League representatives attended regular meetings and reinforced their presence in local rowing circles and with the public. By April's end, the Hunter River Professional Sculling Club was formed.

The new club adopted the PRPSC constitution and became fully affiliated with the League. This relationship enabled the League's input into the organisation of the new club's regattas and handicaps and gave it the authority to arbitrate on all disputes. The foundation was a coup. The Hunter River Club was the first country body established by the League and it had capitalised on one of the sport's strongest centres, situated in a district that housed the state's second largest population. The League's incursion also

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21 Ibid.
22 Referee, 3 March 1915 p.11.
23 Referee, 3 March 1915 p.11; Sportsman, 12 May 1915 p.5.
24 Referee, 12 May 1915 p.11; Sportsman, 12 May 1915 p.5.
provided it with a psychological edge over the New South Wales Rowing Association as it now possessed three country affiliates in Newcastle, Coraki and Wardell.\textsuperscript{25} The NSWRA held one in Wagga Wagga.\textsuperscript{26} This situation certainly contributed to tensions between the amateurs and the professionals that became more evident when a dispute came to a head over the 'Belgian Fund Carnival'.

\textbf{Amateur And Professional Conflict}

While the League had the foresight to establish a professional club in Newcastle, it also held wider visions. It proposed a June regatta for Sydney on the King's Birthday holiday (7/6/1915), with the proceeds forwarded to the National Belgian Relief Fund,\textsuperscript{27} established to ease the plight of the Belgian people devastated by war.\textsuperscript{28} A number of sporting bodies had rallied for the appeal by conducting tournaments.\textsuperscript{29} The League's proposal was the first of its kind in aquatic circles. It demonstrated that while the professional hierarchy refrained from pressuring scullers' military enlistment, it contributed to the war effort by alternative means. This is not to suggest that professional scullers failed to enlist. On the contrary, many did.\textsuperscript{30} The \textit{Bulletin} suggested that the first two oarsmen in Australia to enlist were professionals.\textsuperscript{31} Weight of numbers in the amateur ranks provided a statistical disparity and the different dispositions of both branches towards the war ensured that the amateurs' enlistments overwhelmed those of the professionals.

Richard Coombes, who stated that the carnival "is worthy of all support", endorsed the League's regatta proposal.\textsuperscript{32} Walter Blundell, the League's secretary, and Thomas Dessaix were the architects of the scheme. Their plan included co-operation and contributions from the fire brigades, the

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Town And Country Journal}, 16 September 1914 p.42.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Sportsman}, 26 May 1915 p.3.
\textsuperscript{28} McKernan, \textit{Australians In Wartime}, op. cit., p.24; McQuilton, op. cit., pp.101-102.
\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Referee}, 12 May 1915 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 26 May 1915 p.11; McQuilton, op. cit., pp.101-102.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Referee}, 14 April 1915 p.11.
Commonwealth Navy and Naval Reserve, the ferry companies, the New South Wales Motor Boat Club, the New South Wales Rowing Association and the professional sculling clubs. The organising committee was comprised of representatives from each body with Harold Slater, chairman, Blundell, secretary, and Dessaix as treasurer. The management and committee's compositions were structured so that neither a club nor an association would dominate proceedings. The regatta was of such proportions that it was considered Sydney's major attraction for the King's Birthday holiday.

The New South Wales Rowing Association dropped a bombshell when it refused to assist or sanction its members' participation. The Association explained that the amateur rowing season had closed at the end of April and as scratch crews only would be capable of involvement they would provide little public interest. The committee justified its stand by emphasising that Autumn's shortening afternoons made it impossible for amateur oarsmen to train.

The NSWRA antipathy was reflected in the Referee's amateur rowing columns. Other than one explanation of the NSWRA position, no other direct references were made to the Carnival. Instead, proof of the amateur's patriotism for the Empire's cause was demonstrated heavily. Enlistees' names, their clubs, honour rolls and casualty reports were featured throughout most issues. Often, a brief description of a soldier's rowing exploits was penned. The Belgian Fund Carnival, however, was conspicuous by its omission.

Richard Coombes' failure to respond to the NSWRA indifference in the Referee's professional rowing columns emphasised his bent. As a stalwart of the amateur ethos and a long-serving president of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia and the New South Wales Amateur Athletics

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33 Referee, 5 May 1915 p.6.
34 Sportsman, 5 May 1915 p.3; Sportsman, 2 June 1915 p.3.
35 Sun, 23 May 1915 p.6; Sportsman, 26 May 1915 p.3.
36 Referee, 19 May 1915 p.11; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 11 May 1915.
37 Referee, 5 May 1915 p.6; Referee, 26 May 1915 p.11; Referee, 9 June p.11.
Association, his ideals and loyalties were evident. The patriotic movement, as with the other amateur sports, enveloped amateur athletics. Coombes' idolisation of the Empire was reverent and in wartime, he, along with many, expected every fit man to do his duty.

The Belgian Fund Carnival was insignificant in comparison with the sacrifices made by the NSWRA and its members in committing to the war. For Coombes to berate a prominent patriotic body conflicted with the propounded ideologies of the patriotic movement. It was less contentious to simply disregard the occasion. It appeared that the NSWRA war commitment, supported by tributary press, would deflect the matter. Coombes, though, afforded encouraging and positive coverage of the carnival, albeit without incriminating the amateurs for their non-participation.

While Coombes maintained his silence over the NSWRA decision, he was swift in criticising the League if it deviated from his agenda. The League's business was sculling and not the procurement of soldiers, which left it susceptible to criticism. For example, in early March 1915, League delegate Charles Matterson appealed to all professionals to make their match races through the League. Matterson suggested that the body had been established for this purpose and it should be used to ensure clean sport and appropriate management. He forewarned the public of those matches not administered by the League so that his body was not held responsible for

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39 Bulletin, 3 June 1915 p.32.
40 Referee, 16 February 1916 p.10.
42 Referee, 12 May 1915 p.11; Referee, 19 May 1915 p.11; Referee, 2 June 1915 p.11; Referee, 9 June 1915 p.11.
43 Referee, 10 March 1915 p.11.
44 Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11; Sun, 14 September 1913 p.16; Sportsman, 17 September 1913 p.8.
mismanagement.

Coombes suggested that Matterson deluded himself. He stated that the majority of match races were not under the League's control and of those races, William Beach normally umpired, "whilst noted amateurs like Messrs. M.A.H. Fitzhardinge, N.J. McDonald, J. McGregor and J. Scott very kindly officiate." Coombs claimed that racing in their hands left no doubts for the public about bona fides.

In fairness to Coombes, he was a prominent professional sculling supporter and one of the architects in attempting to establish organisational infrastructure and direction for the sport. Whereas others, such as backers, came and went, he remained within the sport and attempted to provide management and control. Throughout the war years, he reported on the doings of the professionals and, at times, consoled when the professionals struggled to maintain competition.

Envious, Resentful Or Unpatriotic?

Nevertheless, the NSWRA decision not to support the Belgian Fund Carnival took many aback. To suggest that the major reason for its refusal was the season's end was most peculiar. The Motor Boat Club's season had also ended, yet that body deemed the cause worthy and rallied its members. Mason, for the Sun, condemned the NSWRA attitude, describing how Blundell and Dessaix were refused an audience and were detained for an hour while the NSWRA discussed its business within its office confines. This was the professional's second attempt to win NSWRA cooperation but again it was refused. Mason noted the contrasting attitudes between the NSWRA and the women amateurs. The women participated, their events dominated the carnival, and they gave their services to the day's catering and public coin collection. As an extension of their patriotism, the

45 Referee, 10 March 1915 p.11.
46 Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Referee, 20 November 1912 p.1; Referee, 4 December 1912 p.1; Referee, 1 October 1913 p.11.
47 Referee, 25 August 1915 p.11; Referee, 8 December 1915 p.10; Referee, 31 May 1916 p.9; Referee, 6 June 1917 p.16.
48 Sun, 16 May 1915 p.7.
49 Sun, 13 June 1915 p.14; See also, New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 11 May 1915.
women donated their winning trophies to the Fund while the South Sydney Ladies' Club also gave one guinea.50

'Bowside', in the *Sportsman*, suggested that the NSWRA stance was a case of jealousy, if not spite, because the professionals had offered the NSWRA a contributory role rather than full organisational control.51 The amateur body decided that it would not play second fiddle. It must be considered too that the Anniversary Day Regatta, billed as "the greatest aquatic function in Australia", was controlled by the amateur body and for 1915 it was depleted by design.52 The amateur's regatta, therefore, had become a shadow of the Belgian Fund Carnival.

However, the NSWRA's explanation for not sanctioning its members' competition was trite. While the amateur season may have concluded by April's end, the Carnival organisers requested a contribution of time and participation to raise money for a relief fund.53 There were neither championships nor reputations at stake. The presentation of scratch crews was an acceptable offer considering the day's nature, its aims and the fact that the professional stars, Paddon, Arnst and Pearce, were unable to compete.

The NSWRA had suggested that the short, seasonal afternoons prohibited training for the amateur oarsmen. If this were a valid excuse it underlines the remarkable achievement of the individual amateur clubs that held racing events throughout the winter months.54 The NSWRA stand was further exposed as small-minded by the participation of the Leichhardt, Enterprise and Mosman interclub eights as well as the amateurs in the mixed fours events.55 Their involvement defied the NSWRA edict and prompted the *Sportsman's* taunt as to what punishment would be meted out to these

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51 *Sportsman*, 2 June 1915 p.3.
53 *Referee*, 19 May 1915 p.11; *Sportsman*, 26 May 1915 p.3; *Sportsman*, 2 June 1915 p.3; *Sun*, 6 June 1915 p.7.
55 *Sun*, 6 June 1915 p.7; *Sportsman*, 9 June 1915 p.4.
"oarsmen of modern thought." The NSWRA convened a special meeting and resolved that "No member of the Association, or any affiliated or associated club, will be allowed to compete at any regatta without the sanction of the Association." Perhaps an unintended consequence of this resolution was that it extended the NSWRA net to include the women from "affiliated or associated club[s]".

There were also less obvious factors, which contributed to the NSWRA opposition to the Carnival. The main objective of the amateur rowing leadership and the Protestant middle class in general was to send sportsmen to the war. The rapid halting of organised sport achieved recruiting aims to a large degree, however, it made amateur rowing vulnerable to the professional branch. The professionals did not halt their competitions, instead, club, match and championship racing was encouraged. The formation of a Newcastle club and the preparation of the Belgian Fund Carnival demonstrated that the professionals were rising as a force within the state. With the likelihood of this scenario, the NSWRA faced insecurity. While it felt obligated to stand tall in the war effort and it was effusive towards patriotism, the NSWRA envisaged that closure of its premier racing would avail the professionals opportunities to raise their profile. To play a subservient role in the Belgian Fund Carnival would reinforce perceptions that the professionals were rowing's strength.

It may be suggested that, in this climate, the amateur body was angered by the professional's lack of patriotism, in terms of recruitment from its membership. Whereas the amateurs were self-sacrificial, the professionals demonstrated little encouragement towards their scullers. The amateurs' intensity towards the patriotic drive and their Empire loyalty were reflected by the end of May 1915. A comprehensive honour roll was published detailing each recruit and his rowing club with acknowledgements.

56 Sportsman, 9 June 1915 p.4; See also, New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 8 June 1915.
57 Referee, 16 June 1915 p.11; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 7 October 1915.
58 Referee, 28 July 1915 p.11; Referee, 4 August 1915 p.11.
59 Referee, 24 February 1915 p.11; Referee, 3 March 1915 p.11.
60 Solling, op. cit., pp.99-100; Sun, 10 January 1915 p.9; Referee, 13 January 1915 p.11; Referee, 20 January 1915 p.11; Referee, 28 April 1915 p.10.
of those who held state representation.\textsuperscript{61} A total of 250 men had "responded in a magnificent manner to the Empire's call", whereas, in comparison the professional numbers were much fewer.\textsuperscript{62}

Losing Significance

Amid the Belgian Fund Carnival dispute, Australian amateur champion, Harry Green, defected to the professionals. His move created little publicity although the \textit{Sun} and the \textit{Sportsman} offered brief commentaries.\textsuperscript{63} The \textit{Referee}'s suppression of Green's crossover and the omission of his and the amateur crews' participation in the aquatic carnival\textsuperscript{64} appeared to be a conscious effort to suppress suggestions that the NSWRA was losing its influence and control. If oarsmen perceived that the NSWRA was struggling, it was feared that they might neglect enlistment in favour of bolstering the sport. There had been no lack of comment by the \textit{Referee} in October 1913 when three star amateurs defected.\textsuperscript{65} The war, though, was not a factor in 1913, unlike the standard amateur/professional debate. This argument was more notorious and afforded the \textit{Referee} ammunition to suggest that the defectors "were not really in the right fold."\textsuperscript{66} The \textit{Referee} did report Green's illustrious amateur career once the ex-champion had enlisted with the Australian Field Artillery in November 1915.\textsuperscript{67}

The \textit{Sportsman} stressed that the lack of coverage on matters 'amateur' suggested "that amateur rowing is an insignificant factor in our aquatic sports."\textsuperscript{68} Previously, the \textit{Sportsman} had argued that amateur rowing was a mere "side-show" and while there was basis for the broadside,

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Referee}, 26 May 1915 p.7; \textit{New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting}, 10 August 1915.

\textsuperscript{62} Professional sculling numbers were between 50 and 60 of which approximately 12 had enlisted. May suggests that the Sydney Rowing Club had 104 active memberships in June 1913 which was reduced to 42 by June 1919. Active membership subscriptions fell from £364 in 1911-1912 to £96 by 1916-1917. (May, op. cit., pp.69, 78). Leichhardt Rowing Club's 1914-1915 active membership was reduced from approximately 90 to 34 by November 1915. (\textit{Referee}, 1 December 1915 p.10) By May 1915, St. Ignatius College had supplied 64 recruits, University Boat Club 44 and Glebe Rowing Club 25. (\textit{Referee}, 26 May 1915 p.11; Solling op.cit., p.101). The Balmain Rowing Club had 20 enlistments by August 1915.

\textsuperscript{63} \textit{Sun}, 30 May 1915 p.7; \textit{Sportsman}, 2 June 1915 p.3.

\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Referee}, 9 June 1915 p.11.

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Referee}, 1 October 1913 p.11.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Referee}, 24 November 1915 p.14.

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Sportsman}, 9 June 1915 p.4.
the tirade was more a reflection of its frustration with the NSWRA.\textsuperscript{69}

At a time when columns and editorials were emphasising recruitment and there were calls to regulate or abandon sport, amateur rowing's conflict offered an example of a sport placing the war effort ahead of its own interests. Green's crossover and the amateur crews' participation in the Belgian Fund Carnival demonstrated that continuing sport might hinder recruiting. The press had an opportunity to vilify Green and reprehend the amateur crews and it was provided with the leverage to condemn the professional's "unpatriotic" influence.\textsuperscript{70} It could be demonstrated that the professionals were responsible for disrupting the amateur's recruitment drive by 'poaching' Green and encouraging the crews to compete. While this might appear to be a straightforward argument, there was also the possibility that the argument could backfire.

Unlike the professional sports and other individual sportsmen, such as Les Darcy, who were targeted and vilified during the war, Green was the national amateur champion sculler. As a high-profile sportsman his crossover could have been promoted as an act of cowardice. While the professional sports and their sportsmen were outside the patriot's fold and thus targeted easily, Green was an elite sportsman from within. Criticism of him and the defiant crews could be perceived as dissatisfaction arising from inside the patriotic movement over its push to abandon sport during wartime.

The patriotic movement found it productive to target the professionals, but if an example was made of its own in this early recruitment period it could have proved counterproductive. Additionally, criticism of Green and the defiant crews would spotlight amateur rowing as being divided. It would highlight that the NSWRA refused to support a national relief fund and it would also demonstrate that those amateurs who defied the NSWRA did so for patriotic and altruistic reasons and not for personal or monetary gain.

Perceived disunity and a questionable ethical argument from within patriotic ranks during the inception of its crusade could have hindered its cause. It can be argued that in the overall context of the period, that of

\textsuperscript{69} \textit{Sportsman}, 5 May 1915 p.3; \textit{Sportsman}, 2 June 1915 p.3; \textit{Sportsman}, 9 June 1915 p.4.

\textsuperscript{70} McKernan, \textit{The Australian People}, op. cit., pp.97-99; Blair, 'War And Peace...', op. cit., pp.123-130; Crotty, op. cit., pp.91-92.
economic and social recession, the recruitment rallies and drives, the Gallipoli campaign and the fervour and prominence of the patriotic movement, amateur rowing's conflict would best serve the war effort if it were dealt with 'in-house' and remained insignificant.

**The Rise And The Fall**

Professional sculling's expansion from the latter part of 1914 and the winding down of amateur sports gave the professionals the opportunity to forge a strong, well-organised entity. Sydney professional scullers numbered approximately 50, which was sufficient foragements to organise regular competition and regattas.

The task for the professionals was to consolidate their position by strengthening the sport's organisational infrastructure through increased club involvement and to give stronger support to the League to expand its power and control. The League was the pivotal body to maintain the sport. If it could control match racing, these could be scheduled to maximise racing and public support and, in conjunction with the clubs, cater for scullers by means of ongoing competition. This would require calculated planning and instigation, features at which the professionals were competent, albeit sporadically. The alternatives were severe. A passive approach would inevitably lead to an abatement. To sacrifice the sport in support of the patriotic movement meant disaster as the professionals had neither the numbers nor the network to survive even a temporary abandonment.

**Self-Interest And The National Crisis**

What appeared to be a bright year for the professionals began to fade from mid-1915. The successes of the state championships, private match racing, clubs' carnivals, the Newcastle exercise and the Belgian Fund Carnival subsided. Several matches fell through, scullers enlisted or retired and the professional's recurring impediment - opportunism - fatigued the sport.

The economic hardships induced by the war made the task of stakes gathering difficult. Scullers' disagreements over courses and craft were a reversion to the infantile aspects of the sport, which frustrated followers, the
public and normally generated bad press. These disputes generally revealed that scullers were either gauging their opponents' ability and willingness to compete or one party was perverting negotiations to gain an advantage.  

The matches within the League's jurisdiction were dealt with swiftly. The body forced decisions from scullers and ruled with minimum delay. Those matches outside the League's authority were left suspended, which added weight to the argument that the League should be the central administrator.

Gradually enlistments depleted the professional ranks with men such as, James Hawkes, William McDevitt and Stanley Kent opting to join the Expeditionary Force. The impending retirements of Arnst, Felton and Charles Towns threatened to reduce the first-class ranks. Felton suggested that the sport was far from remunerative. He cited that £80 costs to train over 10 weeks, exclusive of boating charges, other sundries and loss of time, left little profit to a winner. His comment exposed one of the sport's fragilities and a recurring situation that had dogged the sport from the 1890s depression. Felton's claim was given weight by the fact that he was one of four scullers who could obtain immediate backing. The three others were Paddon, Arnst and Towns. Felton's comment also raised a further explanation for the sport's problems. Had scullers and their backers' prolonged self-indulgence finally outpriced their existence?

Harry Floyd, a long-time professional official, mentor and coach, spoke against the sums demanded by scullers who were not bound by championship conditions. He stressed that famous scullers of previous eras rowed regularly for small stakes. Floyd complained "that present day scullers look more to the cash side of sculling than to that of the sport, which does the game no good." As shown previously, it was not only those scullers in

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71 Referee, 10 March 1915 p.11; Sportsman, 17 March 1915 p.5; Referee, 24 March 1915 p.11.
72 Referee, 31 March 1915 p.11; Sportsman, 31 March 1915 p.7.
73 Referee, 9 June 1915 p.11; Sun, 15 August 1915 p.7; Referee, 3 November 1915 p.14; Bulletin, 30 December 1915 p.32.
74 Referee, 3 March 1915 p.11; Bulletin 13 May 1915 p.32; Sportsman, 7 July 1915 p.3.
75 Referee, 28 April 1915 p.10.
76 Sun, 7 March 1915 p.10; Throughout the careers of Arnst, Paddon and Towns, neither sculler found difficulties in securing backing. Arnst was sponsored for two years while he was learning sculling and he raced at elite level for the highest stakes. Paddon had unqualified backing from George Seifert and Towns received similar support from Samuel Arnott.
77 Sun, 21 March 1915 p.12; Sportsman, 24 March 1915 p.3.
private matches who demanded high sums. Scullers who raced in championships were the main offenders for inflating the game's costs.

During the war's economic constraints, amidst calls for sport's abandonment and a mood of national crisis, scullers antagonised the situation by placing a high price on their services. James Paddon, for example, indicated that he would race Charles Towns on the Parramatta River for a minimum £200 a side and he expected £50 expenses. Alternatively, Paddon offered Towns a Richmond River match for £100 a side, but disallowed Towns compensation. Richard Arnst's suggestion, which guaranteed to generate public interest, was a three-cornered race between himself, Paddon and Towns. However, his proposed £1,500 stake was an arrogant and tactless demand when the population was constrained financially and implored to accept the burdens induced by the war. It also contributed to the patriots' calls that sport maligned the war effort and added fuel to the advocates who insisted that professionalism aided the enemy's cause.

This behaviour by the professionals gave greater dignity to the amateurs' position and reinforced the amateurs' war focus. During the NSWRA annual meeting of 1915, Chairman Albert Nash "appealed to those present to do their utmost to keep the sport absolutely clean and free from the slightest taint of professionalism." Vicary Horniman suggested that an effort be made to entice the older clubmen to maintain the sport. This would enable the younger men to volunteer. He pleaded "to those members who were physically fit to at once offer their services to the Empire."

Mason, in the Sun, vented his disgust with the greedy professional. He suggested that promoters and scullers had devalued professional sculling as a first-class sport and their treatment of the public had caused

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78 Referee, 4 August 1915 p.11.
79 Referee, 28 July 1915 p.11.
82 Sun, 20 September 1914 p.11; Sun, 4 July 1915 p.10.
decreasing interest. Mason insisted that the elaborate financial demands made by promoters and scullers would kill-off match racing. He proposed that matches should be contested for small stakes, which would fashion more racing and offer the public constant spectacles. Mason warned that "Until such time as match-makers modify their demands professional sculling will fail to provide a sport worthy of whole-hearted public support. As matters now stand, the curtain might well be rung down until the end of the war."83

Snubbing The Social Context

Mason's blast resulted from the Alfred Felton/Charles Towns re-match held in June 1915. His criticism was supported by the *Sportsman* that labelled the race "one of the most unsavoury episodes that has occurred in modern professional sculling."84 The event exposed again the sport's intractability in the absence of strong organisational infrastructure and an established network of stability and control. It was an example of how public suspicions of the sport had contributed to a decreasing interest and an illustration of one of numerous reasons why the amateurs held the professionals in disdain.

In early March 1915, Felton announced his retirement from professional sculling, but indicated that he would race Towns for £250 a side.85 He stipulated that his offer was a sportsman's gesture if Towns wished to avenge his defeat from the 1913 Australian championship. The £500 stake, though, was not negotiable. The high price caused as much of a stir within rowing circles as did the race's likelihood.86 It was suggested that Towns, who was also retiring, would have difficulty in raising monies above £100.87 Attempts to persuade Felton to reduce his demand failed. His principal reiterated that "The offer is there for Towns to either avail himself of or leave alone."88 While Felton was criticised for the high price he had placed on himself, there was much gamesmanship between the two over the

83 *Sun*, 4 July 1915 p.10.
84 *Sportsman*, 7 July 1915 p.3.
85 *Referee*, 3 March 1915 p.11.
86 *Sun*, 21 March 1915 p.12; *Referee*, 24 March 1915 p.11.
87 *Sun*, 7 March 1915 p.10; *Referee*, 17 March 1915 p.11; *Sportsman*, 24 March 1915 p.3.
88 *Referee*, 24 March 1915 p.11.
stake. It can be suggested that Felton's demand of £500 was meant to discourage Towns from a contest. It was an exorbitant sum, which an opponent's backers would baulk at considering the race's status and the probability of a small gate. If the race was a sportsman's gesture, a stake of £200 to £300 was more reasonable. There was a pretentious element in Felton's demand, for Towns had tried unsuccessfully to engage him in contests.\(^\text{89}\)

It is difficult to believe that Towns was impoverished. Throughout his first-class career, which included world, Australian, state and private matches, the sculler had no difficulties in being backed.\(^\text{90}\) He had two recent state championship victories, each carrying a £200 stake, and the major reason for his impending retirement was to purchase and settle on a farm in the Northern Rivers' district.\(^\text{91}\) It can be suggested that Towns contrived for a 'cheap' race and relied, in part, on the press' melodramatics to force the issue. The Towns camp stated initially that £100 was the maximum it could raise. Incremental offers of £150 and £200 failed to persuade Felton to row. By mid-April, Towns indicated that he had accumulated the specified amount.\(^\text{92}\)

Felton upped his gamesmanship and stated that his supporters would back him if he raced on Middle Harbour only.\(^\text{93}\) He suggested that the course and the gate would be superior to the Parramatta River. 'Bowside', in the *Sportsman*, suggested that Felton had little intention of racing Towns.\(^\text{94}\) He implied that Felton's lack of "desire to hitch up" was reflected in his perseverance for a high stake and an intentional change of course. 'Bowside' noted that Middle Harbour was particularly susceptible to atmospheric conditions and the course would attract "the same faces on the steamer" as would the Parramatta River. He also cited the Felton/Pearce gate to dispel any suggestion of the harbour's financial superiority. Nonetheless, the Towns camp, which originally could not stretch its budget

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90 *See, Australian Oarsman*, in, *The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly*, 10 February 1943 to 10 March 1943.
91 *Sportsman*, 10 November 1915 p.2.
94 *Sportsman*, 28 April 1915 p.3.
above £100 a side, instructed its man "to row Felton anywhere". The pair fixed the 26th June 1915.  

Upon signing the articles of agreement, Felton suggested that the starting position should be left open in case of rough water. Considering the harbour's volatility, the decision seemed practical.  

It became evident, on race day that underhandedness lay behind the decision. Felton advised Towns that he would race north to south only or there would be no contest.

Towns either had to accede to Felton's demand or depart the sport ignobly. All conditions favoured Felton. Previous Middle Harbour contests were conducted south to north and Towns had marked his course and trained exclusively in this direction. Felton's stipulation of a north to south race placed the scullers against the tide and into the wind. It provided Felton with a decisive advantage as, at six feet two inches and 13 stone nine pounds, he dwarfed Towns at five feet six inches and 11 stone five pounds.

The debacle continued on for an hour after the scheduled race start time. Felton refused to alter his demands and disregarded umpire Beach's instructions. It was ironic in the race's aftermath that Richard Coombes suggested that the League was the body empowered to overcome such a calamitous situation. Previously, Coombes had criticised League delegate Charles Matterson for appealing to scullers to make their matches through the body. The Felton/Towns match was concocted outside the League's umbrella.

With the wind abating, Towns consented to Felton's demands and his victory "was one of the most popular yet recorded" and concluded his consistent and at times spectacular career. Coombes suggested that Felton was unfit, which added weight to the argument that the sculler had been bluffing and was not ready to race.

The whole scenario supported the patriots' claims that playing

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95 *Sportsman*, 28 April 1915 p.3; *Sun*, 20 June 1915 p.10.
97 *Sportsman*, 30 June 1915 p.3; *Sun*, 4 July 1915 p.10.
98 *Sportsman*, 30 June 1915 p.3.
99 *Referee*, 30 June 1915 p.11.
100 *Sportsman*, 30 June 1915 p.3.
101 *Referee*, 30 June 1915 p.11.
102 Ibid.
[professional] sport undermined the national crisis and that sportsmen's selfishness violated the Empire's cause.

While the sport demonstrated insurmountable organisational and managerial problems, the impact of such a shambles was guaranteed to lessen even further the remaining public support. The Towns/Felton match continued the tradition of treating spectators contemptibly. Irrespective of the inroads and the commendable work accredited to the professional clubs and the League, their inability to preside over match racing and curb backers' waywardness, lessened public confidence and undermined their labours to the extent that professional sculling continued to deteriorate.

1915-1916

The Towns/Felton debacle was the last first-class contest conducted in the metropolitan region until August 1920. A combination of factors contributed to the sport's suspension. Retirements and enlistments denied the professional clubs and the backers most options in promoting racing.\(^\text{103}\) The loss of scullers led to the backers' withdrawal and those few remaining were not prepared to support the lesser-skilled men. The sport's flimsy infrastructure and its management's failure to control the sport at the elite level undid most of the commendable work. The altered social climate produced by the war and the increasing pressures placed on sporting organisations by the patriotic movement, while not the primary reason, helped persuade professional sculling's hierarchy that suspension was an option.\(^\text{104}\) In July 1915, a section of the sporting press urged the PRPSC, in particular, to continue a racing programme. However, the club declined.\(^\text{105}\)

The Towns/Felton race produced damning press and some forecast that the sport was finished until the war's end.\(^\text{106}\) The decision in the race's aftermath to move towards suspending competition suggested that the event had pushed the clubs towards the patriotic sway. In comparison with the professional's unsavoury press, amateur rowing columns were cluttered with

\(^{103}\) Sun, 11 July 1915 p.10; Sun, 18 July 1915 p.6; Newcastle Herald, 13 November 1915 p.11.

\(^{104}\) Referee, 14 July 1915 p.11; Sun, 18 July 1915 p.6; Referee, 1 September 1915 p.10; Referee, 17 November 1915 p.10.

\(^{105}\) Sportsman, 7 July 1915 p.3.

\(^{106}\) Sun, 4 July 1915 p.10.
enlistment scoreboards, soldier/oarsmen doings, tributes and reports on general club and NSWRA activities to enhance their war efforts.\textsuperscript{107} Amateur rowing, as a sporting activity, was generally an endnote.

**Middle-Class Influence In Professional Sculling**

The patriotic influence within professional sculling unfolded from mid-1915. Arthur Breaden, honorary secretary of the PRPSC, and Harry Pickering, from the George's River Sculling Club, resigned their positions to join the war ranks. Breaden delivered a "first-class recruiting speech" at a farewell function organised by the professional clubs and the League.\textsuperscript{108} Prominent professional scullers who had enlisted by the year's end included James Hawkes, Stanley Kent, William and George McDevitt, Archibald Priddle, Alfred Felton, William and George Paddon, Robert Ford and Frank Starr. William McDevitt, who was wounded, returned to Australia in 1916 and commenced duties as a recruiting officer.\textsuperscript{109}

Despite Michael McKernan's attempts to suggest a wartime sporting dichotomy of middle-class, Protestant amateurs on the one hand and working-class Catholic professionals on the other, such division was seldom clear-cut. It can be demonstrated that a strong middle-class and Protestant representation was present within the professional sculling hierarchy. Most delegates were businessmen and a Masonic element pervaded the organisations.\textsuperscript{110} Richard Coombes appreciated the disappearance of match racing and he claimed that it demonstrated that the patriotic influence had overridden the promotion of competition. On several occasions throughout

\textsuperscript{107} Referee, 9 June 1915 p.11; Referee, 16 June 1915 p.11; Sun, 18 July 1915 p.6; Referee, 21 July 1915 p.11.

\textsuperscript{108} Sun, 15 August 1915 p.7; Referee, 29 September 1915 p.10.

\textsuperscript{109} Referee, 21 February 1917 p.10.

the war years he professed that the Empire’s crisis was too important to contemplate any matters on professional sculling.\textsuperscript{111}

The actions of George Towns, in the latter half of 1915, extenuated the blurring of the distinctions between the amateur and the professional once the professionals had truncated competition. He focused on junior amateur oarsmen. Towns was instrumental in the formation of the Gladesville [Youths] Rowing Club which gained NSWRA accreditation and he used his shed as the club’s boathouse.\textsuperscript{112} The new club arranged for Towns to build and hire boats for its members and it can be assumed that he contributed in coaching the young oarsmen.

The NSWRA permitted Towns’ involvement with the amateurs, as it had developed a lasting relationship with the professional sculler and official. In 1914, the NSWRA extended its lease of Towns’ boatshed as its headquarters for a further five years. In 1915, for a rent reduction, the NSWRA allowed Towns to use part of its section for pleasure boat hire.\textsuperscript{113} Clearly, the real dispute between the amateurs and the professionals was over the continuation of competition during the war. In other respects, they could co-operate as they had been doing before the war.

\textbf{The Emasculated}

From July 1915 until the war’s end, the professional clubs and the League offered a handful of races in Sydney, showing that the sport was not completely dormant in New South Wales. Professional women scullers continued to promote and compete in their sport.\textsuperscript{114} The Double Bay Ladies’ Rowing Club, the Leichhardt and District Ladies’ Sculling Club and the Balmain Ladies’ Sculling Club conducted approximately 40 aquatic meetings between mid-1915 and the end of 1918. The latter two clubs arose from the defunct Pioneer Ladies’ Professional Sculling Club, which was considered a limited operation. The three bodies were regular attendees at the aquatic

\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Referee}, 17 November 1915 p.10; Arrow, 1 January 1916 p.2; \textit{Referee}, 3 January 1917 p.10.

\textsuperscript{112} May, op. cit., p.72; Arrow, 27 November 1915 p.3; \textit{Referee}, 22 December 1915 p.10; \textit{New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting}, 14 December 1915.

\textsuperscript{113} May, op. cit., p.82; \textit{Referee}, 20 October 1915 p.10; \textit{New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting}, 12 May 1914, 9 June 1914.

\textsuperscript{114} See, \textit{Referee}, July 1915 to December 1918.
carnivals held in the Newcastle district. These functions included the annual Hunter River Professional Sculling Club's New Year's Day regattas and the annual Wallsend/Plattsburg Anniversary Day regattas. These events were far from minor. While it was suggested that “thousands” attended the 1917 Wallsend/Plattsburg regatta, a more precise figure of 7,000 was estimated for the 1918 carnival.

The women provided the face of professional sculling in Sydney throughout the war's duration. They were foremost in participating and raising funds on benefit days. For example, the Double Bay Club raised £20 of the £82/10/- realised for the William McDevitt testimonial. In addition, the Leichhardt Club also resurrected the Leichhardt Ladies' League Swimming Club in January 1917 as an additional sporting concern for the district's women. Although the women scullers continued to provide competitions, offer a public spectacle and contribute wholeheartedly to the war effort, the sporting press limited its coverage of their doings. On professional sculling matters, the press was more concerned filling its columns with general worldwide aquatic news and reminiscences. The press' poor coverage of women's efforts, which was normally mediocre pre-war, indicated that their sport remained little more than an interesting novelty during the men's inactive period.

At the close of 1915, the League and the PRPSC underwent several committee changes that brought both bodies closer together. The League had a stronger representation from the George's River Sculling Club; William Hyslop occupied the presidency of the League and the PRPSC, other members held joint executive positions, while the Sun's rowing correspondent, W.J. Mason, was elected to the League's management. The new structures did not result in significant change and there were no plans to generate sculling events or carnivals. Whereas the Sydney scene was quiet, the Newcastle district continued to maintain the sport during the war.

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115 Referee, 31 January 1917 p.10; Arrow, 1 February 1918 p.2.
117 Referee, 12 September 1917 p.11.
118 Arrow, 13 January 1917 p.4.
119 Referee, 11 August 1915 p.11; Referee, 15 September 1915 p.10; Arrow, 1 January 1916 p.2;
    Referee, 29 March 1916 p.10.
120 Arrow, 1 January 1916 p.2.
The Newcastle Influence

As demonstrated previously, during the periods when Sydney professional sculling slumped, the country centres maintained the sport at a consistent and strong level. The Newcastle district, although affected by the war, managed to prop-up the sport.\textsuperscript{121} The newly formed Hunter River Professional Sculling Club encouraged match racing and these events generally carried up to £50 in stake monies. The professional club controlled these matches and also conducted handicap events for its members.\textsuperscript{122}

By November 1915, promoters of the New Year’s Day regatta and those behind the Stockton regatta indicated their inability to hold the fixtures in 1916.\textsuperscript{123} The HRPSC filled the void and organised its first major carnival for New Year’s Day. The club offered entrants a total of £30 in prize money. The carnival attracted an excessive number of local scullers and six Sydney scullers while the crowd was described as “a good attendance”.\textsuperscript{124} So numerous were the entries that most of the finals were held over to the following Saturday. Added to the finals’ attractions was a class race, which drew 38 entries.\textsuperscript{125} In comparison, the Sydney professional clubs made no representations to the Sydney Anniversary Day Regatta committee to include a race in the time-honoured event. The day’s organisers scheduled one amateur rowing event in order to preserve the day’s historical continuity.\textsuperscript{126}

The League’s Dilemma

The continued strength of rowing in Newcastle was emphasised in February 1916 when William Ripley of Hexham challenged Benjamin Thoroughgood of Stockton for the state heavy-boat championship and a £50 stake on the Hunter River.\textsuperscript{127} The onus of whether to ratify or prevent the match lay with the League’s new executive because this state title came


\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Sportsman}, 10 November 1915 p.2; \textit{Referee}, 15 December 1915 p.10; \textit{Sportsman}, 22 December 1915 p.5.

\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 3 January 1916 p.3.

\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 10 January 1916 p.3.

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Arrow}, 18 December 1915 p.3.

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Referee}, 16 February 1916 p.10.
under that body's realm. Richard Coombes, as one of the trustees of the Percy Marks Trophy, suggested that "Nothing can be said against this match."\textsuperscript{128}

The League's endorsement of the race was made less complicated as the two contestants were ineligible for military service.\textsuperscript{129} This argument was also the basis for Coombes' reasoning. The match being held outside the Sydney region also assisted the League's decision. The ratification of the state championship, however, inspired the PRPSC to programme a gladstone skiff event for March 1916 and the George's River Club to set down a similar event for April.\textsuperscript{130} John Cashman and Thomas Glover, both newly elected to the PRPSC executive, agreed to match for £50 on the Parramatta River in April.\textsuperscript{131} The League was charged with the official duties. These activities suggested that sections of the professional bodies were prepared to recommence competitions if they could harness full commitment from their members.

The state heavy-boat championship generated enormous interest. It was suggested that in Newcastle, fascination for the match rivalled that of the George Towns/Chris Neilson race held on the Hunter River in 1896.\textsuperscript{132} Two following steamers were engaged and both contestants profited from the gate.\textsuperscript{133} This contrasted with Thoroughgood's 30/- debit when he defeated Arthur Pearce for the title on Middle Harbour in January 1915. Hyslop and George Towns represented the League and they arranged for 20 HRPSC members to participate in a Parramatta River heavy-boat carnival in May 1916, which later became the first benefit day for wounded soldier/sculler William McDevitt.\textsuperscript{134}

The League and the HRPSC continued to promote sculling through June 1916. In the Newcastle district, events staged were a state heavy-boat re-match and a £50 contest between Con Dempsey and Peter Bell.\textsuperscript{135} By

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid; Referee, 2 August 1916 p.16.
\textsuperscript{130} Arrow, 12 February 1916 p.3; Referee, 3 May 1916 p.10.
\textsuperscript{131} Referee, 19 April 1916 p.10.
\textsuperscript{132} Sydney Mail, 12 September 1896 p.556; Sportsman, 12 April 1916 p.2.
\textsuperscript{133} Sportsman, 3 May 1916 p.2; Sportsman, 14 June 1916 p.5.
\textsuperscript{134} Newcastle Herald, 8 May 1916 p.7; Referee, 10 May 1916 p.13; Arrow, 27 May 1916 p.1; Arrow, 3 June 1916 p.4.
\textsuperscript{135} Arrow, 3 June 1916 p.4; Sportsman, 14 June 1916 p.5.
July, the vitality displayed by the Sydney professional bodies brought forward comments from the patriots and sport detractors. The patriotic element within the professional sculling fraternity was alarmed at the escalation of competition and the expanding interest in the sport. They insisted that during the national crisis organised and sanctioned competitions conflicted with the mood and behaviour required "to preserve the liberty enjoyed by the people of the British Empire." They demanded that title and match races should cease until the war's end. The movement's irritation was demonstrated by a tabled motion before the League insisting on a halt to racing. The *Sportsman* suggested to the patriots that "Professional sculling is so dead that kicking the corpse will not hasten the end of the big dust-up." The motion was successful. With the exception of one testimonial, one memorial fund and two handicaps, professional sculling ceased in Sydney.

The ironical note was that for the first time since the professional clubs and the League were formed the sport's framework and infrastructure prevailed. The League had control of the sport and had consummated a positive and progressive relationship with the professional clubs. The high level of co-operation amongst the bodies had enabled interclub racing and a sharing of official duties while the League had been purposeful in promoting the sport and a genuine presence to the public. These measures provided a foundation on which the sport could capitalise by strengthening its network and assuming control of all professional sculling. This time, however, it was neither greed, shortsightedness, poor management nor scullers' antics that degraded the sport. Nevertheless, the framework and support systems developed by the professional bodies were nullified and the Sydney scene, unlike Newcastle, died.

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136 *Sun*, 29 June 1916 p.5.
137 Ibid.
139 *Sun*, 22 October 1916 p.8; *Referee*, 7 March 1917 p.16; *Referee*, 6 June 1917 p.16; *Referee*, 1 May 1918 p.8.
141 *Arrow*, 1 January 1916 p.2; *Sun*, 29 June 1916 p.5; *Sportsman*, 5 July 1916 p.6; *Referee*, 3 January 1917 p.10.
Why Newcastle?

The HRPSC, on the other hand, continued to provide racing for its members throughout the war years. The national crisis encroached upon the club's activities, but the executive was stable, influential and committed enough to overcome the difficulties.\textsuperscript{142} A crucial element of the club's success lay in the management's structure and the region's commonality. The Newcastle area was categorised as a mining, industrial and shipping centre which consolidated its working-class roots.\textsuperscript{143} As war historians and writers have demonstrated, the working class tended to view sport as a respite from labour and a form of entertainment that softened the drudgery of work.\textsuperscript{144} While the working class attended and participated in sporting activities, it has been shown that sport was neither the fixation nor the dominant influence in people's lives.\textsuperscript{145} McKernan has suggested that issues such as class, social and recreational repression, religious faith and accusations of disloyalty were more influential on working-class pragmatism towards the war.\textsuperscript{146} These examples of a complex time are generalised, however, they help to explain why professional sculling in the Newcastle district maintained an active following throughout the war.

The strong club support and the availability of scullers to participate indicated that the social restrictions lobbied for by the patriotic forces urged these men to seek solace from the adversities encountered in these repressive times. This desire to participate in rowing events was supported by a club executive, which was comprised of community leaders who were

\textsuperscript{142} Sportsman, 27 September 1916 p.4; Sportsman, 8 November 1911 p.2; Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1917 p.7; Sportsman, 8 December 1917 p.5; Newcastle Herald, 2 January 1918 p.5; Sportsman, 24 August 1918 p.5; Sportsman, 14 December 1918 p.7.
\textsuperscript{144} McKernan, *The Australian People*, op. cit., pp.94-115; Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.90-107; Blair, "'The Greater Game'...", op. cit., pp.93-95.
committed to maintain the sport.\textsuperscript{147} For example, the President, J.D. Reid, controlled one of the city's leading law firms; Secretary, Harry Ireland, was an alderman; Chairman of Committees, Tom Dover, was the \textit{Newcastle Herald}'s sporting editor and the \textit{Sydney Sportsman}'s `special commissioner'. Added to these prominent figures were eminent hoteliers and respected boatbuilders. Outside the executive, support came from the Newcastle Mayor, J. Moroney, who attended race days and presided at the settling functions.\textsuperscript{148} Their generalship guided the club and the sport through the war years, which consequently provided the aquatic community an opportunity to gather regularly.

The HRPSC attitude towards women professional scullers contrasted with that of the Sydney clubs. Whereas the Sydney women were encouraged to form their own clubs and affiliate with the League, the Newcastle women were accepted as members of the HRPSC. The club, therefore, supported and promoted competition for its female members and extended its net to include racing against the Sydney women's clubs.\textsuperscript{149} Unlike the Sydney scene, the Newcastle preparations for carnivals were family and community orientated. This contributed to the club's survival and success while it also gave the club an important role as a social and recreational provider within the district and aquatic community.\textsuperscript{150}

The HRPSC encouraged Sydney scullers of both sexes to participate in its carnivals. The club was also a major supporter of the occasional functions conducted by the League and the PRPSC on the Parramatta River.\textsuperscript{151} George Towns praised the club's strength and development at a September 1916 regatta held on the Hunter River in aid of the William

\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Sportsman}, 14 March 1917 p.2; \textit{Sportsman}, 8 December 1917 p.5; \textit{Sportsman}, 24 August 1918 p.5; \textit{Sportsman}, 23 November 1918 p.7.
\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Newcastle Herald}, 2 January 1917 p.7; \textit{Sportsman}, 12 January 1918 p.5; \textit{Sportsman}, 24 August 1918 p.5; Jim Latham (interview February 2003) suggested that Newcastle's community-based rowing structure prevailed over religious, class and gender divisions. He pointed out that the rowing families and club members were predominantly Protestant and women's club membership was an extension of family/community relationships. He also suggested that the Sydney club scene was heavily patriarchal because its members' mindset focused on a 'gentleman's club' regime.
\textsuperscript{151} \textit{Arrow}, 20 May 1916 p.3; \textit{Referee}, 25 October 1916 p.10; \textit{Referee}, 6 June 1917 p.16.
McDevitt Testimonial Fund. The club had attracted 14 Sydney scullers as well as representatives from the League and the professional clubs. Towns suggested that the HRPSC "was one of the strongest in Australia, if not in the world."\(^{152}\) His praise was more than courtesy considering his background, status and relentlessness in promoting all rowing formats. It may be suggested that a provocative barb directed at the Sydney rowing fraternity was contained in the praise.

Following on from the Newcastle testimonial, the PRPSC, which had arranged the McDevitt benefits prior to the call to cancel competition, reciprocated the Hunter River Club in October 1916.\(^{153}\) As matters stood this appeared likely to be the last get-together of the professional bodies before the war's end. However, the death of Edward Trickett, the first world sculling champion, in November 1916, brought together the amateurs and the professionals.

1917

Initially, it appeared that the circumstances imposed by the war would diminish attempts to perpetuate Trickett's memory,\(^{154}\) however, Richard Coombes and Harry Floyd deputed the League to convene a public meeting so measures could be taken to respect Trickett's deeds.\(^{155}\)

The meeting brought together the amateur and professional ranks and they proposed a memorial fund to finance a monument for the deceased sculler.\(^{156}\) George Towns suggested that a regatta should be conducted to assist with the benefit. There was unanimous approval of Towns' proposal but it was decided that the professionals only would organise and race on the day.\(^{157}\) The carnival was programmed for the June holiday weekend (Prince of Wales' Birthday) and the events catered for men and women, while a large representation was pledged from Newcastle.\(^{158}\)

While the day offered a strong sculling programme, public support was

\(^{152}\) *Sportsman*, 27 September 1916 p.4.
\(^{153}\) *Sun*, 22 October 1916 p.8.
\(^{154}\) *Referee*, 10 January 1917 p.10.
\(^{155}\) *Arrow*, 13 January 1917 p.4.
\(^{157}\) *Referee*, 21 February 1917 p.10; *Referee*, 6 June 1917 p.16.
\(^{158}\) *Referee*, 20 June 1917 p.11.
as bleak as the weather.\textsuperscript{159} The \textit{Sportsman} had predicted a limp affair, as it believed that the League failed to publicise sufficiently the day's racing and stress the day's significance.\textsuperscript{160} While the unfavourable conditions and inadequate publicity contributed to the paltry crowd, one other consideration must be discussed.

**Most Times Patriotic**

The severe policy of sport prohibition imposed by the patriotic forces must have weakened public interest in the sport. As rowing in Sydney had been minimised from 1915, the sport as a spectacle was close to non-existent.\textsuperscript{161} Extravaganzas, such as the Anniversary Day Regatta, had been either deleted or abbreviated and mainly served to please the organisers' desires for historical continuity rather than public entertainment.\textsuperscript{162} Added to these obstructions was the press' bombardment that professional sculling, mostly, was “dead” or that the sport's resumption would commence after the war.\textsuperscript{163} In such an anti-entertainment, repressive and negative climate, a dismal attendance on a `cheerless day' to a one-off regatta should have been anticipated.

The misleading disposition of the amateur and professional hierarchies who condemned organised competition, unless it accommodated their desires, or if it was for a good and charitable purpose,\textsuperscript{164} contributed as much as climatic conditions and mediocre publicity in explaining why, at the regatta, the following steamer, capable of carrying 3,000 people, had miserable patronage. The League struggled to raise £5/5/- towards the Trickett Memorial Fund.\textsuperscript{165}

The regatta was a dispiriting occasion to signify the League's final contribution to professional sculling until 1923. The determination of the

\textsuperscript{159} \textit{Referee}, 27 June 1917 p.13.
\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Sportsman}, 20 June 1917 p.7.
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Arrow}, 18 December 1915 p.3; \textit{Referee}, 31 January 1917 p.10; \textit{Referee}, 2 January 1918 p.11.
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Referee}, 27 June 1917 p.13; \textit{Referee}, 5 December 1917 p.10.
patriotic element left the League as a controlling body with nothing to oversee and little to do. Subsequently, professional sculling, in Sydney, remained at a standstill until March 1919, although Newcastle continued its endeavours.\textsuperscript{168} The pressures brought upon the Sydney amateur and professional rowing fraternities by the war were most evident by the year's end. While the professionals had succumbed from mid-1916, the amateurs were to experience two hiccups that demonstrated resistance against the total banishment of organised competition.

1918

The organisers of the 1918 Anniversary Day Regatta were divided over whether to preserve its continuity or forego the carnival due to the seriousness of the national crisis. One section considered that the population had more onerous matters to reckon with rather than support entertainment.\textsuperscript{167} Their position endorsed that the Empire's continuity took precedence and if the day were permitted to proceed, public perception would misconstrue that total commitment to the Empire had been relaxed. The majority believed that a simple function to preserve the day's historical significance was in order.\textsuperscript{166} As far as rowing was concerned, two events were scheduled. The one for non-serving personnel had two entries. The decision to hold the function provoked the resignation and non-attendance of the committee's president and secretary.\textsuperscript{169}

The NSWRA brought further conflict upon itself from March when it sanctioned two unclassified open-class races for the Leichhardt Rowing Club's April regatta.\textsuperscript{170} The decision followed a similar authorisation to permit the St. Ignatius Public School to feature unclassified open races at its March regatta.\textsuperscript{171} These events allowed the amateur clubs to compete against one another, which was contrary to the NSWRA edict, prescribed for the war's

\textsuperscript{166} Referee, 29 January 1919 p.8; Referee, 19 March 1919 p.8; Newcastle Herald, 16 December 1916 pp.8, 10.

\textsuperscript{167} Referee, 2 January 1918 p.11.

\textsuperscript{168} Referee, 9 January 1918 p.10.

\textsuperscript{169} Referee, 30 January 1918 p.10; Arrow, 1 February 1918 p.2.

\textsuperscript{170} Referee, 17 April 1918 p.10; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 12 March 1918.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
duration.

Vicary Horniman, the NSWRA chairman, resigned in protest over the sanctioning of such races, particularly at the Leichhardt carnival.\(^{172}\) His disquiet forced the NSWRA to rescind the Leichhardt sanction.\(^{173}\) The Leichhardt Club had, at times, a stormy relationship with the NSWRA. The club had played a leading role in the breaking down of the manual labour bar and it had been foremost in the inclusion of the manual labourer in interstate races.\(^{174}\) More recently, the club had defied the NSWRA ban on amateur clubs participating in the 1915 Belgian Fund Aquatic Carnival promoted by the professionals.\(^{175}\) For its own 1918 regatta, the club resisted the NSWRA edict and staged unclassified open events in which the Glebe, Mosman and Balmain Clubs participated.\(^{176}\) The NSWRA was reported to have quelled the controversy and that all clubs would follow the body's directives.\(^{177}\)

However, while the NSWRA reiterated that clubs would adhere to its principle that all clubs would not conduct open races during wartime, no action was taken against those clubs or persons who had participated in the unclassified events.\(^{178}\) The NSWRA executive, though, was divided over the sanctioning of such races and there was a measure of antagonism amongst the body's members.\(^{179}\) It may be suggested that a bitter split between the executive members and a possible ongoing defiance of the NSWRA ban on conducting open events\(^{180}\) were largely avoided by the arrival of the war's end.

\(^{172}\) Referee, 22 May 1918 p.8; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 12 March 1918, 9 April 1918.

\(^{173}\) Referee, 17 April 1918 p.10; Arrow, 12 April 1918 p.4; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 9 April 1918.


\(^{175}\) Sportsman, 9 June 1915 p.4.

\(^{176}\) Referee, 17 April 1918 p.10.

\(^{177}\) Referee, 22 May 1918 p.8; Arrow, 17 May 1918 p.8.

\(^{178}\) New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 14 May 1918.

\(^{179}\) New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, March 1918 to October 1918; See also, letter of protest to New South Wales Rowing Association Secretary accompanying New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, November 1918.

\(^{180}\) New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, September 1918, October 1918; See also, letter of protest to New South Wales Rowing Association Secretary accompanying New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, November 1918.
In September 1918, Sydney's aquatic community met to organise a carnival in recognition of the services provided by the Commonwealth and Merchant Navies. The carnival was part of an immense metropolitan festival - "Jack's Day" - to be held on the 1st November. Tens of thousands of people were expected in the city to enjoy the parades, attractions and the countless number of stalls selling "everything here except seasickness and cockroaches." The aquatic programme consisted of five sailing events, three rowing races for service personnel and two races for members of clubs affiliated with the NSWRA.

George Towns indicated that the professional sculling branch wished to contribute and he proposed that a butcher boat race, consisting of two Sydney crews and two from Newcastle, be programmed. The Newcastle support was not forthcoming as the HRPSC had pledged its co-operation to the Newcastle 'Jack's Day' appeal. To ensure that carnival's aquatic component was successful, the HRPSC controlled the rowing contests and provided competitors for each programmed event. Without Newcastle's support, the Sydney professionals were forced to withdraw and the sport was unrepresented at the state's third largest fundraising day.

It was a disappointing conclusion for Sydney professional sculling. Throughout the war years the professionals had maintained a prominent presence at most aquatic fundraising days. Their sacrifice to cease competition throughout wartime had appeased the patriotic element, however, it had also seriously weakened the sport. A bleak future lay ahead unless the sculling hierarchy re-addressed the sport's culture and structure. With peace upon them, a change of focus and the implementation of a workable infrastructure with centralised control were required for the sport to succeed. It appeared that the professionals were too frail to start anew.

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181 Referee, 11 September 1918 p.9.
182 Sydney Morning Herald, 1 November 1918 p.6.
183 Sydney Morning Herald, 2 November 1918 p.13.
184 Referee, 11 September 1918 p.9; Referee, 30 October 1918 p.8.
185 Referee, 11 September 1918 p.9.
186 Newcastle Herald, 5 October 1918 p.5; Newcastle Herald, 2 November 1918 p.7; Newcastle Herald, 4 November 1918 p.4.
187 Newcastle Herald, 5 October 1918 p.5; Arrow, 1 November 1918 p.5.
188 Sydney Morning Herald, 2 November 1918 p.19.
Conclusions

World War I impacted almost immediately upon the country's sporting organisations. In the sport of rowing, the amateur branch braced itself for a national crisis and the Empire's cause by abandoning all forms of organised competition. This action supported a highly influential, middle-class, patriotic movement, which believed that all fit men, especially sportsmen, must, at all costs, defend the Empire. The fanaticism displayed by the amateur rowing hierarchy to cease its competitions and coerce its sportsmen to enlist was supported by the sporting press, which championed patriotism and glorified those who accepted the call. The patriotic drive achieved its goal as rowing clubs became depleted entities and the sport remained a closed and barren recreation throughout the war years.

The sport's professional branch, initially, adopted a much freer approach towards its continuation of competitions and the pressuring of its sportsmen to enlist. Whereas the amateurs ceased their racing, the professional sculling bodies persevered. This offered them an opportunity to consolidate and emerge as the sport's dominant force, but only if they could reinforce their shaky organisational infrastructure. As the war consumed the country and monetary constraints penetrated the sport, many scullers left the game or retired. Others favoured patriotic duties and joined the services. The loss of most first-class scullers from a limited pool depleted the sport and left administrators struggling to promote racing. While the professional sculling bodies tried to rally, the resolute patriots within these organisations demanded that competitions should cease while the nation was at war. The push to abandon competitions proved formidable and the sport, except for Newcastle, closed down until well after the war's end.

The sporting press approached the professional's stance differently. The Referee, while initially supporting racing, altered its agenda and agreed that the war was far too serious to contemplate match racing. Others called for the professional clubs to continue, albeit on a restricted scale. However, as racing was not forthcoming, this section ignored the sport or reminded the public that professional sculling was "dead".

The New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League began fulfilling its original role as the sport's administrator and authority. It developed a
growing exchange between the professional clubs that incorporated co-operative and positive promotion of the sport and it accomplished a small but practical infrastructure and support system, which appeared to provide leadership, focus and a sound foundation for consolidation and expansion. The war's impositions and its resultant economic and social hardships contributed directly to the League's initial appearance of leadership and control. The League benefited from a number of factors that included the retreat of the major backers and their scullers. This reduced the aggravation from self-interest and greed: the programming of small stakes and sweepstakes racing curtailed gamesmanship; racing continued in Newcastle; most other organised sport was abandoned; and the League offered leadership and direction. But it was also the war's imposition, specifically the patriotic vehemence that undermined the League's good work and brought on its demise. This influence suggested that the sport was more closely aligned with middle-class value systems and the sport's redundancy would not directly affect the economic circumstances of its main players.

Throughout the war years the women professional scullers were the sport's facade, at least in Sydney. They conducted regular events, competed at country carnivals and were central to the war's fundraising functions. Within a masculine society fevered by war, the sporting press offered the women scant coverage. The press was generally ignorant of or unenthusiastic towards their contributions and efforts. Instead, columns were stretched with the inclusion of obscure aquatic news and historical highlights. The few exceptions were provided by the Newcastle correspondents or on those occasions when the men's organised regattas were dominated and sustained by the women's events.

As examined in the previous chapters, when Sydney professional sculling collapsed the country centres had the strength to sustain the sport. Throughout the war, the Newcastle district maintained the sport, primarily through the efforts of the Hunter River Professional Sculling Club. The club proved to be an anomaly in aquatic circles. It was formed during the war and found itself virtually abandoned by its overseeing body, which had succumbed to the patriotic movement. Nevertheless, the club's management determined that the sport would continue through the war years without
interfering in the war effort. Such was the club's strength and support that it conducted major regattas on sequential New Year's Days, while the city's annual regatta was suspended. Whereas the patriotic movement exhausted the Sydney professional sculling scene, the Newcastle contingent applied a circumspect if not pragmatic approach to the justification of sport in wartime.

The war's effect upon Sydney professional sculling was substantial. The decision to follow the patriotic bent and cease competition during the war damaged the sport irreparably. Whereas other codes, especially amateur ones, made immediate starts from the armistice, professional sculling was in disarray and directionless. The following chapter will examine the war's longer-term impact on the sport and demonstrate how the sport failed to recover and respond to a 'new age' with new ideologies. It will also investigate the catalyst that awakened the sport and analyse how the sport's laissez-faire element again rose to prominence amidst failing leadership and a vitriolic and imperially minded press.
CHAPTER SEVEN

POST-WAR

The Great War impacted gravely on Sydney professional sculling. Enlistments and retirements, the economy's contraction and the unlikelihood of match racing contributed to the backers leaving the game. The professional sculling authorities' commitment to cease competition in support of patriotic demands paralysed the sport until 1920. The sport's closing down removed it from public view both in terms of a frequent spectacle and in terms of comment in the sporting press. The main governing body, the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League, was left without task or function and over a prolonged inactive period the body perished.

While the halting of competition might have been seen as essential for a noble cause, professional sculling had neither the infrastructure nor the numbers to continue to exist without the high-profile competition of world title races. Where other sporting codes committed their men to the war they managed limited competition for those who remained. This was due mainly to their organised frameworks, which enabled them, also, to mobilise competition again virtually from the armistice.

The post-war period was professional sculling's watershed. The previous decades of poor and impeded management, the baggage carried by the self-interested parties and their characteristic emphasis on short-term gains could be buried after the war years by an enterprising body committed to strong management and long-term objectives exceeding those of previous committees and administrations.

Alternatively, Sydney's professional sculling hierarchy could repeat the mistakes of its previous half-century. The sport's history had demonstrated that speculative rule involved practices detrimental to the long-term interest of rowing. Once the sport was led and driven by speculation, attempts to administer frameworks and counter indiscretions were too weak.

While the sport's speculative element will be one of this chapter's issues, a broader context will need to be analysed to ascertain its
significance within a post-war ideology seeking to promote a conceptualisation of nation building. This process included conceptions of type, identity, myth, and security and worth. These concepts will be discussed through examination of the relationship between the speculators, the sculling authorities and the sporting press. Other issues will be analysed in terms of their impact on professional sculling in this era. These include the relative merits of organised and structured sport and the benefits and disadvantages of unrestricted racing.

This chapter's main focus, however, will be the examination of Australia's allegiance to the British Empire, in particular, its loyalty to and fixation with England and Englishness. The chapter will also examine whether concepts such as Australian patriotism and nationalism, type and identity, and maturity and national character had been encouraged and developed only to the degree that they did not challenge English authority, superiority and sophistication. English sovereignty will also be investigated, in particular, whether the sport's speculators shrouded the sport under a loyalist and imperialist umbrella to maximise Australian support and profit.

An examination of the importance that regionalism played in fostering the sport, in terms of organisation, social interaction and community support will also be made. As a point of reference, the country scene will be investigated again so as to draw a comparison between the country centres' application and meaning of sport and that of the Sydney fraternity. It will also explore the apparent paradox of mindsets where Sydney believed that an extravaganza would institutionalise the sport while the country centres achieved continuity by means of community and regional-based organisational infrastructures and administration.

**An Opportunity For Structure And Control**

After the armistice, sports such as amateur rowing, swimming, cycling, tennis, billiards and athletics, regenerated their competitions, while the professional scullers languished. Presumptions that James Paddon was prepared to meet Ernest Barry for the world championship and the

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participation of eight scullers at the 1919 Anniversary Day Regatta were the professionals' first signs of life.²

In the unlikelihood of an immediate start, those professionals who desired organisation and structure were fortunate to have a planning interval and a number of sports models, such as amateur rowing, rugby union and rugby league, on which to base a foundation. The New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League, too, could have been rejuvenated to involve the professional clubs and control match racing, specifically, national and world championships. The Newcastle district also provided a sturdy model, which had evolved during the war, and it strengthened and expanded once hostilities ceased.³ Similarly, the Northern Rivers were able to re-commence racing from the armistice because the clubs had maintained their organisations, conducted minor events and utilised their available resources. The Woodburn Rowing Club had even deleted the word amateur from its title so it could accommodate all rowers.⁴

Opposition to a sculling body prepared to restructure the sport could have been dismissed as a sectional interest desirous of keeping an ancient, unfeasible sporting culture. Press objections could have been deflected as well. The press was critical of modern-day antics and generally raised the hoary argument that champions, such as Trickett and Beach, would never stoop to such poor sportsmanship.⁵ The press' comparison with bygone days was misplaced contextually. Those champions were from the 'professional era', some 40 years previously, and since that period the population had endured and largely accepted many social upheavals, including depression, Federation, war, an upsurge in amateurism and organised recreation. The press was also critical of professional bodies such as the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League.⁶ On one hand, it was critical of the sport's unbridled element and yet uncharitable towards the movement trying to regulate and structure the sport.

² Referee, 18 December 1918 p.8; Referee, 20 January 1919 p.8.
³ Sportsman, 23 November 1918 p.7; Sportsman, 14 December 1918 p.7; Sportsman, 28 December 1918 p.7; Sportsman, 8 January 1919 p.7.
⁴ Referee, 3 September 1919 p.12.
⁵ Sun, 21 March 1915 p.12; Sun, 2 September 1919 p.3.
⁶ Sportsman, 14 January 1914 p.1; Referee, 10 March 1915 p.11.
Press criticism of a professional sculling body drafting plans for the sport's control could be construed as objections to a contemporary body incorporating a framework for a sport that was in abeyance. This is not an irrational statement. The first Sydney match race, after the armistice, occurred in September 1919 after ex-soldier and former honorary secretary of the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club, Arthur Breaden, suggested in July 1919 that the club should resume its operations. The club's first meeting was held in the following month.7

In comparison, the amateur rowing bodies had conducted five general regattas, the Anniversary Day and Peace Celebration regattas, two public school regattas and the universities' regatta.8 Outside racing, the Henley Rowing Club was formed and affiliated with the New South Wales Rowing Association, the Drummoyne Rowing Club had tabled an affiliation proposal and to increase the sport's profile and public awareness the NSWRA formed a publicity department.9 Adding to the list, George Towns coached Arthur Baynes to win the Queensland Amateur Championship and he was credited as being the instigator of the formation of the Henley Rowing Club.10

The Professionals' Approach

It was during this quiet time that a committed professional body had an opportunity to construct a framework and consolidate control but the ongoing apathy indicated that another opportunity would be forsaken.11 It could be argued that the war had exhausted the professional sculling ranks and any attempted reinvigoration would be fruitless. However, once the sport had regained its numbers, matters such as organising clubs and controlling racing could be broached.12 To support this reasoning, the sport would be boosted by the anticipation that Paddon would defeat Barry for the world

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7 Referee, 27 August 1919 p.12; Sun, 29 July 1919 p.2.
8 Referee, 29 January 1919 p.8; Arrow, 14 March 1919 p.3; Referee, 7 May 1919 p.8; Referee, 23 July 1919 p.6.
9 Arrow, 14 March 1919 p.3; Referee, 20 August 1919 p.11; Sun, 2 September 1919 p.3; Referee, 17 September 1919 p.9; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 9 September 1919.
11 Sun, 29 July 1919 p.2; Referee, 27 August 1919 p.12.
12 Sun, 29 July 1919 p.2; Sun, 9 September 1919 p.2; Sun, 9 December 1919 p.5.
championship. This expectation excused the professional sculling authorities from any serious preparation as they were satisfied that contingency would animate affairs.

To base the sport's future on presumption and hope without constructing a safety net was the ultimate speculation. Professional sculling had a boom and bust history and this trait was endemic in sports lacking structure and surviving on irregular public spectacles.\(^{13}\) The sports that achieved public support and longevity were those that had established themselves within the community culture and were organised to provide regular patterns of events and continuous competitions.\(^{14}\)

**Delusion v Resourcefulness**

The war may have emptied the professional sculling ranks, but amateur rowing had suffered a similar fate. However, the amateurs utilised their remaining resources to reinforce their infrastructure, whereas the professionals failed to offset and re-adjust to their losses.

From early 1915, the older amateur rowing members and supporters were encouraged to utilise their skills to keep the sport fluid.\(^{15}\) This provided substance for the sport during the war. The Leichhardt Rowing Club established a coaching committee with the purpose of instructing beginners.\(^{16}\) The club serviced its ranks with quality young men, which provided a strong foundation once the war had ceased. Other amateur clubs applied similar schemes, building a platform that enabled an easier transition from wartime to peacetime.

The amateurs had a marked advantage in that they had the resource of the public schools. These were the sport's nurseries and the amateurs drew their strength and support from youth. During the war, the amateurs extended their net to include the high schools.\(^{17}\) They had considerable help

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\(^{14}\) Ibid.

\(^{15}\) *Referee*, 20 January 1915 p.11.

\(^{16}\) *Sun*, 25 July 1915 p.9.

\(^{17}\) May, op. cit., p.81; *Arrow*, 6 May 1916 p.6; *Referee*, 18 April 1917 p.10.
from George Towns and Peter Kemp. Kemp assisted and accommodated the Western Suburbs Amateur Boys Rowing Club, while Towns was instrumental in the formation of the Gladesville [Youths] Rowing Club.

These examples demonstrate that the amateurs utilised their resources to ensure that the sport was capable of a strong start after the war. The professionals demonstrated little aptitude to deal with the war's effects. They also squandered the opportunity to start anew by clinging to their past traditions and failing to interpret society's changing political and cultural mood to give themselves leverage into the nation's social context. By relying on presumption and hope for their sport, the professionals were laying the foundations for a decrease in the boom element and an increase in the bust.

The Awakening

The initial rousing of professional sculling after the armistice emanated from speculation that James Paddon would match Ernest Barry, the reigning world champion, and that Richard Arnst, although 19 stone in weight, was prepared to return to the sport. There was talk that Alfred Felton, awaiting discharge in France, intended to return to the sport and that he also considered racing Barry. The matching of Paddon and Barry, though, was seen as crucial to lift the sport from its doldrums.

Such speculation was premature. Barry had been hospitalised for over six months and he was recovering from shrapnel wounds and shell shock. He was also suffering from neuritis and rheumatism and like many front-line soldiers was underweight. Barry suggested that he would require more than six months preparation to race again and at 37 years of age there was the likelihood that his fitness levels and watercraft may have declined.

The Sydney establishment's obsession with the world championship, to the detriment of the domestic scene, indicated clearly that the sport's mindset and culture had not altered from that of previous decades. The

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18 May, op. cit., p.72; Referee, 20 March 1918 p.10; New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 12 March 1918.
19 Referee, 18 December 1918 p.8; Arrow, 20 December 1918 p.1; Referee, 25 December 1918 p.8.
20 Referee, 8 January 1919 p.12.
21 Referee, 17 July 1918 p.1; Referee, 25 September 1918 p.8; Referee, 15 January 1919 p.8.
22 Referee, 5 March 1919 p.1; Referee, 7 May 1919 p.1; News Of The World, 26 October 1919 p.11; Referee, 7 October 1919 p.1.
sculling authorities believed that Barry had to race in Australia for the sport to survive.\textsuperscript{23} This prospect did not address the absence of support structures and without underbelly, the sport could not be sustained once the big races had concluded.

Between the November armistice and September 1919, the dozen or so active scullers in Sydney were offered no competition of note by the sculling authorities. Nor were they encouraged to remain in the sport. It was the amateur rowing hierarchy that gave the professional scullers incentive to continue.\textsuperscript{24} The amateurs programmed an all-comers' sweepstakes race at each of their Anniversary Day and Peace Celebration regattas. The sculling authorities' apathy forced the local scullers to conjure up their own sweepstake racing.\textsuperscript{25} This style of event had been popular before the 'Golden Age' advent of organised sport.

The whole professional sculling set-up reflected poorly on the sport's decision-makers. It was unreasonable for the authorities to believe that public support would be gained and sustained in New South Wales by a world championship race in England, between an invalid soldier or an Australian champion who had not raced for four years or a retired 19 stone fisherman.

The International Scene

Nevertheless, as speculation increased on the probability of a world championship race, differences of opinion emerged as to who should compete. Richard Coombes, in the \textit{Referee}, however, refused to comment on the world championship, which further thinned the sport's exposure.\textsuperscript{26} Coombes suggested that world championship matters would not be discussed until Barry replied to him personally.\textsuperscript{27} His influence became more telling when Alfred Felton challenged Barry for a title race on the Thames at £500 a side. The pair agreed to match on the 27th October 1919. Before discussing Coombes' reaction to the challenge, an examination of Felton's

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Sun}, 21 October 1919 p.2.
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Referee}, 29 January 1919 p.8; \textit{Referee}, 23 July 1919 p.6.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Referee}, 20 August 1919 p.11.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Referee}, 15 January 1919 p.8.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
claim needs to be undertaken.

Felton's challenge held merit. Unlike Paddon and Arnst, he was domiciled in Europe and his three years in the northern hemisphere had him acclimatised. Felton was fit as he had competed in war services' regattas on the Thames.28 From a financial basis, Felton required £700 to race and of this amount fellow servicemen and English sportsmen had promised him approximately £400.29 The Australian public, however, would be approached to fund the balance. In practical terms, Australia's challenger was a young, fit 'soldier-son' who was in the right place at the right time.

Within the context of international professional sculling, Felton's challenge was feasible. The war had becalmed the sport and it was almost obsolete in England. The main contributors to the English decline were the forces behind rational recreation.30 The English middle-class push over the previous five decades for exclusive amateurism had segregated and diminished professional sculling. As the amateur ideal had strangled the sport, in conjunction with industrial factors such as a lessening commercial reliance on water and a tapering off of the water trades, professional sculling was close to extinction.31 Barry was the only recognised English first-class professional sculler, as his domestic rival, William Albany, had been sacrificed on the battlefield.32

Of the other countries, the 47-year-old Edward Durnan held the Canadian and American championships, but throughout his career he had proved inferior to the overseas scullers. New Zealand's ranks were comprised of an indecisive, overweight Richard Arnst, James 'Paddy' Hannan, who had limited Australian success and was regarded as a capable second-rater, and amateur champion and Olympian Darcy Hadfield who had been speculated as one to crossover.33 Australia housed Paddon, Felton, William McDevitt, Reginald Short and William Ripley, although the last was

29 Referee, 13 August 1919 p.14; Sun, 19 October 1919 p.1.
31 Referee, 5 March 1919 p.1; Daily Examiner, 8 October 1919 p.8; Sun Express, 26 October 1919 p.8.
33 Referee, 29 September 1915 p.10; Arrow, 27 November 1915 p.3; Referee, 6 August 1919 p.14.
believed to have retired.

From a commercial perspective, Arnst and Paddon could obtain unqualified backing, but travel costs would need to be raised. Barry was forced to fund one-half of his stake money and all his expenses to match Felton. In fact, in most of Barry’s title defences, the champion was required to fund a portion of his stake and his expenses. Of the remainder, Hannan and McDevitt had backing for minor racing, Short was untried outside of handicaps, Durnan was deemed uncompetitive and Hadfield was still an amateur.

Given these conditions, Felton had a plausible challenge. From an Australian perspective, the match could serve as the catalyst to inspire the domestic scene. In a broader social and ideological context, a `digger' contesting a world championship against an Englishman on `Home' waters was not only a patriotic and nationalistic lever, but it could also reinforce the concept of Australianness and the meaning of being Australian. If not more important, the Felton match had the potential to reinforce that the new Briton, the Coming Man, could transfer all his glorified qualities and heroism from the battlefield to the international sporting arena.

The Wrong Coming Man

Nevertheless, many of the sculling authorities were aggrieved by Felton's challenge. Coombes suggested that Felton had no chance of claiming the title when superior men like Paddon, Arnst and Pearce had failed. Mason, in the Sun, and George Towns, John Spencer, Harry Floyd and James Paddon endorsed his view. Mason and Floyd suggested that Felton had little to recommend him. Towns gave the challenger no hope, while Paddon explained that Felton was not a stayer and he would not overcome the 'Thames' intricacies.

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34 Daily Examiner, 8 October 1919 p.8; Daily Express, 27 October 1919 p.11; Daily Telegraph, 30 October 1919 p.5; Referee, 20 August 1913 p.11; Referee, 3 September 1913 p.11.
36 Referee, 8 January 1919 p.12; Referee, 23 July 1919 p.6; Referee, 13 August 1919 p.14; Referee, 22 October 1919 p.14.
37 Sun, 22 July 1919 p.3; Referee, 6 August 1919 p.14; Sun, 12 August 1919 p.2.
It was a pessimistic call by some of the sport's heavyweights. The objections towards Felton can be seen as reminiscent of the disparagement of Harry Pearce before his 1913 world championship bid.\(^{38}\) The Pearce case, in which Felton was a major protagonist, demonstrated how sections of the professional sculling hierarchy could prejudice a sculler's aspirations and damage the sport by pursuing their self-interest.

The protagonists in Felton's case viewed him not as the Coming Man or the sport's saviour, but as an impostor. Paddon was seen as the country's legitimate challenger and its white hope. Coombes' concession towards Felton was that he considered the Australian fortunate to be located in England.\(^{39}\) Coombes was a Paddon advocate and a Barry loyalist. This was evidenced by his adulation for the pair and his fawning of Barry when he was driven to match the men in 1914.\(^{40}\)

It was agreed generally that Felton was a sprinter and memories of his objectionable behaviour in his 1915 race against Charles Towns must have lingered.\(^{41}\) A Felton loss had the potential to hinder public support for Paddon's likely challenge, as money would be subscribed to send him to England. These considerations, though, were personal perversions rather than constructive arguments based on the sport's welfare. For a sport that had ceased for most of the war and was responsible for only two handicap races on one afternoon between the November 1918 armistice and September 1919, the least that could be offered to Felton was encouragement.\(^{42}\)

The pessimism and gloom endangered Felton's aspirations. It was not until July 1919 that he and Barry signed articles of agreement for their race.\(^{43}\) The lateness in signing was due mainly to both men awaiting their army discharges and the need to give Barry adequate time to gauge his condition and waterskills. Felton wrote to Harry Floyd in Sydney and

\(^{38}\) See, Chapter Four.  
\(^{39}\) Referee, 23 July 1919 p.6.  
\(^{40}\) Arrow, 8 November 1919 p.1; Referee, 19 November 1913 p.11; Sunday Times, 6 September 1914 p.10.  
\(^{41}\) Sportsman, 7 July 1915 p.3; Australian Oarsman, in, The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly, 10 April 1942 pp.6-7.  
\(^{42}\) Referee, 19 March 1919 p.8.  
\(^{43}\) Referee, 7 May 1919 p.1; Sun Express, 26 October 1919 p.8; News Of The World, 26 October 1919 p.11.
requested his help in securing the £300 balance needed to complete his financial commitments. Floyd suggested that Felton had neither the sculling record to warrant funding, nor would he have the slightest chance of obtaining money from Australia. By August no moves had been made to assist Felton. Paddon excused his criticisms as those made under the presumption that the challenger had acquired sufficient backing. He forwarded £10 as a compensatory gesture.

In contrast, Coombes was unsympathetic. It may be assumed that he was aware that Australians would be asked to fund Felton’s challenge. It can also be assumed that he had the power and the medium, through the *Referee*, to make the funding successful. Coombes agreed with Floyd that little could be done for Felton and it was a case of “hard luck”. He implied that the sport’s lack of backers made it difficult to raise money even for scullers with winning chances, therefore, Felton would attract minimal interest. It was a contrary stand to Coombes’ previous, principal roles in fundraising. One needed only to review his zealous support to fund Pearce in 1913, Paddon in 1914 or Thoroughgood in 1909 to conclude that an element of distaste prejudiced his objectivity. This does not suggest personal antagonism but that Coombes found Felton’s challenge unpalatable because of his preconception with who should be Australia’s legitimate challenger.

The ‘Digger’ Myth

Examining the Coombes/Felton relationship within the social context of the time raises an interesting issue. Historians, such as Ward, White, Rickard and McLachlan, provide models with which to analyse the creation of an Australian identity and an Australian legend. Incorporated within these

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44 *Sun*, 12 August 1919 p.2.
45 *Referee*, 3 September 1919 p.12; *Referee*, 15 October 1919 p.12.
models is the emergence of the digger as the national hero and representing
the ideal Australian. The contention suggests that the Great War had
contributed to and, in the main, fulfilled earlier intellectuals' expectations of
the archetypal Australian.51 The Australian type was perceived as essentially
British, racially 'pure' and veritably masculine, with such critical features as
athleticism, courageousness, initiative and moral soundness.52

Felton possessed these qualities, which apparently typified the
archetypal Australian. At six feet two inches and 13½ stone, his physical
composition was of muscular and striking proportions. He had learned his
sculling on the country rivers and as an elite athlete he was acknowledged
throughout the professional and amateur rowing world. His talents extended
beyond the sporting arena. He had acclamation as an orator and he
possessed a pleasurable baritone singing voice53 and had demonstrated his
courage and loyalty to the Empire by going to war.

Within this context, it is reasonable to presume that support for
Felton's cause would be favourable. He had the qualities of the ideal
national type and as a digger he was a hero, a defender and a protector.
However, the dissatisfaction surrounding Felton's challenge suggests that
concepts such as the digger's superiority and the Australian type were
ethereal from the practicalities of general daily doings. While these concepts
were chiselled into Australian society and culture, their importance and
functionality were perceived to be applicable on another distinct plane.
These concepts seemed to be mainly relevant within the populist rhetoric of
decision-makers and manipulators who sought political, economic or social
unity.54 In Felton's case, his detractors' pragmatism showed little regard for
the imagery created to represent the Australian type. In their eyes, Felton
lacked the ability to win and no amount of rhetoric or populist idealism would
alter this opinion. Noticeably absent from their criticism were references to
the soldier, the hero, the white hope or the Coming Man. Coombes, whether

51 Rickard, op. cit., pp.113-121; White, op. cit., pp.129-130.
53 Arrow, 5 March 1920 p.12.
54 Waterhouse, R., 'Popular Culture And Pastimes', in, Meaney, N., (ed.), Under New Heavens:
Cultural Transmission And The Making Of Australia, Heinemann Educational Australia,
White, op. cit., pp.130-139.
wittingly or not, portrayed Felton as naive. References to Felton as "our young friend" and "genial giant" were not the representations required to symbolise Australian type or identity.\textsuperscript{55} As far as image making and representations were concerned, Felton was characterised as a green opportunist, out of his depth and far-removed from the archetypal Australian.

Constructing Australianness

Inventing Australians was not the sole domain of local intellectuals, commentators or sporting columnists. The English were well versed in inventing an Australian type. Bradley suggested that through cricket an English perception of Australians was invented and developed to accommodate an English audience.\textsuperscript{56} While this process defined Australians and Australianness it also reinforced what was English and Englishness. The predictable images were of racial `purity', an English core and cultural cohesion. These were prominent characteristics, but it was the constructed perceptions that set Australians apart. The impact of writers, like Trollope, Masefield and Kipling, who emphasised Australian masculinity, physical distinctiveness, athleticism and bearing, moulded images of an Australian type and Australianness through English eyes and for English audiences.\textsuperscript{57} These representations were reinforced in English rowing circles as Australia presented to them a sequence of striking, athletic and physically superb challengers in Arnest, Pearce, Paddon and Felton.\textsuperscript{58}

Whereas Felton was portrayed as an unlikely Australian type in his homeland, in England he was represented as a most likely Coming Man. Through Felton, the English press reinforced perceptions of Australianness

\textsuperscript{55} Referee, 23 July 1919 p.6.


\textsuperscript{58} Arnest, frequently, was referred to as an Australian or aligned with Australia by the English press; For a study of the interrelationship between Australia and New Zealand in sport see, Little, C., 'Trans-Tasman Federations In Sport: The Changing Relationships Between Australia And New Zealand', in, Cashman, R., O'Hara, J. & Honey, A., (eds), \textit{Sport, Federation, Nation}, Walla Walla Press, Petersham, New South Wales, 2001, pp.63-80.
and an Australian type. 59 Felton's war commitment was emphasised, his physical conspicuousness discussed, his arduous and varied training procedures were compared to Barry's light work and he was expected to present the champion with his hardest contest. Felton may have been patronised by the press, but the message conveyed was that the antipodean may not have been English but he was an example of why the Commonwealth would not degenerate. 60

For the English there was a fear that a Felton victory would see the world championship lost to Australia for a long time. The dominion had several first-rate scullers whereas England had Barry, who was close to retirement. The underlying worry was the real emergence of the younger members, the Coming Men. 61 The Manchester Guardian posed that "The records of sport confirm the impressions of the extraordinary physical excellence and high vitality of the Australian troops in the war." 62

The implication was that the Australian could transplant his qualities from the battlefield to the sporting arena and vice versa. It was also a warning that the Australian sportsman may not yet be the Englishman's superior, but he had 'advantages' which may see him become so. These advantages, in the main, were the constructed images and perceptions, such as racial 'purity', environment, physicality and fibre. While the English press was confident that Barry would win, this security enabled it to represent an ornament of Australianness through Felton. 63 However, while that English press was editing the Coming Man for its domestic audience, in contrast to an unenthusiastic Australian sporting press, a ground swell began in the challenger's homeland.

59 Daily Mirror, 7 October 1919 p.14; Daily Express, 8 October 1919 p.8; News Of The World, 19 October 1919 p.12; Sun Express, 26 October 1919 p.8; Daily Mirror, 27 October 1919 p.14.
60 Daily Mirror, 28 October 1919 p.14; Northern Star, 30 October 1919 p.5; Daily Express, 5 November 1919 p.10; Referee, 5 November 1919 p.1; Wigginsworth, op. cit., pp.79-81; Sun, 30 October 1919 p.1; Northern Star, 20 November 1919 p.5.
Fortifying Australianness

Not all Australian professional sculling followers were comfortable with the sport's malaise and Felton's purported inevitable failure. Richard Arnst and James Stanbury suggested that the challenger's style suited the Thames and they believed he would surprise the champion.\(^{64}\) Joe Harvey, a long-time rowing enthusiast who was tied closely to Barry, suggested that Coombes should open a subscription fund to finance Felton's outstanding balance.\(^{65}\) He felt that the shortfall was blocking the sport's capacity to prosper and a Felton victory would enable the sport to blossom domestically. Dick Wallbank, an associate of Paddon and a Woodburn Rowing Club committeeman, supported his views and added that subscribers' costs would be one-third of those required to send a challenger, such as Paddon, to England.\(^{66}\) These arguments caught Coombes' sympathetic ear, but his contribution was no more than a call for Felton's supporters to rally.\(^{67}\)

They did rally and by late August 1919, Frank Felton, the challenger's brother, had formed a fundraising committee to which assistance was offered by the business firm Foley Bros., Mason from the \textit{Sun}, Stanbury and Floyd who recognised the sport's potential benefit if the championship returned to Australia.\(^{68}\) Foley Bros. controlled the administration and accounting of subscriptions, Stanbury, Floyd and Mason helped canvass for money, while the latter published articles to inspire the public.\(^{69}\)

It seemed that Felton's detractors and the morbidity surrounding the sport had blunted people's interest and generosity. This added to the confusion as to whether Felton had accumulated the required amount and some of his promised support fell through. Within a fortnight of the championship race, the committee was £175 short of its target.\(^{70}\) Faced with the inevitability of the challenge's collapse, it made a last desperate plea.

Committeeman William Grimmond, who was afforded front-page exposure in the \textit{Sunday Sun}, appealed to "sport-loving Australia" to support

\(^{64}\) \textit{Sun}, 22 July 1919 p.3; \textit{Sun}, 30 September 1919 p.2.
\(^{65}\) \textit{Referee}, 20 August 1919 p.11.
\(^{66}\) \textit{Referee}, 3 September 1919 p.12.
\(^{68}\) \textit{Sun}, 7 October 1919 p.2; \textit{Sun}, 16 November 1919 p.2.
\(^{69}\) \textit{Sun}, 16 November 1919 p.2; \textit{Referee}, 17 September 1919 p.9.
\(^{70}\) \textit{Sun}, 16 November 1919 p.2.
her "soldier-sculler".71 Grimmond drew heavily on the country's disposition towards its servicemen. He impressed that if England could raise £400 for an Australian to race an Englishman then what 'colour' did it place upon those from the challenger's birthplace? He attempted to shame the public conscience by asking how it could justify a £90,000 totalisator turnover on the recently completed Derby/Epsom/Metropolitan horseracing carnival, while remaining apathetic about raising £300 for an Australian world championship contender.

Joe Brown, a leading Sydney bookmaker, offered £100 because "a 'digger' was short of funds."72 While Brown's sportsmanship and patriotism are not questionable, his donation was a valuable public relations reply. In December 1916, the New South Wales government introduced the racecourse totalisator to address the state's financial difficulties. Widespread opposition to its introduction came, predominantly, from Protestant middle-class reformers and some sections of the bookmaking fraternity.73 Brown's donation also advertised that the kind, patriotic bookmaker was at the ready to support the digger, whereas totalisator proceeds would remain in the state government's coffers. It is debatable whether Brown's generosity would have been forthcoming if the challenger were not a serviceman.

In conjunction with Grimmond's appeal, the committee cabled a request for funds, on 'Digger Felton's' behalf, to William M. Hughes the Australian Prime Minister.74 The cablegram was a desperate call for help but it was also a test of Hughes' patriotism and substance. Hughes rose through the trade union and Labour Party ranks from the 1890s. After serving seven years as a New South Wales parliamentarian, in 1901 he entered Federal politics. He was the nation's wartime leader who pledged wholesale support

71 Sun, 19 October 1919 p.1.
72 Sun, 16 November 1919 p.2.
74 Sun, 16 November 1919 p.2.
for the Empire's cause.\textsuperscript{75} Hughes introduced two conscription referenda, evaded a no-confidence vote in his leadership, provided Britain with wool and wheat during the crisis while stabilising the domestic industries and he resettled servicemen into government utilities and on the land.\textsuperscript{76} Whereas Hughes' counterparts saw him as a cunning, opportunistic and manipulative politician, many servicemen embraced him as the 'Little Digger'. His fiery disposition, his patriotic and nationalistic stoicism and his perceived commonality appealed to many returned soldiers. The symbolism also appealed to Hughes who presented himself as the Little Digger at the 1919 Federal election and increased his governing majority.\textsuperscript{77}

Whereas the Felton camp's plea to the nation's leader appeared fanciful, within 24 hours of cabling Hughes, the Prime Minister replied:

\begin{quote}
Have obtained £25 and will personally guarantee another £25 unless amount fully obtained. Have asked several people to communicate with you direct and trust result will be prompt and satisfactory. Wire me result.\textsuperscript{78}
\end{quote}

It was a fairytale reply for the camp and some crafty politicking. On the eve of the Federal election, Felton's plight offered Hughes a chance to demonstrate that his rhetoric and ethos were backed by actions.

\textbf{Resources, Opportunities And Anachronism}

The £25 obtained by Hughes came from Solomon Green, another of Sydney's prominent bookmakers.\textsuperscript{79} Sir Samuel Hordern offered to fund the full amount. Hordern was prominent in sporting circles, mostly aquatics and thoroughbred racing, and he had occupied a vice-president's position with the Sydney Rowing Club.\textsuperscript{80} His generosity towards professional scullers was

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Sun}, 16 November 1919 p.2; \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 31 October 1919 p.4; \textit{People}, 2 November 1919 p.12.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Sun}, 16 November 1919 p.2.
\textsuperscript{80} May, op. cit., p.69.
not uncommon, as he had helped finance Richard Arns't's 1912 world championship defence on the Thames.\textsuperscript{81} Hugh D. McIntosh also pledged to fund Felton's balance. He was one of the nation's leading entrepreneurs and held a seat in the New South Wales Legislative Council. A peculiarity of McIntosh's involvement was that as proprietor of the \textit{Referee}, he was Richard Coombes' employer.\textsuperscript{82}

This situation poses a number of questions, none more so than the relationship between Coombes and McIntosh. By examining Coombes' apparent inability or unwillingness to support Felton and McIntosh's funding offer, it can be deduced that either the Coombes/McIntosh relationship was thin or Coombes' displeasure over Felton's world championship challenge went deeper than his printed opinion. Whereas McIntosh was committed by Hughes to support Felton, other factors suggest that Coombes had failed to alert his employer to the challenger's financial woes.

For example, McIntosh had been one of the main denigrators of Les Darcy, the boxer whose failure to enlist and subsequent clandestine American 'migration' not only reviled the patriotic movement, but also fuelled McIntosh's wrath.\textsuperscript{83} As an ardent imperialist, McIntosh vilified the boxer and used his influence to interfere with Darcy's American earning capacity.\textsuperscript{84} Within this example's context, McIntosh's zealotry in disgracing Darcy for failing to enlist transposes itself to ask why Coombes, also an ardent imperialist, failed to seek McIntosh's assistance in subsidising Felton's challenge? If, as Coombes suggested, professional sculling backers were too few and given McIntosh's anti-Darcy stand and Felton's service to the Empire, then surely Coombes' entrepreneurial and loyalist employer was a prime philanthropic target. Coombes may well have sought McIntosh's support on Felton's behalf and the request may have been denied. This

\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Arrow}, 26 October 1912 p.1.
appears unlikely when examining McIntosh's intent after the Barry/Felton race.

McIntosh had previously had no involvement with professional sculling. He had built his empire on his entrepreneurial skills and his accomplishments included promoting boxing and entertainers and theatre ownership. His sharpness for investment again became evident when he offered to match Barry, Felton and Paddon for a £2,000 purse on the Parramatta River. Included in the offer were first-class return fares and sundry expenses for Barry and Felton. The offer was a lucrative inducement for the scullers and it would be an enormous boon for the sport.

It may be argued that Coombes was unwilling to encourage McIntosh's participation in helping Felton's stakes gathering. If informed, the keen-eyed entrepreneur probably would envisage that his support for Felton could be a smart investment. From political and civic perspectives, McIntosh could be perceived as a champion of the digger and Australianness which would verify, in part, his fervent imperialism, nationalism and his castigation of non-enlisters like Les Darcy. Considering that Barry's remaining challengers were from outside the northern hemisphere, drawing Barry into an Australian tour would provide a quick, profitable return. McIntosh could be revered again for his promotional skills in snaring the first English world champion onto the Parramatta River and be regarded as the saviour of professional sculling.

As for Coombes, he would surely see that supporting Felton was potentially the fillip the sport required. There may have been an element of professional and personal arrogance behind Coombes' indifference, as Felton corresponded with Floyd for support and Mason took up his cause in the Sun. However, it appeared that Coombes believed that James Paddon

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85 McIntosh had previously donated towards interstate eight racing; See, New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 12 April 1913.
87 Arrow, 28 November 1919 p.3; Referee, 3 December 1919 p.16; Referee, 7 January 1920 p.13.
88 Referee, 5 March 1919 p.1; Sun, 21 October 1919 p.2; Sun, 9 December 1919 p.5; Sun, 23 May 1920 p.7.
would be the next world championship challenger and most likely the new Australian world champion.89

The swift response by Hughes, Hordern, McIntosh, Brown and others to assist Felton demonstrated the inept and insular disposition of the professional sculling authorities. Felton's case was extraordinary, however, it revealed the scope and range of resources that largely had been ignored by the professionals. It showed that the professionals' organisational inadequacies left them scant in the methods to seek out and capitalise on this type of support. It exposed the professionals' limitations in the promoting and marketing processes to advance their sport. In fact, the professionals were so unprepared and unambitious that no Sydney professional sculling club or sculling body contributed to Felton's challenge. This disarrangement dissolved any opportunities for them to exploit the generosity of Felton's benefactors or to implement measures to solicit the support of others of similar station.

In the end, Felton overcame his hardship and helped his followers financially by trouncing Barry at the odds of 3 to 1 against.90 Apart from the many people who contributed to his victory, Felton was indebted to Major Sid Middleton, the Olympian, a member of the 1912 Grand Challenge Cup winning crew and amateur envoy, who managed his affairs in England.91 The significance of Felton's victory was that Australia had its first world professional sculling champion since George Towns retired in 1907 and the new champion's first defence would be on home waters. Most importantly, the inanimate Sydney professional sculling fraternity was presented with a lifeline.

In the broader social context, Felton's victory contributed towards the reification of concepts such as the Australian type, an Australian identity and the digger legend. As a winner, Australia's white hope had transferred the glorified qualities and heroism from the battlefield to the world sporting arena. These concepts were promoted and reinforced by the populist support of

89 Sunday Times, 26 October 1919 p.9; Sun, 4 November 1919 p.3; Referee, 12 November 1919 p.11; Sun, 11 November 1919 p.4.
90 Daily Express, 28 October 1919 p.10; Daily Mirror, 28 October 1919 p.14; Referee, 29 October 1919 p.13; People, 2 November 1919 p.12; Daily Express, 5 November 1919 p.10.
91 May, op. cit., pp.60-80; Referee, 5 November 1919 p.4.
civic and business leaders and animated by a congenial press, which discovered a stream of superlatives for Australia's new world champion "soldier-sculler". For Coombes, his belated conversion and emphasis on the new champion as a soldier, hero, his physical excellence and vitality overshadowed his previous misgivings and also added credence to an Australian ethos characterised by type, identity and the digger's superiority. Coombes' post-race embellishment of Felton seized the situation's practicality and, whether wittingly or not, contributed further proof of a manufactured Australian essentialness that perpetuated British civilisation.

At What Cost The Empire?

With the return of the world championship to Australia and Paddon preparing to challenge Felton, the expectation was that the sport would resume its place as a leading pastime. However, any prospects of organising the sport into a regulated entity were discarded when Barry announced that he would re-match Felton on the Parramatta River.

The sculling authorities were ecstatic, as Barry's Australian presence was expected to capture wholesale public support, elevate the sport as a paramount spectacle and fill the sculling ranks with a quantity of hopefuls. Barry's promise to leave England carried with it urgency. The sculling authorities adopted an attitude of, "nothing must be done that would stop Barry coming to Sydney." In accommodating the Englishman, the sculling authorities abetted the breaking of the world championship rules and regulations, obliged an imperially minded press in undermining opposition to Barry's challenge and attempted to create a favourable impression of Australia and its 'colonists'. While Barry's visit would revitalise the sport, the sculling authorities were more concerned with gaining a 'Home' land blessing.

Whereas sport had contributed substantially to Australian nationalism

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92 Sun, 28 October 1919 p.1; Referee, 29 October 1919 p.13; Referee, 5 November 1919 p.1; Sydney Mail, 5 November 1919 p.10; Referee, 11 February 1920 p.11.
93 Referee, 29 October 1919 p.13; Referee, 5 November 1919 pp.11, 14; Referee, 19 November 1919 p.13; Referee, 11 February 1920 p.11.
94 Sun, 21 October 1919 p.2; Sun, 3 February 1920 p.3.
95 Sun, 9 December 1919 p.5; Australian Oarsman, 10 April 1942 p.7.
96 Sun, 2 December 1919 p.4; Sun, 9 December 1919 p.5; Referee, 20 October 1920 p.14.
and patriotism and, as McLachlan suggested, "it was worth a few votes at the very least for federation," the fawning of Barry and Englishness prescribed an apologist approach in defining who and what were Australians. While Australians were entrusted with and felt compelled to perpetuate the antipodean arm of British civilisation, self-consciousness and subservience were conspicuous when in the presence of the educated English gentleman. Although Barry was the challenger, he was accorded champion status and given licence to sway the course of professional sculling. The sculling authorities and the sporting press demonstrated that loyalty to England remained their first preference.

Too Old, Too Slow, Too Suspect

Upon Barry's announcement a dispute erupted over who should be Felton's first challenger - the Englishman or Paddon. Prior to his Thames race, Barry wrote in the News Of The World that win or lose, the match would be his last. Barry recanted after humiliating press and urging by his supporters. He stated that if England wished for him to retrieve the title, then he would go to Australia. In other words, he would re-match if the English public funded his trip. The London Daily Mail opened a public subscription fund for the purpose.

Not all were supportive of the scheme. The London Daily Express and the Daily Mirror were horrified by Barry's arrogance in chasing the title and asking the public to find £2,000 to fund his trip. 'A.C.B.', in the Daily Mirror, hoped that Barry's endeavour failed and he suggested that Paddon had the right of first challenge. 'Orion', for the Daily Express, suggested that Barry's trip would be such "a fruitless errand [that] he will be partially to blame for the outburst against England's alleged decadence that would follow his defeat." 'Orion' advised Barry to scour England and find a younger man whom he could tutor to championship level.

97 McLachlan, op. cit., p.156; See also, Cashman, R., O'Hara, J. & Honey, A., (eds), op. cit., passim.
98 News Of The World, 26 October 1919 p.11.
99 Daily Telegraph, 30 October 1919 p.5.
100 Referee, 12 November 1919 p.11.
102 Daily Express, 5 November 1919 p.10.
There was a perception amongst the English of an English decadence. Australian and New Zealand sportsmen were seen as major contributors through their perceived domination in English sport, even though sportsmen from other countries were also prominent. Barry’s loss to Felton, which followed the defeat of English world featherweight boxing champion Driscoll by the Frenchman Ledoux, prompted the Manchester Guardian to seek answers to rectify the problem. The Daily Express and the Daily Mirror alluded to part of the problem. They implied that post-war English champions were aged and a new generation needed to be brought forward. Alternatively, the Daily Mail suggested that “England must seriously endeavour to effect their [championships’] re-capture, but her athletes must be made to feel that England is behind them.” It was a fair call by the Daily Mail, which had raised thousands of pounds for London’s 1908 Olympic Games. However, the general press feeling was that the younger sportsmen should be brought on. The public seemed like-minded for little interest was shown for Barry’s cause.

Barry’s demand of a £2,000 Australian ticket was double the amount calculated as sufficient to tour. Barry was tired of funding his championship matches and he believed that he could endure one more race and enjoy an Australian holiday at public expense. He was assured of the first race against Felton. Unbeknown to the Australian sculling fraternity, the pair had arranged that Barry would have first challenge. The arrangement contravened the world championship rules and regulations, but, importantly for them, their agreement would nullify Paddon. It can be assumed that both felt that Paddon was their superior and neither wished for his interference until they had profited from their Australian contest. Barry’s hurdle lay in amassing the funds to tour, although the Sydney sculling authorities were

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103 Northern Star, 30 October 1919 p.5; Northern Star 20 November 1919 p.5.
104 News Of The World, 26 October 1919 p.11.
106 Referee, 12 November 1919 p.11.
107 Ibid.
108 Referee, 19 November 1919 p.13; Referee, 31 December 1919 p.12.
109 Sun, 3 February 1920 p.3; Sun, 25 April 1920 p.8.
110 All Sports Weekly, 25 October 1919 p.9; Sun, 4 November 1919 p.3; Sun, 23 November 1919 p.1; Northern Star, 21 May 1920 p.5.
prepared to defray his costs.111

England First

While Barry pondered over an Australian trip, James Paddon challenged Felton through the Referee.112 Felton, who was still in England, dismissed the offer under the pretext that he had promised Barry a re-match.113 Felton justified Barry's visit as providing the sport's "greatest fillip since Hanlan's trip."114 He appealed to the Australian public to accept and accommodate Barry in the highest manner, as the Englishman was a splendid sportsman and soldier.

Richard Coombes commented that Felton's promise infringed the world championship guidelines115 and he assumed that the initial £100 collected by the Daily Mail was earmarked for Barry's deposit. The New South Wales sporting press was reluctant to force the issue, while the sculling authorities abstained from investigating the matter.

The aquatic fraternity was confronted with an ethical dilemma. As far as England was concerned, Barry and Felton would contest the first race in Australia. This decision was greeted with overwhelming approval in Sydney and the sculling authorities' intention was not to jeopardise the Englishman's visit. Nevertheless, the Felton/Barry arrangement contravened the world championship rules and regulations. These laws were drawn up in Australia and decreed by the Australian sculling authorities as the sport's benchmark.116 While the sport had no governing body to enforce the laws, the sculling authorities and the sporting press normally exerted their influence to encourage scullers' abidance. Paddon's challenge to Felton met these guidelines and it was lodged prior to Barry and Felton formalising their arrangement. Whereas Paddon had been considered the rightful challenger prior to the Felton/Barry Thames race, he was now without doubt the legitimate challenger.117

111 Sun, 6 April 1920 p.2.
112 Referee, 19 November 1919 p.13.
113 People, 2 November 1919 p.12.
114 Northern Star, 22 November 1919 p.5; Sun, 23 November 1919 p.1.
116 Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Sun, 19 May 1920 p.2; Sportsman, 26 May 1920 p.1.
117 Sun, 4 November 1919 p.3; Referee, 19 November 1919 p.13; Sportsman, 26 May 1920 p.1.
If the sculling authorities complied with the Felton/Barry arrangement it would condone the breaking of the championship laws. By adopting this course, they would once again become servile to those who were prepared to misuse the sport. It would also demonstrate that England controlled the sport even though the sport in Britain was virtually extinct. If the sculling authorities stuck by their principles and supported Paddon they would signal to the professional sculling world that Australia was prepared to govern the sport. However, if they supported Paddon it would mean snubbing Barry, the Daily Mail and England. For a group that ceased its competition to answer the Empire's call, remonstrating with Barry would be its least likely consideration.

Re-Inventing Colonialism

The third option was to seek a compromise. Hugh D. McIntosh offered Felton, Barry and Paddon a £2,000 purse for a three-way contest on the Parramatta River.\(^\text{118}\) Coombes suggested that while the offer was not in accordance with the world championship laws, it was an acceptable compromise.\(^\text{119}\) Felton and Barry rejected the offer, which led Coombes to speculate that the Daily Mail's subscription fund had improved and Felton, being champion, would find little trouble, this time, in gathering his stake.

These explanations were too convenient for a sport that had long battled for capital. A major grievance expressed by the sculling fraternity was that the game continued to lose backers. The lack of funds had placed enormous pressure on the sport and had debilitated a sculler's confidence to mount a challenge. Harry Floyd, in 1911, had stressed that the number of men willing to support aspirants was declining rapidly.\(^\text{120}\) The Sportsman, in 1919, compared the Spencer brothers' days to those of the modern sportsmen. It was exasperated by the finding that in modern times there were more wealthier men but very few of them were willing to fund athletes. The Sportsman suggested that "The spirit of grab, the demon of cold, calculating selfishness, is upon this people and a real hearty, manly open-

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\(^\text{118}\) Arrow, 28 November 1919 p.3; Referee, 7 January 1920 p.13.
\(^\text{119}\) Referee, 3 December 1919 p.16.
\(^\text{120}\) Sun, 6 August 1911 p.5.
handed backer of a good man, for the sheer sake of the sport and the benefit
of the performer, is as rare nowadays as Christian charity in the Church of
Christ.\textsuperscript{121} Coombes suggested in August 1919 that backers were so few
that scullers with winning chances had difficulty in stakes gathering.\textsuperscript{122}
Felton's reason for his 1915 retirement was that the sport was far from
remunerative.\textsuperscript{123} Barry, who had funded part of his title defences, stated that
he had been a professional sportsman for 11 years and he had made
nothing.\textsuperscript{124} "Nobody had the desire to put money into it, and a champion was
nobody", he complained.\textsuperscript{125}

In that context it was remarkable that McIntosh's offer was greeted
lukewarmly. The sport was aimless and moribund and those in authority
complained constantly that backers and sponsors were conspicuously
absent. Yet, the sculling authorities and most of the sporting press accepted
the Felton/Barry decision without curiosity or critical comment. Never in the
game's history had a benefactor pledged such a lucrative prize and
consented to absorb all expenses. It was extraordinary that those with
authority and influence would allow the Englishman's commission to override
all other concerns.

Barry had little to lose in rejecting McIntosh's offer. He had a one-race
mission at public expense and with England behind him, he could return to a
hero's welcome. Felton might have been contracted to Barry but, if inclined,
he could test this obligation. As demonstrated previously, Barry rowed under
the world championship laws in 1910 and 1912.\textsuperscript{126} He, and the Australian
sculling authorities, defended his refusal to row William Albany in 1913 under
the terms specified in these laws, but he disregarded the same laws when he
accepted challenges from Pearce and Paddon.\textsuperscript{127} In the latter cases, Barry
agreed to Pearce's 1912 challenge, but subsequently raced the Canadian
Edward Durnan before he raced the Australian. In 1913, Barry accepted

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{121} \textit{Sportsman}, 19 November 1919 p.1.
  \item \textsuperscript{122} \textit{Referee}, 13 August 1919 p.14.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} \textit{Referee}, 28 April 1915 p.10.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 30 October 1919 p.5.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} \textit{Sunday Times}, 9 May 1920 p.5; \textit{Referee}, 20 August 1913 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 3 September 1913 p.11.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 2 February 1910 p.55; \textit{Referee}, 4 September 1912 p.11; \textit{Sun}, 16 November 1913
    p.16.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} \textit{Referee}, 26 November 1913 p.11; \textit{Referee}, 17 December 1913 p.14.
\end{itemize}
Paddon's challenge then he agreed to race the American Frank Greer prior to the Paddon contest.\textsuperscript{128}

Felton and Barry, however, had no intention of breaking their bond. The agreement offered them healthy remuneration and a place in the sport's history, whereas a race against Paddon could prove financially and otherwise disastrous.

The rejection of McIntosh's offer ensured that the Englishman would be placed above the sport. It was apparent that the sculling authorities and the sporting press would forsake themselves to obtain Barry's fleeting presence and they would permit the Englishman to dictate and dominate the proceedings. While it was acknowledged that the Felton/Barry race would be a great fillip, the proposed three-way contest would probably have been an even greater one. This option was not pressed and all the indications suggested that the Englishman's demands would take priority.

Paddon suspected that his bid was forlorn, so he sought another compromise.\textsuperscript{129} He proposed that if Barry matched him after the Felton/Barry race he would waive his first race claim. However, the Englishman would not commit himself until after his world championship race.\textsuperscript{130} It was an unsatisfactory answer for Paddon but a sufficient response for the sporting press.\textsuperscript{131} It implied that a Paddon/Barry contest had been assented to and under this pretext it marginalised the Australian champion.

\textbf{Too Much `Mother'}

Paddon's hopes were dashed in early December 1919 when the Prince of Wales became one of Barry's principal supporters.\textsuperscript{132} The Prince was anxious for England to recapture the championship and his lead ensured that the English public would fill Barry's subscription.\textsuperscript{133} It was a timely intervention by the Prince as the world championship match coincided with

\textsuperscript{128} Referee, 20 August 1913 p.11.
\textsuperscript{129} Sun, 2 December 1919 p.4.
\textsuperscript{130} Sun, 9 December 1919 p.5; Referee, 31 December 1919 p.12.
\textsuperscript{131} Sun, 2 December 1919 p.4; Referee, 3 December 1919 p.16; Sun, 9 December 1919 p.5; Referee, 31 December 1919 p.12; Sun, 10 February 1920 p.3.
\textsuperscript{132} Daily Mirror, 17 December 1919 p.3; Arrow, 19 December 1919 p.4.
\textsuperscript{133} Referee, 24 December 1919 p.8.
his Australian tour. The Prince's lead altered the whole context of the
world championship. Barry's trip, supported by the Prince and the peer Lord
Desborough, added a dimension beyond the sporting realm. With royalty
and nobility backing Barry's venture, the Australian rowing fraternity and the
sporting press felt even more compelled to facilitate the Englishman.

Loyalty and respect for the British Empire and its monarchy held
primary importance for its southern dominions. In the war's aftermath,
Australian political and cultural sentiments were pro-Britain and England
occupied the central authority. Although the Great War offered a
perception that Australia had survived a test of strength and was maturing, it
was still haunted by a perceived lack of sophistication when compared to the
'Mother' land. While it felt safe with its British heritage and echoed English
qualities and practices, what lingered was a sense of mediocrity, if not
crudity. England remained the heart of civilisation and eminence. Imperial
links were resolute, but their structure prescribed an ongoing familial
hierarchy in which Australia required nurturing, guidance and protection. The
relationship fortified a continuation of the pampering of English status,
urbanity and sensibility. This, in turn, reinforced the perception that
Australians were callow and less sophisticated.

For the sculling authorities, loyalty to the Empire had been
demonstrated by their wartime commitment. Imperialism was entrenched
within the group, its strongest advocate being Richard Coomes. Coomes
pursued Empire unity through amateur sport, specifically the Pan-Britannia
Games concept, and while he promoted a degree of Australian nationalism it

134 Sun, 22 February 1920 p.3; Daily Telegraph, March 1920 p.4; Daily Telegraph, 9 March 1920 p.5.
135 Sun, 15 May 1920 p.5; Sun, 16 May 1920 p.7.
136 Inglis, K., Sacred Places: War Memorials In The Australian Landscape, Melbourne University
p.140.
137 Rickard, op. cit., pp.138-139; Holt, R., Sport And The British: A Modern History, Clarenden Press,
139 Waterhouse, Private Pleasures, Public Leisure, op. cit., pp.133-146; Smith, B., 'Art In Its Social
Setting', in, Burgmann, V. & Lee, J., (eds), Constructing A Culture: A People's History Of
Australia Since 1788, McPhee Gribble Penguin, Fitzroy, Victoria, 1988, pp.229-233; White, op.
cit., pp.140-147; Alomes & Jones, (eds), op. cit., pp.94-97, 277-279; Horne, D., The Story Of The
Australian People, Reader's Digest, Sydney, 1985, pp.288-290; Macintyre, S., The Oxford
was but part of a wider agenda for Empire loyalty and devotion.\textsuperscript{140} A more general belief was rooted within the sculling fraternity. This was illustrated by a traditional yearning for scullers to prove themselves at 'Home', a complacency in letting England command the sport's direction and, in more recent times, submitting to Barry's authoritative demands throughout his reign.

**Fidelity, Fickleness And Fatalism**

With the Prince's endorsement of Barry, the monarch's tour, the English public's financial support and an Australian world champion emphatic that the Englishman would race him first, the Sydney sculling authorities and the sporting press needed little persuasion to accept and sanction the whole agenda.

The pro-Empire and imperialistic convictions held by the professional establishment subverted Australian nationalism, patriotism and identity as well as the relevance of those with influence in the sculling fraternity. For example, the sculling authorities' fickleness was demonstrated by their desertion of Paddon. They had purported from the armistice that he was the world's best sculler and they had refused to support Felton's Thames bid because they believed that Paddon was the rightful challenger. However, once Barry announced his desire for an Australian visit, Australia's preferred white hope became its embarrassment without striking a blade in water. The indulgence of an Englishman, Empire loyalty and a sport's vanity were of much higher priority.

Mason, in the *Sun*, ventured to ask why, "Every other sport is booming, why not sculling?"\textsuperscript{141} After the armistice, little had been done to foster the sport or harness public support. Failure to organise, offer leadership and direction encouraged and abetted self-interested parties to gain control and exclude sculling officials from the decision-making. The


\textsuperscript{141} *Sun*, 20 January 1920 p.3.
authorities' obsession that Barry's appearance would magically transform the sport from the doldrums to a leading pastime that would enfold the public in an everlasting fashion lacked substance. The novelty of the Englishman in the country would notoriise the sport temporarily, but it was no basis on which to ensure the sport's longevity.

The Cautionary Few

John Blackman agreed that Barry's presence would invigorate the sport but he warned that there were too few support structures to offset a lull. He believed that the minor sculling ranks lacked depth and they would be difficult to build up. Blackman suggested that one disincentive for would-be scullers was the £25 or more cost of an outrigger. Mason argued that while there was enthusiasm for Barry's trip, there was no such excitement for the domestic scene. He believed that "Sculling, like every other sport, needs a controlling body." He claimed that the opportunities for scullers were limited because of a lack of organised and regular competition and he blamed the sport's poor leadership and organisation.

Mason attacked an apathetic Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club and former League officials for the domestic scene's idleness. He implied that professional sculling authorities were waiting "for someone to step in and get control" before they would act. He warned that "Professional scullers sadly need organising if the boom is to be a permanent one." Mason called for the revival of the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League and for the body to take advantage of Barry's visit, but the sculling fraternity largely ignored Mason's concerns.

An Alternative Mindset

While the Sydney rowing scene was focused on Barry's trip, professional sculling in the country centres had been expanding since the armistice. The Northern Rivers and the Newcastle districts were resurrecting

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142 *Sun*, 4 July 1920 p.5.
143 *Sun*, 27 April 1920 p.7.
144 Ibid.
their pre-war carnivals and looking beyond their immediate competitions. At the Newcastle New Year’s Day regatta of 1920 representatives from Newcastle, Ulmarra and Maitland agreed that each centre would provide a four-pair crew with coxswain and that they would race for the New South Wales Butcher Boat Championship.

It was an innovative undertaking rather than a presumptuous one. The butcher boat race was a self-created championship and these men faced neither obstruction nor censure for concocting the contest because the sport lacked a governing body and centralised control. Previously, the League had administered state championships, however, its disbanding in 1917 invited all and sundry to invent their own tournaments. In some instances such freedom could elevate the sport’s profile, but it also enabled speculators to abuse the sport for personal gain.

The butcher boat championship provided an example of the promotion of the sport’s profile based on community involvement. It also demonstrated the importance sport played in developing regional sentiment. It showed that country professional sculling thrived on regional rivalries and it benefited communities both socially and financially. A key to this success was the high level of organisation provided by the local rowing clubs and their ability to combine and transfer their organisational skills across regions. The country centres had established solid frameworks that enabled them to maintain a balance between offering competition, racing for money and keeping the public’s enthusiasm, which offset speculators’ consumption of the sport. This contrasted markedly with the Sydney professional sculling scene, which was thoroughly disorganised and relied on a ‘magical’ Parramatta River race to revive its fortunes.

145 Northern Star, 7 October 1919 p.4; Referee, 24 December 1919 p.8; Sportsman, 7 January 1920 p.2; Referee, 14 January 1920 p.14.
146 Daily Examiner, 16 February 1920.
147 Referee, 1 September 1920 p.9; Referee, 2 May 1923 p.14.
Communities And Regionalism

The butcher boat championship was programmed for the 8th May 1920, at the Ulmarra course on the Clarence River. The contest consisted of a four-miles race for a £600 sweepstake between the Harwood (Clarence River), Maitland and Newcastle crews. This inaugural state championship offered the highest prize money for any race outside outrigger contests. J.D. Reid, a Newcastle solicitor and past president of the Hunter River Professional Sculling Club, drew up the articles of agreement, rules and regulations while Robert Gibson, the Newcastle mayor, acted as stakeholder.

An outstanding feature of the project was the wholehearted support given by civic leaders. In conjunction with Gibson's and Reid's inputs, the Ulmarra mayor, Napper, acted as Master of Ceremonies and the crews' managers, Jones, Ireland and Cameron, were aldermen attending and representing their respective municipalities. The extent of civic and public support was demonstrated when the Newcastle council conducted a civic ceremony upon Newcastle harbour to christen the local racing craft the 'Bob Gibson'. Besides a large public attendance, those who were present included local councillors and the district's state and federal parliamentarians. Similarly, the Ulmarra council extended to the crews a civic reception upon their arrival in the district.

While there was political capital to be gained, the influence of civic leaders in the race's organisation promoted a bona fide image and enticed community interest and support. This was demonstrated by the large attendance that witnessed the 'Bob Gibson' christening; the Bowthorne Butter Factory offering the public its steamer to view the Maitland crew's training; the public donations to defray crews' costs and the Ulmarra people's commitment to promote the day as a memorable and historical spectacular. For the crews, regional pride and parochialism outweighed monetary gain. Although they were racing for a £600 stake, once

149 Sportsman, 4 February 1920 p.8.
152 Article Titled, 'Rowing The Big Race', 1920, Personal Clippings File.
preparatory costs and general expenses, such as boatbuilding, freight, accommodation and employment compensation were deducted, the profit from the exercise would be marginal.\textsuperscript{153}

The championship placed a sporting and social spotlight on Ulmarra and the district responded by providing a gala occasion. With a district population of less than 1,000 and a village "which cannot boast of good streets", the locals catered for an influx of 5,000.\textsuperscript{154} Added attractions to the championship included preliminary rowing events, boxing exhibitions, street singers, a piping band, knick-knacks, souvenir stalls and a merry-go-round.\textsuperscript{155} Another lure was the betting, which although illegal outside licensed racecourses, was plentiful. Interest in the championship was so high in regional centres that legal betting was conducted at the Newcastle races and bookmakers reported brisk business.\textsuperscript{156} Most importantly for the Ulmarra district was that its business houses gained a trading surplus and a financial boost. The influx of people from other regional centres and their liberality with money on gala occasions injected funds into the Ulmarra district's economy.\textsuperscript{157}

A vital link for communal and cross-community interactions was that of transport. For districts to demonstrate their virtues and accentuate regional pride, a competent transport system was essential to convey the population to points of call. As many coastal and river towns and villages depended on water for their existence, boating and shipping masters played a pivotal role in linking regions by means of commerce, trade and social interaction. The role was held in high esteem throughout rural communities and the butcher boat championship was no exception.\textsuperscript{158} Robert Gibson, on behalf of the regions, presented Captain Davis, the master of the steamer \textit{Pulganbar}, with a gold ring set with rubies in appreciation of the captain's service in transporting the racing craft and ferrying crews and supporters.

The butcher boat championship, therefore, yielded more than an

\textsuperscript{153} Article Titled, 'Aquatics The Big Boat Race', 1920, Personal Clippings File.
\textsuperscript{154} \textit{Daily Examiner}, 10 May 1920; \textit{Northern Star}, 10 May 1920 p.4.
\textsuperscript{155} The Grafton \textit{Daily Examiner}, 10 May 1920, offers a comprehensive and extensive coverage of the New South Wales Butcher Boat Championship.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
important race and an offer of brief entertainment. In a social context, the championship demonstrated that regionalism was a significant contributor to the fabric of country communities. The championship brought together the Ulmarra, Newcastle and Maitland districts. The influence of civic leaders and their input into the organising and managing of the contest extended interest and support throughout the communities, and heightened local parochialism and patriotism. Each crew carried its community's hope and this rivalry enhanced the venture's success. The spotlight was focused on Ulmarra and that community pulled together to ensure that the village was the hub and that it could deliver a memorable and historical highlight. The Grafton Daily Examiner suggested that "never in any town in the state was there so much enthusiasm and excitement displayed by a big crowd over any event as was shown in the streets of Ulmarra."\textsuperscript{159}

The butcher boat championship demonstrated a marked contrast in the mindset between the country professional sculling authorities and their Sydney counterparts. In terms of organisation, management and leadership the country centres had established a workable and flexible framework. They promoted regular local racing and regional carnivals to strengthen the sport, public expectations and public support. In comparison, the Sydney sculling authorities had shed their responsibilities for their local scene in the expectation that one big race would prop-up their sport. While the country regions were generating parochialism and patriotism and a sense of regional pride and sentiment, the Sydney professional sculling authorities were promoting and condoning imperialism above a sense of nationalism and patriotism.

\textbf{Viewing From The Riverbank}

During the butcher boat championship preparations, the Sydney sculling authorities received further embarrassment. Upon Felton's Australian return, in February 1920, Paddon demanded that the world champion disclose publicly his arrangement with Barry.\textsuperscript{160} Felton's refusal confirmed that the world championship laws were disregarded and fuelled

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{160} Sun, 2 March 1920 p.3.
Paddon's claim as the first legitimate challenger. The professional sculling authorities had compromised themselves. Their declining influence was highlighted further when Felton eventually released the details of his arrangement, but only after Barry had sailed from England. The information revealed that the contract was signed after Paddon's challenge, Barry had first refusal and the race was governed by English championship conditions.

The professional sculling authorities, in acceding to the Felton/Barry arrangement, had devalued their principles and tradition. Paddon, though, was more determined. After Barry's second refusal to match him, Paddon claimed the world championship. He contended that Felton had defaulted because he had failed to accept a legitimate challenge within three months. Richard Coombes suggested that the dispute could be resolved amicably if all parties met to discuss the matter, but even Coombes was cold-shouldered. Barry stated, "Rules mean nothing to me. I take no notice of anything in the shape of rules. I am here only to get the championship of the world." Felton remarked that "there was nothing to confer about."

Little England

With the Englishman in Sydney, a set itinerary and the aquatic fraternity's overwhelming support for the Felton/Barry race, the press buried the Paddon embarrassment. Comment on Paddon's challenge became demeaning. 'Australian', in the Sun, suggested that "Paddon is a just claimant for the title, but at the right time and place." He stated that the

161 Sun, 9 March 1920 p.2.
162 Sun, 25 April 1920 p.8; Australian Oarsman, 10 April 1924 p.7.
163 Sun, 16 May 1920 p.7; Northern Star, 19 May 1920 p.5; Northern Star, 1 May 1920 p.6; Sportsman, 19 May 1920 p.6; Sun, 19 May 1920 p.2.
164 Sun, 19 May 1920 p.2.
165 Referee, 19 May 1920 p.1; Northern Star, 20 May 1920 p.5; Northern Star, 21 May 1920 p.5; Northern Star, 24 June 1920 p.4; Following Felton's repeated spurring of Paddon, Paddon suggested that he would desist in his attempts to claim the world championship by default if Barry would match him after the Felton/Barry race. Paddon's compromise also suggested that he believed that Barry would defeat Felton.
166 Sunday Times, 23 May 1920 p.3.
169 Sportsman, 19 May 1920 p.6; Sunday Times, 23 May 1920 p.3.
170 Sun, 25 May 1920 p.4.
public was fully behind the Felton/Barry match and he considered Paddon's actions were "unmanly". He suggested that because Felton and Barry saw war action like men, this entitled them to race. The comment slurred Paddon and it also suggested that servicemen were above the conditions laid down in a set of guidelines.

The *Bulletin*, similarly, suggested that the public should support the Felton/Barry contest and it advised Paddon to show the same restraint he had done over the previous five years.\(^{171}\) The *Bulletin*’s argument was nonsensical and indicated its preference more so than the public's. Its inference that Paddon did not go to war, that Barry and Felton would not sidestep him, and the suggestion that Paddon’s adherence to the championship rules aggravated populist opinion indicated that the *Bulletin* was as comfortable with Empire loyalty and English sentiment as was the aquatic fraternity.

The *Sportsman* suggested that the Felton/Barry race was unpreventable, but it concluded that by strict definition of the championship laws Paddon was right in claiming the world title.\(^{172}\) It criticised Felton's collaboration with Barry and it accused the world champion of sidestepping Paddon. The *Sportsman*’s anger, though, was directed at the Englishman. It accused Barry of deception while it suggested that the championship wrangle demonstrated another example of "British fairplay".\(^{173}\) In supporting the argument it implied that Australian scullers had been received and treated as inferiors by the English since Richard Green's 1863 visit.\(^{174}\)

While the *Sportsman* supported Paddon, the championship wrangle provided it with the leverage to denounce Englishmen and Englishness. The *Sportsman* insinuated that "it would appear that Mr. Barry, as do many of his countrymen, in their insular style, looks upon Australians as mere savages, amenable to the 'superiority' of the Englishman and subservient, naturally, to his arrogance."\(^{175}\)

\(^{171}\) *Bulletin*, 3 June 1920 p.4.
\(^{173}\) *Sportsman*, 2 June 1920 p.1.
\(^{175}\) *Sportsman*, 9 June 1920 p.1.
The *Sportsman* had used Barry conveniently to expel its umbrage of imperialism, English racism and pomposity. However, it failed to implicate the professional sculling authorities' complicity and subservience in the whole matter, which reinforced the concepts of English superiority, sophistication and arrogance. It failed, too, to suggest that the general lack of support for Paddon's bid was prompted by the complacency of the rowing fraternity and its fellow sporting press, which courted the Englishman and promoted his Englishness to Australia.

**Conclusions**

The Australian professional sculling fraternity demonstrated that its loyalty to England and its fixation with Englishness was as consuming in peacetime as it was during the war. Such was this allegiance that the instruments and ideologies that contributed to nation building appeared to be shallow and often disconcerting when pitted against English superiority and refinement. Concepts such as patriotism, nationalism, type, identity, character and the digger's pre-eminence seemed indispensable for an Australian context and audience, but they became tenuous in the broader context of Australia's meaning and place within the Empire. Clearly, any Australian challenges to or interferences with the perceived English authority and sophistication were considered as violating the imperial social, cultural and symbolic order. To preserve the Empire and imperial allegiances, Australian sportsmen were abandoned by their ilk. This desertion also tempered perceptions that Australia's priority was to maintain England's precedence and refinement.

Australia's lack of confidence in challenging England's power and English sentiment increased its anxiety, maintained its inadequacy and accommodated Australian servitude. It also consolidated English sovereignty and underlined that when Australian patriotism and nationalism sought to disrupt the imperial order, they were viewed as embarrassing and incongruous. In order to conserve English sovereignty, those Australians who challenged English authority were encouraged to conform to the traditional, imperial social order.

Thus, the belief that Australian professional sculling would be revived
only from England and by Englishness removed the Australian sculling authorities' perpetration of organisation and control. Irrespective of Australia's sculling strength and its capacity to lead and administer the sport internationally, these assets and directorship were not sufficient to challenge the existing imperial order. Although English professional sculling was irredeemable pre-war and close to extinction post-war, this disintegration and hopelessness failed to convince the Australian sculling authorities that they were the sport's leader and responsible for its future. The Sydney establishment's obsession with England and Englishness implied that anachronism and archaism were entrenched deeply in the sport and unlikely to be challenged or overcome. Even professional sculling's speculative element, which had been so damaging and irresponsible, was given a rite of passage by the sculling authorities because the main protagonist was an Englishman. He was encouraged and abetted in his quest and afforded immunity in obtaining a lucrative venture for himself and ensuring that England prevailed.

Curiosity alone would guarantee public interest in the first Englishman to contest a world championship race on the Parramatta River. But the Australian sculling authorities' failure to establish an organisational framework and support structures to enhance the sport and capitalise on the Englishman's popularity would ensure fleeting interest in professional sculling. Once the Englishman and his Englishness departed from Australia, the sport would again subside to its disorganised and aimless peculiarity and offer little intrigue or meaning for the public.
CHAPTER EIGHT

IMAGE-MAKING FOR A `HOME’ AUDIENCE

Ernest Barry’s announcement that he would contest the sculling world championship in Australia on the 28th August 1920 presented the Australian professional sculling authorities with every conceivable advantage and opportunity to secure their sport’s future. Augmented by a sporting press that elevated the sport’s profile and enveloped the sport in a sovereign and loyalist agenda, professional sculling seemed high in the public’s favour.¹ In taking advantage of the excitement, the state sculling championship was revived and high-stakes handicaps were organised in Sydney and Brisbane and regattas were planned for Como, Woy Woy and Coraki.² The level of confidence in the sport’s popularity and status was reflected by professional sculling’s advance into Queensland.³

From a loyalist and imperial perspective, the public was captivated by the Prince of Wales’ Australian presence.⁴ This fascination also enhanced the presence of Ernest Barry and shrouded professional sculling with a sense of English resolution and sentiment. The sport’s fortunes were embraced further when the Prince of Wales interrupted his Australian itinerary to receive the world championship contenders in Barry and Alfred Felton.⁵ The professional sculling authorities had staked their sport’s survival on Barry’s Australian visit and it appeared that their expectations had been fulfilled for the Englishman’s presence had apparently transformed the sport in Australia.

It is in the above context that this chapter will examine the configuration of Australian professional sculling, in particular, the sculling

¹ Daily Examiner, 10 May 1920; Sun, 27 May 1920 p.3; Sun, 4 July 1920 p.5; Sun, 26 July 1920 p.7; Sun, 23 May 1920 p.7; Sun, 15 May 1920 p.5.
³ Sun, 23 May 1920 p.7; Sun, 12 September 1920 p.5; Brisbane Courier, 10 September 1920 p.3; Brisbane Courier, 11 September 1920 p.4.
⁴ Sun, 16 June 1920 pp.1, 7-9; Sydney Morning Herald, 16 June 1920 pp.9-12; Sydney Mail, 16 June 1920 pp.8-11, 20-21; Sun, 29 May 1920 p.1.
⁵ Sun, 24 June 1920 p.5; Sun, 27 June 1920 p.7.
authorities' resourcefulness and expertise in capitalising on a propitious situation as a means of investing in and securing the sport's viability. The chapter will also investigate the extent of the sculling authorities' loyalty to England and Englishmen and whether loyalist and imperial sentiments alone could sustain a professional sport that sustained a flimsy structural and organisational fabric. Some issues that will be considered include the connotative and denotative consequences for Australian patriotism and nationalism and whether the sculling authorities' loyalty consummated their expectations for the sport's betterment and direction.

The chapter will also examine whether the sculling authorities possessed sufficient perception and sophistication to interpret the significance of the Barry phenomenon and whether they understood the context of twentieth-century sport and, more specifically, the meaning of sport for a post-war society.

**Chinks In The Armour**

The overwhelming response to Barry's Australian arrival by civic leaders and rowing dignitaries emphasised his esteem and his perceived importance for increasing professional sculling's standing. His Australian engagement had also revived interest from pre-war scullers and those who had retired. There were critical signs, though, that the phenomenon was as fragile as it was resounding. Cracks appeared warning that the sport's lack of infrastructure could hinder the upswing. The Como regatta, which was conducted by the George's River Professional Sculling Club, soured some public confidence when Felton and Barry failed to appear. This was a reminder that the sport's bad habits still remained. A similar reminder was apparent when the much-publicised Woy Woy regatta was abandoned due to insufficient support from local and metropolitan sponsors.

The Sydney Handicap also suggested that events other than the championship were of only casual importance. The event was a disappointing preliminary attraction. It was the first major handicap since

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7 *Sun*, 8 June 1920 p.2; *Sun*, 27 June 1920 p.7; *Sportsman*, 14 July 1920 p.8.
8 *Sun*, 10 August 1920 p.4.
1912 and carried £300 prize money. It attracted the star scullers and included a nostalgic representation of veterans such as Charles Matterson and George Towns, but the attendance on the following steamers was poor and the promoters gained little profit. The "large crowd" upon the riverbanks suggested that the steamer charges were too expensive, but it also served as a reminder that the sport's nineteenth-century mindset remained.

When considering the social advances from the century's turn, which included Federation, improved technology and communications, high literacy, increased and diverse leisure pursuits, greater mobility, a strong arts appreciation, moving pictures, a revolution in popular culture and the effects from the Great War, it seems astonishing that the sculling authorities persisted with their archaic method of accommodating an increasingly discriminating public. The custom of one stationary and two following steamers to view racing had failed over the previous 30 years. Yet, a more urbane society was expected to embrace the same proposition it had rejected repeatedly in the past. The reliance on Barry's presence to attract the people seemed to substitute for any urgency in re-shaping the methods of accommodating the public. However, outdated thinking and practices had been and would be met scornfully.

**Pinpointing The Audience**

In asking for steamer prices of £1 and 10/-, the sculling authorities' eagerness to gain an immediate profit overlooked the public's expectations. Their greed further alienated the sport's working-class base. It has been demonstrated previously that regardless of who made-up the sculling

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9 Referee, 4 August 1920 p.11; Referee, 11 August 1920; Sun, 12 October 1920 p.5.
11 Referee, 23 September 1914 p.11; Sun, 2 April 1911 p.8.
12 Referee, 19 May 1920 p.1; Sun, 23 May 1920 p.7; Sun, 4 August 1920 p.7.
13 Referee, 28 July 1920 p.5; Referee, 4 August 1920 p.11; Referee, 11 August 1920 p.13.
hierarchy, the working class was considered of secondary importance to those with wealth. A similar mentality was applied post-war. The lure of fast money had once again ensured a non-paying, bumper crowd along the riverbanks.

The sculling authorities' whimsical notion that a flood of hopefuleṣ and the public would embrace the sport failed to address the question of why and from where this mass would appear. The generally accepted view of professional sculling by historians is that as a professional sport it was essentially working-class based, it was accessible to the working class and, therefore, the working class supported it.\(^\text{14}\) This was a fair assessment of the sport's rudimentary level. However, above the fundamental strata, costs for either the participant or the paying spectator were affordable only by the wealthy. An examination of simple economics suggests that the sport was inaccessible to the working class.

The country's general economic growth between 1889 and 1938 was 17\%, while post-war incomes were only 14\% higher than those of the pre-1890s depression.\(^\text{15}\) By 1920, the country was in recession, due mainly to falling world commodity prices, a reduction in exports and a lack of overseas finance.\(^\text{16}\) Industry had contracted its operations while employers sought to contain labour costs. By the end of 1920, an average weekly wage was calculated at £4/14/-, while £3/3/- was deemed to be the basic weekly wage. Average housing rental was marked at 28/4 per week while 43/- was the mean weekly grocery purchase.\(^\text{17}\) The 1920 Piddington Royal Commission suggested that a three-child family required £5/16/- as a minimum weekly


\(^{15}\) McLean, L., *Recovery From the 1890s Depression: Australia In An Argentine Mirror*, University Of Adelaide, paper presented at ALL-UC Economic History Conference, University Of California, Los Angeles, 3 June 1996, pp.3-4.


\(^{17}\) *Commonwealth Bureau Of Census And Statistics Year Book 1901-1920*, vol. 14 1921, Mitchell Library, Sydney, pp.1003, 1027.
wage.\textsuperscript{18} In this economic context the asking price of £1 or 10/- to board a
following steamer made a free riverbank view most appealing. It indicated,
also, that the sculling authorities were less concerned with catering for their
working-class supporters than with maximising their profit.

Professional scullers required a degree of financial outlay to
participate in the sport. John Blackman alluded to the cost of an outrigger
(£25+)\textsuperscript{19} as being too expensive for the would-be sculler, but other
incremental costs put serious participation outside the workingman’s reach.
For example, the individual freight costs for craft from Sydney to Brisbane
was £28.\textsuperscript{20} Added to this was training and living expenses of £30 per month
and competition fees, (£4 for the Sydney Handicap).\textsuperscript{21} The sport was viable
only to those men who were fortunate enough to have one of the few
remaining benefactors and/or personal wealth.\textsuperscript{22}

The sport was inaccessible to most of the working class and, being a
professional construct, it was contrary to the espoused middle-class ideology,
which evangelised the amateur ideal. The sport catered for neither the
working class nor the middle class and participants required some wealth or
subsidy. It may be concluded that the sculling authorities relied on the
nineteenth-century custom of the public embracing an organised activity
rather than the modern practice of defining an audience and competing to
attract that audience.\textsuperscript{23}

\textbf{Supporting The World Champion}

A further warning was issued to the sculling authorities when Felton
struggled to gather his championship stake money.\textsuperscript{24} It was assumed

\begin{footnotes}
\item[19] \textit{Sun}, 4 July 1920 p.5.
\item[20] Freight account to W. Ripley from G. Towns (4th November 1920) for Sydney to Brisbane return
haulage costs, Personal Clippings File.
\item[22] \textit{Sun}, 8 June 1920 p.2.
\item[23] Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.56-59; Cashman, op. cit., pp.54-71; Phillips, M., ‘Football, Class And
War: The Rugby Code In New South Wales, 1907-1918’, in, Nauright, J. & Chandler, T., (eds),
\textit{Making Men: Rugby And Masculine Identity}, Frank Cass, London, 1996, pp.162-175; Brawley, S.,
‘“Our Life Savers”: The Royal Life Saving Society And The Origins Of Surf Life Saving In
Federation Sydney’, in, Cashman, R., O’Han, J. & Honey, A., (eds), \textit{Sport, Federation, Nation},
\end{footnotes}
that as a champion, Felton would attract numerous backers. This was far from the case. His difficulty stemmed not from a reaction to his treatment of Paddon, nor from his contempt of the sport's hierarchy, but from a widely held belief that he was the Englishman's inferior. Irrespective of the fact that he was world champion who had defeated Barry easily on the Thames or that he exuded the aura of a typical Australian and a good soldier, most sportsmen conceded him only a remote hope of victory. It was a dreadful complication for the sculling authorities.

Their determination to accommodate the Englishman multiplied the problem. Although Barry had the luxury of the Daily Mail's subscription fund, the sculling authorities also treated the Englishman regally and he was promised unlimited support. There was no such assistance for Felton. He used £100 of his personal funds to cover Barry's challenge. He accumulated over £150 in debts to keep his match solvent and he was forced to cadge for his stake money up until a fortnight from the contest. Felton was so desperate that he even approached the Prince of Wales for assistance. Whereas the gamble was previously successful with Prime Minister Hughes, this time it failed. Felton's misfortune was mainly his own making. As champion, he could have controlled proceedings. Instead, he had frittered away his influence, which strengthened the Englishman's hold over the sport.

The sculling authorities were paying an extreme price to accommodate Barry. They had shunned their world championship laws, abetted Barry's one-race mission, surrendered their influence, dumped Paddon, failed to re-establish a supporter base, confined the sport to a select band of scullers, and had a world champion on the brink of forfeiture. Their unreal expectations of what the Englishman would do for the sport had preserved amnesia. Behind the sport's euphoric facade lay such unreason that further violations would duly relegate the sport to a tiresome pastime.

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25 Sydney Morning Herald, 21 August 1920 p.14; Referee, 25 August 1920 p.15; Sportsman, 25 August 1920 p.2; Sun, 27 August 1920 p.5.
26 Sun, 6 April 1920 p.2; Referee, 19 May 1920 p.1; Referee, 20 October 1920 p.4; Arrow, 5 November 1920 p.6.
27 Sun, 12 September 1920 p.2.
28 Ibid.
A “New” Player With A Master Plan

While the aquatic and public focus was on the world championship, Richard Arnst had been undertaking a strenuous fitness programme in order to reclaim the title. Arnst’s come back, at 37 years of age, was from necessity rather than grounded in sporting or ideological goals. He was devastated financially following the loss of his fishing business in January 1920.29 Whereas the sporting press glorified Arnst’s return, in reality the New Zealander was but a shadow of his former self.30

Nevertheless, the Barry, Felton and Paddon turmoil enabled Arnst to hijack the sport and use his manipulative skills to exclude superior challengers. Instead of flouting the world championship rules and regulations, he kept within their guidelines and capitalised on their ambiguities.31 By acting within the sport’s charter he further exposed the sculling authorities’ inadequacies.

Paddon had removed his deposit and challenge to Felton in May 1920. It was an academic exercise to substantiate his belief that he was the legitimate world champion32 and he counted on the sculling fraternity backing his claim. Instead, he had opened the door for Arnst who lodged his £100 deposit and challenged the winner of the Felton/Barry race. The usual custom was for a challenger to campaign against a defined champion.33 The world championship laws assumed that the person challenged was the world champion and this vagueness enabled Arnst to snare the first race at half-price. For Arnst to race the winner, two £100 deposits should have been lodged. However, as the sport was without a ruling body and was preoccupied with the Felton/Barry race such a matter was trivial and congruous with the sculling authorities’ weakness in policing their own laws.34

Arist’s challenge was clever strategy. Barry insisted that his Australian race was his last and if he won, Arnst could claim the championship by default. Arnst rated his chances as favourable against

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29 Sportsman, 3 March 1920 p.3; Sun, 8 August 1920 p.2; Referee, 25 August 1920 p.1.
30 Referee, 16 February 1921 p.1; Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15.
31 Arrow, 10 December 1920 p.15; Referee, 15 December 1920 p.16; Referee, 16 February 1921 p.11; Referee, 21 December 1921 p.13.
32 Referee, 14 July 1920 p.11; Sunday Times, 23 May 1920 p.3.
33 Referee, 16 February 1921 p.11.
34 Daily Standard, 10 September 1920; Referee, 15 December 1920; Referee, 10 August 1921.
Felton as he was coaching the world champion for the Barry match. Arnst too feared Paddon. To dispense with the latter even further, Arnst challenged Paddon for the Australian championship. Paddon, therefore, had two months to accept or forfeit his title. Similarly, the pair was obliged to race within four months.

**Felton v Barry**

The sport had had a dramatic increase in press coverage since Felton's Thames victory in October 1919. It had been resurrected to a major public spectacle and the world championship contest was expected to provide such a glorious climax that the sport would sustain public interest and support. The race day scene was reminiscent of the 'Golden Age'. Floods of dignitaries were present. These included the Governor General, the New South Wales premier, state and federal parliamentarians and leading businessmen. A crowd estimated at 100,000, by the Bulletin's correspondent, lined the Parramatta River, although other sources suggested a much larger attendance.

The race's immensity can be gauged when compared with the attendances drawn by other leading sports. For example, in rugby league, the Sydney versus England match in June drew 65,000 and the Australia versus England July game attracted 40,000. In thoroughbred racing, September's Chelmsford Stakes' day drew 40,000, while the October carnival attracted 75,000 for Derby day, 30,000 to the Epsom Handicap and 41,000 to the Metropolitan Handicap meeting. As these sports offered regular competition and had an established supporter base, it showed that professional sculling still had the capacity to draw a massive crowd to its grand events.

Public interest in the sport was demonstrated by the turnout for the championship. What was highlighted by the day's attendance was the

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36 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 August 1920 p.9; *Referee*, 1 September 1920 p.16.
37 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1920 p.9; *Referee*, 1 September 1920 p.16.
38 *Bulletin*, 12 August 1920 p.38; *Daily Telegraph*, 30 August 1920 p.8; *Referee*, 1 September 1920 p.16.
sculling authorities' inability to pull together, harness this overwhelming public support and capitalise on the opportunities to secure the sport's future. Instead, they had obliged a handful of profiteers with the sport's control and fortunes. It seemed that the sculling authorities were not prepared to muster themselves and create a legacy for the sport. An examination of the sport's lethargy confirms that backers' numbers were small, the sport's costs were rising and scullers were aggrieved that profits were mediocre. In such a depressed environment it was predictable that scullers and their backers would 'gut' the sport in order to maximise their returns. It was obvious that by obliging these profiteers the sport's heart and fabric would be consumed by the few.

The Felton and Barry camps were uncompromising in maximising their profits. The sport was used as an expendable tool to gain that profit and the public was bled of its goodwill. The high expenses demanded, normally drawn from the public, at times devalued the championship's importance. Arnst started the trend in 1910 and 1912 by demanding amounts of £300 and £750 respectively, however, Barry pursued an extreme. His demand of £2,000 to race in Australia consisted of £500 stake money and £1,500 expenses. The £50 Barry had offered Fogwell (1911) and Paddon (1914) to race on the Thames paled in comparison. The backers who found Barry's £500 stake money would be recompensed if he won, however, the public subscribers who amassed the £1,500 expenses were unlikely to be compensated. Expenses money was regarded generally as the public's purchase of a piece of patriotism or nationalism.

For the Felton/Barry race both camps strived for the greatest return. The public was charged £10 to board the 'umpire's' steamer whereas for previous championships £3 was the maximum price. On two occasions a £10 seating charge was asked, but these were for a small, exclusive area on the umpire's boat. The second following steamer's charge was 31/6 while £1 was asked for the stationary vessel. It was estimated that each man would

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41 Arnst demanded £750 but received only £500 from Barry in 1912.
42 *Sportsman*, 23 September 1914 p.3; *Sun*, 4 June 1911 p.3; *Sun*, 25 June 1911 p.15.
receive £1,000 from the gate. The exorbitant steamer prices again underlined that working-class support was considered inconsequential. Exclusionism, though, was a recurrent theme and conspicuous at the sport's big events and the settlements. The sport, however, practised egalitarianism when funding was required. Much criticism was levelled at the public when subscription lists were not filled or the public watched freely from the riverbanks.

Profit, though, fractured bonhomie. This was realised quickly when press photographers were banned from the umpire's steamer. It was an ungrateful decision by Felton and Barry towards a press that had advocated and sold the match to the public. Whereas the two protagonists could move on from the sport, the sculling authorities and public would shoulder the consequences. The press had served an admirable purpose for the men, however, the film rights were more lucrative. These had been sold to the Fox Film Corporation, as were the subsequent still photographs.

The sculling authorities' faith in the big race seemed justified and the sport as a showcase was being authenticated for the first time in the post-war era. However, all the anticipation and optimism went awry as the public witnessed a debacle and an unforgettable impression that the sport was indeed shady. Felton led for the first-half of the race, but passing the mile-and-a-half point Barry crashed into him. Felton appealed for a foul but umpire William Beach ordered the scullers to continue. Barry responded to the call whereas Felton refrained and the Englishman rowed on to claim the world championship.

**The Discharging Ulcer**

The race's aftermath produced bitter conflict. Felton accused Beach of partiality and contended that his ambiguous instructions caused him to
cease sculling, as he believed he would be awarded the race.\textsuperscript{50} Most of the sculling authorities insisted that he should be a good sport and accept the ruling.\textsuperscript{51} These calls were an attempt to abate embarrassment and protect the sport from additional criticism.

The failure to establish a controlling body to govern and arbitrate on championships and disputes arising opened the sport to further ridicule. Felton had no authority to protest or appeal to over Beach's decision. Without a support system, he applied for a Supreme Court injunction to halt the stake money payment to Barry.\textsuperscript{52} Felton desired a re-match for the stake money only, which suggested that the championship title was incidental to the players' moneymaking processes.

Barry litigated to stop Felton and the Fox Film Corporation from screening the world championship race and other unauthorised race pictures.\textsuperscript{53} He contended that a pre-race agreement gave the world champion the sole film rights. The courts were an unseemly direction for the sport's championship level,\textsuperscript{54} but one that resulted from a passive and unstructured organisation that encouraged the speculator to feather and protect one's nest.

Upon Felton dropping his legal proceedings, the Englishman created another controversy by refusing to accept the stake money.\textsuperscript{55} He insisted that his Australian visit was for altruistic reasons and emphasised that he had strict instructions to win the world championship for England, no more, no less. Barry advised that the stake money was to be sent directly to the London \textit{Daily Mail}. He reiterated, "I am going to show the people that I didn't come out here for money",\textsuperscript{56} although Barry's demand would avoid currency exchange duty and there is no evidence to suggest that his share of the gate money or his film royalties were passed onto charity organisations.

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 30 August 1920 p.10; \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 31 August 1920 p.4.
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Referee}, 1 September 1920 p.16; \textit{Sportsman}, 1 September 1920 pp.1, 5; \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 1 September 1920 p.13.
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Sun}, 31 August 1920 p.7.
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Sun}, 1 September 1920 p.5.
\textsuperscript{54} Legal action was not uncommon in the sport's minor ranks. See, \textit{Australian Oarsman}, 10 December 1942 pp.4-5; \textit{Referee}, 15 April 1891 p.1; \textit{Referee}, 27 January 1887 p.5; \textit{Referee}, 10 February 1887 p.4.
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Referee}, 8 September 1920 p.14.
Reality Bites

On a broader perspective, the Englishman's visit, which had promised to resurrect professional sculling, failed dismally. The world championship race amassed a record attendance, but part of this was due to a sense of occasion. The sculling authorities had sacrificed their sport to accommodate the Englishman. In return, they had received an abysmal title race, lost the championship, gained a suspicious public and they were clueless as to how to re-gather. Adding to its woes was the poor public support and financial debit of the Brisbane carnival, which was conducted in the weeks after the world championship.\textsuperscript{57} The championship contest did, however, stir the sporting press.

The \textit{Sun} suggested that world championship contests were "perilously close to being mere money-making stunts."\textsuperscript{58} Unfortunately for the sport, this provocation was not broached until after the title race. It was a timid call by the \textit{Sun} which had acted as stakeholder and collaborated with the other publications and sculling authorities to create a saviour in Barry. Similarly, the \textit{Sun}'s cry for an independent controlling body to oversee a re-drawn set of championship rules and regulations was so obvious that it lacked impact. The \textit{Sun}'s hard line was selective and failed to address the sport's overall malaise.

Richard Coombes also called for a board of control and a restructuring of the rules and regulations.\textsuperscript{59} He at last championed Paddon's case and voiced his outrage at the Australian's inability to gain a race for the world title. Coombes admitted that Felton and Barry had contravened the championship laws and he suggested that Arnst was playing at gamesmanship.\textsuperscript{60} However, Coombes had had nearly a year to denounce the misconduct and to push Paddon's case. It appeared that Coombes' imperial sympathies were stronger than his convictions for the need to overhaul the sport.

These earnest calls for boards of control and observance or a

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Referee}, 22 September 1920 p.15; \textit{Sun}, 12 October 1920 p.5.
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Sun}, 12 September 1920 p.2.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Referee}, 1 September 1920 p.9.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}
review of the championship rules and regulations shirked the matter of the
sport's overall disorganisation and lack of leadership. They were also a
cover to absolve the sporting press' complicity in creating the world
championship disaster. This argument is enhanced by its about-face in
supporting Barry's suggestion that a sweepstake should determine the next
world champion instead of the traditional (and chartered) handover. 61
Coombes was ecstatic with the proposal, "even though sticklers for the rules
may say it is not correct procedure." 62 Mason believed that Arnst was such a
good sport that "he would be an agreeable party." 63

It is arguable as to whether this satisfaction would have lasted if
England had possessed another first-class waterman. Barry hinted that this
deficiency was one reason why he had suggested the sweepstake. 64 If
Felton had won the championship race, it was doubtful that calls for
organisation and control would have surfaced. An Australian victory would
have justified the processes used to bring the match into being and it was
probable that Australia would have held the championship for a considerable
period.

All that was achieved in ferrying Barry to Australia was a wealthier
Englishman. From the moment he arranged a re-match with Felton in 1919,
he manipulated the Australian sculling fraternity and the sport's loose
controls. He extracted enormous profit and returned to England as a hero.
To achieve these ends he required more than an illustrious career, his
soldiering and his Englishness. To gain supremacy he needed a pliant
opponent and a fawning sculling fraternity, which the Australians supplied
gladly. They acquiesced in the Englishman's sense of superiority and helped
him willingly to subvert the sport. Even in the championship's aftermath and
"taking everything into consideration [that] the outlook for the professionals is
anything but bright", 65 the locals pleaded with Barry to take 'Home' a
favourable report on Australia and its people. 66 What else could he do?

62 Ibid.
63 Sun, 12 October 1920 p.5.
64 Referee, 29 September 1920 p.9.
65 Sun, 12 October 1920 p.5.
66 Sydney Morning Herald, 2 September 1920 p.7; Daily Telegraph, 2 September 1920 p.5; Referee,
20 October 1920 p.14; Arrow, 5 November 1920 p.6.
Conclusions

The Felton/Barry procession exposed professional sculling's defects and in the process further wounded an ailing sport. The sport's disorganisation, its apathy and loose controls enabled the protagonists much latitude to interpret and improvise their understanding of the sport's meaning and culture. Driven by profit and embellished with psychic income, Felton and Barry steadily eroded the sport's fragile composition to secure their influence and power, which bled the sport irreparably. Felton used his champion status to advantage while Barry exercised his reputation and his Englishness to subvert opposition and enhance the adulators. The Englishman conducted his Australian tour as a crusade to conquer for England and prove the superiority of his 'race'.

A weak, unstructured and complacent professional sculling fraternity strengthened the protagonist's endeavours. Bereft of ideas to animate the sport, the sculling authorities and the sporting press were desperate for a saviour and a miracle. Barry was perceived as both. He appeared to be an expedient and comfortable option in the sport's resurrection more so than the toil required to establish a structured, managed and accountable system. The sculling authorities convinced themselves that one big race featuring the Englishman would right the sport's ills. He would attract copious numbers of scullers, mesmerise the public and take 'Home' a glowing report on the country and its people. But in their obsession to produce that miracle, they offered Barry an unrestricted and unobstructed hand. In doing so, they sacrificed the sport's prominence, integrity, public confidence and any chance of a long-term, popular future.

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CHAPTER NINE

DYSFUNCTION AND IMPERIAL AND LOYALIST LEGACIES

The Australian professional sculling authorities had relinquished their influence and significance at a time when the sport desperately needed leadership and control. Their lack of foresight contributed to the rise of the profiteers and the emergence of self-interested parties that shied away from Sydney and the Sydney sculling fraternity. The Felton/Barry world championship contest had failed to achieve a semblance of the expected public support or an influx of sportsmen for professional sculling. If the Felton/Barry match had failed to demonstrate sufficiently the sport's unsavoury practices and the need for collective action, then Richard Arnst's misappropriation of the sport, under the guise of adhering to the world championship rules and regulations, confirmed the sport's irresponsibility and the sculling authorities' desire to avoid accountability.

This chapter will examine the reasons why the sculling authorities evaded responsibility in the post-Barry era. Besides their failure to restructure the sport, the chapter will focus mainly on the factors that contributed to their passiveness and how these particularised their lack of commitment.

Of particular importance will be the examination of one influential school of thought, which accepted that a laissez-faire approach should determine the functionality and direction of professional sculling. It will be assessed as to whether this belief reinforced the sport's ingrained problems and assisted in its ongoing deterioration and whether it also provided a convenient excuse for the sculling authorities to shirk the task of organising and rebuilding their sport. The examination will also consider whether this viewpoint, through its opposition to the dominant and accepted ideology and hegemony, thus failed to provide a source of meaning and genuineness for Australian society. The chapter will also examine the consequences of the
sport's lack of continuity and whether this decreased its significance as a cultural, racial and symbolic benchmark and resulted in its image as a lowly contributor to society's betterment.

A further focus is the extent to which those proponents, who believed that liberal forces should guide professional sculling, ignored the evolution of other sports into world authorities with established complex infrastructures and networks. Another consideration will be whether professional sculling had become more detached by relying on impromptu challenges and intermittent competition.

The chapter will also examine the importance of imperial ties, but in the context that the proponents of liberalism protected England's sovereignty and ensured its pretentiousness on status alone and vice versa. In contrast, it will be investigated whether organised professional sculling, with controlling bodies and a centralised authority, would have exposed England's feebleness and its incapacity to be a productive and serious contributor. The examination of imperial ties will also suggest that the sculling authorities' loyalty to England clouded their vision that America, as a leading professional and commercial nation, was an open source for adaptable organisational models and managerial and marketing expertise.

Fearing The Australian

At the conclusion of the September 1920 Brisbane Handicap carnival, Richard Arnst's gamesmanship appeared to have been frustrated by a challenge from William Ripley. Ripley asked for a £500 a side match "either before or after Arnst formally receives the world championship by forfeit from Ernie Barry". Sculling experts considered Ripley on par with Paddon and although he was the state heavy-boat champion, Ripley had been drawn from retirement to join the Newcastle crew in the inaugural May 1920 state Butcher Boat Championship. The Towns clan was adamant that he should

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continue and urged him to switch to the outrigger. His first match in August 1920 was for the state outrigger championship. So decisive was his victory that his supporters believed he was superior to Arnst.

Ripley's challenge was expected to force Arnst's hand but it in fact enabled the New Zealander to procrastinate further. He had three months to accept Ripley's challenge, which enabled him to suspend negotiations. Paddon and Ripley, though, would never be seriously threatened by Arnst, instead, offered the first championship race to fellow New Zealander James 'Paddy' Hannan. The pair agreed to race on the £500 stake in June 1921. Paddon's position was always secure as Felton and Barry went to extraordinary lengths to avoid racing the champion. Ripley committed a fatal error in lodging a £25 deposit challenge instead of £100. Under the world championship conditions, a £25 deposit was sufficient for men competing from the same country, however, £100 was required if those competing were from different nations.

Although Arnst had abided by the championship laws, his motives were purely profit driven. He was Hannan's superior and he anticipated a sizeable gate, as their match would be New Zealand's first world championship race since 1910. Hannan, in his mid-30s, was the self-acclaimed New Zealand champion, a title he had assumed in vague circumstances. His sudden withdrawal from a domestic championship match, upon Arnst's invitation, suggested that the world championship race would be a convenient moneymaking exercise for the pair. However, the sport's credibility would suffer further because the Arnst/Hannan world championship race was a substandard contest.

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4 Sun, 2 March 1920 p.3; Daily Examiner, 10 May 1920; Referee, 18 August 1920.
5 Raymond Terrace Examiner, 27 August 1920.
6 Arrow, 24 September 1920 p.11; Referee, 29 December 1920 p.9.
7 Referee, 29 December 1920 p.9; Referee, 2 February 1921 p.15; Appendix 3.
8 Referee, 13 April 1921 p.16; Lang, J., The Victorian Oarsman With A Rowing Register, A.H. Massina, Melbourne, 1919, p.334.
9 Marlborough Express, 11 June 1921; Marlborough Express, 13 June 1921; Referee, 26 January 1921 p.13.
10 Referee, 8 December 1920 p.11; Arrow, 10 December 1920 p.15; Referee, 15 December 1920 p.16.
11 Referee, 15 December 1920 p.16; Referee, 22 December 1920 p.11; Referee, 25 May 1921 p.13; Australian Oarsman, in, The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly, 10 January 1942 p.15.
No Rhyme Or Reason

While the Australian professional sculling authorities condemned Arnst's flagrant sidestepping of the Australians, they grudgingly accepted his right to claim the world championship and his judiciousness in abiding by the world championship rules and regulations.\textsuperscript{12} Where they had condoned Barry's breaking of the championship conditions, they were now supporting Arnst's strict adherence to them. In both cases they had derailed Paddon. It was suggested that at least five Australian scullers were Arnst's superior, the New Zealand amateur Darcy Hadfield was regarded as better than his compatriot and in Hannan's case, the novices Dolby and Goodsell were keen to match him, while the 40-year-old William Fogwell also wanted a race.\textsuperscript{13}

The sculling authorities were mindful that Barry had used them for his personal gain and they were furious that Arnst was taking them for another ride.\textsuperscript{14} Yet, there were very few of them with the courage to take a stand. Australia's professional sculling strength alone was a reasonable basis for Australian officials to exert some control and direction for the sport. However, they were content to complain about Arnst and his motives\textsuperscript{15} and to utter weak threats not to recognise the Arnst/Hannan match as a world championship contest.\textsuperscript{16}

While the lack of any judicial body made these threats unenforceable, it was also hypocritical talk and by no means an action towards control. Arnst was maintaining the tradition that a world champion could manipulate his position to establish the best winning chance and the most profit. Arnst's fault was his blatancy and clever persuasion. It became far easier for the sculling authorities to bluff and bluster than to insist that their champion Paddon, or even Ripley, be matched with Arnst.

\textsuperscript{12} Referee, 15 December 1920 p.16; Referee, 16 February 1921 p.1; Referee, 20 April 1921 p.15; Daily Examiner, 2 May 1921 p.4; Sun, 10 May 1921 p.4; Sun, 11 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 12 June 1921 p.5.

\textsuperscript{13} Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15; Referee, 20 April 1921 p.15; Referee, 21 December 1921 p.13.

\textsuperscript{14} Referee, 16 February 1921 p.1.

\textsuperscript{15} Referee, 16 February 1921 p.1; Referee, 13 April 1921 p.16; Sun, 11 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 12 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 12 September 1920 p.2.

\textsuperscript{16} Sun, 12 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 10 May 1921 p.4.
Opposing Forces

Whereas the sculling officials and the press had spent an enormous amount of energy in accommodating Barry, there was no such commitment following his world championship contest. Without methodology to make the most out of Barry's visit, the whole exercise had been a waste of time and effort. The sport's anticipated influx of participants and support was not remotely realised.\textsuperscript{17} Those with the capacity to organise the sport at a domestic level appeared dispirited. The Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club had faded, the George's River Professional Sculling Club offered monthly minor races for its club members, but overall the sport had all but collapsed.\textsuperscript{18}

The onus of sustaining the sport, therefore, befell those few who themselves were striving for profit and/or prestige and those sculling enthusiasts who held genuine concerns. This scenario had an all too familiar history since the world championship's introduction in 1876.

James Paddon was one, and, he appealed to the Referee to form an authority and a governing framework for the sport.\textsuperscript{19} His plea suggested his faith in Richard Coombes, but it also indicated his diminished regard for other sculling authority members. Of course, their pro-Barry stand had displaced the Australian champion from the sport's front-line. He pledged that he would forego world honours unless an authority was established to control world championship contests.\textsuperscript{20} Whether he expected to motivate the sculling authorities is arguable, however, from his previous experience he must have expected disappointment.

Ernest Barry indicated, from England, that he had dismissed Arnst's world championship claim. He suggested that each professional sculling nation should provide its best sculler who would then meet to decide the world champion.\textsuperscript{21} While the suggestion seemed equitable and it could have led to a world authority, his primary motive was to discredit Arnst. Barry

\textsuperscript{17} Sun, 12 October 1920 p.5; Referee, 29 December 1920 p.9.
\textsuperscript{18} Sun, 27 April 1920 p.7; Arrow, 24 September 1920 p.11; Sun, 12 October 1920 p.5; Referee, 25 January 1922 p.13; Referee, 26 April 1922 p.9.
\textsuperscript{19} Referee, 2 February 1921 p.15; Referee, 13 July 1921 p.15.
\textsuperscript{20} Referee, 2 February 1921 p.15.
\textsuperscript{21} Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 16 February 1921 p.11; Referee, 6 April 1921 p.8; Referee, 11 May 1921 p.14.
believed that he should remain champion until his successor was found.

The English professional rowing authorities moved to form a board of control to find an Englishman to replace Barry. They, too, refuted Arnst's claim.22 The English stand was a clear message that England was the controlling power and that the 'colonies' should fall into line or face alienation. The loyalist movement within Australian professional sculling proposed that Paddon, Ripley and William McDevitt should decide who was Australia's best and the winner would then race England's best for the world championship.23 In theory, this situation would provide the legitimate world champion and boycott the New Zealanders.

There were also some of the New Zealand rowing fraternity who viewed Arnst's claim unfavourably, however, rowing supporters generally welcomed a domestic world champion.24 Their support intensified at the inference that the other nations were considering New Zealand exclusion. As far as most New Zealanders were concerned their men had adhered to the world championship conditions and the Arnst/Hannan June 1921 match would be for the world title.25

Converging Viewpoints

Richard Coombes, who was opposed to the match and to Arnst's motive and method, agreed that under the world championship conditions both Arnst's claim and the Hannan match were correct.26 He warned the New Zealand rowing fraternity to either embrace Arnst as the legitimate world champion or throw away the championship rules and regulations.27 For Coombes, the latter option was indefensible. He had emerged from the Felton/Barry contest as the staunchest advocate of a controlling body to enforce the championship rules and regulations.28 In contrast with his pre-

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22 Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15; Referee, 20 April 1921 p.16.
23 Referee, 23 March 1921 p.11; Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15; Referee, 20 April 1921 p.15; Sun, 10 May 1921 p.4; Arrow, 13 May 1921 p.5; Sun, 11 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 12 June 1921 p.5.
24 Referee, 29 June 1921 p.9.
25 Referee, 11 May 1921 p.14; Marlborough Express, 11 June 1921; Marlborough Express, 13 June 1921; Sun, 15 June 1921 p.10; Referee, 29 June 1921 p.9.
26 Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 20 April 1921 p.15; Referee, 20 April 1921 p.16; Referee, 16 February 1921 p.11.
27 Referee, 29 June 1921 p.9.
28 Referee, 1 September 1920 p.9; Arrow, 17 September p.14; Arrow, 10 December 1920 p.15; Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 15 June 1921 p.8; Referee, 25 November 1921 p.13.
war and early post-war position and unlike 'Coxswain', in the Sun, who propagated the loyalist thought, Coombes' pragmatism towards professional sculling clouded his imperial and English sentiments. He became the sport's harshest critic.

He commended aspects of the proposals to decide Barry's successor, but he was disappointed by the Englishman's pomposity and his coarse disregard of the championship conditions. He was less tolerant of the English professional rowing authorities who were seeking Barry's successor. He reiterated that regardless of the English thought or action, Arnst was the legitimate champion by means of legitimate procedure.

Coombes criticised the sculling hierarchy for not establishing a board of control while Barry and a wide representation of rowing enthusiasts were present in Sydney during the world championship period. He warned the professionals that if they failed to establish an organised system and a means of control then the public would unequivocally decide the sport's destiny. He believed that the Arnst/Hannan world championship match was inferior to the Australian and New South Wales titles and he challenged the sculling hierarchy to work with him and establish a board of control.

Darcy Hadfield, the New Zealand amateur champion, weighed into the squabble. He was revered as one of the world's greatest amateur scullers, and upon achieving most amateur rowing honours, it was speculated that he would turn professional. He was critical of those, with the authority to rectify the matter, in allowing the sport's professional branch and the public's interest to fade away. He suggested that there was little incentive for an amateur to turn professional and aspire to a world championship.

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29 Sun, 12 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 11 June 1921 p.5; Sun, 10 May 1921 p.4; Sun, 15 June 1921 p.10.
30 Referee, 1 September 1920 p.9; Arrow, 17 September 1920 p.14; Arrow, 10 December 1920 p.15; Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 15 June 1921 p.8; Referee, 23 November 1921 p.13.
31 Referee, 16 February 1921 pp.1, 11; Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15.
32 Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15.
33 Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11; Referee, 1 September 1920 p.9; Arrow, 17 September 1920 p.14; Referee, 2 February 1921 p.15.
34 Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 16 February 1921 p.1.
35 Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11; Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12.
37 Referee, 20 April 1921 p.16.
He spoke candidly that, "If you were to ask some of the best sporting men of to-day for backing for a sculling race, they would be just as likely as not to ask you if it is with one oar or two. But ask them for a boxing stake, and they won't ask you if it is with or without gloves."38

Hadfield argued that the sport's lack of backers was not a substantial reason to blame for the sport's decline. He believed that poor organisation and leadership were the major contributors particularly the irregularity of competition and the loose conduct of the sport. He called for the Australian and New Zealand sculling authorities to form a controlling body and a set(s) of definite rules and insisted that they needed to act immediately or the sport's viability would be lost.39

Sober Amateurism

Hadfield's prognoses supported the views of Coombes, Mason from the *Sun* and John Blackman.40 One aspect arising from Hadfield's observations was his liberal interpretation of that defining line between an amateur and a professional rower. The New South Wales Rowing Association engineered a very strict demarcation between the amateur and the professional.41 The NSWRA's stringent separation excluded the bulk of the New South Wales country rowing clubs, but it also denied competition against New Zealand's amateur crews.42

There were similarities between the New Zealand Amateur Rowing Association's amateur definition and the conduct of the New South Wales

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid; It is interesting to note that Hadfield recognised Australia's leadership of the sport and asked Coombes for a ruling over Arnst's world champion claim.
40 *Sun*, 27 April 1920 p.7; *Sun*, 20 January 1920 p.3; *Sydney Mail*, 7 July 1890 p.1277; *Sydney Mail*, 6 July 1891 p.1282; *Sydney Mail*, 21 September 1901 p.763.
country rowing clubs. The NZARA permitted professional sportsmen to row as amateurs so long as they abided by and upheld the sport's amateur code and conditions.\(^{43}\) As well, New Zealand amateur oarsmen could race for prize money. The purse, though, had to be donated to an oarsman's rowing club for the upkeep on boats and boathouses.\(^{44}\)

Hadfield had evolved from New Zealand's more flexible amateur definition. This, combined with his global experiences, contributed to his relaxed interpretation of a sporting ethos. His attitude was closer to an American leaning, which prescribed that once an amateur sportsman had exhausted all amateur sporting levels he could venture accordingly into the professional ranks.\(^{45}\)

While the New South Wales amateur rowing officials were militant if professionalism encroached on their territory, they offered their assistance to the sport's professional branch if it operated independently and restricted its influence into the amateur enclaves.\(^{46}\) The professional sculling disorder drew in the amateur stalwart, Nat McDonald, who was also a significant personality in professional sculling and spoke with authority on professional matters. He had officiated at most of the professional carnivals over the previous 20 years and he was also one of the drafters of the 1906 world championship rules and regulations. McDonald had demonstrated his pragmatism towards Australian and international professional sculling as a founding official of the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club.\(^{47}\)

He suggested that the lead to halt the sport's degeneration should come from Australia and the solution should be relayed throughout the representative countries.\(^{48}\) He believed that Coombes was an able mediator

\(^{43}\) Referee, 10 January 1912 p.10; Referee, 8 October 1913 p.11; Referee, 21 April 1920 p.11.

\(^{44}\) Referee, 10 January 1912 p.10; Referee, 8 October 1913 p.11; Referee, 21 April 1920 p.11; Sun, 2 March 1920 p.3.


\(^{46}\) Referee, 5 February 1913 p.11; Referee, 12 February 1913 p.11; Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11; Referee, 25 August 1920 p.1; Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11.

\(^{47}\) Referee, 5 February 1913 p.11; Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11; Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11.

\(^{48}\) Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11.
and administrator and he encouraged the professionals to correlate and utilise their resources to rectify the sport's problems.

However, the professional sculling authorities ignored McDonald's advice and Coombes' conciliatory offer. It appeared that they had conceded that they could do no more and it seemed that the time and effort required for the professionals to club together was as burdensome as committing themselves to maintaining the sport by means of organisation and control.

It was an incongruous situation. The professionals demonstrated no urgency to rectify the sport's ills, they seemed resigned to the sport petering out and they offered no resistance to the championship's devaluation. On the other hand, it was the amateur rowing enthusiasts who wished to convene and address the sport's misfortune, and it was they who implored the professionals to demonstrate grit and leadership to save the sport. In all, it was the amateurs who showed the greatest concern for professional sculling.

The Unconcerned

It is an open question as to why the professional sculling authorities were slow to react to the sport's disintegration. In the early post-war period the professionals lacked commitment to group together and forge a practical definition and a workable framework. They had also failed to take advantage of Barry's presence. A similar lack of commitment shadowed Australian professional sculling strength. Although Australia's supremacy had been consistent since 1876, even this historical advantage failed to motivate the sculling authorities in assuming an authoritative position.

The sport's abandonment during the Great War had led to the loss of the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League and the collapse of the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club. The Referee administered

49 Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.7; Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11; Referee, 15 June 1921 p.8; Referee, 23 November 1921 p.13.
50 Referee, 2 February 1921 p.15; Referee, 18 May 1921 p.11; Referee, 13 July 1921 p.15; Referee, 22 March 1922 p.11.
51 Sun, 20 January 1920 p.3; Sun, 27 April 1920 p.7; Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12.
52 Sun, 12 September 1920 p.2; Referee, 22 September 1920 p.15; Sun, 12 October 1920 p.5.
53 See, Chapter Six.
the national championship\textsuperscript{54} and the champion and his principals controlled the world championship. Whereas the Great War ended the League and crippled the PRPSC, the national and world titles survived. Their composition remained unaffected, but it appeared too debilitating for the sculling officials to start again and seemed simpler for them to allow the sport to follow its more traditional, unbridled path.

\textbf{Meaning, Attitude, Outcome}

George Towns possibly influenced the sport to resume loosely after the war.\textsuperscript{55} Pre-war, the PRPSC and the League operated from his Gladesville establishment. The amateurs took up tenancy of his premises during the war.\textsuperscript{56} For the professionals to access land and erect a boatshed and suitable facilities, the cost would have been in excess of £2,000.\textsuperscript{57} Such a solution was unfeasible. It was much simpler for the individual match racers to be absorbed into the Towns and Kemp sheds.

Towns had emerged from the war involved predominantly with the amateurs. His establishment quartered the New South Wales Rowing Association, the Henley Rowing Club, the Gladesville Boy’s Club and various others.\textsuperscript{58} He was mentoring crews and scullers, most notably Arthur Baynes the Australian amateur champion, whom he was planning to accompany to England for the prestigious Diamond Sculls.\textsuperscript{59} Towns, who had pioneered the PRPSC and the League, had not relinquished his association with the professionals. His executive role had given way to that of mentor and adviser. He accommodated and assisted in the training of those engaged in match racing and his facilities were at Barry’s disposal while the Englishman was in Sydney. From the war’s end, Towns was immersed in his boatbuilding business. His workshops were so taxed that some of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{54} Referee, 24 December 1912 p.11.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Sun, 20 January 1920 p.3; Referee, 20 October 1920 p.14; Sun, 24 May 1921 p.4; Referee, 2 August 1922 p.9.
\item \textsuperscript{56} May, op. cit., p.72.
\item \textsuperscript{57} May, op. cit., pp.85, 87.
\item \textsuperscript{58} The New South Wales Rowing Association allowed its lease at George Towns’ shed to lapse in 1919 because Towns required extra space for his own enterprises; See, New South Wales Rowing Association Minutes Of Monthly Committee Meeting, 8 July 1919.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Referee, 5 March 1919 p.8; Referee, 8 June 1921 p.15; Referee, 15 June 1921 p.8.
\end{itemize}
amateur rowing clubs were forced to venture interstate to find suitable craft. 60

There were other factors that contributed to the professionals' failure to come together and build an organised framework. The self-indulgence of those concerned with the world championship has been discussed previously. However, the predilection of the holders of the domestic titles aggravated inclinations by the sculling authorities to organise the sport.

For example, James Paddon the Australian champion was a successful Evans Head businessman. His interests included oyster leases, fishing, subleasing, farming and tourism. 61 He relied little on professional sculling to earn or supplement his income. His business interests dictated when he participated in the sport and there was little reason for him to leave his local area. 62 Between 1912 and 1921 Paddon raced only three times for the Australian championship. Twice he was obligated to race on the Parramatta River, although he resisted as much as possible in favour of Richmond River contests. A race for the national championship against William Ripley in 1922 hardly reached beyond the suggestion stage. Paddon refused to row anywhere other than the Richmond and Ripley wouldn't oblige. 63

Regionalism also influenced his approach to the sport. Not only did his feats bring him personal success and local status, but they also contributed to the district's regional pride and recognition. 64 The April 1921 Australian championship race had lured Richard Coombes from Sydney. Coombes was surprised at the level of local support and the attendance for the race (3,000). He also rated the Richmond River course superior to the Parramatta River. 65 The Grafton Daily Examiner suggested that the contest had placed the Woodburn village "upon the sculling map for all time." 66 Besides the 3,000 strong crowd that came from various north coast centres, the animated sight of 200 motor vehicles parked along the riverbank

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60 Sun, 24 May 1921 p.4.
61 Referee, 12 February 1919 p.8; Northern Star, 11 December 1919 p.4; Sun, 18 April 1922 p.4.
62 Referee, 25 February 1920 p.15; Sydney Morning Herald, 31 August 1920 p.9; Referee, 1 September 1920 p.16; Referee, 13 July 1921 p.15; Referee, 7 September 1921 p.15; Sportsman, 16 December 1924 p.1.
63 Referee, 29 June 1921 p.9; Referee, 7 September 1921 p.15.
64 Northern Star, 2 May 1921 p.4; Referee, 4 May 1921 p.11.
65 Northern Star, 4 May 1921 p.3; Referee, 4 May 1921 p.11.
66 Daily Examiner, 2 May 1921 p.4.
indicated the importance the race held for the various communities. The *Northern Star* summed up the feelings fostered by regional sentiment. It indicated why communities were proud of themselves and their own.

Paddon is of our soil; he has been brought up and has lived amongst us all his life; he has learnt to attain his proficiency on the bosom of our waters, and as a grateful son he has paid us the honour of bringing the determination of Australia's best oarsman to his alma mater - the Richmond.\(^{67}\)

Given such testimony, his district standing and the success of businesses, and comparing these privileges with his treatment by the Sy sculling fraternity, it is understandable that Paddon needed neither Syd nor the sculling authorities to retain his supremacy and his status within the sport.

As Australian and eventually world champion, after his defeat of Hadfield in New Zealand in 1922, he defended all his title races away from Sydney. His world title defence against Darcy Hadfield on the Richmond River in July 1923 brought criticism from the Sydney personnel who were insulted that the Parramatta River was overlooked. The Richmond River crowd, estimated between 10,000 and 15,000, helped justify Paddon's decision as the gate "far exceeded anything likely to have been handled on the Parramatta."\(^{68}\)

His race in August 1924 on the Brisbane River, held on a Tuesday, drew a record crowd. "The gate would have startled the Sydney sculling fraternity."\(^{69}\) Paddon was again criticised for ignoring Sydney in his September 1924 defence against Major Goodsell.\(^{70}\) He suggested that the sculling authorities should remember their "contribution" towards him gaining the world championship before they criticised his actions.\(^{71}\)

Paddon required little Sydney influence to maintain his position in the sport. His approach to professional sculling was not one of financial

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\(^{67}\) *Northern Star*, 30 April 1921 p.4.

\(^{68}\) *Referee*, 25 July 1923 pp.1, 16.

\(^{69}\) *Sportsman*, 12 August 1924 p.7; *Brisbane Courier*, 13 August 1924 p.7.

\(^{70}\) Major was his first name and not an armed services’ commission.

\(^{71}\) *Referee*, 3 September 1924 p.14.
necessity but one of psychic income and embellishment of his business concerns and his region. While his supremacy and his loyalty to his region lionised his status, it also encouraged local men into the sport and promoted the eminence of the Northern Rivers' district.  

William Ripley, the New South Wales champion, approached the similarly. He was based in Tea Gardens on the Myall River and engrossed in his own profession and business interests. Hunter River because of its home proximity and his strong Ripley found it difficult to combine his working life with commitments. He, like Paddon, had security without the professional sculling as an income source. For example, in December William McDevitt challenged Ripley for the state title. However, due to Ripley's business commitments, the pair agreed to race in November 1921. One reason why Ripley and Paddon did not match was that their business affairs clashed with their availability to race. George Towns suggested that, "Perhaps we shall soon see W. Ripley and Jim Paddon testing their strength and skill... if Ripley will give enough time to the work required to get him really fit. But will he?"  

For Ripley, professional sculling was a low priority. The sport was not an income source, which diminished his competitiveness, and he needed little Sydney involvement to maintain his status. This idleness enabled Ripley to remain as the unchallenged state champion between 1921 and 1933. Like Paddon, professional sculling was an indulgence and their attitudes towards the sport complicated and, at the same time, pardoned the sculling authorities from banding together to form an organised framework and contributed to their reluctance to control the sport.  

It has been argued previously that the country centres provided the

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74 *Sportsman*, 10 February 1925 p.7.

75 *Referee*, 2 February 1921 p.15.

76 *Referee*, 4 June 1922 p.1.

77 Ripley retired from professional rowing in 1921. He was challenged for the state championship (outrigger) in 1933 by A. J. (Jack) Fisher of Drummoyne, New South Wales.

sport's strength, most of its champions, and even an organisational model, and they had often saved the sport from extinction. The professional sculling authorities, though, operated within a cocoon. Their vision rarely extended beyond the Sydney metropolitan area. As suggested above, Richard Coombes was surprised at the public support for the 1921 Australian championship between Paddon and McDevitt and he confessed that the Richmond was superior to the Parramatta River. He demonstrated that even one of the sport's influential and progressive figures had been susceptible to the belief that Sydney held the stratum and the country centres were minor players.79

**Dualism And Its Limitations**

Within the professional sculling hierarchy, there appeared to be two main schools of thought regarding the sport's nature and the administering of the world championship. One section perceived that because the sport was "individualist-based" and each sculler relied on private backers, then liberal forces should dictate.80 The sport's regulatory controls were the individual's responsibility by means of honesty and integrity. While it was agreed that the championship required rules and regulations, it was a sculler's honour-bond that should characterise the championship's conduct.

The sport's history had demonstrated that maintaining the status quo, following traditional methods and relying on an individual's integrity encouraged abuse and deteriorated the sport. The concept that an individual-based sport was impossible to govern, and that a sculler's honesty was the sole determinant, was an excuse to shirk the arduous task of rebuilding and re-inventing the sport.

The notion that an individual-based sport could not be controlled overlooked the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League's systematic administering of its state championships. It also disregarded the Referee's administrative control over the national championship. In a broader context, it dismissed western civilisation's voracity to organise and institutionalise

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79 Australian Oarsman, 10 April 1942 p.7; Referee, 4 May 1921 p.11; Referee, 25 July 1923 p.16; Referee, 3 September 1924 p.14; Sportsman, 16 December 1924 p.1; Referee, 25 March 1925 p.14.
80 Sportsman, 5 February 1913 p.7; Daily Examiner, 2 May 1921 p.4; Northern Star, 4 May 1921 p.3.
sport as a cultural entity and a source of meaning. The ideology that sport benefited the individual and society in general and provided national and international significance through means of a sophisticated infrastructure seemed lost to the sculling fraternity. While professional sculling had enjoyed a history of international competition, its significance as a sport, a national icon and a racial standard had been surpassed by a diversity of other games that had become internationalist. These sports, such as swimming, cycling, rowing and athletics, while predominantly amateur, had established a complex and extensive infrastructure to develop sportsmen into state, national and international competitors. These sports were highly organised through a grading system whereby sportsmen could be nurtured and developed and channelled towards high achievement.

In a cruder form, the Spencer brothers and John Deeble had introduced this type of infrastructure for professional sculling in the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, upon their withdrawal from the sport, the preference of their successors to grab the quickest and easiest profit buried their style of structure and selection.

Overseas, national sporting associations had been founded in America, Britain, Germany, Sweden and Denmark for individual-based and styled sports, such as swimming, cycling, rowing and athletics. Domestically, the Amateur Athletics Association of Australasia was founded in 1897; the Amateur Swimming Union of Australia in 1909 and in the same year it was affiliated with the Federation Internationale de Natation Amateur; the Australian Cycling Federation formed in 1900 and in 1903 it was affiliated with the Union Cycliste Internationale and the Australian Amateur Rowing

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83 Goldlust, op. cit., pp.45-49.

84 McIntosh, op. cit., p.85.
Council was established in 1924\textsuperscript{85} though the concept, had been approved in 1921. The Australian Olympic Council was founded in 1914, although Richard Coombes had been Australia's first International Olympic Committee representative since 1905.\textsuperscript{86}

**Able Control And Professionalism**

Professional sculling's attitude was inconsistent with the preferences adopted by other Australian sports, which were founded on the individual athlete. Professional running, unlike professional sculling, had established controlling bodies to administer its competitions. The Victorian Athletic League was formed in April 1895 and it took charge of its state's professional athletics.\textsuperscript{87} The body had a conduct code and a set of rules and regulations that it administered and supervised. It took the VAL 12 years to find a permanent address during which time the sport was managed from the Stawell Athletic Club offices. While the VAL underwent changes and upheavals, its commitment to promote professional athletics through an organised framework enabled it to stage world championships, survive the Great Depression and World War II, and protect the sport to the modern day.

Another individual-styled sport was professional cycling. It had to overcome the amateur versus professional conflict, corruption, war and motorisation.\textsuperscript{88} The sport's 'Golden Age' had ended by the century's turn and the sport's mass appeal was lost during the early years of the twentieth century, but cycling bodies, such as the League of Wheelmen, saw the need to establish and maintain organisation and control over the sport. While the sport's popularity had waned markedly, the controlling bodies continued to administer and promote regular competition that aided in the sport's survival. The sport may have faded as a mass spectacle but the preservation of an organised framework and control helped produce a number of world-class

\textsuperscript{85} Vamplew, W., Moore, K., O'Hara, J., Cashman, R. & Jobling, I., (eds), *The Oxford Companion To Australian Sport*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, pp.22, 29, 41; May, op. cit., p.100.
\textsuperscript{86} Vamplew, et al., op. cit., pp.32-33.
\textsuperscript{87} Mason, P., *Professional Athletics In Australia*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1985, pp.31-34.
riders and champions like Spears, Goulet, Grenda, McNamara and Opperman.  

Whereas professional sculling was a New South Wales phenomenon, professional running and cycling were more national sports. By 1925, the VAL had introduced a standardised entry form for national competitions. Professional cycling had state-based League of Wheelmen bodies that came under the control of the Australasian Cycling League, an organisation that governed proceedings in Australia and New Zealand. On an international scale, cycling and running extended beyond the English-speaking countries with Europe a prominent competition source. Depending on which country and which particular event sportsmen competed in, they were bound by the local organisations' rules and regulations. However, world championships were conducted uniformly.

The Advantages In Conforming

The belief by a section of the sculling authorities that individual-based sports were impossible to govern was contradicted by the remarkable headway achieved by the amateur movement. These proponents were polarising professional sculling from a sporting catechism and philosophy consisting of measured, monitored and hierarchical systems and they were detaching the sport from society's fabric and ideological expectations. Australia's widespread acceptance of the amateur ethos, and its regulated and systematic practices and controls, generally tolerated professionalism if it, too, demonstrated an organised structure and a system of conduct that promoted bona fide behaviour and a socially acceptable level of sportsmanship. This tolerance decreased if corruption was perceived which inevitably led to low public confidence.

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90 Mason, op. cit., p.33.
91 Referee, 29 April 1914 p.24.
93 Referee, 5 February 1913 p.11; Referee, 12 February 1913 p.11; Referee, 1 October 1913 p.11; Referee, 10 September 1913 p.11; Sun, 19 February 1920 p.7 Sun, 22 February 1921 p.2.
In professional sculling's case, it was a sport based on money, devoid of infrastructure and order, responsible for dubious post-war conduct and, as the public was reminded in the press, it was unlikely to alter these standards or practices. As society continued to embrace the amateur ethos with its inherent structures and elaborate, high-achievement competitions, an irresponsible and uncontrollable sport like professional sculling would be isolated and exteriorised not because it was money-based, but because it flouted the institutionalised hegemony defined for society.

The belief that an individual-based sport was beyond the means of control was also contrary to the professional and commercial sporting movement that had gathered momentum in America from the century's turn. While the major sports like baseball and American football were becoming enshrined in the American culture, minor sports, some of which were limited to regions, drew enough interest and popularity to ensure that professional competitions were organised. Goldlust suggested that, "A number of individual sports also developed a spectator sub-culture large enough to support a growing core of practitioners able to make a full-time living exhibiting their skills."

Professional sculling's domain was small enough to re-invent and organise the sport from new beginnings, yet, substantial enough to maintain international prominence. Considering the limited world of professional sculling, that is the English-speaking countries America, Canada, Australia, England and New Zealand, the sport's Australian strength and supremacy, and, the sport's poor state in those other nations, Australia had the strength and arguably the entitlement to take charge and set the foundations for an organised framework, a domestic authority and an international board of control.

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95 Goldlust, op. cit., p.48.
96 Referee, 1 September 1920 p.9; Referee, 13 July 1921 p.15; Referee, 29 March 1922 p.9; Referee, 8 August 1923 p.15; Sportsman, 30 September 1924 p.7; Sportsman, 6 July 1926 p.8; Referee, 15 June 1927 p.16; Referee, 22 February 1928 p.15.
Imperial And Loyalist Legacies

It can be deduced, though, that the professional sculling authorities had neither the courage, will, skill nor foresight to capitalise on the prevailing opportunity. To achieve a new dimension, the sculling authorities needed to impose themselves on the professional sculling world and, in doing so, offend, embarrass and dictate to England. This was an unlikely intervention considering that the body, which crippled its sport for the Empire's cause and ditched its principles in its veneration of Barry, would antagonise and violate England. It seemed that an underlying axiom for Australia's restraint was that each professional sculling nation had the opportunity to compete in the sport, but no 'colony' would dare dictate to or subvert the 'Home' land.

It appeared that the Australian homage to England was consecrated far beyond the need to rationalise and revolutionise the sport. Even by the end of 1923 there was a powerful section, within the professional sculling hierarchy, who wished to revive Australian professional sculling through England in preference to tackling the problem domestically. This section perceived the premise of 'an Englishman's word is his bond' too literally. It applied this belief beyond the realms of reality. This group proposed that a rebirth was possible if it could entice Ernest Barry from retirement and bring him once again to Sydney, which demonstrated that imperial ties were stronger than any thought of remodelling the sport.

Conclusions

In the aftermath of the Felton/Barry world championship contest the Australian professional sculling authorities retained little influence and control over their sport. Richard Arnst demonstrated their insipidness by flouting the sport under the guise of adhering to the world championship laws. The domestic champions were sufficiently wealthy to treat the sport as a casual pastime and a promotion for their regions. Their intolerance of the Sydney sculling scene further fragmented the sculling authorities and offered them little incentive to foster the sport in the metropolitan arena.

The belief that a sport based on the individual sportsman could not be

structured and should be determined by laissez-faire practices was an excuse to avoid the arduous task of building hierarchical organisations and management systems. It was much simpler for the sculling authorities to allow the sport to be driven by liberal forces. While the scullers and their backers would absorb all costs and shoulder most of the administrative responsibilities, it also enabled these few to profit and determine the sport's plight.

By allowing liberal forces to dominate, Australia's sculling strength was undermined, but England's sovereignty was protected. England had been the weakest and laziest contributor to the sport since the inaugural 1876 world championship, but Australia's loyalty to the 'Home' land and its commitment to maintain the sport's nature and character preserved the imperial hierarchy. Such devotion resisted conjugal links with other professional sporting nations and helped determine professional sculling as a dull and innocuous pastime.

Society's ritualisation of the amateur ideology and hegemony was far less debilitating for professional sculling than the sport's own incompetencies in establishing a structure and a niche within the social and sporting agenda. As society embraced the organisation and institutionalisation of sport, professional sculling's looseness, its inordinate constructs and its lack of direction were incompatible and offered no leverage to cohere with the dominant ideology. The considerable growth and successes of organised and ordered high-achievement sports, both nationally and internationally, had replaced professional sculling as an icon of Australianness. Its redundancy was demonstrated clearly upon James Paddon's victorious return from New Zealand in May 1922. Unlike the throngs, which queued and waited to glimpse and welcome back the heroes Trickett, Beach, Towns and Felton, Paddon returned to a silent dock.96

96 Referee, 3 May 1922 p.5; Arrow, 5 May 1922 p.9; Referee, 10 May 1922 p.9; Arrow, 12 May 1922 p.10.
CHAPTER TEN

YESTERDAY'S HEROES: PLANNING FOR A PAST

As discussed in the previous chapter, New Zealand's professional scullers had attempted to appropriate the world championship\(^1\) and shut out Australian aspirants much to Australia's displeasure and growing concerns within the New Zealand sculling fraternity.\(^2\) However, New Zealand's shallow sculling depth could not sustain the public's interest,\(^3\) which encouraged the reigning world champion, Darcy Hadfield, who had defeated Richard Arnst in January 1922, to look towards Australia for immediate challengers.

Accordingly, the Australian professional sculling authorities were offered, yet again, an opportunity to revitalise the sport in Sydney. The extent of their planning and understanding of the public's expectations of modern sport, their organisational and managerial skills could again be tested to see if they had learnt from their previous experiences. Their failure to do so would again leave the way open for speculators to intimidate and profiteer. Success might re-open sculling as a realistic sporting option for young men who had begun to lean to other sports that offered more opportunities as well as stability.

At last there were plans to address the sport's woes. Professional sculling's old guard were conceiving a complete overhaul of the world championship with the sport's control emanating from Australia. This group realised that leadership and administration were the prerequisites for success and the officials believed that they had the expertise and global recognition to deliver the sport as a meaningful and popular entity. However, their attempts ultimately failed.

This chapter will analyse the complete break down of professional sculling. In particular, it will investigate the sport's standing and its meaning.

\(^1\) Arrow, 10 December 1920 p.15; Referee, 16 February 1921 p.1; Referee, 23 November 1921 p.13; Referee, 21 December 1921 p.13; Daily Examiner, 5 January 1922 p.2.

\(^2\) Referee, 21 December 1921 p.13; Referee, 28 December 1921 p.16.

\(^3\) Referee, 11 January 1922 p.12; Referee, 21 December 1921 p.13; Referee, 25 January 1922 p.13.
for society, compared with amateur sport, and as a point of reference, discuss the defection of professional scullers to amateur rowing. The chapter will also examine the mercenary disposition of professional scullers who were encouraged to compensate themselves to overcome the sport's weak management and limited offerings.

It will consider whether the resurrection of the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club and the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League inhibited professional sculling because of their archaic interpretations of the sporting world and their lack of administrative and organisational sophistication. More specifically, the League's limitations and failings will be examined to investigate the degree of its responsibility for the sport's increasing isolation and irrelevance to the social fabric.

The chapter will also consider the return of the world championship to New South Wales and its consequences for the Sydney scene. The main investigation will be the contrasting interpretations of professional sport between the loyalist, muscular Christian generation and the consumer, commercialised and autonomous age. Of specific importance will be the examination of the nineteenth-century methods and the underlying ideology to institutionalise the sport within the British Empire compared to the appeal of an evolving, commercialised America for the professional champions.

The Concerned

In January 1922, several professional sculling enthusiasts, including George Towns, Milton Kent and Archie Priddle, re-formed the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club. This re-formation coincided with James Paddon's challenge to the new world champion, the New Zealander, Darcy Hadfield and it was anticipated that a Paddon victory and the club's revival would generate new interest in the sport. With such anticipation, the club launched its first annual regatta in April 1922 with 11 scullers participating.

The loss of public favour, the lack of overall organisation and the extensive gap between the expanding alternative organised sports and

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5 Sun, 18 April 1922 p.7; Daily Examiner, 24 April 1922 p.5.
6 Referee, 26 April 1922 p.9; Sun, 23 April 1922 p.11.
professional sculling contributed to the sport's failure to revive. Towns' absence for most of the year\textsuperscript{7} denied the re-formed club strong leadership and Paddon's victory over Hadfield in April, contrary to expectations, had an adverse effect on Sydney professional sculling. He refused to race on the Parramatta River.\textsuperscript{8}

A number of New Zealand professional sculling enthusiasts sought to control the sport in response to Australia's unproductive efforts. The Hadfield/Paddon world championship match, of April 1922 in Wanganui, provided the local sportsmen with an opportunity for Australian and New Zealand representatives to establish an Australasian board of control.\textsuperscript{9} The agenda included a new set of world championship rules and regulations and a governing body to ratify challenges and to oversee the sport's conduct. The Australian response contained the familiar civilities without a hint of commitment.\textsuperscript{10} Its envious tone suggested their belief that the initiation of the sport's control should have come from Australia. The sport's brittleness was exposed again upon Paddon's victory. The New Zealanders managed to form a sculling council, but their enthusiasm evaporated after Paddon secured the championship title with a re-match scheduled for Woodburn on the Richmond River.

The Organised

In contrast, the increasing popularity of amateur rowing since the armistice had deterred sportsmen from contemplating the professionals' paltry offerings. The amateurs' more sophisticated organisational framework and control, their regular competitions, national regattas, a foray into international contests, attempts to affiliate country rowing clubs and generous club social life had outstripped anything the professionals offered.\textsuperscript{11} Importantly, the amateurs addressed sculling seriously. They organised

\textsuperscript{7} Referee, 8 March 1922 p.13; Referee, 15 March 1922 p.9; Referee, 24 May 1922 p.13.
\textsuperscript{8} Referee, 3 September 1924 p.14; Sportsman, 28 July 1925 p.1.
\textsuperscript{9} Referee, 15 March 1922 p.9; Referee, 19 April 1922 p.15.
\textsuperscript{10} Referee, 22 March 1922 p.11; Referee, 29 March 1922 p.9; Arrow, 21 April 1922 p.5.
competitions to incorporate club, state, and national levels with the long-term goal that aspirants could compete at English, world and Olympic levels.\textsuperscript{12}

Whereas the professionals struggled to conduct club races, the amateurs continuously reinforced their supremacy. Their innovative measures, such as a winter competition, the formation of the Australian Amateur Rowing Council to control national and international affairs and, by the end of the 1920s, the establishment of the New South Wales Women's Rowing Association, all helped emphasise the professional's ineptitude.\textsuperscript{13}

**New Era, Old Thoughts, Tired Schemes**

Nevertheless, the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club was determined to lift the sport from the doldrums. By January 1923, with Towns back from England, the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League was also resurrected.\textsuperscript{14} Its plans were to gain control of the state's professional sculling, by affiliating those clubs which held a pre-war association, and revitalise competition with the introduction of a men's and women's state, one-mile championship.\textsuperscript{15} The League and the PRPSC would work interdependently and they planned a series of club handicaps that incorporated point score trophies. The addition of a £150 handicap on the Parramatta River attempted to capitalise on the July Paddon/Hadfield world championship re-match that was scheduled for the Richmond River.

Other promotions included the encouragement of match racing and heavy-boat contests. These plans realistically were no more than equivalent to the conduct performed by any large rowing club. The League's thinking was short-term and predominantly Sydney-centric. While the League's pre-war capacity had been limited, the post-war body would prove even less effective. Other organised sports had developed far more sophistication,

\textsuperscript{12} May, op. cit., pp.88-95; *Referee*, 2 April 1924 p.15.
\textsuperscript{13} May, op. cit., pp.99-101.
\textsuperscript{14} *Referee*, 31 January 1923 p.9.
\textsuperscript{15} *Referee*, 24 January 1923 p.9.
reach and public support.\textsuperscript{16}

In an overall context, most organised sports were administered hierarchically and they consisted of bodies from club to international levels. To compete for public support, sports needed to be organised and managed efficiently, offer regular spectacles, provide opportunities for advancement for sportmen and generate a sense of patriotism and nationalism.\textsuperscript{17} Australian sport had become truly international by means of graded competitions, which enabled the gradual channelling of the gifted athlete towards high achievement. The complex grading, selecting and training systems enabled the replenishment of sporting ranks and they created strong sporting identities.\textsuperscript{18}

During the League’s re-formation, professional sculling’s usual divisions surfaced. Self-interested parties were loath to relinquish their interests or contribute to the sport’s betterment. For example, when the League wished to promote the Australian one-mile championships as well as its state titles. Richard Coombe reminded the League that it had “no jurisdiction outside the state.”\textsuperscript{19}

Because professional sculling was a New South Wales phenomenon, sculling officials looked internationally for its mark rather than introducing a national concept. This required complex, hierarchical administrative structure so the sport could compete and capitalise from its limited home base. It seemed unreasonable that the League could not be structured and used as the sport’s starting point to administer and control the state, national and world titles. Coombe’s declaration that the League’s jurisdiction was confined


\textsuperscript{18} Referee, 21 December 1921 p.16.

\textsuperscript{19} Referee, 23 May 1923 p.14.
to New South Wales was precious considering his demands for the sport’s re-organisation and the sport’s malaise.20

It was practical that the League could co-operate with the New Zealand Sculling Council to form a strong, southern hemisphere, governing body. The idea was not new, for Coombes was the driving force behind an Australasian representation at the Olympic and Pan-Britannic Games.21 His persistent calls for the sport’s organisation and a board of control appeared vapid when it seemed reasonable that support for the League could have led to a broader governing network. It may be suggested that Coombes’ intolerance of the League was motivated by his desire to protect the Referee’s hold over the Australian title and for the publication and himself to be prominent founders of a controlling board.

Scuttling The Boat

Coombes’ and the Referee’s authority was challenged in April 1923 when the New Zealander Paddy Hannan and the Australian Alfred Felton decided the Australasian championship on Nelson Harbour. It was a manufactured title based on Hannan’s claim of New Zealand champion and Felton’s argument that Paddon was ineligible to hold the Australian title once he became the world champion.22 Felton insisted, that being the previous national champion in 1913, the Australian title reverted to him.

Felton’s self-appointment as Australian champion threatened Coombes’ and the Referee’s relevance and devalued the national championship’s status. The Australasian championship as an international contest would rank as a higher honour. Another anomaly was that the

20 Referee, 1 September 1920 p.9; Arrow, 10 December 1920 p.15; Arrow, 28 January 1921 p.12; Referee, 2 February 1921 p.15; Referee, 13 July 1921 p.15; Referee, 23 November 1921 p.13.
22 Referee, 2 May 1923 p.14; Sportsman, 28 April 1925 p.8.
Australasian title provided the lesser sculler with a convenient income source and no obligation to race Paddon.

Coombes refuted Felton's claim and remonstrated with scullers and speculators for inventing championships for quick returns. But he and the Referee were virtually powerless to resist the incursion. The fabricated title was backed by New Zealand speculators for a prescribed purse, contested in New Zealand and supported by opportunistic Australian scullers.

Much to Coombes' dismay, William McDevitt approved of Felton's reasoning and he too matched Hannan for the Australasian championship in February 1924. Hannan could argue his claim as New Zealand champion, but neither Felton nor McDevitt nor the other interested locals were legitimate Australian or New South Wales champions. Hannan's willingness to race Hadfield and Richard Arnst meant that two New Zealanders could contest the championship. Once this became apparent, the Australian groundswell of displeasure matched that of Coombes.

**Missing The Boat**

At the enterprise of R.E. Hornblow, mayor of Dargaville and president of the newly formed New Zealand Sculling Council, who was promoting a June all-comers sculling event on the Wairoa River, the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League was approached to arbitrate. Hornblow proposed that the League should either recognise Hannan or ratify his Wairoa River event as the inaugural race for the Australasian championship. The League approved the latter on the proviso that the winner reverted to the traditional challenge/stakes format that accompanied other championships.

The League's foray outside of New South Wales helped restore the Referee's purchase on the national title and, as a consequence, Coombes advised that the League was the one recognised professional sculling governing body in Australia and Australians would accept its decision.

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22 Referee, 2 May 1923 p.14; Referee, 9 January 1924 p.16.
24 Referee, 23 January 1924 p.12.
26 Referee, 2 April 1924 p.15; Referee, 9 April 1924 p.13.
27 Referee, 16 April 1924 p.15.
The League, however, failed to seize this opportunity to take charge and govern the sport. Its decision to sanction the race was a result of bravado rather than meticulous planning. The League showed no interest in governing or administering the championship, it offered no formal guidelines or rules and regulations to codify future events, it failed to define the championship's status and it gave no indication of who was eligible to compete in future championship races. In sanctioning the championship, the League also failed to confer with James Paddon the Australian champion or discuss matters with the Referee.

The League's input into the Australasian championship affair again demonstrated its incapacity in promoting the sport. It missed an opportunity, to involve the sport's learned, influential and the supportive amateur officials from both countries, in establishing a solid governing base and to provide the framework and guidelines for the sport's unity. Rather, the League's rush to sanction the Australasian championship lumbered the sport with two champions.

Hannan was refused £150 appearance money so he ignored the Dargaville promotion. He dismissed the League's authority, outside of New South Wales, and he defended his Australasian crown against Richard Arnst on the Waikato River. McDevitt, whose interpretation of professional sculling history appeared fluid, won the Wairoa River event. He discovered in July, that the League's interpretation of administration was just as fluid. It deemed him ineligible to compete for the state (promoted as Australian) one-mile championship, having decided that McDevitt held a higher title than the one that they offered.

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30 Referee, 2 April 1924 p.15.
33 Sportsman, 17 June 1924 p.1; Referee, 25 June 1924 p.16.
The Sister Ship

While the League appeared to have lost the thread, its sister body, the PRPSC, was also in turmoil. Poor organisation of its club races, haphazard competition and little progress towards its future direction led to a split and the formation of the Sydney Professional Sculling Club.36 The new club, which was based at Kemp's Abbotsford boatshed, drew members and delegates from both the PRPSC and the League. The split signalled that the chance of attaining an overall structure and a sound administrative footing was less than slim. It is also interesting to note that in the same period, the amateur rowing bodies had achieved the establishment of the Australian Amateur Rowing Council, which was empowered to "arrange, prepare and regulate the representation of Australia in international rowing events."36

Jumping Ship

By the end of 1924, professional sculling had virtually collapsed. Club racing nearly ceased, the League was on the brink of folding and the usual chicanery accompanied the world championship. Milton Kent, the creator of the Sydney Professional Sculling Club and one of the League's main players, along with Jack Kessell, saw no future in the professional ranks and applied for amateur admission.37 As two prominent professional sportsmen, their move was significant as a sportsman's defection normally went in the reverse direction.

The New South Wales Rowing Association's reinstatement period for professional rowers, who resided within 50 miles of Sydney's centre, was two years,38 however, an amendment for the 1924-1925 season fixed that "one-year shall lapse before an oarsman or sculler may be reinstated."39 While the alteration broadened amateur rowing's appeal and scope its significance was demonstrated by the professionals' defection. The Sportsman suggested that technically, the ex-professionals were "whitewashed" by the

35 Sportsman, 29 April 1924 p.8; Referee, 14 May 1924 p.15; Sportsman, 24 June 1924 p.1; Referee, 2 July 1924 p.11.
36 May, op. cit., p.100; Sportsman, 29 July 1924 p.1.
37 May, op. cit., p.94; Sportsman, 1 December 1925 p.2; Sportsman, 27 July 1926 p.8.
39 New South Wales Rowing Association Rules And Regulations, Rule 5 sub-section (d), 1924-5, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
NSWRA, which ruffled the feathers of some of the amateur fraternity,\(^{40}\) as both were competing as amateurs within 12 months.\(^{41}\) Their work with the amateurs soon contributed to their rapid acceptance, especially Kent. He produced amateur sculling champions, was prominent in the formation of the Haberfield Rowing Club and was a guarantor for the erection of its clubhouse.\(^{42}\)

**Close Of An Era**

The world championship again developed into a farce after James Paddon successfully defended his title against Major Goodsell on the Richmond River in September 1924.\(^{43}\) Paddon retired which, for some, provided a positive sign for the sport. His superiority had resulted in a sparsity of racing, and his refusal to row on the Parramatta River had starved Sydney and its public of a world championship race since 1920.\(^{44}\) Paddon had conducted his reign astutely and genuinely and he was acknowledged as "the gamest, straightest and whitest man who had ever sat in a boat."\(^{45}\) Upon his step down, however, the sport's familiar bad habits surfaced.

Paddon indicated that he would hand over the title to Darcy Hadfield, the previous champion,\(^{46}\) and he suggested that Goodsell should direct his next challenge to the New Zealander. It was a pleasant arrangement except that under the world championship rules, Paddon had no authority to nominate his successor.\(^{47}\)

The world championship controversy accentuated the sport's overall confusion. Goodsell, however, complied with Paddon's request; Hadfield was challenged promptly by McDevitt, Goodsell and Hannan; the sculling

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\(^{40}\) May, op. cit., p.94; Sportsman, 1 December 1925 p.2; Sportsman, 27 July 1926 p.8.

\(^{41}\) Sportsman, 24 November 1925 p.7; Sportsman, 1 December 1925 p.2.

\(^{42}\) Kavanagh, M., *On These Bright Waters: A Centennial History Of Leichhardt Rowing Club 1886-1986*, p.16; Vaughan Evans Library, Sydney; May, op. cit., p.92; Referee, 2 April 1924 p.15; Referee, 16 April 1924 p.15; Kent won the New South Wales amateur sculling championship in December 1925. He became a long-serving administrator for the Haberfield Rowing Club; See also, The Haberfield Rowing Club Of Sydney – N.S.W. 1925-1950, Vaughan Evans Library, Sydney.


\(^{44}\) Sportsman, 12 May 1925 p.8; Sportsman, 30 June 1925 p.7.

\(^{45}\) Referee, 25 November 1925 p.15.

\(^{46}\) Sportsman, 30 September 1924 p.7.

\(^{47}\) Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317; Referee, 1 October 1924 p.14; Sportsman, 7 October 1924 p.3; Referee, 22 October 1924 p.9.
authorities remonstrated with Paddon; McDevitt lodged the first challenge to Paddon; the New Zealand rowing fraternity claimed an Australian bias; and the Referee and the Sportsman intensified their calls for a board of control.\textsuperscript{48}

The sculling authorities relied on their standard response, when disorder predominated, that all parties should settle the dispute by means of a sweepstake. Coombes and Paddon provided the leadership to ease the crisis.\textsuperscript{49} Coombes suggested that Paddon should retire; McDevitt and Goodsell race, and the winner would offer Hadfield first option.\textsuperscript{50}

Goodsell prevailed as champion in March 1925.\textsuperscript{51} His victory concluded the turbulent reign of the Arnst, Barry, Felton and Paddon era and the sport's revival relied on the temperament of the 25-year-old champion. Goodsell was confident and assertive and backed by music businessman Colonel Edwin Cooke,\textsuperscript{52} they led the sport in a fresh and contentious direction. They also provided the sculling authorities with hope of bringing the world championship under an organisational umbrella.

The New Challenges The Old

Goodsell had a desire to regenerate the sport, revive public confidence and seize every opportunity to maximise his profit.\textsuperscript{53} He set about re-inventing the sport's mindset by removing the debilitating customs that had scuttled professional sculling over the previous two decades. He also attempted to break down the imperial baggage that had allowed England and Englishness to dominate the sport's procedures and its nature.

Goodsell was most critical of Paddon's isolationist attitude.\textsuperscript{54} He believed that the ex-champion had contributed to the sport's ills by refusing to race before the Sydney public. The Sportsman also labelled Paddon as a dictator who had reigned too long and had caused the sport to lose

\textsuperscript{48} Referee, 8 October 1924 p.11; Sun, 30 September 1924 p.7; Sportsman, 14 October 1924 p.1; Sportsman, 21 October 1924 p.7; Sportsman, 20 January 1925 p.7; Referee, 21 January 1925 p.14; Sportsman, 3 February 1925 p.7.
\textsuperscript{49} Referee, 10 December 1924 p.11.
\textsuperscript{50} Referee, 1 October 1924 p.14; Referee, 22 October 1924 p.9.
\textsuperscript{52} Sportsman, 21 April 1925 p.6; Sportsman, 2 June 1925 p.8.
\textsuperscript{53} Sportsman, 21 April 1925 p.6; Sportsman, 28 July 1925 p.1; Sportsman, 17 November 1925 p.7.
\textsuperscript{54} Sportsman, 21 April 1925 p.6; Sportsman, 12 May 1925 p.7.
popularity. These opinions had basis, however, their Sydney parochialism clouded the inflictions brought upon the sport by Felton, Barry and Arnst.

Paddon's self-serving had in fact offered the sculling authorities a healing period during which time they had failed to address any of the sport's problems. Furthermore, very little encouragement had been accorded to Paddon to race in Sydney. The sculling authorities' unwritten covenant that a champion should race on the Parramatta River reflected its archaic thinking. Paddon's critics declined to suggest that his reign promoted the sport on the Northern Rivers where he had taken the sport to the public, drawn enormous crowds, inspired future first-class scullers in Burns, Saul and Scroope and helped cement the Northern Rivers as the heart of professional sculling.56

Goodsell rejected racing on the Northern Rivers' "circus tracks" and his regenerative plans included all title defences on the Parramatta River.57 The champion believed that an idle title was harmful to the sport and he demonstrated unambiguously that a challenger either complied with his terms or made way for the next contender.58 Goodsell was forthright and contested the title three times within 12 months.59

His success and drawing power encouraged sculling officials to seek an English challenger. Their focus was on H.A. 'Bert' Barry, the nephew of ex-world champion Ernest Barry. They believed that the Englishman had the lineage to provide worthy opposition.60 Whereas Goodsell was commended for reviving the sport, it was thought that the Englishman's presence would bolster enormous public support. A similar philosophy had courted Ernest Barry in 1920 and had played a major role in the sport's deflation. Nonetheless, the imperial imprint that had helped to suffocate and marginalise the sport was bubbling to life as the movement to bring Barry to Australia gained momentum.

For Goodsell, the sentimentality of those who hawkered to re-live their

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60 *Referee*, 16 September 1925 p.16; *Sportsman*, 24 November 1925 p.7; *Referee*, 9 March 1927 p.16.
pasts and their mawkish desire of measuring the domestic stock against those from 'Home' at Goodsell's expense was impractical. He offered Barry a Parramatta River race and enforced a time limit on the challenger's response. The champion reiterated "that there are enough dukes, earls and princes in England to provide Barry's expenses to Australia." Goodsell's approach towards the English challenger suggested that the new generation of Australian scullers was less characterised by reverence to England and it was less constrained by the imperial shadow that was cast over the sport. Goodsell's refusal to succumb to the sport's traditional path indicated that a turning point was near. However, it would take more than a curt response by an Australian sculler to an English challenger to ruffle the imperial bond.

"Fathers" Of Professional Sculling

By June 1926, Goodsell's triumphs and his keenness to race prompted members of the sculling hierarchy to capitalise on the Australian's dominance. The group, led by Edwin Cooke, Richard Coombes, George Towns and Richard Hagon, again sought to place the sport on an organised and controlled basis. Hagon, a Sydney men's outfitter, alderman and lifelong professional sculling supporter, donated a £250 perpetual challenge cup that would be added to the world championships. He stipulated that the first contest would occur on the Parramatta River. The group decided that cup trustees would be appointed and a board of control would be formed.

It may be suggested that Robert Brown, a former Clarence River professional sculler who was outside of the metropolitan clique, had proposed the idea in March 1926. He proposed that a Sydney-based committee should control all world championships. He suggested that the committee could offer an annual £500 event on the Parramatta River and promote it as equivalent to thoroughbred racing's Melbourne Cup. He

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61 Referee, 10 March 1926 p.13.
63 Referee, 30 June 1926 p.11.
64 Sportsman, 6 July 1926 p.8; Hagon served as Sydney Lord Mayor in 1933.
elaborated that his idea would strengthen the sport's related industries, such as boatbuilding. Brown's proposal seemed radical for the conservative Sydney establishment. Coombes replied that other countries would not accept a Sydney-based authority.66

It was surprising, therefore, that by June Coombes presided as chairman of a Sydney-based committee intent on administering the world championship. Others on the committee included George Towns, William Beach, George Ord, Dr Howard Bullock and the amateur stalwart Nat McDonald.67 The international reputations of Coombes, Towns and Beach were expected to influence the professional sculling world into accepting a Sydney-based authority.68 Coombes stated that, while the R.C. Hagon Cup had "emanated from New South Wales, and they had not actually secured the approval of other countries, he was convinced that it would have the approval when these latter knew that what they had done was for the betterment of the sport."69 A purported view was that the Hagon cup could be synonymous to the Davis Cup in tennis.70

The committee re-defined the championship, but importantly, it empowered itself with the right to veto any match it considered below world championship standard.71 The significant changes to the rules and regulations consisted of a minimum of £400 a side stake money, irrespective of a local or international contest, and deposits were fixed at £50. Deposits were to be lodged with the Referee; the Weekly Press, Christchurch, New Zealand; the Sporting Life and Sportsman in England or with a recognised sporting paper if a challenge came from another country.72 A champion had two months to accept a challenge and he had to race within four months or six months if the contest was international. The gate money was altered to a 60/40 split which favoured the winning contestant.

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66 Ibid.
67 Referee, 16 May 1927 p.16.
68 Referee, 30 June 1926 p.11.
69 Referee, 15 June 1927 p.16.
70 Ibid.
71 Referee, 30 June 1927 p.11.
72 Australian Oarsman, in, The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly, 10 March 1941 pp.28-29; Appendix 3.
Amateur Control, Professional Racing

A Sydney-based authority was an ambitious step and the trustees' stealth suggested that they had the expertise to place the sport on a sure footing. Coombes had suggested previously that professional and amateur sports could operate cohesively if the professionals were organised and controlled centrally.73 His preference was for an amateur body to control professional sport.74 The inclusion of McDonald and the others' amateur workloads indicated that the trustees could favour his bent. The parallel drawn, between the Davis Cup and the Hagon Cup, also suggested that the trustees were leaning towards Coombes' reasoning.

The timing of the trustees' emergence as the sport's power base was opportune because the sport's major backer, Edwin Cooke, was unequivocally behind the project.75 With Felton, Arntz, Paddon and McDevitt gone from the scene, a large section of speculators was also missing, which enabled the trustees to promote their strategies with little resistance.76

By nominating specific publications as deposit holders, the trustees had concentrated the lodging of challenges. This would overcome lodging deposits with obscure newspapers and a challenger insisting that he was 'first in'. The Referee was the main beneficiary. It was now the sport's administrative core while metropolitan publications, such as the Sun and the Sportsman, were dismissed from stakeholding and promotional roles. The Hagon cup concept appeared to provide the much needed leadership, stability and direction to drag the sport back as a regular public spectacle with the beginnings of an organisational framework which could extend across all of the sport's tiers.

Whereas the Hagon cup appeared to be a means of loosening England's imperial predominance, one of the motivations behind its inception was to encourage international contests, specifically against England and more immediately, Bert Barry.77 A number of professional sculling

73 Referee, 23 June 1897 p.1; Referee, 1 October 1913 p.11.
74 Referee, 23 June 1897 p.1.
75 Referee, 1 September 1926 p.18; Referee, 15 June 1927 p.16.
76 Sportsman, 7 September 1926 p.7.
77 Sportsman, 24 November 1925 p.7; Sportsman, 19 January 1926 p.7; Referee, 14 July 1926 p.11; Referee, 20 October 1926 p.16.
supporters were prepared to defray the Englishman's travel costs to Australia and the trustees were anxious to draw him to the Parramatta River to contest the inaugural Hagon cup world championship. The imperial bond remained a high, guarded priority with the professional sculling conservatives and the Hagon cup concept was a practical solution to regulate the sport, and in the process strengthen their homeliness with England.

It may be suggested that an element of egotism was present with the trustees and their fanfare. These men had fashioned themselves as the savours of professional sculling. They were to be applauded as the architects who would place the sport on a credible footing. The trustees had delivered much talking and they had alluded to many visions for the sport. But up until June 1927, their one visible stamp on the world championship was a ceremonious presentation of the Hagon cup, to themselves, by William M. Hughes, M.H.R. Their pomposity and grandeur in presenting themselves as the sport's shining lights obscured the fact that the principal player, Goodsell, had been out of the country for 12 months and he was unlikely to return.

Professional Professionalism

Despite the trustees' planning and optimism, the Hagon cup concept failed to eventuate. Although they were committed to establishing professional sculling on an organised scale, they were men from a bygone era ensconced in cultural and imperial baggage. Their conservative sporting outlook, and their unfamiliarity with a truer meaning for professional sport, failed to understand the lucrative and expansive opportunities available in a rapidly changing world.

Their enthusiasm to protect their link with 'Home' underrated the temptations offered by the home of professional sport - America. Because

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78 Referee, 15 June 1927 p.16.
79 Sportsman, 25 May 1926 p.1; Referee, 16 June 1926 p.16; Referee, 14 September 1927 p.18.
80 Australian Darsman, 10 March 1941 p.28.
81 Sportsman, 27 February 1923 p.2; Referee, 23 March 1927 p.1; Referee, 20 July 1927 p.17.
America had been an insignificant professional sculling nation, the trustees dismissed it in defining their meaning of the sport. The trustees were correct. America was not about professional sculling, but it was about making money and the skilled sportsman could use his talents to secure a regular income.\textsuperscript{83} Their restricted understanding of commercialisation and the American indifference towards the English conception of amateurism and professionalism contributed to the Hagon cup collapse.\textsuperscript{84} Americans, generally, were impasse towards the English moral and social fervour associated with amateur and professional sport. This in-curiosity assisted the latter’s growth and contributed to the rationalisation and commercialisation of popular entertainment.\textsuperscript{85} The opportunities for professional sportsmen in America surpassed the limited Australian bag whose restrictions were imposed by imperialism, tradition and sentiment.

The Hagon cup trustees were confounded by Goodsell’s lack of concern for their efforts in establishing the sport’s framework and his lack of enthusiasm for discontinuing his current lifestyle in favour of championing their proposal. Goodsell’s circumstances had altered dramatically when he accepted American offers to tour.\textsuperscript{86} Mayor Rolph, of San Francisco, induced the Australian to promote professional sculling along the west coast primarily to encourage an American world championship aspirant.\textsuperscript{87} As Australian professional sculling opportunities were quietening at the time, he was keen to explore monetary potential overseas. Edwin Cooke funded Goodsell’s trip on the understanding that the champion returned to Australia by 31st December 1926.\textsuperscript{88}

American professionalism was more lucrative than that in Australia and Goodsell’s reputation alone offered him an array of choices to make a comfortable living. Australian opportunities were poor substitutes for the


\textsuperscript{84} Goldlust, J., Playing For Keeps: Sport, Media And Society, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1987, pp.46-47.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid; Dyreson, op. cit., pp.214-220; Mandell, op. cit., pp.188-195.

\textsuperscript{86} Referee, 10 March 1926 p.13; Sportsman, 16 March 1926 p.1.

\textsuperscript{87} Sportsman, 11 May 1926 p.8.

\textsuperscript{88} Referee, 9 February 1927 p.14; Sportsman, 8 March 1927 p.1; Australian Oarsman, 10 February 1942 p.11.
vaudeville circuit, rowing exhibitions and American backing for championships. A position as college rowing coach at £1,200 per year over two years, with a five-year extension at £2,000 per annum, helped persuade Goodsell that America, and later American citizenship, were the favourable pathways for professional sportsmen.

Australia's suspicion of professionalism and the professional sportsman's haphazard earning capacity were conditioned by cultural and moral values, whereas America was more liberal with its entrepreneurs and commercialised sport and leisure. Professional and amateur sport received equivalent emphasis and the country's education systems provided training grounds for both amateur and professional ranks. The Australian belief that sport provided moral and social character and that the introduction of money destroyed these values was a less significant issue in America.

The stigma placed upon professional sportsmen by Australian amateur establishments conflicted with the American understanding that the processes involved in attaining high achievement, whether amateur or professional, were meaningful and cohesive social activities. For Goodsell, America encouraged the paid professional and developed sport as commercialised entertainment, which offered him a more secure future than the offerings in Australia. His decision to remain in America scuttled the Hagon cup concept and the trustees' attempt to institutionalise professional sculling never eventuated.

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89 Referee, 13 July 1927 p.11.
90 Referee, 6 April 1927 p.16; Sportsman, 12 November 1928 p.13.
93 The original Hagon Cup was lost sometime between 1927 and 1948. It was replaced by a replica donated by Richard Hagon's wife. It was a perpetual trophy and competed for by Australian scullers in the post-World War II period without the original conditions attached.
Conclusions

Professional sculling’s concerned parties faced an enormous task in piecing together a sport which had fractured from a barrage of self-interested, self-indulgent players and a general discord that permeated the professional sculling fraternity. As most sports had achieved sophisticated organisational levels by the twentieth century’s first decade and their focus extended to international competition, professional sculling’s somewhat exclusive world bearing had transformed to a common occurrence. Burdened with disorganisation at each tier, the sport had less than a remote chance of bringing its house in order and then competing with the other organised sports for public acceptance. Those who attempted to rein-in the sport found that they had neither the proficiency, the resources nor the strength to make a mark in an entrenched, dysfunctional culture and they soon succumbed.

The concepts of muscular Christianity, imperialism and loyalty to England were so entrenched in and precious to professional sculling that they invariably contributed to the sport’s regression and failure to address a modern and increasingly sophisticated world. They also played a key role in constraining efforts to gather the sport under an organisational mantle. So daunting were these concepts that the sculling authorities were astounded when their world champion rejected their ideological platter in favour of gratification and security in the heartland of professional sport. It also signalled an initial demarcation between Victorian beliefs and the era of affluence, consumption and clinical professionalism.

But the burdens of imperial imposition had clearly concealed from the sport’s decision-makers a truer definition of professional sport. Their hybrid interpretation of professionalism afforded the sport little leverage into the national and global hegemonies of the sporting and social worlds. The sculling authorities’ world concept consisted of England, Australia and occasionally New Zealand and Canada. While this pre-conception had some nineteenth-century relevance for professional sport, it was an extremely jaundiced and narrow vision in the twentieth century.

The nineteenth-century scholar, James F. Hogan, suggested of Edward Trickett, in 1880, that the first world champion achieved “nothing
more than what an ignorant Southsea islander could do if he wished.  
While Hogan was denigrating the Australian interpretation of muscular Christianity and social Darwinism, his observation was pertinent to the blinkered world view of professional sculling's decision-makers. What was most telling for professional sculling, which operated within a national amateur sporting culture, was that the sculling fraternity enculturated an imperial, old-world outlook into its function and philosophy. Very little had changed from the first world championship of 1876, and, whereas other amateur and professional sports were revising and innovating, professional sculling's meaning within society's context became stagnant, insignificant and eventually lost.

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AFTERWORD

The world championship title remained in the northern hemisphere until November 1948. Henry Robert 'Bobby' Pearce, the Australian-born sculler, was the undefeated titleholder between 1933 and 1948. He was acknowledged as one of Australia's greatest professional scullers and was included in the Sport Australia Hall of Fame in 1986, primarily though, for his amateur achievements. Such was professional sculling's demise and Pearce's perceived invincibility that he twice only defended his title during his reign. The suggestion that Pearce was one of Australia's greatest professional scullers is also debatable as Canada claimed him as one of theirs.

Pearce lived and sculled as an amateur in Australia for 25 years but from 1930 until his death in 1976 he was a Canadian resident. He served in the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve from 1943 and he transferred to the Royal Canadian Navy in 1951. Hylton Cleaver suggested that Pearce won the 1931 Henley Diamond Sculls for Canada, however, under the Olympic Games' competition rules, Pearce represented Australia in 1932. After his latter triumph, Pearce broke his bond with the Australian Olympic Federation and turned professional. He did not race as a professional in Australia, but defended his title in Canada with Canadian backing and some publications listed his wins as jointly for Australia and Canada. In 1938

4 McKernan, (ed.) op. cit., p.196.
6 McKernan, (ed.), op. cit., p.196; Australian Oarsman, 10 February 1942 p.11.
Pearce was voted as Canada's outstanding athlete and he was inducted into Canada's Sports Hall of Fame in 1975.\(^8\)

On the domestic scene, the sport's disjunction continued. With the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League becoming defunct and the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club inactive, the sport was open to those who sought to manufacture competitions for their own ends. These included the Raymond Terrace Rowing Club, which took advantage of the sport's brokenness and promoted a heavy-boat contest on the Hunter River in May 1927 as the Australian championship.\(^9\) The sport's overall decomposition was demonstrated clearly in February 1928 when the Pittwater Aquatic Club attempted to establish a controlling body. The club was forced to canvass the public to retrieve the League's records.\(^10\)

The country centres, predominantly the Northern Rivers, continued as the sport's strength and focus. During the 1930s and the 1940s attempts were made to revive the sport in Sydney. Initially, the Pittwater Aquatic Club and later the resurrected PRPSC and the League tried to revitalise the sport,\(^11\) but its following was small, the rower's numbers slender and the competition was inconsistent.\(^12\) Added to the sport's woes was the unlikelihood of the world championship ever returning to Australian waters. The incredible growth of post-World War I amateur rowing that offered rowers and scullers a plethora of opportunities, ranging from the Great Public Schools' regattas to the Olympic Games, overwhelmed the professional's paltry offerings.

The alteration of certain constitutional definitions, such as the 1934 deletion of the clause which barred men "working in or about boats for money or wages", added to amateur rowing's appeal or at least broadened its membership.\(^13\) The affiliation of new clubs, which included the New South Wales Police Rowing Club, and the Pittwater Aquatic Club that had

\(^{8}\) Canada Sports Hall Of Fame – cshof@inforamp.net; McKernan, (ed.), op. cit. p.196.
\(^{9}\) Referee, 30 March 1927 p.14.
\(^{10}\) Referee, 22 February 1928 p.15.
\(^{13}\) May, op. cit., p.117.
relinquished professionalism and re-formed as an amateur body, boosted the amateur sport.\textsuperscript{14} The amateur’s conflicts with the country centres over amateur definitions took a positive turn by the end of the 1930s with Lismore and the newly formed Newcastle Rowing Clubs the most notable affiliates.\textsuperscript{15} More country clubs followed.

The abundance the amateur’s offered, their efforts to incorporate all country rowing centres under the New South Wales Rowing Association’s wing and the alteration of several exclusion clauses convinced the country clubs to join the amateur ranks. Even the Grafton district, which for nearly 70 years had battled for amateur instatement, came to terms with the NSWRA in March 1959.\textsuperscript{16} Grafton’s motivation to affiliate included the formation of the amateur body, the Northern Rivers District Rowing Association, and the final collapse of professional sculling by the end of 1957.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} May, op. cit., p.107.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} May, op. cit., p.143; \textit{Daily Examiner}, 26 April 1957, p.2.
\textsuperscript{17} Bennett, op. cit., p.140; May, op. cit., p.160; George Cook (interview August 2003) and Jack Fisher (interview March 1997) both suggested that the Evan Fischer/Evans Paddon 1957 match on the Clarence River was the last professional sculling world championship staged. Both interviewees suggested that the domestic championships also died out following the Fischer/Paddon match.
CONCLUSION

Very little critical analysis has been undertaken on New South Wales professional sculling. Historians, such as Adair, Bennett, Cashman, Crotty, May, Solling, Lane and Jobling have provided summaries and excerpts that indicate the sport's contribution to the social fabric.¹ These historians offer an awareness that the sport thrived briefly only to lose its significance and fall away as a mass spectacle. The depth of the works minimises the sport's contribution to Australian social history insofar as the studies lack an examination of professional sculling's administration and structure, its influence and significance within and on society, its political relevance, its nation-building role and the causes of its decline. They have concentrated almost exclusively on the sport's flourishing period or its 'Golden Age' between 1876 and 1907. Their focus on the world champions from this period provides a compelling story and a general argument that post-1907 the sport contributed very little to Australian social and sports history.

Because of this narrow focus, their work is inadequate in terms of analysis and interpretation. It fails to seek an understanding of professional sculling's significance in a full social and sports history context. These historians have made assumptions based on research into other sports and have in large measure accorded to professional sculling their findings on those sports in relation to the concepts of organisation, nationalism, imperialism, amateurism, professionalism and class. Rather than analyse these concepts through the professional sculling example and arrive at fresher interpretations and conclusions, historians have been content to categorise the sport as another professional construct that flourished briefly,

lacked centralised control, was repelled by amateurism and faded as a nationalistic icon. A re-interpretation of the 1876 to 1907 period provides the necessary context to demonstrate that this era and the sport's post-1907 period has greater social implications and significance than previously considered.

The analysis of professional sculling's role and its social impact within a general sporting context provided in this thesis demonstrates the sport's significance within the Australian culture. It exposes the reasons why the sport lagged behind its competitors in creating an organisational framework and why those in control resisted conditional organisation and structure. It explains why professional sculling promoted a laissez-faire approach during a time when the amateur ideal was the inculcated ethos of most emerging organised sports. It demonstrates that during the period of the emergence of organised sport and the construction of national and international governing bodies, professional sculling codified its sport without creating an organisational structure and centralised control.

From a social and political context, the study shows the shifts in cultural perceptions and values as the population moved away from water dependence and embraced suburbanisation, improved transport facilities, technology and an increasing number of alternative leisure and recreation pursuits. The professional sculling authorities demonstrated an unpreparedness to adapt to the shifting ideologies within a progressive society and their intolerance bled the sport. In a broader context, concepts such as national myth making, national character and nation building owed much of their construction and fruition to professional sculling through its national and international successes. The sport contributed to and was used to create or refine and personify the concepts of patriotism, nationalism, unification, Australian type, identity and heroism.

From the late-nineteenth century and into the early-twentieth century in New South Wales, professional sculling was one of the few organised sports that enchanted the public. As an international pioneer, it dispelled fears that Australians were a degenerate lot. Professional sculling's patriotic and nationalistic symbolism provided meaning and significance for a society searching for representations, character and unity. Between 1876 and 1907
Australian scullers dominated the English-speaking world for 22 of the 31 years. Of the numerous factors that contributed towards the Australian superiority, three were most notable. These were organisation, money and the lack of imperial intimidation. At a time when money and gambling prevailed in sport and an organised activity could command a large spectatorship, professional sculling became big-time once it captured the international spotlight.

Organisation And Control

Contrary to Adair's statements, Australians rarely competed against English scullers. Between 1876 and 1912 England produced one world champion and two second-class scullers of note. This weakness was, in part, the reason for Australian domination. Without England as a professional sculling force, Australian backers took control and ruled the sport without imperial interference or bullying. Once an Englishman gained the world championship in 1912, the Australian efforts at codification, organisation and advancement ceased and the sport reverted to a form of colonialism. Although Australia remained the sport's strongest nation, Australian sculling authorities kowtowed to English sentiment and sensibilities.

Between 1876 and 1892 the cartel-style, autocratic rule of Australian professional sculling was critical for backers' profits and the sport's world domination. It was an era where money and gambling predominated sport and the newer ideologies borne from rational recreation were only beginning to take root. It was also a time when cricket and horseracing were professional sculling's only significant organised rivals and the sport enjoyed a large slice of the spectator pie.

Australian backers' primary concerns were profit and control. Historians suggest that backers sponsored scullers so they could improve the

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3 Adair, op. cit., p.54.
scullers' technique and fitness⁴ but the backer/sculler relationship had far wider consequences. Bennett alluded to the country centres developing strong competitions and while he suggested that the public schools were amateur rowing's nurseries, he omitted to mention that the country regions were also the backers' preparatory centres.⁵ The wealthy backers formed themselves into two powerful bodies and they plucked the best scullers from the country to maintain their elite Sydney competition and world domination. They employed specialised trainers to transform the self-taught country lad into an elite sculler and they recouped their outlays by wagering.

Backers were assisted in their control by New South Wales amateur rowing's manual labour bar. Professional sculling was a New South Wales phenomenon and this was largely due to amateur rowing's class-based exclusion of manual workers. Other colonies and states offered a more pragmatic amateur definition, which enabled the manual labourer and certain professional sportsmen to compete. New South Wales' rigid definition also excluded from amateur rowing the country rowing clubs, which offered the backers a vast breeding ground.

Structures such as governing hierarchical bodies, national networks and graded competitions were not perceived as necessary by the professionals because they were costly and required long-term evolution. The professional sculling dichotomy enabled the Sydney cartels to plunder the country talent and maintain their elite squads exclusively. Big-time professional sculling was their business and Sydney and international competition returned the greatest profits and it was on this pathway that they held absolute authority.

The backers had full control of the sport between 1884 and 1892. They sponsored or blocked overseas challengers, held back aspirants until seasoned men retired and they quickly dismissed those scullers who struggled to make the grade. Historians suggest that Australian scullers produced national pride, proof that Australians were of sound stock and

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⁴ Adair, op. cit., pp.53-54; Bennett, op. cit., pp.128-129; Cashman, op. cit., pp.188-189.
⁵ Bennett, op. cit., pp.128, 139.
expressions of Australian sporting prowess. But the backers had developed a structure and control from which they produced their muscular Christians, their Coming Men and Australia's ambassadors. They offered the medium for society to vent patriotic and nationalistic feelings and the more parochialism the sport could generate the more glory and particularly profit the players and their backers could receive.

Backers gave the public spectaculars. By including the population's gamut into these occasions, professional sculling was endorsed as a genuine sport and its main characters as outstanding citizens. The backers were the sport's centralised control and, in an era when organised sport was being born, their administrative style was efficient, progressive and rewarding. They dominated the English-speaking world with six Australian champions between 1876 and 1892 and reaped enormous profits. This period certainly was Australian professional sculling's Golden Age.

Regardless of the social and political consequences, backers were not benefactors. Indeed, they loved the sport and they bathed in its glory, but fame, pride and loyalty were inconsequential without monetary returns. By 1892 the backers had exhausted the sport's profitability. For them, alternatives such as proprietary racing, cycling and pedestrianism had become more lucrative. With the onset of economic depression the backers withdrew from professional sculling and they left a void, which took 12 years to fill. During this time, the better-structured sports and those less reliant on money, with proprietary racing an exception, came to the fore.

Adair suggests that the sport flourished for two decades but this was not the case. The backers' control was so overwhelming that their departure created a monumental and immediate collapse. During this period, the sport in Sydney bordered on tokenism, whereas, the country centres with their club and community-based structures kept the sport functioning. Their organisational style, which the backers shunned but plundered, was similar to the emerging amateur sport constructs of hierarchical administration, centralised control, regular and graded competition. Under this direction the

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7 Adair, op. cit., p.65.
country professionals, like the city amateurs, took time to evolve, which was far too long for the self-indulgent backers.

By the century's turn the country regions, particularly Newcastle, were professional sculling's core. The sport could advance no further than the regions unless Sydney, with its vast population, could be involved. George Towns' reclamation of the world championship in 1901 and the strengthening country centres revitalised the sport and its focus returned to Sydney. It was during this period that the professional sculling authorities missed their first opportunity to consolidate the sport's organisational framework and establish a controlling body.

Adair's and Cashman's narrow statements that the lack of centralised control contributed to professional sculling's decline requires elaboration because structure was critical for determining the sport's longevity or its demise.\(^8\) The key period for professional sculling's future was between 1892 and 1904 when no more than a handful of races of passing interest occurred in Sydney. During this time, cricket, rugby union, cycling, pedestrianism and proprietary racing were some of the sports that offered facilities, regular and seasonal competition, suburban-based clubs and international competition. It was also a time of suburbanisation, improving transport and technologies, broadening education and the rapid adoption of the ideologies of amateurism. Society had undergone sweeping social and political changes and in a sporting context the pattern of entry fees, ritual spectacles, graded competitions and competent administration were both expected and established.

It was a new age of organised sport, however, the spectator pie had decreased. A more erudite society doubted the new backers' dated offerings and scepticism increased as these backers became more blatant in their attempts to offset the sport's spiralling costs and to compensate for irregular competition. Professional sculling's genesis had lost coherence with society's meaning of organised sport. To regain that meaning, the sculling fraternity needed to demonstrate that the sport was a compliant and significant social activity. But to achieve that image, the sculling fraternity

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\(^8\) Adair, op. cit., p.74; Cashman, op. cit., p.46.
required a highly sophisticated organisation, structure and control. Professional sculling was small enough for re-invention and organisation and appreciable enough to maintain international prominence.

During this period the professional sculling fraternity did little towards improving the sport's organisation and administration. The amateur rowing authorities struggled to convince the professionals that they must either organise themselves or perish, but the efforts to organise and codify professional sculling were flawed. No centralised body was formed to enforce the rules and regulations, a consequence of the professionals' beliefs that money was essential to drive an individual-based sport; a fear that restricting backers would lose them from the game; and a creeping paranoia that Australia had little right to dictate to the dominions or more specifically England. With the regards to the latter, Australia had every right to dictate to the sculling world. The nation had been the sport's strength and innovator. In terms of depth, appeal and support New South Wales was the sport's world phenomenon.

The professionals' mindset reflected nineteenth-century thinking and they offered a more cultured public the same concoction from the 1880s. This worked briefly, but from 1907 problems arose. The amateurs had convinced the professionals to codify championships, but they were unsuccessful in restraining the backers and regulating the money elements. As self-indulgences increased and the sport became more chaotic, the prospect of effective organisation became close to impossible. The professionals accomplished such a dysfunctional structure that they hastened their own demise. The backers controlled the world championships, the sporting paper, the Referee, controlled the national championship and the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League controlled the state championships and other minor domestic races. Neither sculling body coalesced, compromised or attempted to centralise control because they feared loss of influence and self-interests.

Such a broken regime could no longer compete with the systematised sports that were contesting nationally and internationally, nor could it conceivably fulfil society's expectations. The conservative sculling authorities found it inconceivable that the sport's traditional means of operation needed
to be destroyed to obtain a fresh and meaningful start. Their refusal to reconcile the sport's factions and implement unpopular but crucial steps to cohere with the dominant ideology, as a unified, contributive entity, meant that the professional sculling champion was perceived as yesterday's hero and professional sculling would retire on the deeds of its Golden Age.

Nationalism And Imperialism

Historians have neglected the important role which imperialism played in professional sculling's success and particularly in its demise. In this study, re-interpretation of previous works has indicated clearly that without England as an intimidator the sport became a sensation under Australian control. An analysis of the sport post-1907 confirms that once England became a player its perceived imperial awesomeness weakened the Australian confidence and subsequently left the Australians paranoid and indecisive.

The meaning of professional sculling for the backers and society, in general, contrasted markedly. When England created the world championship the backers sensed that worldwide competition managed expertly could produce lucrative, long-term remuneration. They were eager to prove, too, that New South Wales was the premier colony and that Australians had not degenerated the Anglo-Saxon race. The revelation that England was not the benchmark did little to dampen their enthusiasm because it was construed that the dominions would enhance the Empire. It was on these premises that the backers' transient loyalties enriched imperialism, patriotism and nationalism and lined their pockets handsomely.

Backers were in the game for profits and they enhanced their profits by harnessing the sentiments of imperialism and patriotism and nationalism. Public sentiment was managed as carefully as their financial side and the lessons learnt from Trickett's 1880 defeat paid dividends until 1892. With the sport's focus on Australia from 1884, the cartel housing the world champion enhanced its earning capacity and status by inspiring the ground swell of support into feverish patriotism and nationalism. The cartel housing an overseas challenger persuaded the public that its victory would enrich the Empire because the colonies were producing powerful and robust stock. The prevalence of one cartel sponsoring an overseas aspirant against the other's
Australian world champion confirms that patriotism, nationalism and imperialism were mere tools in the backers' repertory. The backers' exit from professional sculling, when Australia had a primed world champion, also demonstrates that the pound controlled their loyalties and sentiments.

For society, the sport's Australian dominance brought with it new meaning. The champions were lionised as superb muscular Christians and desirable ambassadors of a splendid people and a resourceful country. These Coming Men were construed as the national types who brought Australia before the world. They created a sense of colonial unity, reassured most that the country produced worthy stock and furthered the ideological links between athleticism and social Darwinism. They were household names and were fêted throughout the course of their lives. The inspiration that they generated went beyond winning boat races. These men were the precursors of federation. They were perceived as the embodiment of Australian character and identity and their feats were recognised and eulogised as the constructs for nation building. Thus, the excitement and national symbolism produced when Towns regained the world championship in the federation year reinforced the political and social emphasis that Australia was coming of age.

But instead of capitalising on the symbolism and national sentiment, the sculling fraternity allowed it to fade. The sculling authorities' failure to organise, structure and effect centralised control fashioned the sport as unbridled and out-of-step with society's perception of organised sport and recreation. As the sport's dysfunction increased and as more organised sports broadened their international reach, professional sculling's meaning as a nationalistic pioneer faded. The missed opportunity to coddle the sport and build a structure around Towns' success and impassion a new generation propelled the sport towards social insignificance.

Instead of re-inventing the sport by means of administration and organisation, the sculling fraternity attempted to recapture its lost significance by adopting the New Zealander Richard Armit and pandering to Ernest Barry, England's first elite sculler in 36 years, so as to kindle imperial rivalry. These measures gave the sport some plausibility. However, even though Australia had superior sculling strength, greater finances, better organisation than the
other sculling nations and the will to advance the sport, the professional
sculling authorities succumbed to their English loyalties and sentiments and
condoned imperialism above nationalism and patriotism.

Clearly, the sculling authorities’ apathetic management transformed
their confidence into self-consciousness and indecision. Their mix of public
school, Protestant, middle-class and loyalist dispositions hastened the
restoration of English sovereignty and leadership. For them to maintain
England’s matriarchal role and promote the ‘Home’ land as a social and
cultural measuring stick, they surrendered their authority and compromised
their endeavours at modernisation. The sport’s meaning and symbolism,
which the Australians had nurtured and brought to the fore, were rescinded to
accommodate English sensibilities. The enchantment and meaning gained
by the bygone champions was cruelly deflated. Even ‘Digger’ Felton, the
consummate Australian type who was pitched to fulfil Australian greatness,
was forced to extraordinary lengths to conjure up a patriotic supporter.

The re-institutionalisation of colonialism into the sport became an
obsession. The sculling authorities achieved this predominantly by
subverting their patriotic and nationalistic ideals. Instead of England
becoming the social progress yardstick, Australian professional sculling
depressed itself towards artlessness. This subversion increased the sport’s
expendability as a meaningful and contributory social and cultural marker
because its constructs had lost sporting and hegemonic enhancement. An
intolerant public quickly found fulfilment in other sports.

Thus, while a number of professional sports endured the patriot’s
condemnation for continuing their competitions during World War I,
professional sculling’s committed English sentiment acceded to the patriot’s
demands. As the sport had struggled to cohere with the dominant ideology
and it was receding as a social enhancer, the decision to halt competition for
the Empire’s cause accelerated it towards irrelevance.

It was inconceivable that the sculling fraternity would embarrass and
offend England by taking control of the sport at the war’s end. In fact, the
sculling fraternity yearned for an imperial-led recovery irrespective of England
being a sculling pauper, at best a hindrance since 1876. Its infatuation
blurred the fact that it was Australia who had managed the sport to greatness and had issued the sport with social and cultural context.

But the crushing blow for the sport's meaning and significance was the sculling fraternity's obsession with Ernest Barry and Englishness. It rewrote all patriotic and nationalistic definitions to accommodate imperial sentiment. The sculling fraternity lathered the sport with English superiority and invested into the public a colonial stain. The sculling fraternity's volition for a robust, post-war England to recapture and institute the sport's meaning pushed Australian professional sculling beyond restitution. So strong was the sculling fraternity's imperial allegiance that it abandoned everything to capture one special moment of an Englishman racing in Sydney in the hope that his presence would reinstate the sport to its former glories. But their culmination of imperial strength, durability and magistracy exposed an avaricious Englishman, an impatient 'Home' land, a witless sculling fraternity, the remnants of a nationalistic pioneer and nation builder, and, a sport destined for provincial mediocrity.

**Amateurism**

Historians of sport in Australia have assumed and readily accepted that professionalism was "anathema to the proponents of the amateur ideal".\(^9\) To most it would be inconceivable to suggest that the amateur rowing authorities were major proponents of professional sculling.

This analysis of professional sculling suggests that those historians have misjudged the relationship between amateur and professional sports in their enthusiasm to demonstrate the polarisation of the two codes. Much has been discussed of amateur sport's condemnation of money in sport, professionalism, and the manual labour bar, elitism, athleticism and its social and moral values. New South Wales amateur rowing is paraded as a prime example of a middle-class, exclusionary and respectable sport that ostracised professionalism, the manual labourer and any connection between sport and money. It offers a compelling argument and a sheltered example but only within a pre-defined context.

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Historians have asserted that a distinct demarcation existed between amateur and professional rowing.\textsuperscript{10} But in a broader sporting and social context, historians have overlooked the obvious relationship between the amateur rowing establishment and professional sculling.

John Blackman’s often-quoted treatise, of what a professional and a manual labourer were not, exemplifies the historians’ tone and it is used effectively to ridicule the author.\textsuperscript{11} It is also applied to consolidate their arguments that the amateurs and the professionals were diametrically opposed. In their haste to maximise their arguments historians have omitted that Blackman’s article was directed at his fellow amateur rowing clubs who were lobbying for manual labour amateur inclusion into the New South Wales Rowing Association.\textsuperscript{12} They have also failed to note that Blackman and numerous other amateur executives dedicated a minimum of four decades towards professional sculling’s development and well being. At no stage have historians suggested that the amateur rowing establishment sought a generous association with the professionals and that the amateurs provided them with organisation, stability and leadership.

Clearly, New South Wales amateur rowing was an elitist, class-based organisation whose administrators forbade professionalism within their sport. At a managerial level, however, the professional taint was less conspicuous. Whereas these heavy-handed administrators protected amateur sportsmen from professionalism, these same administrators were themselves above temptation. They engaged in professional sculling matters without the fear of any taint.

The amateur rowing establishment officiated and organised professional sculling competitions and engineered ceremonial occasions and the lauding of professional sculling champions. Amateur administrators perceived no conflicting interests as they assisted professional scullers in gathering stake monies. Nor did it devalue their moral and social


\textsuperscript{11} Cashman, op. cit., pp.59-60; Solling, op. cit., pp.26-27; Booth & Tatz, op. cit., p.51.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Sydney Mail}, 24 July 1897 p.198; \textit{Sydney Mail}, 31 July 1897 p.250.
responsibilities when they attended and reported on the enormous wagering that occurred on a professional sculling race. It was considered proper that an amateur administrator could administer the stakeholding and officiate as an executive on professional sculling committees.

Leadership and organisation were central to the amateur establishment's relationship with the professionals. In particular, its influence in shaping sculling as a meaningful social and cultural contributor and a cohesive unit which would complement amateur rowing and attach itself to the dominant ideology. Of the many amateur administrators who dedicated their services for professional sculling's well being, P.J. (Jim) Clark, John Blackman, Richard Coombes and Nat McDonald were outstanding. Contrary to the accepted view that the amateur establishment was intolerant of professionalism, these proponents of amateurism were committed to enhancing professional sculling. They contended that both codes could be managed independently and exist cohesively. Although the professionals, particularly the backers and their champions, rarely reciprocated their commitment,\textsuperscript{13} it failed to dim their enthusiasm in organising and representing professional sculling as a respectable sport.

Their dedication to protect professional sculling from perishing casts new light on some assumptions attributed to the amateur/professional debate. Firstly, the threat posed to professional sculling by amateurism and its ideology was less significant than the professionals' failure to organise, structure and control their sport. Rather than being alienated by amateurism, professional sculling failed to cohere with the dominant ideology. Secondly, amateur rowing's structure and control would rarely be threatened by professional sculling. Fundamentally, they were different sports. One was individual and the other was team-based. The amateurs had a protective policy in place and the amateur administrators' insistence that professional sculling should be organised added a further safeguard against tainting. Professional sculling was amateur rowing's least threat. A greater contamination to amateur rowing came from within. Its struggle to arrive at a national amateur definition posed a graver threat to advancement and

\textsuperscript{13} However, once they had retired from professional sculling, ex-champions, such as Towns, Kemp and Beach, contributed to amateur rowing in various ways, as illustrated throughout this thesis.
harmony than any professional sculling incursions. Thirdly, the amateurs envisaged that without formulation professional sculling would fail to survive. Clearly, the amateurs could see themselves, if not co-controllers, at the least consultants of the sport if they could rein-in the backers and structure professional sculling on similar lines to their own sport. Failing that, the amateurs were prepared to support a professional controlling body and a properly organised sport. Their enhanced status as major contributors to the control and organisation of a leading international sport would be less of a conflicting interest than a greater boon to the potency, correctness and judiciousness of the amateur ideal. Fourthly, the amateur administrators' commitment towards professional sculling's longevity demonstrates that corruption as a main contributor to the sport's demise has been overstated. Fifthly, the amateur establishment's involvement in professional sculling gave amateur rowing national and international disclosure, which enhanced the sport's social dimension.

Clearly, the amateur rowing executives had defined their social positions and they had determined their sport's standing. Professionalism in their ranks would disrupt their authority, their status and the sport's social order if it were not policed ruthlessly by means of class segregation and the exclusion of money. But the executives were far from the conservatives, which they have been portrayed. By sharing in the professional's success, these executives enhanced their social positions, enriched amateur rowing's exposure and included rowing as part of national symbolism. Professional sculling had monopolised an international profile and it had seduced patriotic and nationalistic sentiments. To enjoy these fruits and to promote Australian rowing as a whole, the amateur administrators engaged themselves in ensuring professional sculling's well being. What better way was there for amateur rowing's national and international recognition, without competing, than for the sport's executives to chair champions' welcomings and settlements, create rules and regulations and allow champions to race internationally in amateur rowing clubs' colours. Thus, the amateur executives were at the forefront in organising, officiating and solemnising professional sculling matters.
Historians' sermonising of the amateur/professional debate has reinforced assumptions that professionalism was anathema to the guardians of amateur ideals. New South Wales amateur rowing, in particular, is paraded as a most vehement denouncer of professionalism. It provides a compelling argument, with respect to class-based exclusionism and protective policies, to safeguard amateur ideals and repel money in sport. While historians have concentrated on the manual labour bar, elitism and the condemnation of professionalism, their interpretations have neglected the principal role played by amateur rowing administrators in professional sculling's development and well being.

They have also overlooked the class link between the amateur and the professional administrators. Both codes were managed by middle-class, muscular Christians. One major variant between the two was that the professionals sought profit and the amateurs sought power and position. To enhance their control and status, amateur rowing administrators helped guide one of the biggest gambling and stake money pastimes for nearly five decades. While they were above tainting, the same morality could not be entrusted to rowers in the amateur ranks. Temptation was policed strictly and by enforcing rigid parameters, amateur administrators secured their social positions and the sport's social order.

Class

Because New South Wales amateur rowing has been assessed as a middle-class, exclusionist sport that forbade prize money and gambling, its antithesis, professional sculling, has been connotated as a working-class sport. The connections made between the working class, gambling, stake money, corruption and professionalism have been applied to professional sculling to distinguish the differences between the amateur and the professional codes. Professional sculling's working-class tag is based on sound premises because the sport fits into the pattern attributed to other boom and bust professional sports.

The middle-class amateur rowing administrators aligned the working class with professionalism and the majority of scullers were labourers who came from working-class families. Labourers were excluded from the
amateur ranks until 1903 when most were allowed to participate. This segregation helped burden the working class with the professional tag. The majority of scullers could afford second and third-hand rigs, which confirmed the perception that professional sculling was a hand-me-down sport. Scullers required backers for them to progress through the professional ranks and this master/servant relationship suggested that the scullers were incapable, intellectually and financially, of conducting their own affairs.

Education levels among scullers were, at best, primary grade, and that further fuelled the impression that the sport was indeed working-class. Most champions came from humble backgrounds, but their rise to premier status enabled them to improve their lot. A champion's upward social mobility was so stark that it attested to the belief that professional sculling belonged to the lower orders. So too did the spectator throngs which lined the riverbanks confirm that the sport was for the commonfolk. Even the country rowing clubs, which failed to affiliate with the New South Wales Rowing Association because their finances were insufficient to remain within the amateur rowing definition, added to the perception that the working class and professionalism were interwoven.

Such evidence indicates why historians, such as Cashman, Bennett, Adair, Booth and Tatz, Lane and Jobling, have interpreted professional sculling as a working-class sport.\(^{14}\) In comparison with amateur rowing, professional sculling appears as a lowly, coarse offering suited to common and popular interests. These historians, though, have assessed the sport as one-dimensional and they have shown an unwillingness to analyse the sport beyond their neat categorisation. Because the sport struggled for centralised control, it operated from many levels, which contributed to transient management and control between middle-class entrepreneurs and administrators. This middle-class involvement determined the sport's culture and created its own style of exclusionism. Contrary to historians' assumptions, professional sculling was far from a working-class sport.

Prior to the New South Wales Marine Board's 1885 and 1888 following steamer limitations, the sport was arguably working-class at least in terms of

\(^{14}\) Cashman, op. cit., p.46; Lane & Jobling, op. cit., pp.5-16; Adair, op. cit., pp.53-77; Bennett, op. cit., pp.127-140; Booth & Tatz, op. cit., pp.50-59.
the major proportion of its spectators and participants. Any number of craft could follow the racing, some of which were hired by backers who charged entry fees. In 1885, racing was limited to one following steamer although by 1888 that was amended to two. This measure was designed to avoid collisions and interference to contestants. It was also the start of professional sculling as a privileged sport with more restricted places. Steamer prices were aimed at the affluent. So too were the charges for the occasionally erected grandstand. An ordinary wage earner could possibly afford entrance into the enclosed grounds at the finishing line or marked vantage points along the course, but many preferred the stationary berths offered by private boat owners who undercut the backers’ charges. The majority viewed races from the free riverbanks. The backers were businessmen and by design the steamer charges were high so some outlays could be recovered. More importantly, the steamers gathered like-minded, wealthy gentleman who enjoyed gambling.

The costs of participating in professional sculling above basic competition were beyond the means of the ordinary wage earner. Racing with second and third-hand equipment was acceptable, if not the only means, in elementary competition. Higher competition required financial resources to offset the costs of a suitable craft, training, accommodation, loss of wages and stake money. Those scullers with personal finances or those with backers could progress in the sport. Scullers with personal funding were rare and backers selected only those who were capable of returning profits. Professional sculling by design was selective, exclusive and closed to the working-class majority. While Bennett and Adair suggest that amateur rowing appealed because of its regular competition, national and international opportunities and its ideology, they omitted to note that the 1903 lifting of the manual labour bar also rescinded the fate of a working-class male being forced into professional sport. They also overlooked that it was considerably cheaper for working-class males, other than the exceptionally gifted, to join amateur rowing clubs than it was for them to attempt professional sculling.

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15 Adair, op. cit., pp.76-78; Bennett, op. cit., p.139.
Because the backers' control was transitory, they pursued grand events and their drive for maximum profits and minimum overheads diminished their desire to generate the sport from a community or district base. Their manipulation of the sport to gain advantage and best revenue contributed to the sporadic staging of the grand events. This reduced the chances of establishing a substantial and ongoing supporter base. The professionals' unwillingness to organise the sport bypassed the establishment of suburban, district or community-based clubs and loyalties. Their attempts at a club network were based on the individual and he was expected to supply his own craft and pay subscription and race entry fees.

The critical building blocks, which contributed to a sport's popularity and well being, such as loyalty, regionalism, parochialism, patriotism and nationalism, were diminished in professional sculling because the sport's administrators gave its working-class supporters a sense of incongruity instead of a sense of belonging. In comparison with rugby league, professional sculling treated its public abominably. Rugby league provided its patrons with facilities, season tickets, regular, ritual competition, international contests and enclosed grounds. Teams were suburban-based, international competition became conventionalised and the sport gave its working-class supporters a sense of belonging. As with other commercialised sports, rugby league demanded payment for its spectacles and conditioned its audience into the custom of paying to receive. Professional sculling failed to establish this rapport with its working-class audience. Strategies, such as coin and donation boxes, to encourage commitment and relationship, were never considered. In fact, professional sculling was content for the working class' sense of belonging to be accommodated elsewhere. Whereas a rugby league season ticket was affordable, its cost was less than a berth for one championship sculling race.

Settling also demonstrates that professional sculling was for the privileged. The ceremony was restricted by ticket or invitation, it was patronised by civic leaders, dignitaries and commercial chiefs and evening attire was the dress code. This reinforced privilege and the status quo and it excluded the majority and the poor. The latter were compensated with glimpses of their champions upon hotel balconies or theatre stages.
Settling's structure was in keeping with the backers' selective and exclusive practices in controlling who was eligible to participate in the sport.

While economic and political capital could be gained, social capital was discouraged in favour of maintaining a profile and conserving a narrow band to prop-up the sport. By design, professional sculling failed to bond with working-class expectations and it failed to interact and accommodate a broader and genuine support base. Professional sculling was available to a select group of scullers, unavailable to the working class and repelled by middle-class amateur idealists.

Unlike most working-class based sports, it was not surprising that professional sculling, with its mix of amateur and professional, middle-class authorities, ceased competition during World War I in support of the Empire's cause. At a time when professional sports administrators feared that an abandonment of their competitions would ruin their sports and their livelihoods, the sculling administrators' decision suggests that the working class was neither a factor nor consideration in their sport nor was the fear of them jeopardising their sport or their livelihoods.

Historians have perhaps been lazy in assessing professional sculling as a working-class sport. Although professional sculling attracted a working-class audience and its competitors were plucked from the lower ranks, this does not automatically classify it as working-class. A deeper analysis demonstrates that the professional sculling authorities were exclusionists, but they lacked the wherewithal to define which section of society they wished to include. They had ignored the working class, their mix of disorganisation and money in sport offended the middle class, they protected a select group of scullers and they relied on the public's goodwill for patronage instead of earning the public's respect. Without definition, professional sculling was beyond the working class, ambiguously middle class but clearly preclusive.

What this thesis achieves is a clearer understanding of the processes that gave professional sculling meaning and significance for society and the critical factors, which altered that meaning and carried the sport towards insignificance. To arrive at that meaning a re-examination and re-interpretation of the available background information was required. Some of the initial assumptions about existing research in the field were unfounded,
however, there were a number of issues, which were omitted and summarised. The re-examination and re-interpretation of the missing and summarised issues were crucial for a comprehensive analysis of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century rowing and its impact and consequences for society, especially in New South Wales.

In a broader social and sports history context, the thesis challenges some generally accepted assertions which have been used to define and categorise amateur and professional sports and their bearing on the social, economic and political spheres. By analysing the relationship between the concepts of organisation, capital, nationalism, imperialism, amateurism and class, this wider scope questions many current beliefs and suggests fresher interpretations of the roles played by amateur and professional sport in society's and the nation's development.

Within the thesis' 1876 to 1927 time frame, society underwent enormous social and political changes. By analysing these changes through professional sculling a clearer understanding of society's constructs, ideology and hegemonic shifts can be gained as well as the pivotal role sport played in bringing about those changes.
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APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1

Championship Records 1876-1957

1.1 World Professional Sculling Championship Records 1876-1957

1.2 Australian Professional Sculling Championship Records 1903-1957

1.3 New South Wales Professional Sculling Championship Records 1913-1957
### 1.1 World Professional Sculling Championship Records
#### 1876-1957

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*(James Paddow retired and forfeited his title to William McDevitt)*

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*(H.R. (Bobby) Pearce retired in 1947 on the understanding that Evans Paddon, A.M. should decide his successor)*

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- Shortened course because Uhr’s Point bend was considered advantageous to the sculler who drew the southern shore.
- ** Altered course to increase profit.
- *** Pearce contended that he defended his title against Miller on the 4th July 1935 and 10th July 1935 but these races were considered exhibitions and have not been recognised as world championship events.
- o Buoyed course.
1.2  Australian Professional Sculling Championship Records

1903-1957

Prior to the introduction of the outrigger in the early 1850s, George Mulhall was the recognised Australian champion oarsman, due primarily to his dominance in the heavy boat during the 1840s. ¹ Between 1851 and 1858, with the predominance of the outrigger, the Australian championship was raced for between the English immigrants John Deward, James Candlish, Thomas Day and James Edwards and the Australians Thomas McGrath, Richard Green and Mulhall.² These races were contested on Sydney Harbour but from 1858 when racing transferred to the Parramatta River Richard Green became the dominant sculler and recognised Australian champion.³ William Hickey emerged as the outstanding sculler and Australian champion between 1866 and 1873 and he was deposed by Michael Rush.⁴ Rush, Edward Trickett and Elias Laycock shared the honours, however, from 1876 the Australian world champion was generally recognised as the Australian champion.⁵

It was in the twentieth century that the Australian championship became a more formal tournament and definable entity. George Towns had returned to Australia in 1902 as world and English champion.⁶ Any claims to Australian championship status for Towns were disputable because he had left Australia in 1897 as an untried, second-rate sculler and, at the time,

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⁶ Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6; Sydney Mail, 10 December 1902 p.1545.
James Stanbury was the recognised Australian champion. During Towns' absence Stanbury retired and Richard Tresidder of Newcastle emerged as the leading domestic sculler.

An entrepreneurial opportunity presented itself in 1903 when Harry Pearce of Sydney was prepared to race Tresidder in a match based on regional rivalry. Pearce had toured with Towns throughout England and Canada and had achieved success and acclamation for his skill and style. The combination of Towns' world championship victory in 1901, his Australian return and the revival of the sport in the country regions renewed public interest in the sport. It also offered promoters the opportunity to increase their profits by reviving the Australian championship as the Tresidder/Pearce match and posturing the championship as a tangible event.

John Blackman helped validate the Australian championship in 1908 when his blueprint to codify the event was adopted by professional sculling authorities. Richard Coombes' intervention in 1912 gave the Australian championship focus and identity. He appropriated control of the event and administered the championship through the Referee. Alfred Burns' winning the Referee Challenge Cup outright in 1928, Coombes' passing in 1935 and the Referee's demise in 1939 helped remove one of the sport's main administrative mechanisms. From 1928, the Australian championship had no accompanying trophy with the exception of 1938 when the Truth and Sportsman Cup was raced for as a one-off memento.

From 1913, the Northern Rivers and the Northern Rivers scullers monopolised the Australian championship and from 1937, the sport overall.

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7 Newcastle Morning Herald And Miners' Advocate, 18 March 1897 p.3; Referee, 27 January 1897 p.3; Referee, 10 December 1902 p.6.
8 Sydney Mail, 12 February 1908 p.445; Newcastle Herald, 1 January 1902 p.3; Sydney Mail, 10 May 1902 p.1207; Referee, 11 March 1903 p.1.
9 Sydney Mail, 21 September 1901 p.763; Sydney Mail, 30 November 1901 p.1403; Sydney Mail, 28 December 1901 p.1674; Sydney Mail, 24 June 1908 p.1673.
10 Referee, 11 March 1903 p.1; Town And Country Journal, 11 March 1903 p.53.
11 Sydney Mail, 25 March 1908 p.829; Sydney Mail, 15 April 1908 p.1025; Sydney Mail, 24 June 1908 p.1673; Referee, 1 July 1908 p.10.
12 Referee, 20 November 1912 p.1; Referee, 4 December 1912 pp.1, 11; Referee, 24 December 1912 p.11.
14 Northern Star, 28 February 1938 p.6; Daily Examiner, 29 July 1953 p.6.
During the 1930s and the 1940s attempts were made to rejuvenate the sport and excite public interest by introducing a number of championships. Most of these titles came under the umbrella of the Federation Of Professional Sculling, which was established in 1948 with the sole purpose of controlling the broad scope of championship racing.\(^{15}\)

The concept of championship racing was commendable in principle, but saturated in practice. It appeared that most scullers were champions of some description. For example, the Australian title was split into separate light and heavyweight championships, as was the Australian one-mile contest. Similarly, the Australian heavy-boat championship was divided by weight; the New South Wales outrigger, one-mile and heavy-boat titles were split into light and heavyweight categories; a New South Wales gladstone skiff championship was introduced and it too was divided by weight, while Parramatta River championships were conducted in the various racing craft and produced light and heavyweight champions.\(^{16}\) Added to the list were the country regional and district championships and the extremity of a world lightweight outrigger champion.\(^{17}\) The range and variety of championships invites a cynical interpretation that the sculler who was not a champion was an exception.

The table below lists the Australian, open, distance champions of the twentieth century.\(^{18}\)

\(^{15}\) *Australian Oarsman*, in, *The Australian Power Boat And Yachting Monthly*, 10 December 1948 p.32; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 August 1950 p.31; *Daily Examiner*, 30 July 1953 p.7; *Northern Star*, 16 September 1952 p.8; The New South Wales Professional Rowing And Sculling League was reformed after World War II to control New South Wales championships.

\(^{16}\) *Daily Examiner*, 1 May 1954 p.5; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 December 1939 p.21; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 March 1950 p.28; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 August 1950 p.31; *Australian Oarsman*, 10 August 1947 p.39.

\(^{17}\) *Australian Oarsman*, 10 March 1950 pp.28-29.

## Australian Professional Sculling Championship Records 1903-1957

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<td>1951</td>
<td>James Saul</td>
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1.3 New South Wales Professional Sculling Championship Records

1913-1957

The Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club created the New South Wales outrigger championship as a stepping stone to the Australian and world championships.¹⁹ Such was the standard of the competitor in the state championship that it quickly became recognised as the third highest honour throughout the sculling world.²⁰ Inaugurated in April 1913, the initial race was conducted as a sweepstakes event and by design the winner could claim the title of state champion, but his and the subsequent races were to be conducted in the traditional match-racing form.²¹ Administration of the championship was handed over to the New South Wales Sculling And Rowing League in September 1913 which was a body created, primarily, by the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club to control state professional sculling.²²

From 1933, the state championship reverted from match racing to an all-comers format and was rowed, generally, on a yearly basis.²³ A winner's prize of up to £10 normally accompanied each event and, from 1938, contestants also raced for the perpetual Bill Beach Memorial Trophy.²⁴ As with most sports, professional sculling competition ceased during World War II and from 1950 the state championship was conducted almost exclusively on the Northern Rivers and generally amongst Northern Rivers scullers.

As described previously, during the 1930s and the 1940s a number of state titles were created, however, for the purpose of this appendix the table below lists the New South Wales, open, distance champions.²⁵

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¹⁹ Sportsman, 5 March 1913 p.8; Referee, 2 April 1913 p.11.
²⁰ Australian Oarsman, 10 March 1943 pp.16-18; Arrow, 5 November 1920 p.6; Arrow, 1 October 1920 p.16; Australian Oarsman, 10 January 1942 p.16; Referee, 30 March 1921 p.15.
²¹ Referee, 26 March 1913.
²² Referee, 17 September 1913 p.11; Sportsman, 17 September 1913 p.8.
²³ Australian Oarsman, March 1933 p.21; Australian Oarsman, 10 December 1939 p.21; Daily Examiner, 3 April 1956 p.4.
²⁴ Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1938 p.24.
²⁵ Compiled from the following sources; Australian Oarsman, 1933-1957; Daily Examiner, 1915-1957; Northern Star, 1915-1957; Macleay Argus, 1933-1953; Referee, 1913-1939; Interview Jack Fisher (March 1997) & George Cook (August 2003); Saul, Jim, Album Of Rowing And Sculling, Vaughan Evans Library, Sydney.
New South Wales Professional Sculling Championship Records
1913-1957

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<tr>
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APPENDIX 2

Craft And Courses

2.1 Types Of Racing Craft

2.2 Predominant Courses
2.1 Types of Racing Craft

During the early days of the New South Wales colony oarsmen raced in many styles of boat.\(^1\) As contests became regular and with the development of regional and provincial championships, the need for boat standardisation surfaced. Similarly, the emergence of ideological and class categorisations of the gentleman amateur, the manual labourer and the professional\(^2\) contributed to the differentiation in the style of craft used by the amateur and the professional.

The light skiff became standardised as the professional sculler's racing boat. It was an open craft, not in excess of 22 feet in length and 11 to 12 inches in depth, and it was reputed for its durability.\(^3\) The light skiff's use from the novice to the high grader and its capacity to carry sandbag or lead weight for handicap racing also demonstrated the craft's versatility. Although the outrigger replaced the light skiff as the premier racing craft from the 1860s, it was still used by the professionals until the 1890s because it was cheaper\(^4\) and also functioned as the traverse to the outrigger.\(^5\) From the 1850s, the professionals utilised three other types of boats, in addition to the light skiff and outrigger; namely the gladstone skiff, the waterman's skiff and the butcher boat. However, it was the outrigger, which remained the premier craft throughout the period.

The outrigger, often referred to as a “best-and-best” or “wager” boat, was introduced from England in 1854\(^6\) and quickly became the standard competition boat in the English-speaking world. This uniformity opened the sport to international competition and the development of a world championship from 1876. In a social and economic context, the outrigger's

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4. Interviews: Jim Latham (December 1998) and Reg Hyde (July 1999) stated that the light skiff and outrigger cost £1 per foot.
introduction created an unrivalled nineteenth-century phenomenon.\textsuperscript{7} Between 1876 and 1907 seven Australian scullers dominated the English-speaking world and their ascendancy over England and particularly her dominions provided one yardstick to measure social progress.\textsuperscript{8}

The creation of the world championship provided new meaning for professionalism. The seven champions came from manual labouring backgrounds\textsuperscript{9} and they transferred from the manual labourer amateur sculler,\textsuperscript{10} who rowed for cash prizes up to £10, into the professional ranks where backers secured them. At the professional level these backers staked them for sums in excess of £10 and generally in the £100s. Class barriers prevented a manual labourer from becoming a gentleman amateur,\textsuperscript{11} however, the social mobility attained by these champions through wealth and status won them the amateurs’ regard.\textsuperscript{12} The swift social mobility of these champions, their lionising and their adulation by civic and civil leaders fashioned a sense that labourers could improve their lot through sport.\textsuperscript{13} Similarly, the backers of the champions had realised that international competition would transform professional sculling from a casual business interest into a serious and lucrative financial concern. To capitalise on the

\textsuperscript{7} See, Appendix 1; Bennett, S., ‘Professional Sculling In New South Wales’, in, Journal Of The Royal Australian Historical Society, vol.71, October 1985, pp.127-142; Adair, D., ‘“Two Dots In The Distance”: Professional Sculling As A Mass Spectacle In New South Wales, 1876-1907’, in, Sporting Traditions, vol.9, November 1992, pp.52-83; Australian Oarsman, 10 August 1941 p.20; Australian Oarsman, 10 September 1942 pp.18-19; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1942 p.3.


\textsuperscript{9} Edward Trickett quarryman; William Beach blacksmith; Peter Kemp dairy farmer; Henry Searle farmhand; James Stanbury farmhand; John McLean timber cutter; George Towns dairy farmer.


\textsuperscript{11} Adair, ‘Rowing And Sculling’, op. cit., p.178; Solling, op. cit., pp.11-13, 16-17.

\textsuperscript{12} Sydney Mail, 12 April 1890 p.830; Sydney Mail, 24 May 1890 p.1165; Sydney Morning Herald, 2 December 1887 p.9; Lane & Jobling, op. cit., p.10; The International Power Boat And Aquatic Monthly, February 1935 p.29.

\textsuperscript{13} Bennett, The Clarence Comet, op. cit., p.19; Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1941 p.17; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1942 p.4.
venture, the wealthier backers moulded themselves into two organisations where they controlled the sport to produce successive champions.\textsuperscript{14}

The Australian phenomenon stemmed from the outrigger’s introduction, which provided the link between England and its dominions. The establishment of the world championship elevated the link to the highest level. The outrigger’s original specifications were for a craft 30 feet to 34 feet in length, which weighed between 32 pounds and 38 pounds and contained a fixed seat.\textsuperscript{15} Scullers found that the fixed seat hindered their leg power and they improvised with leather inserted into the seat of their pants. Lubrication of the outrigger’s fixed seat enabled the sculler to slide, which transferred more power into the sculls.\textsuperscript{18}

By 1872, English oarsmen were using a newly invented sliding seat\textsuperscript{17} and Edward Trickett introduced it to Australia in 1877 upon his return from England. Domestic boatbuilders improved the slide by inserting ball-bearing rollers.\textsuperscript{18} Chris Neilsen, a professional sculler and boatbuilder, was impressed with the Robert Boyle designed light skiffs.\textsuperscript{19} He produced a “stump outrigger” of 23 feet in length, 16 inches in width and seven inches in depth based on Boyle’s product.\textsuperscript{20} By 1891 the stump outrigger was placed into competition, but most of the top scullers were sceptical of the smaller vessel’s superiority over the standard outrigger.\textsuperscript{21} Nevertheless, Neilsen is credited with beginning the evolution of the modern outrigger,\textsuperscript{22} but his invention contributed to the light skiff’s demise.

The local boatbuilders, who revolutionised the outrigger, in part, maintained Australia’s domestic and international strength. They pioneered the craft’s development, which complemented and supplemented the Australian enthusiasm to remain a world leader. It also reflected the northern

\textsuperscript{14} Australian Oarsman, 10 December 1940 p.12.
\textsuperscript{15} Australian Oarsman, 10 June 1942 p.5; Australian Oarsman, 10 September 1942 p.18; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1940 p.23.
\textsuperscript{16} Australian Oarsman, 10 June 1942 p.4; Australian Oarsman, 10 April 1941 p.23; Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1940 p.23.
\textsuperscript{17} Trickett, G., \textit{Ned Trickett Champion Sculler Of The World}, Lane Cove Library, Lane Cove, New South Wales, 2000, pp.44-46, 50.
\textsuperscript{18} Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1940 p.23; Trickett, op. cit., p.42.
\textsuperscript{19} Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1942 p.16.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{21} Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1940 p.24; Australian Oarsman, 10 July 1942 p.16.
\textsuperscript{22} Australian Oarsman, 10 January 1942 p.16; Sydney Mail, 30 April 1892; Referee, 11 March 1903 p.6.
hemisphere’s declining interest in the sport. Between the 1850s and the 1880s professional sculling had prospered in England, Canada and America. The class and ideological infusion into society by the concepts such as amateurism helped diminish northern hemisphere professional sculling by the late 1880s. From the late 1880s little interest was shown by the northern hemisphere boatbuilders in continuing to refine the outrigger. However, Australia, and specifically George Towns, maintained the craft’s evolution and Australian sculling strength and depth.

Towns’ father, George snr, experimented with Neilsen’s handiwork, but applied it to 25 feet craft. He introduced a false bottom into his boats that acted as a sluice box and assisted in keeping the outriggers watertight. By 1895, George Towns and Neilsen were competing in their smaller models and dominating their events. Whereas Neilsen remained in Australia and refined his designs, Towns journeyed to England where he promoted the shorter outrigger, winning the English championship (1899) and the world championship (1901) against rivals who used the longer boats. While in England, Towns also introduced and used adjustable swivel rowlocks and right and left hand oars. Later, he produced a linen tape that prevented outriggers from splitting.

Towns’ temerity, as a colonial, in instructing the renowned English boatbuilding firms on outrigger construction demonstrated the Australian confidence and ranking in professional sculling. This boldness grew from Australia’s international successes and its control over the elite competition,
with little English or American imperial coercion. England, as a mediocre sculling internationalist had little sway in determining professional sculling's direction. Domestic interest in the sport was waning and the financial risk of sending a third-rate sculler to the antipodes for a humiliating beating was implausible. It was not until 1912 that the Australian assurance faltered, due in part, to imperial intimidation. It is ironic that England, which introduced the outrigger and created the world championship with a purpose of exhibiting its perceived global superiority, discovered that the colonials were more adept in the craft and clearly dominant.

Whereas the outrigger captivated spectator interest by the century's turn, the gladstone skiff had emerged and it was growing in popularity. Built by Edward Sheppard in Stockton, Newcastle, the boat's specifications were approximately 22 feet in length, two feet four inches beam, 11 to 12 inches in depth and it was fitted with a clinker hull. The hull made the skiff heavier and slower than the outrigger but its steering was easier and its construction provided a sturdy, durable rig. The gladstone skiff filled the role of the light skiff where it catered for the novice and those graduating to the outrigger, while mixed gender and women's events were rowed in this craft. Whereas the gladstone skiff provided a stepping stone for aspirants, those scullers suited to fixed thwart racing competed in heavy boats.

The waterman's skiff, also referred to as a heavy boat or pleasure boat, was made from cedar or maple, it contained a hardwood keel and it had dimensions of 16 feet to 24 feet in length, five feet in width, 18 to 22 inches in depth and it weighed between three and four hundredweight. The heavy boat was prominent in country racing as it catered for singles and pairs and it could be sandbag or lead weighted for handicaps. It was a versatile vessel

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34 Referee, 22 January 1890 p.6.
35 Halladay, op. cit., p.24; Wigglesworth, op. cit., p.79.
36 Australian Oarsman, 10 November 1941 p.9; A clinker hull is where the lower edge of each side plank overlaps the upper edge of the one below it.
used for recreational purposes, fishing and ferrying produce and cargo. Water brigades utilised the boat for their duties and they also provided teams and their craft for competitions and regattas.\textsuperscript{38} In Sydney, the heavy boat was used as a preliminary attraction to the outrigger, but it held high domestic status with championships conducted at Australian, New South Wales (from 1914) and regional levels.\textsuperscript{39}

The water brigades also adopted another vessel to assist in their duties and it too was used in competition and at regattas. The butcher boat originated in Newcastle in the 1870s where it was used by meat vendors to supply ocean-going ships. Crews, normally three per boat, would race one another to secure orders from the vessels. A crew shared a weekly payment of 30/-; they received 20/- for each order and 6d for delivery.\textsuperscript{40} Dimensions for the butcher boat were approximately 27 feet in length, five feet in width and one foot seven inches in depth. The craft was built from cedar, rounded at each end and it weighed 400 pounds.\textsuperscript{41} Water brigades also adopted this craft as it proved most beneficial for their services and it provided another dimension for regatta racing.\textsuperscript{42}

Butcher boat racing was programmed rarely in Sydney, however, it became extremely popular throughout New South Wales country districts\textsuperscript{43} and it was considered the fairest and “cleanest” of all events.\textsuperscript{44} Normally, racing consisted of a four-man crew with coxswain. Regional championships were staged, but it was not until May 1920 when the first New South Wales championship in butcher boats was rowed on the Clarence River.

Of the five craft, the outrigger remained paramount in top-grade competition. International championships were created for the boat and crowds flocked to watch watermen master the flimsy shell at high speed. The outrigger provided a genuine test of balance, speed and stamina, its sole purpose was for racing. The heavy boat and butcher boats were industry-based, but they were also used for racing. Dominant at country regattas,

\textsuperscript{38} Lewis-Hughes, op.cit., pp.36-50.
\textsuperscript{39} Souvenir Of The World’s Sculling Championship 1920, 28 August 1920 pp.26-27; Referee, 17 January 1912 p.11; Sun, 4 October 1914 p.11.
\textsuperscript{40} Daily Examiner, 10 May 1920 p.3; Lewis-Hughes, op. cit., pp.29-33.
\textsuperscript{41} Personal Clippings File.
\textsuperscript{42} Northern Star, 10 May 1920 p.4; Daily Examiner, 10 May 1920 p.3.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} ‘Pilot’, ‘The Butcher Boat Race And Water Brigade Men’, Personal Clippings File.
these craft enabled more watermen to compete and they catered for scullers who preferred fixed thwarts and utilised long, sweeping strokes. Domestic championships were established for both craft with the majority of races rowed upon country rivers.
2.2 Predominant Courses

The professionals rowed upon most New South Wales coastal rivers, however, the Parramatta River became the designated championship course in the second-half of the nineteenth century. Prior to 1858 metropolitan rowing was conducted on Sydney harbour normally between Balmain and Pinchgut (Fort Denison). With the introduction in 1851 of the outrigger, a craft conducive to smooth water, coinciding with the increase in river traffic and foreshore industry, the Parramatta River offered an open, stable, straight stretch with numerous spectating vantage points.\footnote{Illustrated Sydney News, 21 July 1877 p.10.} Racing gradually moved onto the river. From 1877, when Australia held its first world professional sculling championship between Charity Point and The Brothers rocks, (known later as Ryde railway bridge to Searle’s Monument), the Parramatta was deemed the championship course.\footnote{Trickett, op. cit., p.55.} This stretch was three miles 330 yards long, salt water and tidal. The heavier water assisted the big man, whereas a tidal stretch suited the scientific sculler who utilised the currents.\footnote{Referee, 23 April 1913 p.11; Sunday Times, 26 January 1913 p.14; Sydney Morning Herald, 28 August 1920 p.14.} The move to the Parramatta River and the changes in boat design also reflected the middle-class, egalitarian view of what should be sport’s purpose.\footnote{Crotty, op. cit., pp.49-60; Mangan, J., Athleticism In The Victorian And Edwardian Public School, Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1981, pp.99-120; Halliday, op. cit., pp.50-62, 67-80.} Both initiatives afforded the tactical and technical sculler parity with the waterman blessed of brute strength. Sculling styles were suited to different courses and the northern hemisphere visitors found other stretches more suitable to their skills than the Parramatta.\footnote{Australian Darsman, 10 October 1942 p.13; Daily Telegraph, 30 August 1920 p.8; Sydney Mail, 27 February 1907 p.574; Town And Country Journal, 27 February 1907 p.50.}

The Nepean River hosted three world championships in 1884, 1887 and 1907. It was a slow-running, freshwater course of three miles and 320 yards. Preferred by the Canadian scullers, who were accustomed to lake racing, the Nepean suited lighter men. Distance from the centre of Sydney (approximately 30 miles) stunted the development of the Nepean course as transport and haulage costs proved a problem.\footnote{Town And Country Journal, 6 March 1907 p.51.} While the Nepean drew
large crowds, the Parramatta River was more accessible, its width offered steamer access and had developed an historical significance.

Three country rivers carried the body of regional professional sculling. The Hunter River provided courses at Mayfield, Stockton, Raymond Terrace and Morpeth. Clarence River contests were held at Grafton, Ulmarra and Maclean. Richmond River offerings were mainly at Woodburn, (three miles 330 yards), Coraki and Broadwater. Each centre provided a yearly regatta, lucrative special events, match racing and regular competition. Of Australia’s first seven world champions, six hailed from country New South Wales.

In England, the most important courses where on the Rivers Thames and Tyne (three miles 713 yards). There was intense regional rivalry between the rivers' inhabitants. It was concocted, in part, by the Thames watermen's perceived superior status and the middle-class influence and wealth invested from London.\footnote{Halladay, op. cit., pp.16-24; Wigglesworth, op. cit., pp.68-81; London Sporting Life, 1910 p.7, Personal Clippings File.} The Thames became the premier course for the overseas professionals. Its history, the tradition and the sponsorships available ensured that it hosted the world championship contests. It also offered the professional followers a foil to the amateur's Henley Regatta. The Thames course spanned from Putney to Mortlake a distance of four miles and 440 yards.\footnote{Cleaver, H., A History Of Rowing, Herbert Jenkins, London, 1957, pp.33-35, 39-41, 199-201.} Between 1876 and 1919 fourteen world championships were conducted on the Thames compared to one on the Tyne.

Up until 1912, the southern hemisphere dominions dominated the world championship. New Zealand's emergence in 1907 added an extra dimension for the sport's international reach. The Wanganui River was a tidal, 3¼ miles stretch, which held five world championships. From 1910, attempts were made to conduct transnational handicap racing on the course.\footnote{Referee, 5 January 1910 p.1; Referee, 19 January 1910 p.12.} The Wairoa (three miles) and the Waikato (three miles) Rivers were other prominent north island venues while in the south island, the Wairau River (three miles 100 yards) and Akaroa Harbour (3¼ miles) attracted professional sculling competition.\footnote{Referee, 13 April 1910 p.12.} New Zealand supplied three
world champions between 1907 and 1922, but from the late 1880s New Zealand scullers began making their marks in New South Wales.\textsuperscript{55}

Other courses, which hosted world championships, were Lake Of The Woods (Rat Portage, Canada), three miles with one turn, and the Zambesi River (Rhodesia/Zimbabwe), 3½ miles.

\textsuperscript{55} Australian Oarsman, 10 March 1942 p.10; Australian Oarsman, 10 April 1943 pp.17-18.
APPENDIX 3

Rules And Regulations

3.1 Professional Sculling World Championship Rules And Regulations 1906

3.2 The Sculling Championship Of The World And The Hagon Cup 1926

3.3 Sculling Championship Of Australia 1908

3.4 Sculling Championship Of Australia And The Referee Challenge Cup 1912

3.5 Championship Of New South Wales 1913
3.1 Professional Sculling World Championship Rules

And Regulations 1906

Conditions

1. The Rules shall be those now adopted, and named “The Championship Boat Race Laws.”
2. The course shall be not less than three (3) miles, not more than four and a quarter (4¼) miles straight away.
3. The stakes shall be as follows: - Not less than £500 aside when it is an international contest, not less than £200 aside when two scullers of the same place or country row.
4. The “gate money” shall be divided so that each man receives an equal share.
5. A challenge shall only be recognised as bona fide when accompanied by a deposit of £100 if race be international, and £25 if between local men, and this placed in the hands of a reputable person, who shall notify the person challenged of the nature of the challenge.
6. A holder of the Championship must accept a bona fide challenge within three (3) months and must race within six (6) months of the acceptance of the challenge, or forfeit his title, unless he has to row in another country, when the limit shall be nine (9) months.
7. James Stanbury, of Ryde, is hereby recognised by us (the undersigned) as Champion Sculler of the World, and we are agreed to recognise as his successor anyone who may defeat him, or to whom he may forfeit by default, provided always that the Rules and Conditions now agreed to by us are duly observed. In the event of the death or retirement of the holder of the title, the Championship shall return to the immediate ex-champion.
8. The agreement to race shall be drawn on the conditions now approved by us and named “Boat Race – Articles of Agreement.”
9. The race may be postponed, by the consent of both parties, for one or more days.
Boat Race Laws

1. The referee (who shall be named in the articles binding the match) shall have the scullers in charge from the time the race is specified to start until its final termination.

2. The start shall be by mutual consent unless otherwise agreed upon; but if the scullers fail to start within 20 minutes from the time they are ordered out by the referee he shall order them to go on a signal given by him.

3. Choice of stations at the start shall be decided by drawing of lots, or tossing of a coin.

4. The judge shall be stationed at the finishing line and he shall report to the referee the order in which the scullers pass the winning post.

5. Races shall be started by the bows and finish by the bows.

6. A sculler's proper course is such as will enable him to reach the winning post in the shortest possible time, provided he allows ample water for the opponent to steer his proper course on the side on which he started, if such opponent is in a position to enforce his right to such water. Any sculler failing to keep his proper course does so at his own peril, in the event of a foul occurring.

7. A sculler shall stand by his own accidents.

8. In the event of a dead-heat, the referee shall order the race to be rowed at any time he may appoint within 14 days of the race, but not on the day of the dead-heat.

9. The referee, if appealed to, but not without an appeal, shall give his decision on any matter coming within his jurisdiction during the race. In the event of a foul, the sculler may claim same by holding up his hand, and, if necessary, may state his claim to such foul by word of mouth as soon as possible after the race.

10. The referee may warn a competitor of any impediment in his course.

Sources: Referee, 9 May 1906 p.9; Referee, 16 May 1906 p.9; Sydney Mail, 16 May 1906 p.1317.
3.2 The Sculling Championship Of The World And The Hagon Cup 1926

Rules And Conditions

1. The winner of such race shall be invested with the title of championship of the world and holder of the "Hagon" Cup.

2. There shall be five trustees of the cup, the first of whom are hereby declared to be Messrs. Richard Coombes (chairman), William Beach, George Ord, George Towns and Nat McDonald. In the event of a vacancy arising in the trusteeship, the remaining trustees shall choose a colleague, always, provided that the original number of trustees shall be maintained and shall at no time be exceeded. Prior to any appointments to a vacancy being filled, the nominee of the remaining trustees shall be immediately submitted to the donor of the cup for his approval.

3. The course shall be, if on the Parramatta River, from Ryde Railway Bridge to Searle’s Monument, at Henley. If on any other course in Australia, the distance to be rowed shall not be less than 3 miles 330 yards, and no championship race shall be rowed over a less distance. If the race is rowed in England, or any other country, then the recognised championship course in such country shall be adhered to always, provided that the course is straightaway and not less than the above distance.

4. The stakes shall not be less than £400 aside in a match between men of different countries.

5. The “gate money” shall be so divided that the holder of the title receives 60 per cent and the challenger 40 per cent of the nett takings.

6. A challenge shall only be recognised as bona-fide when accompanied by a deposit of £50, and if rowed in Australia, this sum is to be lodged with the Sydney Referee; if in New Zealand, with the editor of the Weekly Press, Christchurch; and if in England, with the editor of The Sporting Life and Sportsman. If in any other part of the world, with the editor of a recognised sporting paper.
7. The holder of the title and the Cup must accept a bona-fide challenge within two months, and must race within four months of the issue of the challenge, or forfeit the title and the Cup, which shall then pass to the challenger; but in the event of an international contest, the periods shall be, respectively, two months and six months.
8. In the event of the death of the holder of the title and the Cup, the championship and the Cup shall revert to the previous holder.

**Championship Boat Race Laws**

1. The referee (who shall be named in the articles binding the match by the trustees of the Hagon Cup) shall have the scullers in charge from the time the race is specified to start until its final termination.
2. The start shall be by mutual consent unless otherwise agreed upon; but if the scullers fail to start within 15 minutes from the time they are ordered out by the referee, he shall order them to go on a signal given by him. Furthermore, the referee, in the event of one of the contestants failing to appear at the start at the prescribed time, shall have power to direct the other competitor to row over the course for the title and the Cup.
3. Choice of stations at the start shall be decided by drawing of lots, or tossing of a coin.
4. The judge shall be stationed at the finishing line and he shall report to the referee the order in which the scullers pass the winning post.
5. Races shall be started by the bows and shall be judged by the bows.
6. A sculler’s proper course is such a course as will enable him to reach the winning post in the shortest possible time, provided that he allows ample water for the other competitor to steer his proper course on the side on which such competitor started.
7. A sculler shall stand by his own accidents.
8. In the event of a dead-heat, the referee shall order the race to be re-rowed, but such re-row must take place within seven days of the date of the original race.
9. The referee, if appealed to, shall give his decision on any matter coming within his jurisdiction immediately after the race. In the event of a foul, a sculler may claim same by holding up his hand, and if necessary, state his claim by word of mouth immediately after the race.

10. The referee may warn a competitor of any impending danger in his course.

11. In the event of a foul or other misadventure brought about by outside interference, the umpire shall have power to order a re-row either on the same day or on any period within seven days of the date of the original race.

12. The competitors shall provide a special launch for the umpire’s use, and he may allow one representative from either side to occupy same, but who shall be bound by his instructions.

3.3 Sculling Championship Of Australia 1908

Championship Conditions

1. The rules shall be those now adopted, and named the Australian Championship Boat Race Laws.

2. The course must be in Australia, and not less than three miles, nor more than three and a half miles in length, and straightaway, and must be such a course as is fair to both competitors. The holder shall have the right to name the course.

3. The stakes shall be £100 a side, unless the holder and challenger are agreed to row for a larger sum; always provided that the holder must row for the sum named.

4. The “gate money” shall be so divided that each man receives an equal share.

5. A challenge shall only be recognised as bona fide when accompanied by a deposit of £25; and this placed in the hands of a reputable person, who shall notify the person challenged, in writing, of the nature of the challenge.

6. The holder of the championship must accept a bona fide challenge within two months, and must race within four months of the acceptance of the challenge, or forfeit his title, which shall then pass to the challenger; but in the event of the holder being at the time of the issue of the challenge more than 2000 miles from Australia, he shall be allowed four months in which to accept the challenge.

7. Benjamin Thoroughgood is hereby recognised by us (the undersigned) as champion sculler of Australia and we are agreed to recognise as his successor any one who may defeat him, or to whom he may forfeit by default, provided always the rules and conditions now agreed to by us are duly observed.

8. In the event of the death of the holder of the title, the championship shall revert to the previous holder.
9. In the event of the holder of the title of the champion sculler of Australia gaining also the world's championship, he shall forfeit the former title without contest to the previous holder of the Australian Championship.

10. The agreement to race shall be drawn on the conditions now approved by us, and named, Boat Race, Articles of Agreement.

**Australian Championship Boat Race Laws**

1. The Referee (who shall be named in the Articles binding the match) shall have the Scullers in charge from the time the race is specified to start until its final termination.

2. The start shall be by mutual consent, unless otherwise agreed upon; but if the Scullers fail to start within 20 minutes from the time they are ordered out by the Referee, he shall order them to go on a signal given by him.

3. Choice of Stations at the start shall be decided by drawing of lots, or tossing of a coin.

4. The Judge shall be stationed at the finishing line, and he shall report to the Referee the order in which the Scullers pass the winning post.

5. Races shall be started by the bows, and be judged at the finish by the bows.

6. A Sculler's proper course is such a course as will enable him to reach the winning post in the shortest possible time, provided that he allows ample water for the other Competitor to steer his proper course on the side on which such Competitor started, when such competitor is in a position to enforce his right to such water. Any Sculler failing to keep his proper course does so at his peril in the event of a foul occurring.

7. A Sculler shall stand by his own accidents.

8. In the event of a dead-heat the Referee shall order the race to be rowed, but not within 14 days of the day of the dead-heat.

9. The Referee, if appealed to, but not without an appeal, shall give his decision on any matter coming within his jurisdiction immediately after
the race. In the event of a foul a Sculler may claim same by holding up his hand, and, if necessary, state his claim to such foul by word of mouth immediately after the race.

10. The Referee may warn a Competitor of any impending danger in his course.

11. Anything not included in the “Conditions” and “Boat Race Laws” shall be held to be excluded.

Sources: Sculling Championship Of Australia, Personal Clippings File; Sydney Mail, 1 July 1908 p.61; Referee, 1 July 1908 p.10; Sydney Mail, 15 July 1908 p.189.
3.4 Sculling Championship Of Australia And The *Referee*

Challenge Cup 1912

Conditions And Rules To Govern Same

1. The *Referee* Sculling Championship of Australia Challenge Cup, which is a silver one of the value of £100, presented by the proprietors of the *Referee*, shall invest the holder with the title of champion sculler of Australia.

2. There shall be three Trustees of the Cup, the first of whom are hereby declared to be Messrs. A.H.H. Aldworth, John Spencer, and Richard Coombes. In the event of a vacancy arising in the Trusteeship, the remaining two Trustees shall choose a colleague, always provided that the original number of Trustees shall be maintained and shall at no time be exceeded. Notice of all appointments to a vacancy shall immediately be given to the donors of the Cup.

3. The Cup shall be competed for in races for the Sculling Championship of Australia. There shall be no limit to the number of competitors for the Cup, but the donors may, in their absolute discretion, if they deem fit, reject any competitor for the Cup.

4. The course shall be on the Parramatta River, from Ryde to Searle’s Monument; but if the holder of the Cup is resident more than 25 miles from the G.P.O., Sydney, the Trustees may consent to a course perfectly fair to both competitors, other than the Parramatta River, provided always that the course must be in Australia, and not less than three miles nor more than 3½ miles in length, and straightaway, and that the holder of the Cup consents to row thereon.

5. The stakes shall be £100 aside, unless the holder and challenger are agreed to row for a larger sum; always provided that the holder must row for the sum named.

6. The “gate-money” shall be so divided that each man receives an equal share.
7. A challenge shall only be recognised as bona-fide when accompanied by a deposit of £25; and this placed in the hands of a reputable person, who shall notify the person challenged, in writing, of the nature of the challenge.

8. The holder of the Cup must accept a bona-fide challenge within two months, and must race within four months of the acceptance of the challenge, or forfeit the Cup and title, which shall then pass to the challenger, but in the event of the holder being at the time of the issue of the challenge more than 2000 miles from Sydney, he shall be allowed four months in which to accept the challenge.

Provided always that in the event of the holder of the Cup and title issuing a challenge to the holder of the World’s Sculling Championship, and such challenge being accepted prior to the receipt of any challenge for the Australian Sculling Championship, the Trustees shall have power to (a) alter the period of time wherein the holder of the Cup and title must accept a bona-fide challenge, and (b) decide when the race shall take place.

9. In the event of the death of the holder of the Cup and title, the Cup and championship shall revert to the previous holder.

10. The agreement to race shall be drawn on the conditions known as the "Boat Race Articles of Agreement."

11. The Challenge Cup Competition shall be rowed under the rules now known as the "Australian Championship Boat Race Laws."

12. The Cup shall be held by the winner subject to the following conditions:

   (a) The Trustees may, if they think fit, before surrendering possession of the Cup, demand the deposit of the security to the amount of £100 or a properly prepared guarantee bearing the signature of a responsible person.

   (b) The holder shall further give an undertaking in writing, endorsed by one responsible person, to restore the Cup intact and in good condition to the properly appointed trustees upon demand for the same. Such demand may be made when a
championship match involving possession of the Cup has been made, and also in case the said Trustees, or a majority of them, shall have cause to apprehend damage to or loss of the trophy.

(c) All challenges to the holder of the Cup must be inserted in the Referee newspaper only, and must be accompanied by a deposit of £25.

(d) The holder of the Cup shall be previously notified by letter to his customary address of all championship challenges issued to him. The Trustees shall decide as to the sufficiency or otherwise of such notification, which shall in the first instance be made by the challenger.

13. In addition to the Cup, which may be held by the winner, there will be a personal trophy of the value of £10 for the winner of the race.

14. The holder shall, within one calendar month of the signature of the articles for a championship match, forward the Cup without demand to the donors, who shall deliver it to the winner of the match upon production of the written decision of the referee in his favour and upon the undertakings within named.

15. Should the Cup be won in three consecutive matches, within the space of two years by the same sculler, it shall become his absolute property, always provided that the whole of the said matches shall have been made bona-fide in every respect.

A period of four months must elapse between races wherein the Cup is involved.

The Trustees further reserve to themselves in their absolute discretion the power of placing veto upon any proposed match for the Cup.

The Trustees may further veto any proposed match for the said Cup which a majority of them consider frivolous or not likely to produce an opponent up to the standard of championship racing.

Should a majority of the Trustees have reason to suspect fraud to gain possession of the Cup, absolute or otherwise, they shall
have power to retain the Cup in their hands and offer it for competition again, excluding the person or persons suspected of such fraud. The Decision as to what constitutes fraud in the connection shall be determined exclusively by a majority of the Trustees.

16. All appeals upon questions not provided for by these conditions shall be made to the Trustees of the Cup, the decisions of a majority of whom shall in all cases be final, and subject to no appeal at law or otherwise.

17. That all persons entering for “The Referee Sculling Championship Cup” shall be regarded by their entry as thereby agreeing to all the conditions as here set out.

**Australian Championship Boat Race Laws**

(a) The Referee (who shall be named in the articles binding the match) shall have the Scullers in charge from the time the race is specified to start until its final termination.

(b) The start shall be by mutual consent, unless otherwise agreed upon; but if the scullers fail to start within 20 minutes from the time they are ordered out by the referee, he shall order them to go on a signal given by him.

(c) Choice of Stations at the start shall be decided by drawing of lots, or tossing of a coin.

(d) The judge shall be stationed at the finishing line, and he shall report to the referee the order in which the scullers pass the winning post.

(e) Races shall be started by the bows, and be judged at the finish by the bows.

(f) A sculler’s proper course is such a course as will enable him to reach the winning post in the shortest possible time, provided that he allows ample water for the other competitor to steer his proper course on the side on which such competitor started, when such competitor is in a position to enforce his right to such water. Any sculler failing to keep his proper course does so at his peril in the
event of a foul occurring.

(g) A sculler shall stand by his own accidents.

(h) In the event of a dead-heat the referee shall order the race to be re-rowed, but not within 14 days of the day of the dead-heat.

(i) The referee, if appealed to, but not without an appeal, shall give his decision on any matter coming within his jurisdiction immediately after the race. In the event of a foul a sculler may claim same by holding up his hand, and, if necessary, state his claim by word of mouth immediately after the race.

(j) The referee may warn a competitor of any impending danger in his course.

(k) Anything not included in the “Conditions” and “Boat Race Laws” shall be held to be excluded.

Sources: Sculling Championship Of Australia And The Referee Challenge Cup, Personal Clippings File; Referee, 24 December 1912 p.11.
3.5 Championship Of New South Wales 1913

Appended are the rules which are to govern matches for the sculling championship of New South Wales as drafted by the Parramatta River Professional Sculling Club.

1. The rules shall be those now adopted, and named “The New South Wales Championship Rules And Boat Race Laws.”

2. The course must be in New South Wales, and not less than three miles nor more than three and a half miles in length, and straightaway; and must be such a course as is fair to both competitors. The holder shall have the right to name the course.

3. The stakes shall be £50 a side, unless the holder and challenger agree to row for a larger sum; always provided that the holder must row for the sum named.

4. The “gate-money” in all matches shall be divided so that each man receives an equal share.

5. A challenge shall only be recognised as bona-fide when accompanied by a deposit of £10, which must be placed in the hands of a reputable person, who shall post a notification to the holder of the title within three days after the receipt of such deposit.

6. The holder must accept a bona-fide challenge (i.e. sign articles) within two months, and must race within four months of the acceptance of the challenge; but in the event of the holder being at the time of the issue of the challenge more than 2000 miles from Australia, he shall be allowed four months in which to accept the challenge.

7. Should the holder of the title challenge for the Australian or world’s championship, and be accepted prior to a challenge for the State championship, he shall have the right to refuse to accept the challenge for the State championship until the match for the higher title has been disposed of.

8. The holder of the title shall have the right to compel the challenger to sign articles within 14 days after the challenger’s deposit has been
covered. The challenger, in turn, shall have the right to claim eight weeks from the date of signing articles in which to prepare for the race.

9. In the event of the holder of the New South Wales championship gaining also the Australian or world’s championship, he shall forfeit the title, without contest, to the previous holder of the New South Wales championship.

10. In the event of the death of the holder of the title, the championship shall revert to the previous holder.

11. The agreement to race shall be drawn on the conditions now approved of, and named “Boatrace Articles of Agreement.”

Sources: Championship Of New South Wales, Personal Clippings File; Referee, 26 March 1913 p.11.