

EARLY SPORTING DIPLOMACY: THE CASE OF R.A.W. GREEN

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A curious phenomenon in the history of Australian sport is the fact that one of Australia's first international sporting champions was quietly forgotten barely a decade after his triumphs and tragedies, and is quite unknown today.¹ In more nationalistic times Richard Green could have become a name that evoked the same myths that now attach themselves to Les Darcy and *Phar Lap* - each an invincible Australian hero beaten by supposed skulduggery because any other kind of defeat was unthinkable. Green's failure to reach legendary status had at least three factors. First, he was an Australian-born European at a time - the year 1863 - when barely a third of his non-Aboriginal fellows were similarly 'colonial natives'. Nationalism therefore was a somewhat uneasy concept for an ethnic minority in their own country to celebrate. Second it was in England, not America, that Green attempted to assert his claim to be the world's greatest sculler, and while Australians have always been willing to believe any myth concerning American lack of ethics in sport, they have been somewhat less keen to believe the same accusations when they have been levelled against the home of fair play itself. Thirdly, Green didn't die: he was only nobbled, or, if the rumours to that effect were wrong, simply a very unlucky loser.

Green challenged for the sculling championship of the Thames - unofficially the championship of the world - in 1863, and was defeated by the reigning champion Robert Chambers of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Green led convincingly for nearly half the race, but suddenly threw up his arms and collapsed. He struggled on and finished the course more than four minutes behind Chambers, and attributed his defeat to severe diarrhoea on the morning of the race and sudden stomach spasms just before Chambers passed him.² He immediately rechallenged Chambers and both scullers put down their deposits, but Chambers suddenly decided not to defend his title again against Green and went home to Newcastle, forfeiting his deposit and leaving Green technically champion of the Thames. But it was a pyrrhic

victory which brought with it neither money nor laurels. Green then entered the Thames National Regatta where his boat was promptly sunk by a careless or malevolent steamboat captain, forcing him to jump for his life and cling to the steamer's anchor chain. Borrowing another boat, he combined with his coach to win the double sculls and then won the individual title, causing considerable excitement on both sides of the world.³ But it was not against the world champion Chambers, who had unexpectedly withdrawn from this regatta also, so Green travelled north to Newcastle to challenge Chambers for the Championship of the Tyne, where, again in suspicious circumstances, he became severely ill on the day of the race and had to withdraw.⁴ With his expenses continuing to mount and his return passage already booked, Green could only write to the English newspapers inviting the leading English and American scullers to follow him to Australia, where he offered to row them on the Parramatta River for 500 pounds a side, plus 150 pounds expenses for the visiting oarsman. The challenge was not taken up.⁵

His full name was Richard Augustus Willoughby Green, and he was born on the 23rd August 1836 on Sydney's North Shore at Greenwich, where his father built ships and boats. His brother Henry was a marginally less-successful sculler who took over the family business, constructing the boats in which Richard Green won his major victories in Australia. Green won a number of amateur wager boat contests in 1853 and 1854, and in 1855 started winning 'open to the world' single sculls events on Sydney Harbour. During 1856 he established himself as probably the best sculler in New South Wales. He lost to the reputed best man of the time, Tom McGrath, on 21 January, but five days later at the Anniversary Regatta won one race and came second in another to his brother Henry - both times finishing ahead of McGrath. On April 22 he beat Jack Deward (or Dewart) for 400 pounds and the championship of Port Jackson, over a six and half miles course. During 1857 he gradually asserted his superiority over Tom McGrath and on the 19th January 1858 successfully defended his title of champion of Port Jackson against James Candlish, who was a recent immigrant and one of the top half-dozen rowers in England. Green's easy victory demonstrated that he was up to international championship standard, and moves were made by his supporters to have him compete for the title of champion of the world.⁶

There is no doubt that Green was seen by some of his supporters - and by some English commentators - as a symbol of an infant Australian nation of currency lads and lasses. There seems to have been a surge of interest in measuring Australian colonial prowess against that of Englishmen in sporting contests in the early 1860s, given impetus no doubt by the visit of the first English cricket team in 1861-62. For example in 1863, the same year that Green competed in England, at least two other challenges were offered. A volunteer army rifle team from Geelong went to England and competed against a team chosen to represent England, the Robin Hood Rifles. The report in the *Illustrated London News* of the 'Volunteer Rifle Match, England versus Australia' makes excuses about the weather and does not give the result of the match, from which it could be inferred that the Australian team may have won. There was also a stake of 10,000 pounds offered for a match to be run in Victoria between English racehorses and the racehorses of Australia, which seems not to have eventuated.⁷

Sculling was particularly significant as a 'measuring-stick' for international competition. It was a more respectable sport than boxing, it did not involve handicap odds as did cricket, and the Thames Championship was already being called by many, unofficially, a World Championship. There was also the fact that a number of prominent English sculling champions emigrated to Australia in the 1850s; these included Deward, Candlish, Tom Day, and James Edwards, who reputedly introduced the outrigger boat to New South Wales. Deward had beaten McGrath for the Championship of Port Jackson on the 27 February 1855. It is not clear whether McGrath was Australian-born, but he had lived in Sydney long enough for the context to be seen as a local versus migrant one, and when Green defeated Deward in 1856 his victory was hailed in partisan terms, with the 'Australian native' winning back the laurels from the Englishman.

Green's 1858 victory over Candlish was an even more important one. This race seems to have been the first to have been modelled on the Championship of the Thames, with a section of the Parramatta River from Shepherd's Point (later Charity Point) to the Brothers being chosen because its layout, length, and conditions were considered to be similar to those of the Putney to Mortlake section of

of the Thames. Candlish's reputation in England was very high indeed, and although he had not had much time to acclimatize himself, he threw out a bold challenge to the 'son of the soil'. *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* described the contest as one 'which was to decide whether the laurels that have so long graced the brows of the champion were to be wrested from him by a stranger, or to remain in the guardianship of a native of New South Wales'. Hundreds of spectators turned out for the event, and Green trounced his opponent by six or seven lengths, even resting his oars at one point and waving to the crowd. His time was 23 min. 35 seconds, which was considerably better than some Thames championship times, and was against a steady breeze. *Bell's Life in Sydney* said that the event showed 'in a very favourable light the strong patriotic feeling which animates the Sons of Australia' and repeated its comments about the 'natives of New South Wales'.⁸

Early in his career Green had an erratic record, possibly due to lack of training between matches, but from 1858 onwards he was, for some years, virtually unbeatable. He regularly defeated Tom McGrath, his one serious opponent, and on the 7 September 1861 at their last encounter before Green went to England, the bookmakers were reluctant to take bets and McGrath subsequently had difficulty finding backers.' Meanwhile Green had defeated another prominent Englishman, Henry White of London, whose brother Tom White unsuccessfully challenged Robert Chambers for the Championship of the Thames in the same year, 1860. Evidence of only one defeat of Green between 1858 and 1862 has come to light, when at a wager boat race at the Woolloomooloo Bay Regatta in 1859 he lost to J. Punch. For perhaps the only time in his career he seems not to have rowed a race on its merits, inexplicably allowing Punch thirty-lengths start and then giving in when his opponent proved more difficult to catch than he had expected.¹⁰ Apart from this blemish, and an argument with a committee which led him to withdraw from the 1860 Anniversary Day regatta, Green seems to have generally won friends and established a reasonable claim to be as good as any sculler in the world.

After an earlier victory over McGrath on the 9 August 1859, Green's backers and *Bell's Life in Sydney* both decided it was time for a contest 'Australia Versus the World'. In a column with that

headline on 20 August, *Bell's Life* drew its readers' attention to an advertisement on the following page, and congratulated Green on 'this unmistakable tribute to his prowess and personal worth, and should the gauntlet be taken up (of which we entertain little doubt) we shall with every confidence enrol ourselves amongst the thousands who will rally round his colours, and stake a pony or two on the issue'.¹¹ The advertisement began:

Australia versus the World

The friends of RICHARD GREEN are prepared to match him against the Champion of the Thames, or against any other Oarsman in the World, on the following terms, namely - To row a fair right away race in wayer boats, any distance from two to five miles, for 500 pounds or 1000 pounds aside; the race to be pulled on the Parramatta River, New South Wales. The party accepting, if coming from England, or any like distance, to receive 125 pounds expenses, if made for 500 pounds, or if made for 1000 pounds aside, then to receive 200 pounds. This allowance to be paid in London or Sydney, at the opinion of the party making the match; provided that, if given in London, one-half the total amount of the stakes shall be paid down as a first deposit. The party making the match to fix his own time for pulling it, and to take whatever time he chooses for training, after he arrives in the colony. THIS CHALLENGE will remain open for twelve months... (p.3)

This was a large sum of money, and the range of distances shows that Green's backers certainly did not share the later opinion of his London critics who suggested that his energetic rowing style and rapid stroke rate were unsuitable for any distance over two miles. Nevertheless the challenge was not taken up. It was primarily directed at Henry Kelley (or Kelly) who had won the Championship of the Thames in 1857, but before the details of the challenge reached London Kelley lost his title - in September 1859 - to the man. Green eventually had to travel to England to meet, Robert Chambers. The invitation to Kelley stayed open even after he lost the Championship, and his ex-countrymen Day, Candlish, and Deward all urged him to come, Thomas Day in particular writing several times to Kelley who was a close friend of his.¹² But neither Kelley nor any other prominent sculler accepted the challenge. Kelley did suggest that Green compete against him on the Thames, but *Bell's Life in Sydney* noted that such an offer 'though liberal enough in its terms, is one that is not likely to be acceded to, as

Green cannot possibly leave Sydney'.¹³ It is not clear why Green could not leave; one can only surmise that this was outside the ambit of his supporters' financial interests, and they were evidently not prepared to back an overseas expedition which they could neither witness nor profit from. Furthermore, if Green were to go to London, it would obviously be to challenge the current rather than the ex-Thames champion. This is what Green eventually did, leaving Sydney in 1862, possibly on the same boat that took the English cricket team home, but apparently without any substantial financial backing to assist him in his monumental quest.

Green arrived in London in mid-year and took up lodgings at the former champion Henry Kelley's hotel, 'The Bell' in Putney, staying there for the next ten months, training against Kelley on the championship course itself, and timing himself over the various sections of the race. He was advised to change his style, which he did, although there were some who said this was his first mistake. One report said that he had declined to row against Chambers during the winter months (few sculling contests were ever held then anyway), but the reasons for the long delay before Green got a chance to meet the champion probably lay elsewhere, and illustrate some of the political problems which both Chambers and Green caused their London hosts.

The difficulties which the idea of a World Individual Sculling Championship caused at the time are best explained by the minutes of a meeting of the Thames Subscription Club on the 14 February 1863, published in the following week's *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*. Robert Chambers came from Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was one of a number of Champions of the Thames to come from that city. After his defeat of Kelley in 1859, and his successful defence against Tom White in 1860, Chambers considered himself champion of the world. Just as Green and his supporters wanted to use the Thames' Championship to assert the superiority of colonial Australia, so Chambers wanted to strike a similar blow for the North region against London centralism. Having beaten the best two London scullers in Kelley and White, he declared that, in future, challengers must carry their sculls to Newcastle and meet him on the Tyne, or else pay him travelling expenses to come down to London. He did not accept any challenges in 1861 or 1862. The meeting of the

Thames Subscription Club was consequently called to draw up new rules for the Championship and to put the upstart northerner in his place. Noises were made about stripping Chambers of his title, and various speakers righteously affirmed that it was the Championship of the Thames and nothing else; and that it would always be held on the Thames. The committee did agree, in spite of vociferous opposition, to pay Chambers 20 pounds expenses to travel from Newcastle for his future challenges. A match was subsequently made between Chambers and a London sculler, George Everson, and when Chambers was paid his 20 pounds on the 9 April at the White Hart Hotel in Barnes, 'a murmur of dissent ran around the room'.¹⁴ *Bell's Life in London* was outraged, and on the 19 April its report on Chambers' victory over Everson began by refusing to headline the contest as a Championship match, and went on: 'Should the Australian Green now go on with the match to row Chambers, and by any miracle win it, he might as justly demand that the next race come off somewhere in New South Wales...' (This is of course exactly what Edward Trickett, the first Australian to win the world championship, was to successfully demand after his victory in 1876.) Both Chambers and Green were keen to title their contest as a world championship. *Bell's Life in London* noted on the 26 April that the first deposits had been lodged, and that 'The articles say for "The Championship of the World" but as such a thing is not known to exist, we presume the Thames is meant'.

History may be written by the winners, but it would be an every grosser distortion if it were only about the winners. Sports history is particularly susceptible to such distortions, since the available source material is all too often concerned with how victories were won and defeats endured. It is useless to speculate furthermore whether the growth of Australian nationalism would have been dramatically promoted if Green had won either in London or at Newcastle; or whether the kind of demonstration which greeted the news of Trickett's success thirteen years later would have occurred in 1863. What is important, and which was clearly stated at the time, was that Green's visit to England came to have extremely important diplomatic significance for one simple reason - it took place after the first English cricket team had visited Australia in 1861-2, and before the second team's visit in 1863-4. Green's visit to England became Australia's reply, and his exploits were

celebrated, wept over, and mythologized in both countries.

In England the reports of the first race varied in tone; while the *Sporting Gazette* felt 'that Green was beaten on his merits being altogether inferior both in style and stamina to his antagonist', *Bell's Life in London*, still nursing its grudge against Chambers, said that 'no Londoner had ever held him so well or made him row so hard for the title he holds'.¹⁵ It also reported Green's illness in terms which made it seem both real and severe - a significant fact since it was this account which was most prominently reprinted and circulated in Australia. Not content with this, *Bell's Life in London* continued its pro-Green and anti-Chambers propaganda campaign by downgrading the Championship of the Thames in favour of the Thames National Regatta. Its report on the Regatta, published on the 26 July, said 'the presence of Green, the famous Australian Champion, as a competitor and his carrying off from the watermen of the Thames and Tyne the prizes in the two principal races in which success mainly depends on individual aquatic skill, has shown the regatta in reality what it has always professed to be, the highest tribunal for the test of merit, and open to all the world...' (p.6). Here surely was the stuff from which Australian national myth could have been made, but oddly the report does seem to have been reprinted in Australia.

Bell's Life in London next waxed enthusiastic over a proposed Benefit night for Green at a London Theatre. On 2 August it gave the performance some free publicity, and noted:

We are very much pleased to hear the British public have at last awoken to a sense of the honour and praise due to a man who has travelled 16,000 miles, in order to throw down the gauntlet to our Champion Sculler. By some Green's act was deemed one of exceedingly great temerity, but the race... showed that the plucky Australian was not far wrong in estimating his powers, and there are many who contend to this day that but for Green's unfortunate illness he would have won the race. Be that as it may, his conduct throughout his stay in this country has gained him a lot of friends amongst the English... (p.6)

The benefit took place at the Royal Surrey Theatre on the 18 August. Included in a long and varied program was a farce on a boating theme *The Jolly Young Waterman*; in it a number of prominent real-life scullers appeared wearing their coats and badges. A 'celebrated stump orator' delivered a eulogy and twelve prominent

English cricketers were present, including the captain of the 1861-62 touring side, H.H. Stephenson, who spoke eloquently of the hospitality his team had received in Australia. When Green rose to speak:

...one would have thought the house was coming down, so hard and long continued were the cheers which greeted Green, who, having shaken hands cordially with the watermen and cricketers, advanced to the footlights, and in thanking the audience, said that he should never forget the kindness he had received at the hands of the British public since his arrival in their country, and both that, and the enthusiastic reception he had met with that night, he should treasure up in his mind, so that he might tell his countrymen when he returned that the old country was as mindful as ever of its children. Although an Australian himself, his father had been a Londoner....¹⁶

This heady praise needs to be balanced somewhat by the reality of Green's campaign and the anti-Chambers bias of *Bell's Life in London*. Green had struggled for a full year to pay his way in a strange country and had been given little support from anyone except Harry Kelley. There is no doubt that Kelley was Green's major support before, during and after the three events Green hoped to compete in.¹⁷ It was also ironic that *Bell's Life in London* should set up as a worthy defender of London's honour a man who came from the other side of the world, and vilify a man who lived less than three hundred miles away. The language of Green's speech shows that his challenge was no longer being seen by him or anyone else in London as an Australian nationalist one. Instead Green politely emphasized the 'mindful' unity of London and the new land; Australians were more English than the English, or at least more like Londoners than the men of Tyneside.

In Australia Green's doings were reported with a different emphasis. *Bell's Life in Sydney* continued to push the Australian nationalist line. During the years of Green's triumphs it carried the page one banner 'Hark Forward Australia!' and regularly it did its best to stir up the 'natives'.¹⁸ On the 18 July (news of Green's defeat did not reach Sydney till the second week in August) it republished a highly partisan letter sent from London to the *Sydney Empire*. Green was reported to be in fine shape, although an abscess on the back of his neck had been lanced and he had not been able to row. The correspondent 'had good hope of seeing the Australian colours lead the way'. A boat called the *Star of Australia*, built by

Green's brother Henry, had arrived, and was considered 'the best boat in England' (in fact Green rejected it). The correspondent had spoken to someone who was sure Green would win. It would be a triumph for the colony if he did, and the excitement was 'very great' (p.2). The race itself was described in a reprint on the 15 August of the *Bell's Life in London* article; this was sufficient for it to be able to report on the 22 August that a meeting had been held at which 'admirers of the Australian champion's gameness and honesty' had donated over 100 pounds 'to enable Richard Green to again compete in a wager skiff for the championship of the world' (p.2). For the issue of the 12 September the wire service between Melbourne and Sydney flashed the message which the southern capital had received in the July mail - no follow-up match had been arranged, but Green had won two races at the Thames National Regatta. *Bell's Life in Sydney* headlined the story slightly misleadingly 'GREEN VICTORIOUS ON THE THAMES'. When the mails arrived with the full story in time for the next week's issue it followed up with 'GREEN VICTORIOUS IN TWO EVENTS!!!!'. It also picked up a story from the London *Sporting Life* which was highly favourable to Green and concerned his wrangle with Chambers over the proposed re-match, and reprinted the short articles which covered the events that led to Green being declared Champion of the Thames by forfeit.¹⁹ As each mail came through *Bell's Life in Sydney* eagerly scanned the London papers and reprinted the texts of the letters to the editors which appeared setting out Green's and Chambers' positions, and even took from the *New York Clipper* a slighting attack on Chambers for his failure to arrange a match with an American champion, and an invitation for Green to return home that way and race against their champion en route.²⁰

Green's failure to meet Chambers at Newcastle dampened the colonial newspaper's enthusiasm. It reported proudly on the Benefit Performance at the Surrey Theatre, but then gave scant coverage to the Tyneside event.²¹ Green returned home on the steamer *Great Britain* which also had as passengers the second English cricket eleven to visit Australia. He had not managed to meet Chambers again and no English sculler seemed prepared to make the journey to the Parramatta River. Nevertheless *Bell's Life in Sydney* made one more effort to whip up national enthusiasm. It printed a letter from a passenger on the *Great Britain* who claimed Green had definitely been

drugged, that Green was now the Champion in any case, and that his friends at home ought to give him a hearty welcome. The newspaper wanted Green to enter the Anniversary Regatta, saying that 'he would unquestionably receive an enthusiastic welcome from thousands'.²²

Unfortunately for *Bell's Life in Sydney's* proto-nationalism, the spirit of the times was not with it. A Banquet was held for Green on the 11 January at the Masonic Hall as a 'tribute to the pluck and enterprise which took this gentleman across 16,000 miles of water to beard the lion in his den'. The Hall was 'tastefully decorated with flags, the Australian ensign being picturesquely conspicuous, but very few people turned up. It was the 'native element' who in particular failed to show.²³ At the Anniversary Regatta Green was the sole entrant in his race, and his token row over the course 'created no interest whatever'.²⁴ He did get a complimentary benefit performance at the Royal Victoria Theatre on the 16 March, where he was presented with 250 pounds - the amount subscribed for him while he was in England.²⁵

Perhaps the most telling image of Green's achievements occurred at this performance.. When the first English cricketing eleven had toured Australia, they several times appeared in colonial theatres balanced on the other side of the stage by the local team of twenty-two players and on at least one occasion the cry 'Three cheers for old England' was raised.²⁶ At Green's benefit a more complex image was presented. On one side of the stage was the English cricket eleven, on the other the New South Wales twenty-two, as before. But in the middle, and to the front, was Green himself, sitting in a wager boat. It is resonant, contradictory, and fascinating image; a symbolic picture of the assertion of individual colonial excellence (Green) upstaged by the admission of general cultural inferiority (11 English cricketers; 22 colonists). The aggressive nationalistic challenge had been turned into a polite and harmonious exchange of diplomatic courtesies and hospitalities. However it was Green who was centre stage and the cheers were not only for England. In this sense Green was Australia's first international sporting hero; certainly in later eras being stricken with sudden, severe, and suspicious illness on two occasions, and being run down on the third occasion by a steamboat chartered by the gambling

friends of other competitors would have been enough to turn him into a legend. At the very least Dick Green deserves to be rescued from the anonymity of sports history's graveyard of losers.

Green's subsequent career makes 'an interesting if sentimental conclusion to the story. By the late 1860s he was no longer a regular competitor, but he is supposed to have been Edward Trickett's trainer and manager during his successful 1876 challenge for the world championship. After this time Australia went through a golden age of sculling, with a long succession of world champions up until the First World War. When Henry Searle died of typhoid contracted in Ceylon on his way back to Australia after winning the championship in 1889, Green was one of the coffin-bearers at his funeral. Green himself lived until 6 September 1921, though his efforts had long been obscured by the achievements of his successors. His great grandson, Ken Goswell, won the World Veteran's (Over 60) Sculling Championship in Belgium in 1985; he lives at Buderim on Queensland's Sunshine Coast in a house called 'Evergreen'.²⁷

NOTES:

1. The only modern reference to R.A.W. Green is a brief entry in the 'Rowing and Sculling' section of the *Australian Encyclopaedia* 7 (Sydney: Grolier, 1965), p.508. The author of this entry William Todd, asserts that Green's defeat by Chambers 'did much harm to Australian rowing', a statement which is not supported by the evidence. Green is a notable omission from the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.
2. For details of the race see *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 21 June 1863, p.6, reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 15 August 1863, p.2. See also the *London Sporting Gazette*, 20 June 1863, reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 22 August 1863, p.4:
3. See *Bell's Life in London*, 26 July 1863, p.6. See also *The Times*, 22 July 1863, p.5.
4. For details of the Tyne Regatta see *Bell's Life in London*, 30 August 1863, p.8; 6 September 1863, p.6; 13 September 1863,

- Supplement, p.1. See also H. Kelley's letter to *Bell's Life in London*, 26 September 1863, p.6.
5. Green's challenge was in reply to one made by Robert Cooper, in a letter to *Bell's Life in London*, 13 September 1863, p.1. Cooper had defeated Chambers in a short non-championship match on 28 July, and again in the disputed and foul-ridden Tyne Championship, and styled himself 'Aquatic Champion of England' in his letter. The 'Challenge to the World from Green' was published in *Bell's Life in London*, 20 September 1863, p. 7. For subsequent correspondence published in *Bell's Life in London*, see 26 September 1863, p.6; 3 October 1863, p.6.
 6. For details of Green's career, see *Bell's Life in London*, 21 June 1863, p.6.
 7. *Illustrated London News*, 20 June 1863, p.663; 3 October 1863, p.333, p.342.
 8. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 23 January 1858, p.4.
 9. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 14 September 1861, p.2.
 10. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 31 December 1859, p.2.
 11. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 20 August 1859, p.2.
 12. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 14 January 1862, p.2.
 13. *Ibid.*
 14. *Bell's Life in London*, 12 April 1863, p.3.
 15. See note 2.
 16. *Bell's Life in London*, 23 August 1863, Supplement, p.1.
 17. For glimpses in Green's personal life while in London see *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 18 July 1863, p.2; 30 January 1864, p.4.
 18. See e.g. the editorial in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 25 January 1862, p.2, which was headlined "ADVANCE AUSTRALIA!"
 19. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 26 September 1863, p.3.
 20. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 31 October 1863, p.2.
 21. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 17 October 1863, p.3; 21 November 1863, p.2.
 22. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 16 December 1863, p.4.

23. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 16 January 1864, p.4.
24. *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 30 January 1864, p.2.
25. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1864, p.1.
26. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 February 1862, p.5.
27. Letter from Ken Goswell, 7 October 1985.