

# ‘A Small Knot of Muscular Friends’: Class and Athletic Clubs in Colonial Canterbury, 1870-1890

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The variety of formally organised sporting activity that existed in New Zealand before 1890 and the possibility that this phenomenon may have played a significant role in the development of colonial society has received only limited attention from historians. While some authors have acknowledged that rugby, cricket and to a lesser extent horse racing, acted as forms of ‘social cement’ in New Zealand prior to 1900,<sup>1</sup> many general works imply that sport was either a marginal activity in the social life of the country or consisted simply of a range of trivial amusements arranged informally and intermittently by settlers with limited leisure time.<sup>2</sup> However, the range of organised sports that fostered a sense of community was considerably wider than most have allowed, with rowing and athletics especially prominent.<sup>3</sup> This paper focuses on the fortunes of amateur athletic clubs established in Christchurch and Timaru between 1870 and 1890 and offers hitherto generally neglected insights into the role of sport as a bond of identity within classes and a mark of segmentation between them – an interpretation somewhat at odds with popular understandings of New Zealand sport as a bastion of egalitarianism. For although trades athletic clubs were also established in Christchurch and Timaru, these failed to attract significant support from any class and disappeared after a brief struggle for survival in which relations with their elite counterparts were often tense and seldom co-operative.

Amateur athletic clubs, drawing their principal membership from among the elites and middle class, were founded in Christchurch and Timaru during the 1870s and had become firmly established by 1890. The rules of the first clubs stated that members were to be ‘bona-fide amateurs’ or to comport themselves at all times as ‘gentlemen’. But the meaning of such terms in a nineteenth-century sporting context, and especially a colonial one, is somewhat ambiguous and must be considered before proceeding further.

Although Canterbury was geographically far removed from the rapid transformations of nineteenth-century British sport, new arrivals to the province ensured that it was not immune to the crucial debates of the period – foremost among them, the debate between amateurs and professionals. In

the context of a more general Victorian questioning of traditional landed control of the church, army and civil service, a rising generation of public-school educated men, especially from the new industrial elites and expanding liberal professions, sought to use sport as a means to delineate their social position within the middle class – both to climb the social ladder and to pull it up behind them. The mechanism of amateurism, with its basic distinction between those who played sport for pleasure and those who did so for money, ensured that the sport of the middle class was only open to those with the necessary time and funds to pursue it. *De facto*, rather than through a provocative and arbitrary social barrier, the working class who could not afford it were excluded. In combination with an emerging philosophy of manliness and muscular Christianity, sport was re-packaged as a moral metaphor – a training of character for the greater struggles of life, whether in business or imperial service on a remote frontier. Amateurism was also as much about the spirit and style with which one participated. Excessive training and practice undermined the ‘natural’ game and was considered bad form. By contrast, the professional represented the spectre of winning becoming more important than taking part. If sport was a livelihood, the sanctity of the rules would be threatened by whatever conduct was necessary in order to win ‘at all costs’.<sup>4</sup>

Yet there was a great deal of ambiguity as to who was and was not an amateur. There was no single definition covering all sports. Some, such as cricket, where gentlemen and commoners had mixed since the early eighteenth century, allowed amateurs to claim legitimate expenses involved in participating while strictly regulating the status and behaviour of professionals. At the other extreme, rowing moved to ban any form of recompense. At one level it was understandable that professional watermen were excluded from amateur competition, as they spent their working lives on the water and possessed a considerable advantage in ‘training’. But rowing became immersed in a much wider debate as to the merits of excluding manual workers in general, because they derived superior physical conditioning from work that would assist them in sport.<sup>5</sup>

As one of the few sports with a significant tradition of class mixing, as foot races had always been a regular part of town and village holiday festivities, athletics fell between the two extremes of broad and class-exclusive participation. From the mid-nineteenth century there was an established circuit of sponsored pedestrianism, especially multi-day endurance events for cash prizes. But the endemic graft and corruption that gripped participants and organisers alike was anathema to the sporting ideals of the new middle class. The first instinct of the Amateur Athletic Club (AAC) formed at Oxford in 1866 was to exclude all manual workers as well as those who had competed for money and to contain track and field events within

very particular bounds of time and space. An emphasis on competition between affiliated clubs also helped to exclude the individual competitor of uncertain credentials. The more democratic and less elitist Amateur Athletic Association (AAA), which superseded the AAC in 1880, followed the lead of the Northern Counties Amateur Athletic Association established the previous year in erecting no formal barriers to men engaged in manual occupations. In theory, at least, there was provision for working-class amateurs who had not previously competed for money.<sup>6</sup> Yet, as we will see shortly, adherents to this model achieved exclusion by other, less explicit means.

Applying amateur principles overseas was always problematic. Given the limited population base until the late nineteenth century, colonial sporting administrators adopted an exclusive stance at their peril. It is also likely that a more commercially minded colonial middle class, dominated by men involved in the management of small-scale enterprises that allowed more common ground between employer and worker, perhaps possessed a greater tolerance towards elements of working-class culture and were therefore less bound to amateurism as a mechanism for exclusion. At the same time, there were not the resources in terms of wealthy backers and a substantial revenue-producing spectatorship to sustain a fully professional sporting structure against which amateurs needed to define themselves.<sup>7</sup> New Zealand sport, however, did not become a classless paradise. What follows is ample evidence that elements of the colonial middle class were determined to transplant at least some amateur strictures to the colony. That they enjoyed only partial success cannot obscure their intent.

Of particular significance to the development of amateur athletics in Canterbury were the sports held annually at Christ's College from 1862. Established in 1850 under the auspices of the Anglican Church and designed in imitation of 'the great Grammar Schools of England',<sup>8</sup> the College rapidly became one of the key elite institutions in Canterbury.<sup>9</sup> Many of its early Fellows were old boys of English public schools or graduates of Oxford or Cambridge and prominent members of the Canterbury Association, which had organised the settlement of Canterbury. The pupils were primarily sons of the urban and rural elites. Christ's College remained at the hub of local sport and produced more than its share of provincial and national representatives in athletics, rugby football and cricket before 1914.<sup>10</sup>

Though the programmes of the earliest athletic meetings held at the College included sack races and other folk games, from the early 1870s the sports consisted entirely of standard athletic contests. Prizes were initially awarded in the form of practical items such as 'desks, pocket-books, knives, [and] chess-boards'.<sup>11</sup> However, by 1880 the prize list consisted principally of valuable 'silver cups and other trophies'.<sup>12</sup> In 1874 some old boys of the College subscribed a total of £40 for a Champion Cup. This 'very large

and elegant piece of plate' was awarded from 1875 to the competitor who accumulated the highest number of points at the sports across a series of designated contests.<sup>13</sup>

The propensity of the annual athletic sports at Christ's College to foster ties among the youthful members of the elites who participated evidently gratified contemporary observers, including both masters and parents.<sup>14</sup> The sports also attracted considerable numbers of spectators, especially 'ladies, who seemed to take a very lively interest in the proceedings'.<sup>15</sup> The fact that a plentiful supply of seats was routinely arranged for their use indicates that those in authority at the school expected 'the gentle sex' to be present in significant numbers. Because many of these women were the relatives or 'lady friends of the College boys', the sports strengthened familial relationships and social ties amongst the elites.<sup>16</sup> Thus, although direct participation was limited to the pupils, the sports worked in several ways to foster a sense of solidarity within the socio-economic elite of Canterbury.

Athletic bodies that operated outside the elite schools and that were ostensibly dedicated to the amateur ethos, performed a similar function. However, the introduction of amateurism into athletics in Canterbury proved troublesome. One inhabitant of Christchurch pointed out that the 'English definition of an amateur is in my opinion much too strict' and could not be applied under the social conditions prevalent in New Zealand.<sup>17</sup> Particularly inappropriate was the 'mechanics' rule' formulated by the AAC in England, under which 'an artisan from his social position is not . . . classed as an amateur'.<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, the ambiguous dividing line between amateur and professional in the minds of the populace was illustrated and perhaps reinforced by the tendency of newspapers and administrators of sports meetings in Canterbury to use almost randomly the terms 'local amateurs' and 'professionals' when describing prominent pedestrians.<sup>19</sup> For example, William Pentecost was counted among the 'very best amateur talent' in Canterbury when competing in Christchurch during 1870 and 1871 against professional pedestrians from outside New Zealand, such as the Australians Austin and Harris and the competitors Hewitt and Bird from Britain. However, Pentecost was also among a group of athletes who were occasionally excluded as 'professionals' from various rural and other sports meetings.<sup>20</sup> Some condemned the failure of the organisers of sports to maintain a clear and consistent separation between 'amateurs' and 'professionals' and considered that 'the sooner both are properly defined and kept in their own sphere the better for the athletes'.<sup>21</sup>

The first serious attempts to introduce amateurism into athletics in Canterbury were made by lawyer and politician William Henry Wynn-Williams, who was for many years foremost among the organisers of the

annual Anniversary Sports festival in Christchurch. Wynn-Williams was instrumental in organising two major athletic sports meetings in March and April 1871 from which 'professionals' were explicitly excluded. The first event marked the end of the rowing and cricket seasons, and participation was restricted to members of rowing and cricket clubs. However, the sports held in April were a public festival arranged to celebrate the visit to Christchurch of the Governor Sir George Ferguson Bowen. It was evident to those permitted to enter both gatherings that 'professionals' were only prohibited from entering as competitors. Thus, some 'enthusiastic members' of the various cricket and boating clubs trained under the 'professional surveillance' of the pedestrian Alfred Austin.<sup>22</sup>

The committee organising the Christchurch Anniversary Sports in November 1873 wondered how they were to distinguish between professionals and non-professionals. Wynn-Williams responded: 'Simply use our own judgement, and when they offer to enter . . . we say we shan't have them. [A laugh]'.<sup>23</sup> Amateurism in this instance was merely the name given to a crude mechanism for excluding particularly successful local athletes, such as Pentecost, who accrued considerable sums by competing annually at a number of anniversary and rural sports meetings throughout Canterbury.

The anniversary and rural sports meetings raise important questions about the role and sometimes precarious existence of the clubs to be discussed below. In addition to various provincial Anniversary Day, Boxing Day and New Year's Day sports held in Christchurch and among the rural communities of Canterbury, various friendly societies such as the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Caledonian Society also held gatherings. While the latter were more likely to restrict the majority of events to members of the society, others were open to all.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, as one report noted in February 1871, participants from all classes in Canterbury competed against one another at these events, in a form of athletics that was 'verging into a sort of quasi-amateur-professionalism'.<sup>25</sup>

The fact that some middle-class athletes willingly fraternised with those deemed working class and/or professional at such meetings, while retreating behind exclusionist mechanisms at other times, leads one to wonder whether the clubs were genuinely conceived as guardians of amateur purity. They may instead have served as vehicles for conspicuous display, in which the status of belonging and being seen to belong was rather more important. Leading amateur clubs in England were never so lenient in allowing their members to mingle with professionals.

Further, given that the regular circuit of rural and other sports meetings enjoyed rather more continuity and popular support than the somewhat fragmented careers of the athletic clubs in Christchurch and Timaru, the role and influence of the latter need to be kept in perspective. Certainly

we will see that they were instrumental in the consolidation of formal organisational structures that led to the establishment of the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association in 1887 and with it the now familiar path from club to provincial to national organisation and representation. But such visible and formally constituted bodies clearly did not regulate the sporting diet of many athletes and spectators on a day-to-day basis. For them, opportunities and entertainment were found in a variety of more informal settings.

In January 1872 the first successful effort was made to create an explicitly amateur athletic organisation in Christchurch. The Canterbury Amateur Athletic Association had its immediate origins in the second Boaters' and Cricketers' Athletic Sports, which had been held a few days earlier. Three previous attempts to form such a body had failed. However, the strong public reaction to the 'many swindles' in which the visiting pedestrians Bird, Hewitt and Harris had indulged while in the city during July 1871 probably provided sufficient impetus for this venture to succeed.<sup>26</sup>

Membership was initially restricted to those belonging to cricket and boating clubs. However, in a move that was presumably intended to improve the viability of amateur athletics in Christchurch, the Association was reconstituted as the Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club (CAAC) in 1873 and opened to all bona fide amateur athletes. The provision that one black ball in four could exclude an aspirant ensured that the new club would tend to draw its members primarily from among the elites and middle class.<sup>27</sup>

Formulating a definition of an amateur proved fraught with difficulties for the architects of the new club. Some of those attending the inaugural meeting thought the word should be omitted from its title, as 'there were very few in that room who, according to the English rules, could be looked upon as bona fide amateurs'.<sup>28</sup> R.P. Crosbie presciently observed that the use of the term amateur 'would greatly restrict the operations of the association, and lead to endless discussion'.<sup>29</sup> More than a year passed before the members of the CAAC finally resolved that any of their number 'who shall be proved to the committee to have taken any advertised money after 17th April, 1873, shall be disqualified from competing . . . at the meetings of the club'.<sup>30</sup> However, nothing in the new rule prevented 'such winner appropriating the same towards a trophy'.<sup>31</sup> Thus, an athlete could win a cash prize, remain an amateur, and compete at the club's meeting if that money were used to purchase a trophy for subsequent competition. One did not risk one's amateur status by competing against professionals, just by beating them and retaining the proceeds! According to one member, the sole distinction between an amateur and a professional was that the former competed 'for plate or other mementos of the competitions', while the latter competed for money.<sup>32</sup>

The events staged by the CAAC were similar in their tenor to those of Christ's College. Programmes consisted of standard athletic contests for prizes and cups with values ranging from £1.1s to £20. They also restricted participation by gender in a way that many rural and other sports meetings did not. Registration to compete in all events was restricted to men and boys, perhaps reflecting the origins of most members in cricket and boating clubs. However, spectators of both sexes were welcome, and 'special arrangements' were made for the comfort of ladies.<sup>33</sup>

The rules of the first CAAC evidently did not prohibit competition between its amateur members and professional athletes. Some of the most eminent pedestrians in Christchurch appeared at every annual sports meeting organised by the club during the 1870s.<sup>34</sup> This circumstance also indicates that while the CAAC was dominated by the urban elites and middle class, the members did not seek to create an unbridgeable distance between themselves and talented athletes from the working classes. However, the CAAC never allowed professionals to become members.<sup>35</sup>

The patronage of the local elite could not prevent the CAAC from collapsing in 1877. The rule against professionals probably kept membership low and precipitated the failure. As one correspondent observed in the *Lyttelton Times*:

The fault does not lie with the public nor with a great portion of the local athletes. It is simply a case of divided efforts and interests in a community which is not large enough to permit such a division being attended with success. The Canterbury [Amateur] Athletic Club, for some years past, has made it a sine qua non that those who become members shall not compete anywhere for money prizes. The result is that all who cannot afford to expend time and money in practice without some prospect of return cannot join the club; thus a very large percentage of athletes are excluded.<sup>36</sup>

The writer urged the organisation of an athletic club that would admit 'all respectable persons, without regard to class, as members, and [make] it optional for the prizes to be taken in money or plate'.<sup>37</sup>

The second CAAC was established in 1880, an action that was probably facilitated by a 25% increase in the population of Christchurch and its precincts between 1878 and 1881.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, as discussed shortly, the Club created a pool of potential members by allowing boys from Christ's College and the slightly less elitist Christchurch Boys' High School to participate in its annual sports.<sup>39</sup> However, the architects of the new organisation evidently ignored the advice proffered in 1877. Members were required to pay an annual subscription of £1, largely determining that the new club would attract its membership from among the same socio-economic groups as its predecessor. The executive offices and the committee of the CAAC

were largely the preserve of the urban elites.<sup>40</sup> Many of these individuals, such as W.H. Wynn-Williams, C.C. Corfe (Headmaster of Christ’s College), J. Stanley Monck and Montague Lewin, had occupied positions of authority in the earlier club. Sufficient information exists to determine the class of thirty-one individuals from among an active membership that numbered 116 in October 1880.<sup>41</sup> The data presented in Table 1 indicates that they were drawn predominantly from the urban elite and middle class. Thirteen had been pupils at Christ’s College. Seven were the sons of major run-holders in the province, two others were the scions of prominent auctioneers in Christchurch, and one was the offspring of a successful land agent. Several of these patriarchs were active in the political life of Canterbury. Two of the run-holders, the auctioneers, the land agent and two others on whom occupational information is lacking, had at various times been elected to the Canterbury Provincial Council. One of the run-holders and one of the auctioneers had each served terms as Members of the House of Representatives.

TABLE 1 – CAAC Members Identifiable by Class, 1881 & 1885

	1881	1885
<b>I: Elites</b>		
Professionals	6	3
Major rural proprietors	1	6
Major urban proprietors, managers and officials	7	0
<b>II: Middle class</b>		
Clerks and salesmen	9 <sup>1</sup>	11 <sup>2</sup>
Semi-professionals	3	0
Petty rural proprietors and farm managers	2	1
Petty urban proprietors, managers and officials	3	2
<b>III: Blue-collar Workers</b>		
Skilled	0	0
Semi-skilled	0	0
Unskilled and menial service workers	0	0
<b>Total</b>	31	23

1. includes two students enrolled at Canterbury University College.

2. includes one student enrolled at Canterbury University College.

The remainder, for whom no occupational information could be found, were probably absent because of their youth or tardiness in enrolling to vote. While the group of unidentified members may have included individuals engaged in blue-collar occupations, the high annual subscription rate makes this possibility less likely.



The evidence presented in Table 1 suggests that the social composition of the CAAC remained unchanged in 1885. Though only 23 of 172 members can be positively identified by class, the indeterminacy of the majority derives from the same factors hindering the identification of class in 1881. The elite group consisted primarily of lawyers, medical practitioners and masters at Christ's College. Most of those categorised as being members of the middle class were clerks employed in banking, insurance and mercantile concerns. Thus, the available data indicates that the CAAC tended to foster relationships among the urban elite and white-collar employees in Canterbury.

Professional pedestrians were absent from the sports of the second CAAC. The rules of the AAA of England, from which the club clearly derived its own rules, specifically forbade amateurs to compete with professionals under any circumstances. Moreover, few professional pedestrians were operating in and around Christchurch after 1880. However, from 1882, the club added to its sports several foot races, over distances varying between one hundred yards and three miles, for boys at Christ's College and Christchurch Boys' High School.<sup>42</sup> Through these contests, the club expedited the integration of boys from prosperous families into the socio-economic elite, a process begun at the school sports. By participating in leisure activities conducted under very specific rules and conditions, the boys absorbed the values expressed in those rules, the values of the elite who made them. By introducing events for juveniles, the club may also have aimed to attract parents to the meetings as paying spectators and to encourage the boys themselves to join the ranks of the club once they had left school.

The crowds that gathered at the sports were apparently composed of persons drawn from the same classes as the competitors. At the meeting held in November 1885, 'several of the grand stand seats were filled with ladies, and the boys of Christ's College and the High School showed their interest in the gathering by attending in force'.<sup>43</sup> But any hopes that the club would attract the multitudes to its meetings were soon dashed. A pattern of small crowds and frustrated ambitions was established at the inaugural sports of the club in March 1881. The public, 'in fact, did not roll up as fondly as expected' at any meeting held during the 1880s.<sup>44</sup> One writer lamented in October 1888 that 'the Christchurch public have evidently lost their taste for athletic exercises, and the club seems to have exhausted every effort to popularise the meetings without any appreciable measure of success'.<sup>45</sup> The modest attendance at the sports two years later suggests that such pessimism was justified.<sup>46</sup>

From November 1882 the sports were held at Lancaster Park, an enclosed ground to which a charge for admission could be imposed.<sup>47</sup> However, organisations using the venue were required to relinquish twenty percent of

all revenues they raised from both the entrance money taken at the gates and pavilion and the profits from publicans' and confectioners' booths on the ground.<sup>48</sup> The CAAC charged 1s for admission to its sports, at which rate a crowd of four hundred would yield a gross income of only £20. The deduction of twenty percent from what was certainly a small sum eliminated any possibility that the club might make a profit. Yet notwithstanding such meagre returns, the financial situation of the resuscitated CAAC was quite sound. Prizes were awarded only in the form of medals or plate, but by 1883 an array of trophies valued from £5 to £100 was being offered.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the CAAC generated sufficient capital, either from affluent benefactors or its own members, to hold sports meetings at the most modern and prestigious venue in Canterbury and acquire several expensive trophies.

Paradoxically, the athletic body that most clearly fostered an awareness of elite status among its members was located not in Christchurch but in Timaru, the principal rural service centre and second port of Canterbury.<sup>50</sup> The South Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club (SCAAC) surpassed its counterpart in Christchurch by drawing its membership from elite groups situated throughout New Zealand.<sup>51</sup> Though the circumstances under which the SCAAC was established remain obscure, it appears to have originated in two informal athletic gatherings arranged in 1870 and 1871 by 'a small knot of muscular friends' resident in the Levels and Mt. Peel Districts.<sup>52</sup> The club was formally constituted early in 1872 and held its first official sports on 23 May. Thereafter, meetings comprising standard athletic contests, to which 'throwing the cricket ball' was appended, were held annually over a period of two days. As with the CAAC in Christchurch, membership, and consequently participation in the annual sports, was restricted to men.<sup>53</sup>

Prizes were awarded in the form of commodities rather than cash. The most prestigious prize was the Champion's Cup, bestowed on the competitor who obtained the highest number of points during the meeting. The value of this trophy was 80 guineas.<sup>54</sup> Second in order of importance was the Ladies' Cup, presented annually to the SCAAC by 'ladies of South Canterbury' and given to the winner of the steeplechase. The nature of this award also varied each year, though it was always a functional but exotic and richly decorated object crafted from solid silver and often imported from Australia.<sup>55</sup> The offerings in most other events were cups or trophies worth from £2 to £10 each.<sup>56</sup> In pecuniary terms alone, the value of the prizes awarded by the club was substantial, considering that between 1870 and 1880 a general labourer might earn approximately 8s per day.<sup>57</sup>

The eschewal of cash prizes in favour of cups reflected the fact that the SCAAC remained deeply dedicated to the tenets of the nascent amateur ethos as it understood them. The annual sports elicited an outpouring of rhetoric in the columns of the *Timaru Herald* on the virtues and benefits

of amateur athletics, an outpouring unusual in New Zealand during this period for both its coherence and its prolixity. Indeed, this outpouring suggests that the amateur pretensions of the club were more the exception than the rule for most in the colonial sporting world. An editorial written in 1877 extolled the virtues of the club: 'There is nothing sordid, mean or degrading connected with their amusements, and all their operations are conducted on the principle that they have nothing whatever to gain except the friendship and admiration of one another.' The trophies for which they competed, 'though handsome and at times costly, are not stakes, but simply records of victory; and their intrinsic value is nothing whatever compared with the extrinsic value of the triumphs which they mark'. The editor could not imagine 'anything better calculated than these sports to bring out and develop all the best qualities, both mental and physical, of the rising generation': 'They teach courage, self-denial, perseverance, generosity, self-control, and brotherly love; they discourage every sort of sneaking, calculating, quarrelsome, selfish tendency.'<sup>58</sup>

Though the members seldom engaged in such flights of articulate self-analysis, the SCAAC demonstrated through its statutes a commitment to what the members understood to be amateurism. The General and Racing Rules of the club stipulated the greatest possible distance between its members, on the one hand, and professional athletes and their practices, on the other. Racing Rule I stated that 'no attendant [is] to accompany [a] competitor on the scratch or in the race'. Racing Rule V strictly forbade 'jostling, or running across, or wilfully obstructing so as to impede another's progress', on pain of disqualification from the race or even from the entire meeting. The determination of the club to remain a preserve of amateurism was expressed most forcefully in General Rule XII, which proclaimed: 'Any gentleman, after becoming a member of this Club, who shall compete in an open competition, or for public money, or for admissions money, or with professionals for a prize, public money, or admission money, or who shall run a match with a professional for money or a prize, shall *ipso facto* cease to be a member of the Club.'<sup>59</sup>

This was effectively a transcription of the extremely restrictive edict enacted in 1866 by the Amateur Athletic Club in England.<sup>60</sup> A practically insurmountable barrier was thus erected between pedestrians and the 'gentlemen' of the SCAAC. The rule also eliminated any possibility of competition between members of the club and athletes within the general population who participated in the numerous popular or rural sports meetings organised throughout the province. Further, the subscription for club members was £1 per annum, a sum equivalent to four day's wages for most unskilled labourers in Canterbury during the depression of the 1880s.<sup>61</sup> Any proletarian who could pay the subscription would probably have been prevented from

joining the club by two other rules. One stated that every candidate for membership had initially to be 'proposed by one member, and seconded by another'. The other required that 'every application for admission . . . must be sent to the Secretary at least one month before the name can be put up for ballot, together with the names of the proposer and seconder'.<sup>62</sup> Such an admission process naturally provided the SCAAC with ample opportunity to examine the background of the applicant and ponder the significance of what it had discovered. If the candidate survived the rigorous scrutiny to which he was subjected, the matter was finally decided by a ballot of existing members at any meeting of the club. However, no election was valid 'unless ten of the paying members do actually ballot personally'. Even then, acceptance of a candidate was not guaranteed, for the rule stated that 'one black ball in five shall exclude'.<sup>63</sup> These regulations ensured that the SCAAC adhered rigidly to an abstract amateur ethos and, in combination with several other rules, that it remained a preserve of the socio-economic and political elites from throughout Canterbury and beyond. Entry was impossible for anyone unacceptable to even a substantial minority of the existing membership.

Maintaining one's membership was, in theory, almost as difficult as joining. According to General Rule VIII, a member was required, on pain of expulsion by the Committee for any breach it considered to be sufficiently serious, to conduct himself at all times as a 'gentleman'.<sup>64</sup> Though a rather nebulous concept, Timothy Chandler claims that 'gentlemanliness . . . meant self-discipline and self-motivation, a mastery of the passions, patience and the control of energy – it meant "character"', a term that implied both physical health and 'moral fitness'.<sup>65</sup> Thus, any member could hypothetically be ejected subsequent to a subjective analysis of his behaviour by a small coterie of his compatriots, who passed judgement based on an unspoken code of behaviour.

The maintenance by the club of such a powerful mechanism for controlling the conduct of its membership might have been expected to result in at least a trickle of expulsions. Indeed, as shown below, the membership of the SCAAC routinely failed to comport themselves in accordance with either the letter or the spirit of the rule. However, only one man appears to have been ejected under this law, following his conviction for committing two murders.<sup>66</sup>

Naturally the various mechanisms examined above excluded the working class almost as effectively as any 'mechanics' rule'. One writer opined that 'the club has become an important and valuable social institution, solely from the soundness of its principles, and the hearty goodwill with which all its members strive' to apply them in practice. He further expounded: 'Its annual meeting still stimulates the youth of this, and, indeed, of many other parts of the colony, to healthy and generous competition in manly

exercises.<sup>67</sup> Such comments create the impression that a meeting of the SCAAC had the same broad appeal as a popular sports meeting. In reality, the club remained a bastion of the socio-economic elites of South Canterbury and beyond.

Precisely how many members the SCAAC claimed in 1878 is unknown, though 51 can be clearly identified by class. Of these, 33 were white-collar professionals, major urban or rural proprietors or managers of large commercial enterprises. The remaining 18 were drawn from the middle class.

TABLE 2 – SCAAC Members Identifiable by Class, 1878 & 1883

	1878	1883
<b>I: Elites</b>		
Professionals	9	18
Major rural proprietors	16 <sup>1</sup>	54 <sup>2</sup>
Major urban proprietors, managers and officials	8	29
<b>II: Middle class</b>		
Clerks and salesmen	5	25
Semi-professionals	2	4
Petty rural proprietors and farm managers	9	43
Petty urban proprietors, managers and officials	2	7
<b>III: Blue-collar Workers</b>		
Skilled	0	0
Semi-skilled	0	1
Unskilled and menial service workers	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>182</b>

1. includes three sons of run-holders.

2. includes five sons of run-holders.

These data also indicate that nothing had changed five years later. It is possible to identify with certainty the class of 182 of the 233 men listed as active and ‘supernumerary’ members in the rule book of the SCAAC in 1883. A total of 101 were drawn from the urban and rural elites. Though most of this group resided in Canterbury, several were run-holders, merchants or senior officials in Marlborough, Otago, Wellington and Auckland. Seventy-nine others were drawn from the middle class: primarily clerical workers, managers of sheep stations and proprietors of small- or medium-sized rural enterprises. Only two members were employed in blue-collar jobs. Members remain unidentified by class for three main reasons: they resided in other provinces and registered to vote there; they were deterred by geographic

isolation from enrolling in any electorate; or they were under 21 when the *Electoral Rolls* published in 1882–1884 were being compiled. Thus, the SCAAC continued to be an organisation that fostered ties almost exclusively amongst the elites and those members of the middle class who were judged acceptable by their social superiors.

The nature of the crowds attracted by the club sports reinforces the conviction that it fostered ties principally among elite groups. The sports of the SCAAC allegedly served ‘the excellent purpose of bringing together numbers of the old settlers and even of families and friends who, but for it, would probably never have an opportunity of thus renewing “the merry days when they were young”’.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, reports indicate that the number of spectators varied between three hundred and one thousand and that ‘the majority of those present belong[ed] to the classes whose time is chiefly at their own disposal’. Many of these visitors viewed the proceedings from the comfort of their private carriages and arranged themselves into ‘cosy parties around plethoric hampers at luncheon hour’.<sup>69</sup>

Approximately one-third of those attending the sports were ‘ladies’, whose presence was considered extremely beneficial. ‘The great interest shown by the fair sex in the different events’, wrote one commentator, ‘is no doubt one of the principal reasons for them being so well contested; and as long as their patronage is continued, we feel sure the club will flourish.’<sup>70</sup> The annual meetings of the SCAAC possibly also presented women with an ideal opportunity to meet and scrutinise potential marriage partners either for themselves or on behalf of their daughters. The sports reputedly attracted ‘the very pick of the young men of the colony’, each of whom showed the assembled company ‘what he could do with very few clothes on’.<sup>71</sup> This lack of clothes may have prompted the club to introduce Racing Rule XXI in 1881, which forbade competitors to wear ‘any costume other than one similar to those worn at the athletic meetings of [the] English Universities’ of Oxford and Cambridge – presumably a fuller covering.<sup>72</sup>

Certain rules and practices of the club effectively alienated the wider public. From 1876 a charge of 1s was imposed for admission to the ground on which the meeting was held. In justifying this tariff, the club claimed that it had recently expended large sums on the purchase and preparation of ‘a proper sports ground’, and it considered ‘in consequence that the public who participate in the sport provided at the meeting should contribute something towards the expenses’.<sup>73</sup> The financial commitments of the SCAAC increased in September 1878 when it purchased another ground, comprising eight acres laid in ‘English grass’ from Robert and George Rhodes for £1231.17s.6d.<sup>74</sup>

Regardless of its fairness, the negative effects of the admission charge on public attendance at the sports were immediate and sustained. From 1874 the Mayor of Timaru could usually be persuaded to declare a half-holiday

on the occasion of the sports. However, despite the opportunity to enjoy an afternoon of athletics, the townsfolk often responded with indifference. The decline in interest among the public was particularly marked from the mid-1870s. The early tendency for crowds to be composed largely of the families and friends of the competitors along with members of elite groups from other provinces became increasingly pronounced from this time.

Any mild dislike felt by the public for the sports of the SCAAC was probably exacerbated by the behaviour of the members themselves during the several days of what became known in Timaru as 'Sports time'.<sup>75</sup> One source depicts the week as one during which the townsfolk were convulsed with laughter by an unending stream of jolly japes perpetrated by 'The Boys' of the club and their friends, with the connivance of the local constabulary. Any ill feeling was dissipated by prompt payment for all damage caused.<sup>76</sup> However, a contemporary report suggested that the antics of the 'youthful athletes' caused many of the petty proprietors of Timaru to be convulsed by quite another emotion. Such was the destruction caused by a bout of revelry in 1879 that 'on Friday morning the wrath of the trading community was too great for utterance, except in rancorous strings of adjectives which, if I even chose to repeat, would immediately be obliterated from this letter by the moral pen of the editor'. It appeared 'most extraordinary' to the writer that 'the police should not bring the practical "jokists" before the Court for wilful destruction of property'.<sup>77</sup>

Two factors allegedly rendered the perpetrators immune from retribution. The first was their social status. 'If tradesmen, or the sons of tradesmen, conducted themselves in such a manner', the correspondent believed, 'they would at once be dubbed "larrikins", and the highly respectable portion of the public would clamour loudly for them to be brought before the Resident Magistrate.' The second determinant was the incompetence of the local constabulary. The writer complained: 'Unfortunately, most of the constables doing street duty in Timaru are of the type known as the "stage bobby". They are splendid wearers of white cotton gloves, and can do the measured step on the asphalt footpath with great style and precision; but beyond these military attributes they cannot be charged with the crime of smartness.'<sup>78</sup> Resentment among the townsfolk was compounded by the fact that they were enduring this mischief at the hands of a body composed primarily of members of the socio-economic elite, a body from which most of them were tacitly excluded. In May 1877 a letter signed 'One among the Million' informed the editor of the *Timaru Herald*: 'Regarding the South Canterbury Amateur Athletic club, some people refuse to attend these Sports because the members . . . only admit as members [those] whom they choose.'<sup>79</sup> According to this correspondent, the only valid determinant of who played with and against whom should be the principle of complete freedom of

association. Further, he attributed widespread resentment of the SCAAC among the general population to the perception that election to the club was determined by class.

Public hostility did not prevent amateur athletic clubs from organising one of the most interactive and supporting organisational structures created by any sport in New Zealand before 1900. On the initiative of the SCAAC, a group of elite clubs, including the CAAC and the Dunedin Amateur Athletic Club, jointly established the New Zealand Amateur Athletic Association (NZAAA) in August 1887.<sup>80</sup> By 1890 the Southland, Hawke's Bay and Wellington amateur athletic clubs had become affiliated to the new Association.<sup>81</sup> The NZAAA ensured that all of its affiliates followed a uniform set of rules regarding amateurism. Until 1890 the association also determined which events at each of the separate annual sports meetings arranged by the various clubs would be accorded the formal status of contests for a 'New Zealand championship' in any given year.<sup>82</sup>

The negative sentiment aroused by the attitudes and practices of both the amateur athletic clubs in Canterbury found tangible expression from the mid-1870s. In April 1875 the Canterbury Tradesmen's Athletic Club (CTAC) was launched in Christchurch, apparently at the instigation of the pedestrian Charles Bowley. The rationale behind the establishment of the new club was simple. The CAAC awarded prizes only in plate and excluded anyone 'who has taken money at other sports'. Thus, working-class athletes, who could not afford 'to lose their time and expend money in training without a prospect of some monetary return', were automatically debarred from competition.<sup>83</sup> The object of the CTAC was reportedly 'to promote competition' in athletics 'among the working classes'. This end could be achieved by offering competitors the 'prospect of winning a money prize to cover their loss of time and outlay'.<sup>84</sup>

The CTAC had a chequered existence. In its first incarnation it organised only two sports meetings, in May and December 1875, before collapsing.<sup>85</sup> The first event drew a crowd of over one thousand, the second fewer than five hundred. Only five hundred attended the sports organised by the resuscitated club in May 1882, and a mere three hundred cheered the meeting held the following November.<sup>86</sup> The CTAC finally disintegrated in December 1882, due primarily to an inability to meet the expenses associated with conducting its sports at the newly established Lancaster Park.

Bowley sought to create opportunities for working men who were being excluded from competition by the development of an increasingly restricted form of amateurism. He was not hostile to the elite of Canterbury and was conscious of the advantages of securing elite patronage. The membership of the CTAC in 1875 consisted primarily of blue-collar workers and petty proprietors and boasted several of the leading pedestrians in Canterbury,



including Bowley himself, William Pentecost, A.O. Brunsdon and J.F. Gough. However, the membership also included George Stead, a wealthy merchant, and W.C. Maxwell, a run-holder and patron of sport who had sponsored an event excluding manual labourers at the Heathcote Regatta in 1872. Maxwell's support of the CTAC demonstrated a willingness to help working-class athletes when they competed against their own kind, while Stead was noted for having a certain sympathy for workers.<sup>87</sup>

In 1882 Bowley successfully solicited the patronage of several 'leading citizens'. The Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, and the Mayor of Christchurch, J.G. Ruddenklau, both agreed to serve as patrons of the club. Three MHRs, including W.H. Wynn-Williams, also accepted posts as officers.<sup>88</sup> As might be expected of an athletic organisation over which Wynn-Williams presided, the prizes at the meeting of the resuscitated club in May 1882 consisted of sumptuous trophies similar in nature and quality to those offered by the SCAAC.<sup>89</sup> However, this may have displeased many members, for the successful competitors at the final sports of the CTAC in November 1882 received their prizes in cash.<sup>90</sup>

How many joined the club during its brief existence remains unknown. The membership was drawn from a wide variety of backgrounds, though evidence presented in Table 3 indicates that two-thirds of the 49 who can be identified were engaged in skilled and unskilled blue-collar occupations.

TABLE 3 – CTAC Members Identifiable by Class, 1882

	1882
<b>I: Elites</b>	
Professionals	2
Major rural proprietors	1
Major urban proprietors, managers and officials	1
<b>II: Middle class</b>	
Clerks and salesmen	5
Semi-professionals	0
Petty rural proprietors and farm managers	0
Petty urban proprietors, managers and officials	7
<b>III: Blue-collar Workers</b>	
Skilled	18
Semi-skilled	2
Unskilled and menial service workers	13
<b>Total</b>	49

Efforts to establish a club dedicated to the promotion of athletics among the working class in Timaru enjoyed only limited success. Following a blistering attack on the exclusiveness of the SCAAC in the letters column of the *Timaru Herald*, the Timaru Tradesmen’s Amateur Athletic Club (TTAAC) was established in May 1877. Those behind the new organisation refused to obtain a wealthy or influential patron. ‘Instead of fawning upon these men’, wrote one supporter, ‘let us look to our own interests and try to manage our own affairs . . . with as little exclusiveness and narrowmindedness as possible.’<sup>91</sup> To make the club as inclusive as possible, the annual subscription was set at only 10s.6d.<sup>92</sup>

The exact strength of the TTAAC at any given time remains unknown, but evidence indicates that in 1879 the membership was drawn primarily from the middle and working classes. Of particular significance, given the evident antagonism toward the SCAAC within the ‘trading community’ of Timaru, was the high proportion of petty urban proprietors who joined. Among the 17 members from that year who can be positively identified, none was a member of the elite, while six were urban petty proprietors and nine blue-collar workers. White-collar employees, who mostly worked for the urban elites and were a major component in elite-controlled ‘amateur’ clubs, were conspicuously absent. The same pattern of membership existed four years later when 22 of the 25 identifiable members were urban petty proprietors and blue-collar workers.

TABLE 4 – TTAAC Members Identifiable by Class, 1879 & 1883

	1879	1883
<b>I: Elites</b>		
Professionals	0	0
Major rural proprietors	0	0
Major urban proprietors, managers and officials	0	1
<b>II: Middle class</b>		
Clerks and salesmen	0	1
Semi-professionals	0	1
Petty rural proprietors and farm managers	2	0
Petty urban proprietors, managers and officials	6	10
<b>III: Blue-collar Workers</b>		
Skilled	4	6
Semi-skilled	0	1
Unskilled and menial service workers	5	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>25</b>

Table 4 also reveals that in 1883 there was one member drawn from the elites. He was Richard Turnbull, a prosperous merchant and MHR for Timaru from 1878 to 1890. Turnbull, best known for his 'evangelical piety and working class sympathies',<sup>93</sup> was probably motivated to accept the office of President of the TTAAC by a combination of idealism and pragmatism. He would be assisting his working-class constituents by promoting an organisation that fostered healthy and manly sports among them, for which they would presumably demonstrate their gratitude by voting for him when necessary. His prominent position in the club suggests that its members did not simply reverse the class exclusiveness of the elite but were prepared to welcome prominent citizens who were well disposed towards them.

It is also clear that, while the TTAAC rejected the exclusiveness of the SCAAC, it did not necessarily reject the amateur ethos. Indeed, in 1877 and 1879 the club adopted the 'running rules of the SCAAC' and awarded prizes in plate rather than cash.<sup>94</sup> This may explain why the elite body for a time permitted the TTAAC to conduct its annual meetings on the SCAAC grounds, which were amongst the best in New Zealand.<sup>95</sup> The action of the SCAAC was allegedly 'calculated to bring the two clubs into closer relations, and establish between them a fraternal spirit that will induce them to cooperate . . . in the promotion of athletic sports in the district'.<sup>96</sup> This attachment was possibly strengthened by a very public exhibition of principled behaviour on the part of those who revived the Tradesmen's Club in 1879 after it had lapsed in 1877. The group insisted on raising £28.9s. to clear the debts of the 'old club', even though the connection between that organisation and the new body was limited to the name and a minority of the members.<sup>97</sup>

However, the relationship between the two clubs appears gradually to have cooled. The reformed TTAAC adopted the rules of the otherwise obscure Waitaki Athletic Club in preference to those of the SCAAC, and at its sports in 1880, 1881 and 1883 awarded prizes in the form of 'cash or trophies, of equal value, at the option of the winners'. The relationship between the clubs had to some extent broken down, as these meetings were held at the Show Grounds rather than those of the SCAAC.<sup>98</sup>

The TTAAC evidently attracted many people from Timaru to its sports. Approximately eight hundred attended in May 1879, 'at least two thousand' in May 1880, and 'fully 700 people', including 'a small army of youngsters', in November 1881.<sup>99</sup> But despite this support from the general public, the club lapsed once more at the end of 1881, possibly an early victim of the long depression. It was briefly revived in September 1883. However, after organising an apparently successful meeting to celebrate the Prince of Wales' Birthday on 9 November, the TTAAC went into a terminal decline.<sup>100</sup>

Though initially unsteady, the amateur athletic clubs established in Christchurch and Timaru were flourishing by the late 1880s, drawing members and financial support from, and fostering ties among, the social and economic elites of Canterbury and beyond. The strength of the influence wielded by the CAAC and, in particular, the SCAAC was demonstrated when they were able to persuade several elite clubs from other provinces to join them in establishing the NZAAA in 1887. By contrast, the trades clubs in both Christchurch and Timaru floundered. Their officers possibly lacked the organisational skills of their counterparts in the amateur clubs, and they certainly had inferior resources at their disposal. In their efforts to recruit working class members, the trades clubs were compelled to set membership fees much lower than the amateur clubs, though even the reduced fee appears to have deterred many young workers. Consequently, in both cases membership was lower than in the amateur clubs and provided correspondingly less revenue. The trades clubs also lacked large numbers of rich patrons of the type who subsidised both the CAAC and the SCAAC by donating expensive trophies.

The degree of success enjoyed by any small knot of muscular friends in Canterbury, and no doubt New Zealand as a whole, in their efforts to form an athletic club was largely determined by the socio-economic status of the members of each knot and the resources that were available to them for such a purpose. On the other hand, the influence of the elite clubs ought not to be overestimated. Their amateur pretensions were repeatedly challenged, their meetings were notable for a lack of public support, and the events sponsored by the clubs were frequently rivalled if not exceeded in importance by various rural and popular meets. In short, the transplantation of sport from the old world to the new was a multi-layered and keenly contested process.

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  - 17 WP, 25 February 1871.
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- 28 LT, 1 February 1872.
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- 30 WP, 12 April 1873.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 LT, 7 April 1873.
- 33 LT, 15 April 1873, 23 March 1874, 22 March 1875.
- 34 *Press*, 21 April 1873, 28 March 1874; WP, 27 March 1875, 1 April 1876, 24 February 1877; LT, 23 March 1874, 22 March 1875, 27 March 1876, 19 February 1877.
- 35 All occupational and biographical details used in this paper are variously derived from the *Lyttelton Times*, 1880–1885; *Press*, 1880–1885; *Timaru Herald*, 1877–1883; New Zealand Electoral Rolls, 1879–1884; *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1884; *School List*; L.G.D. Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs*, 4th ed., Christchurch, 1975; R. Bowden and L. Welford, *125 Year History of the South Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club, 1871–1996*, Timaru, 1996; Gillespie, *South Canterbury*; W.H. Scotter, *History of Canterbury*.
- 36 LT, 19 February 1877.
- 37 LT, 19 February 1877.
- 38 Census of New Zealand, 1878, 1881. The population of the city rose from 33,568 to 42,093.
- 39 *School List*, p.602. Although Boy's High was less elitist than Christ's College, any secondary education in this period put one close to the élites. Thus, athletics, cricket and football had an influx of new recruits from another class.
- 40 LT, 8 October 1880, 28 October 1882, 31 October 1887.
- 41 LT, 8 October 1880.
- 42 LT, 30 October 1882, 29 October 1883, 31 October 1887. Caroline Daley states that from 1893 the Auckland Amateur Athletic Club also included races for boys from the public schools in the programmes of their annual meetings so that these adolescents could learn how to be 'good citizens' by imitating the adult competitors. Caroline Daley, 'A Gendered Domain: Leisure in Auckland, 1890–1940', in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland, 1999, pp.87–112.
- 43 LT, 9 November 1885.
- 44 LT, 7 March 1881, 9 November 1885, 29 October 1887.
- 45 LT, 27 October 1888.
- 46 LT, 15 December 1890, 17 December 1890.
- 47 This facility had been constructed at a cost of £5240 in 1881, mostly with money raised through the creation of the Canterbury Cricket and Athletic Sports Company Limited, which issued 450 shares valued at £10 each to a consortium of fifty gentlemen who were prominent in the sporting life of Christchurch. The rate of interest payable on these shares was fixed at 7%. Thus, the Company was driven by commercial imperatives to provide a regular return to its shareholders. However, the Park consistently lost money throughout the 1880s.; T.W. Reese, *A History of Lancaster Park, Christchurch*, Christchurch, 1935, pp.1–12.
- 48 Canterbury Caledonian Society, minutes, 25 August 1882, Minute Book Number 1, Canterbury Caledonian Society, Christchurch.

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- 49 *Press*, 20 October 1884.
- 50 Timaru gradually developed from unpromising beginnings as the initial 'station cottage' of run-holder George Rhodes and a collection of other cottages during the early 1850s into a thriving municipality with a population of 3917 in 1881. The town became the principal outlet through which the commodities produced by the large sheep stations and wheat farms located in the hinterland of South Canterbury were despatched to the wider world. Some 2,500,000lb of wool and 1,250,000 bushels of wheat were exported through the Port of Timaru in 1890; J.C. Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, 2nd ed., Christchurch, 1999, pp.99, 131.
- 51 *Timaru Herald* (TH), 9 May 1878.
- 52 TH, 11 May 1881.
- 53 TH, 24 May 1872, 27 May 1872, 14 May 1875, 17 May 1875, 8 May 1884, 9 May 1884.
- 54 TH, 5 May 1882.
- 55 TH, 11 May 1874.
- 56 TH, 10 May 1872, 12 May 1873, 15 May 1874, 5 May 1882.
- 57 Average Rates of Wages in Each Provincial District during the Year 1879', *Statistics of New Zealand 1880*.
- 58 TH, 9 May 1877.
- 59 South Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club (SCAAC), Rules and List of Members, 12 April 1883, pp.6–7, MS 1983/20, South Canterbury Museum, Timaru.
- 60 Bailey, pp.139–40.
- 61 'Average Rates of Wages in Each Provincial District during the Year', *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888; Scotter, pp.60–63.
- 62 SCAAC, Rules & List of Members, p.3.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Timothy J.L. Chandler, 'The Structuring of Manliness and the Development of Rugby Football at the Public Schools and Oxbridge, 1830–1880', in John Nauright and Timothy J.L. Chandler, eds, *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*, London, 1996, p.25.
- 66 Bowden and Welford, pp.2–3.
- 67 TH, 2 May 1878, 7 May 1879.
- 68 TH, 2 May 1878, 7 May 1879.
- 69 TH, 17 May 1875, 11 May 1876, 11 May 1882.
- 70 TH, 12 May 1876.
- 71 TH, 9 May 1877, 14 May 1880.
- 72 SCAAC, Rules & List of Members, p.9.
- 73 TH, 9 May 1876.
- 74 South Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club to R. and G. Rhodes (letter of agreement to purchase R.S. 2683), September [n.d.] 1878, MS 125/9, South Canterbury Museum, Timaru.
- 75 TH, 10 May 1882, 7 May 1884.
- 76 Bowden and Welford, p.4.
- 77 LT, 16 May 1879.
- 78 LT, 16 May 1879.
- 79 TH, 12 May 1877.

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- 80 *Press*, 10 August 1887, 17 August 1887.
- 81 LT, 11 December 1890.
- 82 LT, 31 October 1887, 19 October 1888, 29 October 1888.
- 83 LT, 25 May 1875.
- 84 LT, 1 April 1875.
- 85 LT, 25 December 1875, 28 December 1875; WP, 29 May 1875.
- 86 LT, 25 May 1882, 10 November 1882.
- 87 LT, 19 January 1882, 10 November 1882; Gordon Ogilvie, 'Stead, George Gatony', in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (DNZB), *Vol. Two, 1870–1900*, Wellington, 1993, pp.477–8.
- 88 TH, 12 May 1877; LT, 19 January 1882, 10 November 1882.
- 89 LT, 25 May 1882.
- 90 LT, 10 November 1882.
- 91 TH, 12 May 1877.
- 92 TH, 17 May 1877.
- 93 Gardner, p.55.
- 94 TH, 17 May 1877, 22 May 1877.
- 95 TH, 26 May 1879.
- 96 TH, 26 May 1879.
- 97 TH, 26 April 1879, 29 April 1879, 6 May 1879.
- 98 TH, 14 May 1879, 16 April 1880; TH monthly supplement for European mail, 1 December 1881.
- 99 TH, 26 May 1879, 25 May 1880; TH monthly supplement for European mail, 1 December 1881.
- 100 TH, 10 November 1883.