

**THE SPORTING CAREER OF HAROLD  
HARDWICK: ONE  
EXAMPLE OF THE IRONY OF THE  
AMATEUR-PROFESSIONAL DICHOTOMY<sup>1</sup>**

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One conspicuous feature in the development of modern sport was, and still is to some extent, the amateur-professional nexus. Amateur sportsmen, emanating from the upper and middle classes of Britain, were responsible for the establishment of organising associations, the codification of sport, and its export to other lands.<sup>2</sup> An amateur, in its purest form, was someone who played solely for the love of the game; in stark contrast was the professional who participated for monetary gain. The financial criterion had a crucial effect on sport: in some cases, it resulted in the creation of sports such as rugby league from its amateur antecedent, rugby union; in other cases, it split sports like golf, tennis, rowing, athletics, boxing, soccer and cricket into those who participated for enjoyment and those who played for remuneration.<sup>3</sup>

In Australia, as in Britain, there was a clear distinction between an amateur and a professional. Even though sports had their own idiosyncrasies regarding amateurism, there was a general definition that widely applied in Australia during the early part of the twentieth century:

An amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize, staked bet, or declared wager, or who has not knowingly and without protest competed with or against a professional for a prize of any description or for public exhibition, or who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of any athletic exercise as a means of livelihood or for pecuniary gain.

This definition, written by the amateur authorities, was indicative of the selective nature of the code which, in most cases, excluded the working class whose livelihood was often associated with physical activities, or who participated in athletic events not only for pleasure, but to supplement their income. In addition, the way the definition is phrased - by specifying what an amateur is not - portrays professionals in a less than flattering light.

This negative image of professionalism also extended to the perceived benefits gained from sporting participation. Amateur sport was good, wholesome and worthwhile, it imbued its participants with the traits of fair play, modesty in victory, dignity in defeat and sportsmanship - all essential elements in the development of character. On the other hand, professional sport was primitive, unworthy, and dangerous, as it was associated with gambling, and was open to cheating, bribery and corruption. The professional, motivated by financial reward alone, could not hope to aspire to the ideals of the amateur.

To highlight the importance, relevance and power of the amateur- professional dichotomy in Australian sport, the career of one of this nation's famous athletes, Harold Hardwick, who participated in both categories of sport, was examined. Hardwick's sporting record is quite remarkable,<sup>5</sup> and an analysis of his career can provide increased understanding about the nature of sport in Australian society during the early years of this century.

Harold Hampton Hardwick was born in Balmain, Sydney on 14 December 1888. His father had won a New South Wales walking championship and was a good all-round athlete,<sup>6</sup> and encouraged his son to take up sport. Hardwick started to box at the age of eight, taking instruction from George Seale and Arthur Scott at the old Sydney Gymnasium.<sup>7</sup> He learned to swim at an early age, and was a regular at Cavill's Baths. By the 1903-04 season Hardwick was a member of the Enterprise (later Sydney) Swimming Club, under the direction of W.W. Hill, and he began to enter competitions. The

1905-06 season saw Hardwick gain his first honours certificates from the New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association - for 220 yards, 880 yards, and 1320 yards. When Hardwick left the Fort Street Boys' High School in 1906 he had won the under 16 swimming championship of New South Wales, played rugby union in the school XV, and been captain of the lifesaving team which won the Roth Challenge Shield as school state champions.<sup>8</sup>

In the 1907-08 summer Harold Hardwick won his first senior state swimming title, the 100 yards freestyle. During the next three seasons he claimed eight more New South Wales championships ranging from 100 yards to 1760 yards, and in 1909 Hardwick equalled Cecil Healy's Australian record of 57 seconds for 100 yards. Although Hardwick did not win any events at the 1911 state titles, he was a major force in that year's Australian championships, capturing the 220, 440 and 880 yards races. The young Bill Longworth, who had beaten Hardwick over these three distances in the New South Wales meet, finished second in the 440 yards race and won the 1320 yards and mile races.

A main international event in 1911 was the Festival of Empire, designed to commemorate the achievements of the British Empire and celebrate the coronation of the new king, George V. The six-month long festivities included a modest sports programme, and invitations were sent out to the 'White Dominions' to provide male competitors in swimming, athletics, boxing, and wrestling.<sup>9</sup> It is clear the events were open only to amateurs, and the appropriate sport governing bodies in England organised their own parts of the programme. Hardwick's domestic performances earned him a place as a representative on the Australian Festival of Empire team; the swimming events to be contested in London in July were 100 yards and 1 mile races, and his record of achievement stood for itself. The *Argus* of 10 February 1911 also advised that Hardwick would be entered in the Heavyweight boxing competition, a sport for which his pedigree was far less obvious.<sup>10</sup> Other members of the Australasian

team selected in March included four New Zealanders and four Australians.<sup>11</sup> The contemporary press reports seemed to indicate that the team was chosen without official trials, members being selected on form by the Australasian Council of the Festival of Empire Games headed by Richard Coombes of Sydney. R.G. Larking, an ex-Melburnian middleweight boxing at Cambridge, briefly challenged Hardwick's right to represent Australasia without having a box-off, but the *Referee* defended the Sydney boxer by declaring that 'Hardwick is voted one of the best heavies seen in these parts - and "Snowy" Baker amongst others vouches for this'.<sup>12</sup> Baker's assessment of talent was evidently respected, and he was to keep his eye on Hardwick for some time to come.

The members of the team travelled to London by a variety of ships, and Hardwick and Woodger sailed on the R.M.S. *India* from Adelaide on 16 March. Hardwick kept a detailed diary of his first sporting trip overseas, and it provides a revealing look at amateur sport from the competitor's point of view.<sup>13</sup> The long sea voyage loomed as the biggest threat to fitness, but despite claims to the contrary,<sup>14</sup> Hardwick's diary while on board ship makes no mention of any training being done. Sports events contested among the passengers included deck billiards, egg and spoon races, sac races, tug of war, and deck cricket - activities more socially than physiologically valuable to the participants.

The *India* arrived in England on 20 April, and once Hardwick was installed in his lodgings at 51 Croftdown Road he began some serious training. He was admitted as an honorary member of the Bath Club, and did much of his swimming in the Prince of Wales Road Baths. On 2 May, Hardwick gave a private exhibition for H.R.H. The Prince of Wales and his two younger brothers, and on several occasions tried to teach English swimmers the crawl stroke. Overall, Hardwick's training was usually confined to a morning swim in a wide variety of baths (both indoor and outdoor) with water of varying temperature. The longest swim recorded in his diary is 1/4 mile; by

today's standards this amount of training seems quite minimal but it was typical of amateur swimmers in Hardwick's day.

Even though he had to avoid other public swimmers while training, Hardwick was satisfied with his preparations. The same was not true for his boxing. By 15 May he had begun to look for a gym and sparring partners, but met with little success; it was not until three weeks later that Hardwick was able to commence his serious training for boxing at Snow Hill Police Station. His diary makes it clear Hardwick had no help from boxing officials in England to arrange his workouts, and he was quite critical of this situation. By the time of his event, he had done no more than 6 sparring sessions since arriving in London, and paid an average 2/- for his sparring partners when he could get them.

Hardwick revealed his aquatic form in the Amateur Swimming Association championships in mid-June. He travelled to Leicester and won the 100 yards event, succeeding Frank Beaurepaire as title holder, and returned to London in time to watch the athletics portion of the Festival of Empire sports, in which the Australasian team performed poorly. Hardwick reversed that trend in the Lower Lake at Crystal Palace on 1 July when he earned an easy victory in the 100 yards freestyle. He had two more days of training, and then claimed the amateur heavyweight boxing title of the British Empire by stopping both his opponents in the opening round: first, William Hazell of the United Kingdom, and then an hour later Julius Thompson of Canada.<sup>15</sup> Both of Hardwick's opponents had boxing credentials of some note, Hazell being the current heavyweight amateur champion of England and Scotland, and the Referee claimed that the Sydneysider had been in the ring in public only twice before his appearance in London, both times in exhibition matches.<sup>16</sup>

Once the Festival of Empire sports were completed, Hardwick undertook a swimming tour of the Continent, participating in a series of amateur meetings. He did not find arrangements to his liking, the food being most unpalatable and training facilities non-existent, so he

cut short the tour and returned to England to compete in the 440 yards salt water championship of the Amateur Swimming Association. The race was held in Jersey, and Hardwick won easily. He was also victorious in the 220 yards championship in Sheffield on 18 September, and arrived home in November to a rousing welcome at the Sydney Sports Club. He dispelled any rumours of taking up professional boxing when he admitted it had been a big effort for him to reach his present position as an amateur, and 'he was going to do nothing that might cause forfeiture of that status'.<sup>17</sup> Frank Beaurepaire had been declared ineligible for amateur competition earlier in the year, and the Olympic Games in Stockholm were less than nine months away. Hardwick's selection as 'Sportsman of Australia' for 1911 capped a highly successful year.<sup>18</sup>

Bill Longworth again dominated the New South Wales state titles in 1912, winning all five freestyle events.<sup>19</sup> The Olympic swimming team had several representatives from New South Wales, including Longworth, Cecil Healy, Hardwick, Les Boardman, Fanny Durack, and Mina Wylie, and this group won eight medals in Stockholm, only Longworth failing to place due to a severe ear infection which caused him to withdraw from all events. Hardwick won two bronze medals, for 400 metres and 1500 metres freestyle, and was a gold medalist when he swam anchor for the Australasian 4 x 200 metres freestyle relay team, combining with Healy, Boardman, and Malcolm Champion of New Zealand to set a world record for the event. These Games marked the only occasion on which boxing was not included in the Olympic programme.

Hardwick appears to have retired from competition swimming at this point, but he entered the 1914 New South Wales amateur boxing championships. He won the heavyweight title on points against S. Baker from Inverell, after having knocked out R. Morgan in the first round of the semi-final. "Mentor", writing in the *Referee*, noted the drop in the standard of competition from previous years.<sup>20</sup>

Due to the outbreak of war in August, the Australasian championships scheduled for Brisbane were abandoned.

Hardwick was an accountant by training, but he was tempted into the professional boxing ranks by Snowy Baker in February 1915.<sup>21</sup>

The press made reference to the fact that liberal inducements had been held out to Hardwick for the past two or three years: 'Rosy offers were made to Hardwick to tempt him into the ring as a professional, but he would not entertain them. He was satisfied with his swimming honours; though there can be no doubt that similar boxing honours awaited him had he looked for them'.<sup>22</sup>

By the time Hardwick turned professional, there was a boxing boom in Australia. Fuelled by a steady supply of overseas fighters - from Belgium, France, England, and above all America - a great deal of money was made by promoters and boxers. 'Boxing attendances and gate money in the USA were, on average, much lower than in Australia'.<sup>23</sup> The founding of Stadiums Ltd., and the active promotion of professional boxing by Snowy Baker had combined to produce a lucrative market in Australia for this special skill, and despite Hardwick having had merely a handful of amateur contests, only one of which went the distance, he was booked to make his debut against the well-known Les O'Donnell - over 20 rounds - as the main bout at Sydney Stadium on 6 March 1915. Hardwick's size - just over six feet tall and weighing between twelve and thirteen stone - was a big advantage in the professional ring, and he scored a points decision over O'Donnell while making a good impression in his first fight.<sup>24</sup>

The life of a boxer was a busy one, and Hardwick had four more bouts in as many months. He beat Mick King on points in April, lost badly to Jeff Smith of America in May, was K.O.'d by Eddie McGoorty of the USA in June, and had a win over Canadian Joe Bonds in July in which he was billed as the Australian heavyweight champion.<sup>25</sup> In September, Hardwick captured the equivalent title in New Zealand when he defeated Albert Pooley. On 7 November, Harry Reeve of England beat Hardwick on points, and an injured rib

forced the Sydney boxer to withdraw from a December bout. Of course it was Les Darcy who was receiving the most media attention at this time, and in January 1916 the unofficial world middleweight champion challenged Hardwick for the Australian heavyweight title. It was generally expected to be a one sided match, and when they boxed on 19 February Darcy knocked out Hardwick in the seventh round, despite being nearly a stone lighter in weight. Hardwick admitted he had been beaten by a better boxer, and promptly announced his retirement. Darcy's legacy from the bout was two broken teeth, the repair of which likely contributed to his fatal case of septicaemia the next year.

Following the voluntary abandonment of his boxing career, Hardwick enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). Appropriately he joined the Sportsmen's Battalion that was being raised in Sydney in 1917, and his enlistment was said to give a fillip to the movement.<sup>26</sup> In the army, Hardwick served in Egypt and the Middle East with the Royal Australian Engineers, acting primarily with the Second Signal Squadron. As a sapper, Hardwick developed a liking for the duties of signallers, a preference that stayed with him for over two decades as a practising member, and his talent, experience and expertise ultimately earned him the rank of Colonel in the Militia Signals Unit.<sup>27</sup>

When peace was declared on the 11th of November 1918, four years of turmoil, destruction and carnage had ended and so had the lives of 60,000 Australian.<sup>28</sup> Hardwick was one of the fortunate soldiers to survive the holocaust unscathed and like many others had to be occupied during the demobilisation and repatriation period - for some unlucky soldiers it took almost twelve months.<sup>29</sup> During their stay in Britain, Egypt and Europe, the men were granted leave to visit the historic sites, some joined the Education Scheme provided by the authorities, some were utilised in non-military employment and many participated in sporting competitions.<sup>30</sup> In France, for example, organised sport culminated in a Corps Cup that was

presented to the leading Division of soldiers based on their success at rugby union, soccer, Australian rules football and athletics.<sup>31</sup>

One of the major sporting competitions conducted after the Great War was the Inter-Allied Games held outside Paris from 22 June to 6 July 1919. An event organised by the American Army, these games attracted participants from eighteen nations to contest twenty-six events. Eligibility for these games was confined to soldiers from Allied countries. In this respect, these games and the Olympic Games that were held the next year represented a victory celebration for the Allies and punishment for their enemies. Australia sent sixty one soldiers to Pershing Stadium and the surrounding venues to compete in various sports. Swimming was dominated by the American sensation Norman Ross, who won five of the seven finals, but Australia won one of the remaining events and was placed in many others. Hardwick was a member of the Australian team that captured the 800 metres relay race and he was placed second in the 1500 metres and third in the 800 metres.<sup>32</sup>

Both before and after the Inter-Allied Games, there were single sport international competitions. To manage the Australian teams in these events, an AIF Sports Control Board was formed and it co-ordinated, organised and funded participation in the Inter-Service and Dominion Forces Rugby Competition, the Active Service Golf Tournament, rifle shooting at Bisley, rowing at the Henley Peace Regatta, Inter-Service Athletic Championships, cricket and rugby tours of the British Isles, South Africa and Australia, tennis competitions throughout Britain and the continent, and boxing tournaments.<sup>33</sup> It was in this last sport that Harold Hardwick excelled. At the end of April 1919, the Inter-Theatre of War Boxing Tournament was held at Aldershot. It attracted over 400 men from all war zones and Hardwick won the heavyweight boxing division.

While the strict enforcement of rules separating amateurs from professionals in competition had been relaxed during post-war Allied contests, once back in Australia many men found themselves unable

to resume careers in their chosen sports. In February 1920 the Council of the New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association refused a request from the Soldiers' Club that all men who had served with the AIF, whether amateurs or professionals, should be allowed to compete at a forthcoming swimming carnival. Other business of the meeting included the rejection of a number of applications from swimmers desiring to be reinstated as amateurs.<sup>34</sup> In an attempt to clarify the definition of an amateur, the New South Wales Amateur Sporting Federation and Olympic Council convened a conference in July. In the meantime, Harold Hardwick had accepted a job as supervisor of swimming in the New South Wales Education Department, and had been observed acting as pacemaker for Fanny Durack in her preparation to represent Australia at the 1920 Olympic Games.<sup>35</sup>

Late in 1921 Harold Hardwick applied for reinstatement as an amateur, and the NSWASA thoroughly discussed his case. Writing in the *Referee*, Bill Longworth, Hardwick's teammate in the 1912 Olympic squad, provided an insightful precis of the situation:

At the moment the proposal to reinstate Harold Hardwick as an amateur is the most absorbing topic in Sydney swimming circles.

Immensely popular as a sportsman, Hardwick transgressed the amateur rules by boxing professionally, among the men he met at the Sydney Stadium being Les Darcy and Jeff Smith.

As a soldier - and a very popular one - his case is discussed very sympathetically on all sides, though the question of principle stands out boldly in this and every other case of its kind.<sup>36</sup>

The minute books of the NSWASA for this particular year are unavailable, but the *Referee* provides a reasonable summary of events concerning Hardwick's application for reinstatement. The paper's basic view of the situation was that Hardwick had forfeited his amateur status by becoming a professional boxer, and therefore

automatically became a professional in all other sports. Many of Hardwick's supporters were relying on the rule made during the war whereby preference and favourable consideration was given to men who had served with the AIF.<sup>37</sup> There was some difference of opinion concerning the exact interpretation of this rule, and the decision was held in abeyance while the Association's honorary solicitor considered its correct reading. Longworth commented that many swimmers had given their sympathy to Hardwick's cause owing to 'his being an excellent sportsman and a credit to every sport in which he has participated'.<sup>38</sup>

The Sydney *Bulletin* noted that the NSWASA had recently added a clause to its rules regarding the reinstatement of swimmers who had infringed the amateur status, and who wished to return to the fold. 'The gist of it was that, notwithstanding any previous rule to the contrary, any application for reinstatement as an amateur from any person who engaged in active service prior to June 28, 1919, and who since that date has not committed any act of professionalism, shall be received without prejudice'.<sup>39</sup> Other than the fact that Hardwick had endorsed Snowy Baker's 'People's Liniment' in an advertisement in the *Referee* in 1920,<sup>40</sup> he had engaged in no professional sporting activities since his retirement from boxing in 1916. *The Bulletin* writer believed Harold Hardwick could be optimistic about his chances for reinstatement.

Some time passed before the ruling was announced. The week before Christmas saw the NSWASA Council veto Hardwick's application for reinstatement. Richard Coombes commented that 'the difficulties of the position were accentuated by the personal regard felt generally for Hardwick. But in the end the Association adhered to its principles - the only thing it could do if it is to continue as the bulwark of amateurism in swimming'.<sup>41</sup> Bill Longworth reported that the Council debated for two hours before reaching a decision. The application for reinstatement was defeated; voting was 20 for and 17 against, but as a three-fourths majority was required,

the motion was lost. Longworth's own view of the result is revealing. He was sorry Hardwick had failed, but was sure he would not be any 'worse off in the eyes of sportsmen, as he is such a splendid sportsman himself, and will continue to hold the highest esteem of everyone interested, whether he be officially considered amateur or professional'.<sup>42</sup> As Longworth explained the outcome:

... if he had been re-admitted, his case would have served as a very difficult precedent to overcome when adjudicating in other cases under similar circumstances, and I feel that more good has been done Hardwick by his not being re-admitted, than if it had been otherwise.<sup>43</sup>

The banning of Hardwick was ironic in many ways. He participated as an amateur since his first competitions, rising through the ranks as a talented swimmer and boxer, and he reached the pinnacle of success in elite amateur contests at the Festival of Empire sports and the Olympic Games. But more than just being a gifted athlete, Hardwick epitomised the traits purportedly innate in amateur sportsmen. This side of Hardwick's personality was recognised during the Inter-Theatre of War Boxing Tournament at which he won the heavyweight boxing division. During the proceedings, the military authorities presented a cup for the noncommissioned officer who, according to his fellow competitors, was the 'Ideal Sportsman'. Brigadier-General Jones, of the Royal Army Service Corps, announced the award and explained it had not been an easy matter among so many sportsmen to decide who was the best of the lot, 'but there is one man who has been chosen by ballot as best fulfilling the drastic conditions laid down. His comrades voted, and they have decided that the cup is to be presented to Sapper H. Hardwick, of the Egyptian Forces'.<sup>44</sup>

The criteria for this award were explicitly stated:

\* the sportsman must play the game for the sake of the game

- \* he must be a good loser and a good winner
- \* he must be modest in victory and generous in defeat
- \* he must accept all decisions in a proper spirit
- \* he must be chivalrous towards a defeated opponent
- \* he must be unselfish, and always ready to help others in every possible way to become proficient in sport; and
- \* he must be cheerful comrade.<sup>45</sup>

Hardwick, the recipient, was judged the quintessential amateur athlete.

Hardwick's banishment from the amateur ranks exposes the rigidity, exclusiveness and unforgiving nature of the amateur ethos and those who interpreted and administered it in his time. His transgression into professional sport was a sin for which there was no penance. Boxing was considered by some to be brutal, barbaric and dangerous, but more importantly it was an activity where participants were performers for a fee-paying audience. Anyone whose motivation was entertainment rather than enjoyment, and who was employed as a source of finance, no matter what their reputation, or their recognised qualities, was tainted beyond redemption.<sup>46</sup> As much as Hardwick was admired, his foray into professional boxing was something that amateur authorities could not condone. They were defending their sports, as they had done for years, against professionalism and the inherent problems it allegedly attracted. To permit people such as Hardwick, who had succumbed to the lure of financial gain, to re-enter amateur sport could open the floodgates to numerous other cases and possibly destroy the selective nature of amateurism and the values it embodied.

In spite of this decision which terminated his amateur career, Hardwick worked for the NSW Department of Education until his retirement in 1953, initially as an instructor of swimming and eventually rising to the rank of Deputy Director of Physical Education in the state. When the Union of Old Swimmers was formed in 1949, Hardwick was elected its foundation president, and became a life

member in 1952. After his death in 1959, the Union honoured him by establishing the Harold Hardwick Memorial Trophy, awarded annually to the winner of the New South Wales 100 metres schoolboy's title. The trophy bears the inscription: 'In memory of a great sportsman, soldier and gentleman.'<sup>47</sup>

## NOTES

1. The authors would like to thank the New South Wales Swimming Association, the Union of Old Swimmers (NSW), and Swimming Victoria for their assistance in the preparation of this article.
2. J.R Mallea, 'The Victorian Sporting Legacy', *McGill Journal of Education*, X(2), pp. 184-96.
3. For discussion of the amateur and professional issues in British sport see T. Mason (ed.), *Sport in Britain A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Also see Richard Holt, *Sport and the British* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), particularly chapters 2 and 5.
4. K.S. Inglis, *Sport and Pastime in Australia* (London: Methuen, 1912), p. 263 states that this definition applied to all sports and field games in Australia. It is in agreement with numerous other contemporary sporting bodies including the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia, the Victorian Amateur Athletic Association, the Amateur Sporting Federation of New South Wales and the Federation of Tasmanian Amateur Sports Associations. These sporting bodies were cited in an article entitled 'What is an Amateur', Scrapbook of E.S. Marks in the E.S. Marks Sporting Collection, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. In addition, the New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association adhered to the same criteria; see *Handbook of New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association* (Sydney: F.W. White, 1922), p. 18.
5. The most complete description of Hardwick's career is contained in Reet and Max Howell, *Aussie Gold: The Story of Australia at the Olympics* (Victoria: Brooks Waterloo, 1988), pp. 60-63.
6. Swimmer-Boxer Harold Hardwick's Advice to the Aspiring Champion', *Referee* 17 August 1932, p. 2.
7. 'A Great Sportsman', n.d. [c. 1953], p. 2. Papers of Harold Hardwick, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
8. *ibid*
9. Early in 1911 there was a belief in Australia that cycling and lawn tennis would be included as well, but neither sport appeared in the final programme.
10. 'Festival of Empire - Australian Team', *Argus* 10 February 1911, p. 8.
11. They were Anthony Wilding (NZ - tennis), Malcolm Champion (NZ - swimming), Greg Wheatley (VIC - running), Guy Haskins (NZ - running), Billy Woodger (NZ - running), Frank Brown (VIC - hurdles), William Smythe (NSW -wrestling), and Richard Coombes (NSW - Honorary Manager).
12. 'Athletic Notes by "Argus"', *Referee* 12 April 1911, p. 9.

13. Harold H. Hardwick Diary - Voyage From Australia to England and Return For Coronation Sports and English Swimming Championships' (n.p.) 1911. Papers of Harold Hardwick, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.
14. Howell and Howell, *op.cit.* 61; and 'H. Hardwick', *Referee* 3 February 1915, p. 8.
15. Thompson is often incorrectly cited as hailing from South Africa.
16. 'Hardwick Wins! Two Empire Championships', *Referee* 12 July 1911, p. 1. Coombes, in his capacity as editor of the *Referee*, was able to send detailed reports about the Festival of Empire back to Australia.
17. 'Harold Hardwick - Return of the Empire Champion', *Referee* 8 November 1911, p. 8.
18. 'A Great Sportsman', *op.cit.*, p. 3.
19. Alan Clarkson, *Lanes of Gold 100 Years of the New South Wales Amateur Swimming Association* (Sydney: Lester-Townsend Publishing Pty. Ltd., 1990), pp. 181-84.
20. 'N.S.W. Amateur Championships by 'Mentor"', *Referee* 20 May 1914, p. 7.
21. 'Boxing - Harold Hardwick Joins Professionals', *Sydney Morning Herald* 3 February 1915, p. 6.
22. 'H. Hardwick', *Referee* 3 February 1915, p. 8.
23. Raymond Swanwick, *Les Darcy: Australia's Golden Boy of Boxing* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1965), p. 149.
24. The *Referee* carried a detailed round by round summary on page 1 of its issue of 10 March 1915. All of Hardwick's contests, except the one in New Zealand, were well covered by the paper.
25. It seems that once Dave Smith retired early in 1915, the heavyweight title was in abeyance until Hardwick won the right to it by eliminating O'Donnell. See *Labor Daily* [Sydney] 8 June 1936, p. 7.
26. *Daily Telegraph* 29 August 1917, p. 9.
27. 'A Great Sportsman', *op.cit.*, p. 5.
28. S. Johnston, *Experience of the Great War 1914-1919* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1987), p. 342.
29. The first ship left for Australia on 3 December 1918 and the last transport to leave England was on 23 December 1919. See E. Scott, *Australia During the War* Vol. 11 of *The Official History of Australia During the War 1914-1918* (Sydney Angus and Robertson, 1938), pp. 825-27.
30. C.E.W. Bean, *The A.I.F. in France* Vol. 6 of *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), pp. 1062-71.
31. Goddard, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-21.
32. *The Inter-Allied Games 1919* (Paris: The Inter-Allied Games Committee, 1919), p. 505.
33. Goddard, *op.cit.*, *passim*; the financial affairs are contained in the file 'A.I.F. Sports Control Board Fund', Australian Archives, Melbourne.
34. 'Swimming', *Referee* 25 February 1920, p. 13.
35. 'Among The Swimmers', *Referee* 4 February 1920, p. 12.
36. 'Swimming', *Referee* 23 November 1921, p. 5.
37. *ibid*
38. *ibid*
39. *Sydney Bulletin* 22 December 1921, p. 38

40. *Referee* 7 January 1920, p. 11
41. 'Swimming', *Referee* 21 December 1921, p. 15.
42. *ibid.*
43. *ibid.*
44. Goddard, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-36.
45. *ibid.*
46. Brian Stoddart, *Saturday Afternoon Fever: Sport in the Australian Culture* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1986), p. 120.
47. *The Harold Hardwick Memorial Trophy pamphlet* (Cremome: The Kelvin Press, 1960).