Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman
Pedestrianism in Canterbury, 1860 - 1885
G. T. Vincent

The editor of the Weekly Press opined in 1870 that because the Canterbury settlers were ‘Englishmen’, they were obsessed with matters athletic. This belief was apparently born out by the large crowds which attended most sporting meetings and the critical attention paid to ‘the capabilities and performances of each of the competitors in the various events.’ ‘Rural sports’, a combination of track and field competition and local fairs reminiscent of the ‘parish wake’ which was so popular in England before 1850, became the principal form of athletic competition in Canterbury. Such events were organised annually in a growing number of hamlets from the late 1850s, and in Christchurch from December 1868 where the event was entitled the ‘Popular Sports’.

Other organisational forms also became firmly established in Canterbury. Formally constituted athletic clubs were initially instituted in the Province during the 1870s. The first clubs to be created were ‘closed’ bodies, admitting only ‘bona-fide amateurs’ or ‘gentlemen’, and therefore remained the preserve of the upper and middle classes. Several attempts were also made to create ‘open’ clubs which accepted athletes without regard to their socio-economic status and including those loosely defined as ‘professionals’. However, the exclusive form of organisation proved more durable. The increasing dominance of athletics by elite clubs was marked by the formation of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (N.Z.A.A.A.) in 1887. Thus, while the forms of athletics which enjoyed great popularity among particular classes or groups elsewhere were transplanted to colonial New Zealand, the fortunes of each in Canterbury proved variable.

Among the athletic activities which flourished in England and the Australian colonies during the 19th century was pedestrianism, or professional athletics. However, while this sport existed in Canterbury from about 1860, it signally failed to become an integral part of the sporting landscape in the province over the next 25 years.

Pedestrianism was a well established public entertainment by the time the Canterbury settlement was founded in 1850. Consequent upon the rapid and massive urbanisation wrought by the Industrial Revolution, athletic sports evolved from folk games into new forms ‘more appropriate to the environment
of the modern industrial town. The open spaces required for athletics, or any other public recreation, remained at a premium in the new and swiftly expanding conurbations. Most vacant land disappeared beneath 'the bricks and mortar' of industrial or residential developments, while 'the rich' desired to have what little remained reserved 'for their exclusive use.'

The saviour of athletics as a popular sport in the new urban surroundings was the publican. In some smaller centres, where the pressure on land was not so great, it proved possible to create and sustain sporting festivals which encouraged 'the development of a sense of community ...[transcending] social and class barriers'. However, while the 'Bedlington Hoppings' and other such events were held in the public spaces of the coal-mining villages of East Northumberland, they were organised and sponsored by innkeepers and tradesmen from their inception as commercial enterprises.

The publican was even more essential to the survival of athletics in the large cities. Attached to many urban hotels were open fields, some of which 'had been enclosed for a specific sporting purpose'. To attract more custom, the publicans who owned these premises converted them into veritable emporia of sporting activity. Such a house typically provided facilities for every sport from quoits to pigeon racing, and served as both a betting shop and 'the local headquarters of activities such as prize-fighting'. 'Pedestrianism' flourished from the 1840s as entrepreneurial innkeepers arranged and financed contests which pitted local athletic 'heroes', who were usually of working-class origin, against one another or against outsiders. Publicans profited as spectators, sometimes in their thousands, paid to witness matches and attended the prize-giving at their hotels afterwards. Pedestrian events were based on stamina and brute strength as much as skill, and were increasingly characterised by gambling, doping, cheating and fouling.

The manner in which athletics matured in the Australian colonies closely resembled the later phases of the process as it had occurred in England. The earliest events were organised by 'entrepreneurial colonial tavern keepers' in Adelaide and Sydney who used pugilism and foot-racing as 'impromptu sporting entertainment for a drinking and gambling clientele ... of ordinary folk'. The wealth generated by the gold rushes fuelled the rise of pedestrianism, and ensured that from the early 1850s one of the most remunerative circuits in the world was situated in Australia. Large crowds were attracted by the chance to bet on a competition and win 'up to £10,000 from the bookmakers at the ground'. One hundred professional runners in Sydney and Melbourne made a living from the sport during the 1870s and 1880s, and leading 'peds' from England, Ireland and the United States were attracted by the lucrative prizes offered. However, as in England, pedestrianism was brought into disrepute and support among the populace subsequently declined as competitors engaged in
various forms of deception. In order to 'make a killing from the bookmakers' they competed under false names, ran mismeasured distances and 'ran dead' subsequent to placing large bets on their opponents.12

Professional athletics attracted only a limited following in most parts of New Zealand before the mid-1880s. Scott Crawford observes that pedestrianism, in the strict sense of walking matches held over long distances, 'always enjoyed a degree of support in Otago.'13 Much of this interest was aroused by the phenomenal performances from the mid-1870s of local hero Joe Scott, the first athlete from New Zealand to win a World championship. Other factors apparently conducive to the development of pedestrianism also existed in Otago. The discovery of gold in 1861 made the Province 'the wealthiest in New Zealand'.14 Moreover, industrialisation occurred in Dunedin, the capital city of the province, at a rate unparalleled elsewhere in the Colony during the 1870s and early 1880s. The population of the city increased from 21,517 in 1871 to 40,950 in 1881.15 However, the capital provided by gold and the growing urban proletariat was insufficient to sustain a remunerative 'circuit' of competition for pedestrians. Thus, pedestrianism 'failed to become established [in Otago] as a grass roots activity in the manner of rugby.'16

Opinion in other parts of the Colony was sometimes less kindly disposed towards pedestrianism. The editor of the *New Zealand Herald*, which was published in Auckland, scornfully dismissed the evident mania for 'walking races' which he thought gripped Dunedin during the mid-1870s. 'Almost every day,' he wrote,

we see a telegram that Edwards, Young [Joe] Scott, or somebody else has undertaken to do some extraordinary feat, or has walked a match, and won or lost ... in a certain time. Now, I rather wonder that the Press telegraph agent has not something better to do than to telegraph such rubbish. The whole interest of these matches lies in the fact that 1s. is charged at the gate, and, I presume, the proprietor of the course ... makes a fine thing out of it.17

'That the performers have done anything to justify their names being wired all over the colony,' he concluded, 'may be safely denied.'18

Though pedestrianism attracted a strong following among the working classes in England and the Australian colonies, and a more modest audience in Otago, it propagated no such clientele among any particular group in Canterbury and remained a relatively marginal activity before 1890.19 In fact, this branch of athletics attained only limited significance in the two principal centres of population, Christchurch and Timaru, in the period after 1870.

The first recorded pedestrian contest in Christchurch was run in Riccarton early in 1861 between two otherwise obscure individuals, G. E. McKercher and
J. H. Lloyd. The same pair staged 'the first race for high stakes in Canterbury,' when they competed over 100 yards along Papanui Road 'between Dr Lillie's house and Medding's Hotel' for £50 a side in July 1863. The activities of McKercher and Lloyd aroused little sustained interest among the local populace, and pedestrianism remained 'a novelty in Christchurch' throughout the 1860s. Practically all of the handful of contests concluded in the city during this period were between pedestrians from other Provinces.

It was the arrival of Alfred 'Young' Austin, 'of Australian celebrity', and his trainer Shell in September 1870 which eventually enabled pedestrianism to gain a toehold in Christchurch. The visitors organised a series of races against one another, against time and against two of the 'local amateur[s] of some note', William Pentecost of Rangiora and Charles Porter of Kaiapoi. The moderate success achieved by Pentecost in defeating the 'professional' Shell in one of three matches arranged between them stimulated a degree of enthusiasm for pedestrianism in Christchurch. Following one race he 'was greeted with a most boisterous ovation, and cheered nearly all the way to the [Plough Inn] hotel.' Thereafter pedestrianism maintained a presence in the city, with competition following the pattern established during the visit of Austin and Shell.

The profile of the sport was greatly enhanced by the tour of New Zealand undertaken during 1871 by three of the foremost 'peds' in the world, Albert Bird and Frank Hewitt from England, and J. G. Harris of Melbourne. By the mid-1870s the small cadre of peds active in Christchurch and north Canterbury were being joined in their intermittent competition by an irregular flow of others from divers parts of the colony and beyond. During 1875 local men Charles Bowley, S. Collins, W. Frith, J. F. Gough, Theodore Jacobsen and William Pentecost were variously engaged in contests with William 'Young' Delaney from the United States, T. Skellie from Auckland and William Edwards from Sydney. Visitors in 1880 included the long-distance walker Joseph Scott from Dunedin, the first athletic phenomenon produced by New Zealand, and J. M. O'Connor of Timaru, who enjoyed great success in Australia during the 1880s.

Despite the occasional presence of prominent 'guests', pedestrianism failed to attract competitors on a scale sufficient to facilitate the creation of an exciting spectacle which might have drawn large crowds from among the wider population of Christchurch. Matches in any given year were both few in number and irregularly arranged. Moreover, because Canterbury had neither the large working-class clientele nor the 'gold money' which financed pedestrianism elsewhere, the material rewards in most instances were very modest. These were available in two forms. The first was stake money, which comprised the aggregate of the sums wagered by each of the competitors in a race. Stakes varied from £5 to £100 a side, though sums of £10 or £20 a side were the norm. Secondly, rewards were offered in the form of prize money, just as in standard rural sports
meetings. The value of cash prizes in any single race ranged from £1 1s to £5 5s.\textsuperscript{28} These amounts were trifling compared with the prize money offered at ‘the focal point for professional running’ in Sydney during the 1880s, the Sir Joseph Banks Hotel at Botany, which usually totalled £300 and occasionally reached £500.\textsuperscript{29} Thus, while a few prominent peds travelled to Christchurch they seldom stayed for any length of time.

Local athletes who wished to win prize money may have considered participation in the round of rural sports meetings held annually throughout Canterbury during the summer to be a better investment of their time and money than involvement in the pedestrian contests organised haphazardly in Christchurch. The cost of entering any event at the rural sports was only a few shillings, whereas participation in a pedestrian contest often required an outlay of between five guineas and £50 in stake money. Moreover, for a minimal expenditure, competitors in the sports gained several opportunities to win prizes comparable in value to those offered in most pedestrian matches. Prizes were awarded in cash to those finishing first and second in the majority of races at any sports meeting. Athletes willing to endure the strain could multiply their chances of making money by entering sundry events at a single meeting. The twenty or more meetings held around the Province during the Christmas and New Year period provided ample opportunity for fit and ambitious contestants to profit greatly from their exertions. A dearth of fixtures and relatively modest prize money ensured that pedestrianism in Christchurch could not offer comparable possibilities, and therefore failed to attract many competitors.\textsuperscript{30}

That pedestrianism remained viable at all in the city during this period was due largely, as in England and the Australian colonies, to the efforts of a number of entrepreneurial publicans. During the 1870s C. F. Money and J. Hebden, owners of the Victorian and Golden Fleece Hotels respectively, gave prizes, acted as stakeholders and served on the committees which were established to organise important contests.\textsuperscript{31} However, the most enthusiastic promoters of pedestrianism among the publicans of Christchurch were the Dilloway family and Henry William Dunn, in succession the landlords of the Plough Inn in Riccarton between 1860 and 1875. The very first contest between McKercher and Lloyd in 1861 had been conducted at the Inn under the auspices of John Dilloway, senior. Whereas other publicans improvised their own grounds, or used those of the Agricultural and Pastoral Association, the licensees of the Plough Inn constructed and maintained a grass track in the paddock adjoining their premises.\textsuperscript{32} Every local ped of any note raced several times on this ground, while the men of international repute who graced it with their presence included Austin and Shell in 1870, Bird, Hewitt and Harris in 1871, and Edwards in 1875.\textsuperscript{33}

By the mid-1870s the Plough Inn track was being surpassed in popularity by three other venues. The Oddfellows’ Hall and the Skating Rink both enjoyed
readily identifiable advantages over the ‘suburban’ site. They were conveniently located within the city and were constructed with wooden floors which, though far from ideal, offered a more consistent surface for athletics than the open grass track in Riccarton which was sometimes ‘wretchedly soft and spungy’. They may also have had the additional benefit of being fitted with gas lighting, though it is unclear whether or not the Plough Inn ground was similarly equipped. Moreover, by using the Hall and the Rink, competitors could increase their chances of deriving a reasonable income from the charge for admission to an enclosed arena which could be levied on spectators. The prize money offered in most events was relatively insignificant. Consequently, because it provided an additional source of potential earnings for competitors, gate money was ‘generally regarded as an important item in affairs of this kind.’ Finally, because the two urban venues were permanent structures built to accommodate large numbers of people, organisers of pedestrian contests could more easily provide for the comfort of both competitors and spectators.

However, the only venue to rival the Plough Inn during its hey-day was the grounds of the Agricultural and Pastoral (A. and P.) Association. Although this site could accommodate spectators in large numbers, it was difficult to enclose effectively. Thus, while ‘over 1000 persons’ each paid one shilling in order to watch J. G. Harris race M. A. Fox of Otago for £50 in September 1873, ‘quite 200 evaded the entrance fee’.

Pedestrianism made little impact on the general population of Christchurch because most events did not attract spectators in large numbers. Indeed, it is debatable whether or not the fluctuating support for pedestrianism evident among the public warranted a heavy investment in elaborate facilities. Though matches involving visiting celebrities such as Bird, Hewitt and Harris in mid-1871 and Joe Scott in 1880 attracted crowds varying in size from 500 to 1,500, the vast majority of events attracted only small audiences of between 30 and 100.

This paucity of patrons had inevitable consequences for the peds. ‘Not more than one hundred and fifty paid for admittance’ to witness a race at the A. and P. Grounds in June 1875 between S. Collins of Christchurch and the American ‘Young’ Delaney. The minuscule revenue taken at the gate, along with ‘the proceeds derived from the sale of 'krect cards [programmes], barely covered the expenses incurred for advertising and prizes’. Plainly, no ped who relied on money from prizes or ‘the gate’ was going to make his fortune in Christchurch.

Indeed, even a leading local ped could expect to make little material gain from his exertions. William Edwards successfully accomplished a feat ‘never ... performed in the Colonies before’ by walking 105 miles in twenty-four hours at the Oddfellows Hall, Christchurch, in September 1875. Those present evidently did not expect him to benefit materially from the exploit. ‘Just prior to the finish of the race’, reported one observer, ‘a subscription was raised for Edwards in
the Hall ... of £13 6s 1d.' Thus, 'upwards of 600 persons' who had paid to watch this well-known 'professional' athlete apparently considered that his subsistence depended at least partly on an act of charity. Several similar incidents occurred, suggesting that pedestrianism was not widely perceived in Christchurch as a means of earning a living.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the competitors in Christchurch supplemented their meagre earnings through the gambling which, as elsewhere, was an integral element of pedestrianism. Gambling reportedly presented English peds with unparalleled opportunities to increase their personal wealth. 'At some of the £80 sprint handicaps at Sheffield,' reported Land and Water in 1873, 'books are made of £1300 and upwards, and an ordinary ped may back himself to win £20,000 in an afternoon.' Few competitors in Christchurch could raise enough money to place bets on themselves which would bring such large rewards at the relatively short odds offered by local bookmakers.

Bookmakers considered the gambling associated with pedestrianism in general to be sufficiently lucrative to justify their presence at the vast majority of events. However, those among 'the gallery' who speculated on the outcome of an event were unlikely to profit greatly from doing so, for the odds offered on any competitor was apparently seldom greater than 2 to 1. Contests held in Christchurch involving distinguished competitors reportedly generated heavy gambling among spectators. Though the precise amounts wagered remain unknown, the individual sums appear to have been relatively small. The gambling on pedestrianism which occurred in Christchurch was of an infinitely lesser magnitude than that which developed around the sport in England and Australia.

Honesty was another characteristic which distinguished pedestrianism in Christchurch from that which existed elsewhere. There is no evidence of any doping, cheating and fouling at contests involving the small cadre of peds based in the city. This integrity was a source of some pride among locals, and considered worthy of preservation. They were shocked at the unscrupulous actions of some of the famous peds who came to the city, particularly the 'cracks' Harris, Hewitt and Bird who arrived in 1871. The three named 'champions' remained in Christchurch for several weeks and earned considerable notoriety for apparently accepting money to appear in several contests with local athletes, but failing to honour the agreements into which they had entered. However, the most spectacular escapade occurred when Bird, during one race against time, 'ran off the course, through an adjacent gate, and disappeared from the public view.' 'To describe the feeling of blank astonishment - the momentary stupefaction - which ensued', wrote one reporter, 'is unnecessary.' The author of a letter to the Lyttelton Times attempted to absolve Bird from all blame for this extraordinary behaviour. 'A poor gate,' wrote NOT,
not enough for expenses, none for old debts. Now what would any man have done in Bird's place? Eleven miles to run, nothing for doing it, a bad gate, and a [debtor's'] prison in view. Why, I should simply have "caved in" as Bird did, and who can blame him?46

While the spectators reportedly 'took the hoax in wonderfully good part',47 the reputation of Bird and his fellow pedestrians among the wider public was severely tarnished. Though almost all local peds were acknowledged to be inferior in athletic ability to most of those who visited the city during and after 1871, they were recognised as being far more scrupulous.48

Ironically, it was at the suggestion of the above mentioned trio of 'champion pedestrians' that a significant innovation was introduced with the intention of protecting the probity of pedestrian competition in Christchurch. 'They purpose inviting a number of the leading citizens to form a committee of management,' reported the Lyttelton Times, 'in order that everything may be conducted in the most approved manner.'49 Thereafter a committee of fifteen men was 'appointed', every one of whom had played an important part in the organisation of the Annual Sports in Christchurch or the Lyttelton Regatta. The chicanery in which Bird and his colleagues subsequently engaged demonstrates that the committee was not an entirely effective means of achieving the stated objective. However, 'the leading citizens' of Christchurch were not dissuaded by this setback from establishing similar bodies to administer important events involving visiting peds in 1873, 1874, 1875 and 1880.50

Pedestrianism in Christchurch remained sufficiently honest to preclude the growth of opposition similar to that which developed contemporaneously in England and Australia. Furthermore, no inhabitant of the city appears, before 1880, to have voiced in public any sympathy with an English critic who denounced pedestrian contests as 'a spectacle at once brutal and unscientific ... calculated to disgust all but the lowest betting men, and the coarse mob that regards a walking match with the same interest as that excited by a rat fight or badger baiting.'51 No outburst of indignation occurred after a sick William Pentecost had to be 'carried off the track thoroughly prostrated',52 having walked forty miles of a scheduled fifty in a match against Charles Bowley at the Oddfellows Hall in May 1878. However, the sufferings borne by a youthful Joe Scott during his attempt to walk 'some 110 miles in ... 24 hours' at the Skating Rink in January 1880 prompted one vitriolic and comprehensive attack on pedestrianism.53

The letter from 'A VAGRANT', which appeared in the Lyttelton Times, commenced with a scathing denunciation of pedestrian contests in general as 'stupid', 'uninteresting, and ... inhuman'. What, asked the writer,

is there to witness in them? You enter a building where you see one
or more jaded and fagged creatures miserably plodding around a circle at the rate of some five miles an hour. Is there nothing more to witness? Nothing. The sole interest is summed up in the question whether one or more of the exhibitors will break down, and when.\textsuperscript{54}

Scott had been coerced by those who wished to exploit him into prolonging his personal agony, thus providing a degrading spectacle. ‘His feet were sore,’ A VAGRANT observed bitterly, ‘the skin was off his heels, and he had pain in his side, but his backers urged him on, and so the weary wretch plods on through the long hours in agony.’ So pitiable, or so boring, was the spectacle that any spectators present were reduced to ‘melancholy silence’. This ‘walking farce’ elevated ‘a prize-fight’ to the level of a ‘manly amusement’. The correspondent had witnessed many pedestrian matches, and in every instance ‘the drawn anxious faces, twisted spines, tottering gaits of the competitors, all betokened great internal agony and endurance.’\textsuperscript{55} This astringent critique is noteworthy for its unconscious prescience in accurately portraying the future which awaited Scott as he concurrently secured the championship of the world and sank into penury.\textsuperscript{56}

Pedestrianism, as depicted by A VAGRANT, was simultaneously fatuous, barbarous and exploitative. Only those with a pecuniary interest in the outcome of an event derived any pleasure therefrom. The widespread existence of such opinions, though unarticulated, among the population of Christchurch might explain the failure of pedestrianism to foster a sense of community in the city by attracting either competitors or spectators in large numbers.

The extent to which pedestrianism encouraged a feeling of camaraderie among the small cadre of confirmed pedestrians in Christchurch is not absolutely clear. The match for £50 a side between Bowley and Pentecost in May 1878, in which the latter collapsed, originated in the ‘strong rivalry [which] has for some time existed’ between the two.\textsuperscript{57} The feeling underlying this ‘rivalry’ was evidently considerable. Even though Pentecost could not possibly continue, he insisted that Bowley conform to the agreed terms of the match by completing the full fifty miles before the stake money was handed over.\textsuperscript{58} However, other evidence indicates that communal feeling among the peds of Christchurch was sometimes sufficiently strong to overcome any existing rivalries. When Edwards accomplished his feat of walking 105 miles in twenty-four hours in September 1875, Pentecost joined Bowley, Frith and Gough to walk with him for a substantial part of the distance. Moreover, Bowley apparently had no reservations about coaching Pentecost when the latter walked in a match for £50 a side against Charles Swan, another local ped of Swedish origin, at the Oddfellows’ Hall in March 1880.\textsuperscript{59} Swan himself enjoyed the benefits of whatever fellowship existed between pedestrians in the city less than a month later, when he ‘backed himself
for £50 to cover 112 miles within 24 hours’ at the Skating Rink in Gloucester St. ‘During the last two and a half hours’ of his attempt, noted the Lyttelton Times, ‘Pentecost walked with Swan, as C. Bowley had done previously, and such encouraging aid was naturally of considerable service.’ Thus, pedestrianism probably had the effect of fostering a sense of community among the pedestrians of Christchurch, something it did not do within any other group in the city.

The same observation may be made with regard to pedestrianism in Timaru during the 1880s. Contests were held very infrequently and the number of genuine peds active in the town, though it varied each year, may not have exceeded a dozen in total during the period between January 1880 and December 1885. The most prominent ped in Timaru at this time was John O’Connor, who defeated Charles Bowley in Christchurch for ‘the championship of New Zealand’ in 1880 and Cann for the championship of Victoria in 1881. Athletes in Timaru probably emulated their counterparts in Christchurch by eschewing pedestrianism in favour of participation in the sports of the South Canterbury Caledonian Society and those of the Ancient Order of Foresters, which cost less to enter and offered greater returns.

A miscellany of venues, almost all of them designed and utilised primarily for some purpose other than athletics, was used to stage pedestrian matches. In March 1880 the Queen’s Hall, which was attached to the Queen’s Hotel in Timaru, hosted a ‘three mile handicap walking match for a silver medal’ in which six local peds competed, and also an attempt by Daniel Hegarty to walk 112 miles within twenty-four hours. Pedestrianism was only one of a diverse range of amusements held in the Hall during that year. These included professional wrestling for stake money, an ‘athletic entertainment’ by a troupe of travelling gymnasts and several performances by the ‘Lynch Family Bellringers’. Pedestrian events were also held at the grounds of the South Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club (SCAAC) and ‘Joe Scott, the champion walker of New Zealand,’ and ‘Arthur Hancock, the champion walker of England’, gave separate exhibitions at Maclean and Stewart’s Bazaar in October 1885.

The haphazard arrangement of the relatively few events held in the town during the 1880s prevented pedestrianism from becoming an institution which regularly attracted large numbers of spectators. Evidence drawn from reports of other athletic competitions suggests that pedestrian contests may in only a few isolated instances have attracted crowds of eight hundred.

Thus, while pedestrianism enjoyed a strong following among the working classes in England and the Australian colonies, it enjoyed very limited success in Canterbury. Though it was conducted more honestly in Canterbury than England or Australia, this particular form of athletics never became more than a marginal activity which was conducted in the two principal centres of
population in the Province. Events were few and haphazardly organised. Christchurch and Timaru had neither the large working-class clientele nor the 'gold money' which financed pedestrianism elsewhere. Moreover, it is possible that from the early 1880s a few citizens considered pedestrianism to be a 'brutal and unscientific' spectacle which appealed only to unscrupulous bookmakers and the same 'coarse mob' who enjoyed animal baiting. It was even decried as stupid, uninteresting, and inhuman. Thus, the number of spectators interested in witnessing any pedestrian contest, and particularly in paying for the privilege of doing so, remained limited. Consequently, the prize money offered was too meagre to attract prominent visitors or to induce local athletes to become deeply involved. Almost every other form of athletic activity transplanted to Canterbury enjoyed more success than pedestrianism. Deprived of the necessities which nourished it elsewhere, this most controversial form of athletics remained 'jaded and fagged', and always a 'miserably plodding' affair.

Notes

5 Metcalfe, p.27.
7 Brailsford, p.69.
10 Daly, p.257.
14 G. Ryan, 'When the Game was Played by Decent Chaps', unpublished PhD thesis,

16 Crawford, pp.232, 234, 236.
17 *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), *Supplement*, 18 September 1875.
18 *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), *Supplement*, 18 September 1875.
19 Metcalfe, pp.13-38; Brailsford, pp.68-9; Lowerson, pp.162-70; Watson, pp.485-94; Daly, pp. 255-8; Cashman, pp.47-8.
20 *Press*, 21 July 1863.
21 L.T., 20 September 1870.
22 *Press*, 4 August 1864; W.P., 1 July 1865; L.T., 9 August 1864, 24 June 1865.
23 L.T., 20 September 1870.
24 L.T., ibid, 11 October 1870; W.P., 22 October, 5 November 1870.
27 L.T. 9 August 1864, 24 June 1865, 19 March 1866, 18 February 1871, 22 September 1873, 10 November 1874, 14 June 1875, 20 May 1878, 8 May, 24 May 1882, 12 October 1885; *Press*, 24 June 1865; W.P., 4 March 1871, 27 September 1873, 26 February 1876, 20 March 1880.
28 L.T., 10 May 1871; W.P., 19 June 1875.
29 Cashman, pp.47-8.
30 W.P., 18 March 1876, L.T., 22 September 1873.
31 L.T., 29 August, 2 September, 18 September 1873, 1 June, 10 June 1875, ; W.P., 27 September 1873.
32 W.P., 15 October 1870.
33 W.P., 17 December 1870, 8 July, 26 August 1871; L.T., 20 September 1875.
34 L.T., 8 July, 28 February, 4 July 1871, 27 September 1875.
35 L.T., 14 June 1875.
36 W.P., 24 January 1880.
37 L.T., 22 September 1873.
38 W.P., 13 May 1871; L.T., 4 July 1871, 27 September 1873; *Press*, 29 October 1883; L.T., 6 September 1871, 10 November 1874, 20 September 1875.
39 L.T., 14 June 1875.
40 L.T., 27 September 1875.
41 L.T., 20 May 1878.
42 L.T., 24 April 1873.
43 L.T., 31 May 1875.
45 L.T., 18 July 1871.
46 L.T., 24 July 1871.
47 L.T., 18 July 1871.
48 L.T., 26 August 1871.
49 L.T., 22 April 1871.
50 L.T., 1 May 1871, 23 September 1875; W.P., 6 May 1871, 27 September 1873, 14 November 1874, 24 January 1880.
51 L.T., 14 August 1879.
52 W.P., 25 May 1878.
53 L.T., 19 January 1880.
54 L.T., 30 January 1880.
55 L.T., 30 January 1880.
57 W.P., 25 May 1878.
58 L.T., 20 May 1878.
59 L.T., 27 September 1875; 6 March, 8 March 1880.
60 L.T., 1 April 1880.
61 *Timaru Herald* (T.H.), 27 December 1876, 27 May 1871, 25 May 1876, 21 May 1880, 28 December 1874, 1 April 1881.
62 T.H, 30 March, 31 March 1880, 17 December 1881, 14 June 1884.
63 T.H, 1 May 1880.
64 T.H., 28 December 1874, 1 April 1881.
65 T.H., 30 March 1880.
66 T.H., 9 April, 10 April, 14 April 1880.
67 T.H., 17 December 1881, 12 October, 14 October 1885.
68 T.H., 26 May 1879, 30 March 1880, 1 December 1881, 12 October 1885.
69 Metcalfe, pp 13-38; Brailsford, pp.68-9; Lowerson, pp.162-70; Watson, pp.485-94; Daly, pp. 255-8; Cashman, pp.47-8.
70 L.T., 14 August 1879.
71 L.T., 30 January 1880.