

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

At the University of Leicester

By

Graham Curry B.Ed. (Hons.) (Nottingham), M.A. (Leicester)

Department of Sociology

University of Leicester

May 2001

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

ABSTRACT

TITLE - FOOTBALL: A STUDY IN DIFFUSION

AUTHOR – GRAHAM CURRY

The subject of this thesis is the diffusion of the game of football, tracing its development back to the more prestigious English public schools, through the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford and into adult society. Early club formation and the gradual nationalisation of the game throughout Britain, with particular reference to England and Scotland, is studied in detail. Careful examination is made of the initial meetings of the Football Association leading to the bifurcation of the sport into soccer and rugby. From that point the study concentrates on the Association form, looking especially at the emergence of professional players. The global diffusion of Association Football from the United Kingdom is also analysed. The underlying task of this study, however, is to test Eric Dunning's theory of status rivalry between the English public schools of Eton and Rugby, a rivalry which was partially expressed through the promotion of their particular styles of football.

CONTENTS

PAGES

	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
1-4	INTRODUCTION
5-36	ETON, RUGBY AND STATUS RIVALRY
37-54	THE UNIVERSITIES
55-65	EARLY CLUBS
66-78	FROM LOCALISM TO UNIVERSALISM
79-90	THE FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION AND THE 'DIRTY TRICK'
91-109	NATIONAL RULES DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND
110-128	THE WORKING CLASS AND THE FIRST PROFESSIONALS
129-139	CORINTHIANS AND PROFESSIONALS
140-159	THOSE WICKED LANCASTRIANS
160-207	GLOBAL DIFFUSION
208-210	CONCLUSION
	BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are three people to whom I will be eternally grateful for their assistance in the production of this thesis. Firstly the biggest single influence in my research and writing of this work has been Professor Eric Dunning. Quite literally no one else in the world would have been able to draw upon such a wealth of experience and knowledge in this area of the game of football. His continued encouragement, particularly at the beginning of the project, has been much appreciated. Since Eric retired Patrick Murphy has also proved to be a supportive mentor.

Secondly, I would like to acknowledge the support of my 'football-loving' wife, Judy, who has accompanied me on long treks to various Public Schools and Universities, many times on my pretext that those particular geographical areas should form part of a holiday.

Finally, if it had not been for Liz Boneham I would still be typing this labour of love.

My thanks also go to the following: John Little, President of Cambridge University A.F.C.; Penny Hatfield, archivist at Eton College; Rita Gibbs, archivist at Harrow School; Diana Chardin, Assistant Manuscript Cataloguer at Trinity College Library, Cambridge; David Barber at the Football Association; Colin Weir, author of a history of Oxford University A.F.C.; Malcolm Tozer, formerly Head of Physical Education at Uppingham School; James Lawson, archivist at Shrewsbury School; Pat Woods, author and Glasgow Celtic fanatic; Eduardo Archetti; Pavel Slepicka; Roman Horak; John Williams; Antonio Roversi; Udo Merkel; Patrick Mignon; Pierre Lanfranchi; Bill Murray; J.A. Mangan; Brian Glanville; Ken Smales; Brian Wakefield; Stefano Pivato; Christiane Eisenberg; Siegfried Gehrman; Ray Morgan; George Gatherer and Tony Lynch; all the staff at the Denman Library, Retford; Fred Curry and last but by no means least, Sue Beard.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this thesis is the development and, more particularly, the diffusion of the game of football. I will attempt to trace its development in Britain within the public schools during the first half of the nineteenth century, through the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and into adult society, concentrating on the Association form following the bifurcation of the game in 1863. Additionally, in the final chapter, I shall consider the spread of the game to the rest of the world.

It would seem not inappropriate to suggest that sport in general can form an important part of the social activities in the lives of many people. It would therefore not appear too peculiar to choose football as a topic for sociological enquiry. Indeed, as Arthur Hopcraft in his book entitled The Football Man (1968: 9) has attempted to explain:

The point about football in Britain is that it is not just a sport people take to, like cricket or tennis or running long distances. It is inherent in the people. It is built into the urban psyche, as much a common experience to our children as are uncles and school. It is not a phenomenon; it is an everyday matter. There is more eccentricity in deliberately disregarding it than in devoting a life to it. It has more significance in the national character than theatre has. Its sudden withdrawal from the people would bring deeper disconsolation than to deprive them of television.

Whilst Montague Shearman's Football (1889), Morris Marples' A History of Football (1954), Geoffrey Green's The History of the Football Association (1953) and Percy Young's A History of British Football (1968) dealt extensively with the historical developments in the game, Hopcraft's book, along with a similar offering published in the same year, John Moynihan's The Soccer Syndrome (1968), may have heralded a new, more serious direction in football writing. However, it was to be fully seven more years before the publication of James Walvin's The People's Game (1975), which, although it identified the game as a fruitful source of scholarly investigation, continues to frustrate this particular postgraduate due to its complete lack of references. Four years later, in 1979, Eric Dunning and Ken Sheard's Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, surely one of the most important works in the

sociology of sport, appeared. Worthy though this book might be, the writers were more concerned with the development of the rugby form of football, especially following the formation of the Football Association and the split between soccer and rugby in 1863. My thesis will trace the development of football up until the bifurcation of 1863, but thereafter I shall follow the path of the Association form. In 1994, Bill Murray wrote Football: A History of the World Game and most recently Richard Giulianotti (1999) has produced his similarly titled Football: A Sociology of the Global Game, the latter being seemingly riddled with historically incorrect analysis and misinterpretation. These and other academic investigations are proof of a growing tradition of serious football literature and an increase in the body of knowledge to which I would hope to add.

The thesis will address several problematical areas. Firstly, the widely held belief (Macrory, 1991) that the game of Rugby football was 'invented' by one particular individual, William Webb Ellis, who, contrary to the rules of 1823 when the supposed event occurred, picked up the ball and ran with it. I intend to confront problems from the standpoint of a developmental sociologist, that is by studying the diffusion of football as a long term social process, attempting to blend and fuse sociology and history into one, 'abandoning the crude dichotomy between the past and the present', making my primary focus 'the tracing and explaining of long-term structured processes of social development, processes that occurred in the past and that are continuing to occur' (Dunning *et al* (Eds.), 1993: 6).

However, the central theme of this thesis will be an attempt to test Eric Dunning's original hypothesis (1961: 103-119) that a form of status rivalry existed between the public schools of Eton and Rugby and that this was partially expressed through the actions of their pupils in regard to the development of their unique forms of the game of football. The boys of the former championed a game of minimal handling, whilst those of the latter preferred one which accentuated the use of hands and included the practice of 'running-in', that is moving whilst the ball is carried in the hands. Though initially of only local significance, these

sporting models were to receive wider recognition when the game was diffused into adult society and, as a consequence, the struggle between the adherents of the competing public school and subsequently university models began. Indeed, a study of the diffusion of football to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford may provide important evidence of conflict between the rival models, a conflict which would again become evident, primarily at the early meetings of the nascent Football Association during the concluding months of 1863, as an attempt was made to forge a set of common national rules for the game.

As football became a national pastime, so the social make-up of its participants began to change. Given more leisure time, certain sections of the working class not only chose to use it to play but also to watch football. The game developed as an activity based on spectatorism *and* participation. The introduction of the F.A. Challenge Cup in the 1871-2 season, together with the playing of the first international match – between Scotland and England in 1872-3 – accelerated the process of diffusion. In flocking as they did in vast numbers to follow their local clubs, working class supporters unintentionally triggered the beginnings of professionalism as capitalist entrepreneurs realised the money-making potential of such events. It would seem important, therefore, to examine thoroughly the subsequent clash of sub-cultures that occurred as working class, middle class and aristocratic footballers applied often differing value systems to the same sport. The ‘growing ‘monetisation’ of the game’ (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 145) had begun, a process which was officially ratified by the Football Association in July 1885.

Finally I will address the diffusion of the game from these shores to the rest of the world. Why did Commonwealth countries such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa largely reject Association Football in favour of Rugby or, in the case of the Australians, an entirely new form of the game? How was it that mainland European nations together with the majority of South American countries were among the first to be seduced by soccer?

In short, this thesis may begin to answer the much wider questions of how a much-maligned, violent folk game, at various times banned by monarchs and local authorities and seemingly possessing only low social status, 'emerged as the world's most popular team sport' (Dunning, In: Ekblom, 1994: 17). Perhaps it may also confirm that the game's importance over the years has not entirely been exaggerated.

The final word before I begin my search should rest with Arthur Hopcraft (1968: 244), who appears to speak for so many of those of us who have been strangely bewitched by the game.

Even now, when I arrive at any football ground, or merely pass close to one when it is silent, I experience a unique alerting of the senses. The moment evokes my past in an instantaneous emotional rapport which is more certain, more secret, than memory.

As he walked one Friday night across Victoria Park near the University of Leicester campus on his way to a friend's party, and I stress 'on his way to' rather than 'on his way from', Eric Dunning first began to formulate his theory of status-rivalry between the public schools of Eton and Rugby, around which he has based much of his writing on the early development of modern football¹.

Dunning (1961: 116-117) outlines his original thoughts in his M.A. thesis of September 1961:

Rugby, as early as the 1820s, had started to develop a model of football peculiarly their own; the boys there developed the practice of running with the ball in their arms. During the 1840s, this practice was legitimised, and they further differentiated their game from the general model by stipulating that goals should be scored by kicking the ball above, rather than below the bar. One can imagine how this incensed the boys at Eton, who felt their school to be the leading public school in all respects. They answered by putting an absolute prohibition on handling the ball in their own game, as if to say: 'Now we shall see who gives the lead to others!' It was, one might suggest, an attempt to put the upstart Rugby in its place.

As in other, similar cases, one of the main driving forces in the development of football, was a competitive struggle between the leading public schools to become the "model making centre" for the game on the national level. The absolute taboo on using one's hands imposed at Eton is a good example of how the game developed under the impetus of such competitive pressure.

Dunning & Sheard (1979: 99) in *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* elaborated this original hypothesis:

Given the intense status rivalry between schools in that period, it must have incensed the boys at Eton to have their thunder stolen by an obscure, Midlands establishment which had only recently become a public school. They considered their own to be the leading school in *all* respects. By placing an absolute taboo on the use of hands in their version of football and decreeing that goals could only be scored below the height of the 'goal sticks', they were, one can suggest, attempting to assert their leadership of public schools and put the 'upstart' Rugbeians in their place.

If this is correct, it means that what later became an important driving force in the early development of football, namely a struggle between public schoolboys to be 'model makers' for the game on a national level, made its initial appearance in the 1840s. The emergence of distinguishing marks in the game at Rugby and the imposition of an absolute taboo on the use of hands at Eton are probable examples of how the game developed under the impetus of such competitive pressure.

¹ Personal communication with Professor Dunning.

This is a compelling theory. It is one which, in my own work throughout this thesis, I will attempt to test along with exploring other sociological and historical problems arising from the development of the game. A similar process seemingly took place in the United States, where the scholars at Harvard, the nation's oldest college, in an effort to assert their own prestige and leadership, decided, despite finding themselves initially isolated, to adopt the running and handling code of football in preference to a more soccer-style game already championed by Princeton, Rutgers and Yale. The stance, engendered by status-rivalry and the wish for status-exclusiveness led to 'a game that clearly distinguished it [Harvard] from not only that of the masses but the rest of the world too' (Abrams, 1995: 6-8). The 'status-rivalry' theory is at the centre of our early debate and may hold the key to the eventual bifurcation of the game into the Association and Rugby codes. However, I feel it is important that we continue to view football as a game which had 'no individual author' and developed 'as part of a relatively anonymous social process' (Dunning, 1961: 1). In other words it seems vital that we trace the people who were directly involved in the social and historical processes and who, over many years, contributed to the formation of the game and eventually molded it into its modern form. However, I intend to make little or no mention in this thesis of the 'folk' or 'mob' forms of football, i.e. the earliest stages in the development of the game. Rather I shall begin by detailing football's development in the Victorian public schools, where codification of the game began.

A type of football similar to the 'folk' and 'mob' forms that were practised in towns and villages around the country on festivals and holidays was being played at the leading public schools by at least the early 19th century. The seven most prestigious of these establishments were Eton, Charterhouse, Harrow, Westminster, Winchester, Shrewsbury and Rugby. They were predominantly non-local and boarding, and were controlled by groups of trustees. They earned the name 'public', because they were not privately owned. Their accommodation tended to be spartan, even though the majority of pupils' parents paid for tuition and boarding,

and punishments were often harsh and violent with discipline and order being kept by the emergent prefect-fagging system.

Dunning (1961: 30-1) defines the public school system as follows:

The seven public schools we are considering at present were, by 1780, essentially boarding schools attended by the upper classes. As boarding schools they required their pupils to be in continual residence for periods of something like fourteen weeks at a time. This is to say, the boys spent not only their working hours, but also their leisure hours on the school premises. One of the organisational consequences of this was the need for a system of discipline which covered these leisure hours. As early as the fifteenth century, it seems, William of Wykeham, the founder of Winchester, the first public school, solved this problem by devising a system of indirect rule which is said to have given the initial impetus to the development of the characteristic public school authority system, which has been called by E.C. Mack, the "prefect-fagging" system. Wykeham introduced a system in which eighteen senior boys maintained discipline by example and precept, and reported those who had been disorderly to a master for flogging. He encouraged the relative freedom of his boys, but at the same time, exercised strict control over them.

Sydney Smith (1810: 326) gives an alternative definition:

by a public school we mean an endowed place of education of old standing to which the sons of gentlemen resort in considerable numbers and where they continue to reside from eight or nine to eighteen years of age.

Dunning (1961: 34-5) goes on to explain the prefect-fagging system:

The prefect-fagging system was thus, a specific form of indirect rule. It was a system whereby the masters of a particular school exercised, to a greater or lesser degree, control over the activities of their boys through a series of boy representatives, whose authority was recognised as legitimate both by the masters and by the other boys in the school. It was a hierarchical system, in which each status involved a series of privileges and duties. Thus, it was the duty of the prefects to maintain order and discipline in a school. They were formally endowed with legitimate authority and powers of punishment to aid them in their task. They enjoyed the privilege of exacting certain services from the boys below the fifth form. These, the fags, on their part, had no power, but were expected to perform certain services for the prefects and for members of the sixth form as a whole. Formal status in this status hierarchy was dependent mainly upon age, length of membership of a school, and "moral worthiness".

Boarding on a fairly permanent basis presented the boys with increased leisure time away from the influence of adults relative to that which they would have experienced at home. Not only did the boys possess increasing opportunities but they also had ready-made colleagues

and opponents with which to enjoy these fresh outlets. The game of football in its various then existing forms came to be prominent among these leisure activities with which they filled this 'leisure space'. The 'progress' of the game at this particular stage in its development was certainly ably assisted by the increased leisure time afforded in the public schools and by the presence together of hundreds of adolescent boys in particular places for extended periods of time.

In sporting terms, in order to compare this situation with one which came to exist some years later, it is important to understand that none of the schools prior to 1845 possessed a fixed written body of football rules, leaving the ways in which particular games were played dependent upon the oral instruction of newcomers together with the physical characteristics of the local playing area. (The 'folk' forms of football were similarly based on oral rules and dependent on local geography).

Most authorities on the subject seem convinced that the pupils of each school developed their own unique brands of football because of the space and type of playing surface and surroundings available.

Shearman (1888: 271), for example, reached the conclusion that 'in each particular school the rules of the game were settled by the capacity of the playground, and that, as these were infinitely various in character, so were the games various.'

'At this period', Marples (1954: 107) states, 'each school played its own particular version of the game, which had evolved according to local circumstances. The form it took was largely dictated by the playing space available.'

'Each framed its own set of laws', Green (1953:11) continues, 'dependent largely upon the surroundings that staged, as it were, the game.'

Macrory (1991: 23) says that 'There is no doubt that the size, shape and surface of the playgrounds strongly influenced the way in which school games evolved.'

It may appear tedious to examine so many authors stating the same or a similar opinion over a period of in excess of one hundred years. However, doing so merely emphasises how many historians apportion credit to inanimate objects such as walls, trees and hedges in their attempts to explain the development of football. In short, their explanations take the form of what one might call 'geographic' or 'environmental determinism', explanations that are sociologically deficient. That is the case because it must surely be more adequate to suggest that most rules evolved in the various institutions as pupils, especially those who were relatively powerful among their fellows, generally but also in terms of their footballing prowess, considered and accepted different proposals or rule changes which were deemed as improvements to the game in the cauldron of competition. It is also more plausible to suggest that limits imposed by school surroundings may have been initially influential, i.e. when the boys were 'collectively inventing' their original games, but that the influence of such constraints would have diminished over time and that their place would have been increasingly replaced by social or social structural constraints. It is also necessary to realise that generations of boys attending these institutions amended laws by small scale, step by step adjustments as and when, according to the perceptions of those who were most powerful, the need arose. Consequently, the modern game of football has to be seen as not having been invented overnight, but rather as emerging in the course of a lengthy, unplanned social process, initially influenced by participants acting upon their physical surroundings, but one which was continually dependent on decisions taken by the players themselves.

At this juncture, it would seem apposite to examine certain examples of the rules of football as played in particular public schools, beginning with the game at Eton College. Henry VI founded Eton College in 1440 and the game in some form has been interpreted as having been popular even in the early days of the school. Thus Goodman (1976: 8) interprets a comment passed in 1519 as implying a reference to the game. The comment reads, 'We will play with a bagful of wynde.' Such a comment could, of course, refer to some form of ball game, but it

could equally refer to playing a musical instrument such as the bagpipes. Goodman (1976: 8) notes this in conjunction with the fact that in the early sixteenth century the boys were only allowed a 'single hour of play ('for fighting, rent clothes, blew eyes, or such like').' Should his previous comment refer to a form of football it would appear that particular form of football would have been of a relatively violent nature. There is firmer evidence to suggest that the two types of football devised and played by the boys at Eton, the Field Game and the Wall Game, may have been direct forerunners of Association Football.

An Etonian writing to the school magazine (The Etonian, No. 26, 27 November, 1884. In Young, 1968: 66) obviously believed that the boys of Eton were solely responsible for the development of the game when he offered these comments on the Wall Game, saying, 'The game of football, as originally played at the wall at Eton, was the author of every sort and condition of football now played throughout the United Kingdom.'

Indeed, it is also claimed that football as played at Rugby School was introduced there by Thomas James, an Etonian, when he was headmaster at Rugby between 1778 and 1798 (Green, 1953: 12; Rivington, 1991: 133).

The Field Game, however, seems much closer in appearance to Association Football. Dunning (1994: 10) credits the school's original Field Game rules with being 'an embryonic Association Football form.'

Until recently it was believed that the first Field Game rules were committed to written form in 1849. However, I was fortunate in my research to discover that a set of regulations exists for 1847 and these read as follows:

FIELD GAME RULES 1847

1. The game begins strictly at half past twelve, unless previously agreed on.
2. At the expiration of half the time, goals must be changed, and a bully formed in the middle.
3. Play is to cease at half past one, or punctually at the expiration of the hour agreed on.

4. To prevent dispute it is better to appoint, before the game begins, two umpires: one chosen by each party; and a referee to be agreed on by both parties, whose decision, if the umpires differ, is to be final.
5. It will be the duty of the umpires to enforce the rules: to decide on disputes that arise; to break a rouge or bully, when necessary, and to see fair play for both parties.
6. If a player shall have begun the game and shall be hurt, or otherwise disabled from going on, no substitute may take his place.
7. If a player be not present, when the game begins, no substitute may play, until he comes, but the game must proceed without him.
8. The goal sticks are to be seven feet out of the ground; a goal is gained when the ball is kicked between them provided it is not over the level of the top of them.
9. The space between each goal stick is to be eleven feet.
10. A rouge is obtained by touching the ball first, after it has been kicked behind.
11. When a rouge has been obtained the ball must be placed one yard from the centre of the goal; and no player is to touch the ball, or let it rest against his foot, until the player, who has obtained the rouge, has kicked the ball himself.
12. No player may run behind the goal sticks before the ball be kicked behind, either to prevent or obtain a rouge.
13. Should the player, who has prevented the rouge have been behind the ball, a player of the opposite side may touch it, and obtain a rouge.
14. If a ball go behind the goal sticks and without being touched, be kicked before them again, any player of the opposite side, if he can touch it first, may obtain a rouge.
15. If the ball be kicked behind by a cool kick, that is, when no one of the opposite side be bullying the kicker, no rouge, whoever touches it, can be obtained.
16. If a rouge be obtained before the time for leaving off expires, and the time expires, before the rouge is finished, the said rouge must be played out, until either a goal be obtained, or the ball be kicked outside the side sticks, or behind the goal sticks.
17. No rouge, or goal obtained after the time expires is admissible, except in the case of Rule 16.
18. The Bully, or Rouge must be broken, immediately a player falls on the ball, and formed anew.
19. No crawling on the hands and knees with the ball between the legs is allowed.

20. If a player falls on a rouge, or bully, although not on the ball, and calls 'Man Down' or calls for 'Air', the said Bully, or Rouge must be broken, and formed anew.
21. The umpires must use their discretion on the 15th, 18th and 20th Rules: and may make a player get up from the ground, if he has fallen, without breaking the rouge.
22. Hands may only be used to stop the ball, or touch it when behind. The ball must not be carried, thrown or struck by the hand.
23. A rouge may be obtained by touching the ball, when on the line of the goal sticks.
24. No player, if behind, before the ball, may pick it up, or carry it to one of his own side to touch, but must leave it where it stopped.
25. The ball is dead when outside, or on a line with the side sticks, and must not be kicked.
26. When the Ball is dead, it must be thrown in, or a bully formed parallel to the place where it stopped: these are to take place alternately.
27. If the Ball bounces off a bystander or any other object, outside the line of the side sticks, it may be kicked immediately on coming in.
28. If the Ball, when kicked out, bounds from any object without coming in, it must be put in parallel to the place, where it struck that object.
29. A player is considered to be sneaking when only three, or less than three, of the opposite side are before him and may not kick the ball.
30. One goal outweighs any number of rouges. If each party has an equal number of goals, that party wins, which has the majority of rouges in addition to the goals. If no goals are obtained, the game is decided by rouges.
31. These Rules may be altered and revised in any way by the Keeper of the Field at any future time, with the approbation of the first four choices
32. Should the decision be equally divided, the first keeper must have the casting vote.
33. No person can keep the field two football terms running unless it is mutually agreed on.
34. No Keeper of the Field can keep the Wall during the same term.

October 1847
H.H. Tremayne
A.R. Thompson

The meanings of the terms 'rouge' and 'bully' appear to have been taken for granted, though Rule 10 contains some attempt to pass on the intricacies. They require further explanation.

Marples (1954: 111) enlightens us:

The scrummage, known as a 'bully', survives, but consists of only four players per side. There is no handling or passing, and the main tactic is to dribble the ball along the ground towards the opponents' goal. If it is kicked through, three points are scored. But there is an alternative way of scoring, akin to a 'try' in Rugby football. If in certain circumstances the ball is touched down over the goal-line, a 'rouge' (one point) is scored. The scoring side then has the option of trying to 'force' it, that is, drive the ball through the goal while it is held in a 'bully'.

The Field Game, with its limitless playing space - the pitch size was not standardised until 1897 (Marples, 1954: 111) - accent on kicking, opportunity for dribbling and its 'sneaking' or offside rule, appears to resemble the Association form of football. It is my intention later in this thesis to compare its rules with those of its Rugby counterpart in an attempt to examine Dunning's status-rivalry theory in more detail.

Next, and again because of its apparent resemblance to the Association Code, I shall examine football as played at Harrow School. Harrow was founded in 1571 and Percy Young (1968: 68) has attempted to trace what he regards as the 'true roots' of the Association game to that school. He stated, 'The rules of the Harrow game, by chance, became an important part of the foundations on which Association Football were erected.' Shearman (1888: 272) disagreed, believing that 'it is from Charterhouse and Westminster that the dribbling game as it is played at present under Association rules came almost in its present form.'

Young (1968: 68-70) also quotes a set of Harrow football rules though he omits to tell us their exact date. However, Shearman (1888: 288) notes that 'The Harrow game has been played in substantially its present form for upwards of half a century.'

This perhaps allows us to date the following regulations as appertaining to the years between 1838 and 1888.

1. The choice of Bases is determined by tossing: the side that wins the toss must have the choice of Bases, the side that loses has the right to kick off.

2. The Bases must be 18 feet in width, and the distance between them not greater than 150 yards. The width of the ground must not be more than 100 yards.
3. The Ball must be kicked off from the middle of the ground, half way between the two Bases. A Base may not be obtained unless the Ball has touched one of the opposite side to the kicker previously to passing between the Base Poles.
4. When the Ball is kicked, any one on the same side as the kicker is entitled to kick or catch it, provided that at the same time of the delivery of the kick he is not nearer the line of the *opponents*' Base than the kicker. If he is nearer he is '*Offside*', and virtually out of the Game till the Ball has been touched by one of the opposite side. Nor may he interfere with anyone of the opposite side, or in any way prevent or obstruct his kicking or catching the Ball.
5. The Ball may only be caught if it has not touched the ground since it was kicked by the leg below the knee, or the foot.
6. Whoever catches the Ball is entitled to a free kick if he calls '*yards*'; but whoever catches the ball, and does not call '*yards*', is liable to have the Ball knocked out of his hands. N.B. The Ball must be kicked without delay: and the preliminary run must not be longer than Three Yards (i.e. the utmost length to which Three running strides would extend).
7. When a player catches the Ball, he may take his Three Yards or each of them in any direction he likes.
8. If a player catches the Ball near the opposite Base, he may try to carry the Ball through by jumping the Three Yards. If he fail in this attempt, no second try is allowed, but he must return to the spot where he caught the Ball, and from there may have a free kick at the Base, none of the opposite side may in this case get in his way nearer than the spot to which his jump brought him.
9. The Ball, when in play, must never be touched by a hand or arm unless close to the body, except in the case of a catch as stated in Rule 5.
10. The Ball, if kicked beyond the prescribed limits of the ground, must be thrown again (at least six yards from the thrower) by one of the opposite side to the player who shall have last touched the Ball, and his throw may be made in any direction, but may not obtain a Base unless the Ball has previously touched one of the players. In making the throw, the thrower may not hold the Ball by the lace, nor may he touch the Ball after the throw, until it has been touched by one of the other players.
11. From behind his own Base a player must kick the Ball instead of throwing it, the preliminary run not being longer than three running strides from the Base Line. From behind the opponent's Base the throw must be straight in, and may be of any length. In the first case the kicker, and in the second the thrower, must not again touch the Ball until it has been touched by another player. Neither in Rule 10 nor in this Rule do Rules 4 or 5 apply.
12. All charging is fair, but no holding, tripping, pushing with hands, shinning, or back-shinning, either of the Ball or the players, is allowed.

13. If the Ball strike the Base Pole and go through, it shall count as a Base, but if, in the opinion of the Umpires, it shall have passed over the Pole, it shall not count as a Base.
14. If the Ball strike the Base Pole and rebound into the ground play shall continue.
15. No nails or spikes of any sort are allowed in Football Boots.
16. There must always be two Umpires in a House Match, and, if possible, in School Matches. Their decision shall be final as to matters of fact, but they are at liberty to refer any question of law to the Committee of the Philathletic Club if they feel unable to decide it at the time.
17. It shall be the duty of the Umpires in all Football Matches to take away a Base of 'Yards' unfairly obtained; to award them if clearly and undoubtedly obtained, or stopped by unfair means, and in House Matches to put out of the Game any player wilfully breaking any of the Football Rules.
18. If it is necessary to replay a House Match, the distance between the Base Poles shall be doubled, the sides tossing again for choice of Bases. The date of the replay shall be decided by the Committee of the Philathletic Club.
19. After a tie each House is at liberty to play with any alterations or substitutions in its team that it may wish.
20. On the second day of a House Match, if a draw be the result, the Umpires must compel an extra quarter-of-an-hour to be played, changing ends after seven minutes. The same to apply to Champion House Match on the first day's play if it be a draw, at the end of the hour.
21. In the event of there being any reason for putting off a House Match it shall be decided by the Committee of the Philathletic Club.

Despite the game being championed by Young as a close relative of the Association form, Harrow football still maintained a Rugby-type offside law, Rule 4, by which players from the same team as the kicker were to take no further part in the game should they find themselves in front of the ball as it was struck. For those seeking to find similarities between Harrow and Association football, comfort can be gained from the dimensions of the playing area which approximate closely; Rule 3 which is virtually a modern kick off; Rule 10, a forerunner of the soccer throw-in; and Rule 11, where a player cannot be offside (Rule 4) from a throw in or what might be termed a goal (or base) kick. Those two rules apply in soccer today. Rule 12 sounds a civilising influence when it disallows such activities as tripping or shinning, another

word for 'hacking', regulations contrary to those which were acceptable at Rugby School during that period. But most significantly of all, these Harrow rules allowed more catching and carrying of the ball than at Eton. However, it is interesting that very strict limitations on the distance the catcher was then entitled to move with the ball were stated several times and this distance was restricted to three yards. This is another rule that was in direct contradiction of Rugby's licence to 'run the ball in'. It thus seems that Eton was the social focus of the first form of football involving not just limitations but a *virtual taboo* on the use of hands. Shearman (1888: 290) shed further light on the Harrow rules:

The Harrow player is always at first a 'selfish' association player, because he has learnt under the strict 'off-side' rule to stick to the ball till it is taken away from him by an opponent...Although the ball is heavy and of an awkward shape, Harrow boys attain a complete mastery over it and learn to dribble it with wonderful accuracy...Harrow football is essentially a game for boys and those who love hard exercise. It has simple rules, is fast and manly, and has no penalties or ceremonies which waste time.

I have recently been fortunate (December, 1999) to have been in contact with the archivist at Harrow School, Mrs. Rita Gibbs, from whom I procured a set of Harrow School Football Rules which differ slightly from those quoted by Percy Young (1968: 68-70). The year 1858 was written by hand in the top right hand corner and, although this might not be seen as exact proof of dating, I feel that there seems little reason to disbelieve its authenticity.

The rules read:

FOOTBALL RULES

Harrow Game

1. THE Choice of Bases is determined, in House Matches by tossing; but in the ordinary School Games that Side has the Choice, on which the Head of the School (or in his absence the Highest in the School present) is playing.
2. The Bases are 12 ft. in width, and the distance between them, in House Matches, must not be greater than 150 yds. The width of the ground must not be more than 100 yds.
3. The Ball must be kicked off from the middle of the ground, halfway between the two Bases.

4. If when the Ball is kicked, from Hand or otherwise, any one on the same side, but *nearer* the opposite Base, touches or kicks the Ball, he is said to be *Behind*, only if one of the opposite Side be between him and the party who kicked the Ball. Any one who is thus *Behind* is considered as being virtually out of the Game, and must wait till the Ball has been touched by one of the opposite side: nor must he interfere with any one of the opposite Side, or in any way prevent or obstruct his catching the Ball.
5. The Ball may not be caught off any other part of the Body but the *leg below the knee, or foot*; but if after being kicked, it hits any other part of the Body, before falling to the ground, it may then be caught.
6. Whoever catches the Ball is entitled to a *free kick* if he calls *Three yards*; but whoever catches the Ball, and does not call *Three yards*, is liable to have it knocked out of his hands.
7. The Ball, when in Play, must never be touched by the hand, except in the case of a Catch, as above stated.
8. All Charging is fair, but neither *Holding* nor *Tripping* is allowed.
9. If the Ball is kicked beyond the prescribed limits of the Ground, it must be kicked *straight in* again; and then must not be touched by the Hands, or *Arms below the Elbow*.
10. When the Ball goes *behind* the Line of either of the Bases, it must be kicked *straight in* (as by Rule 9), and then must not be touched by any one belonging to the Side, behind whose Base it was kicked, until it has been touched by one of the *opposite Side*.
11. Bases can only be obtained by kicking; but when any one catches the Ball near the opposite Base, he may jump the Three yards and go back to get a free kick: or if he catches it at so short a distance from the Base that he can carry it through by jumping the Three yards, he may do so.
12. All Shinning and Backshinning is strictly prohibited.
13. After a Base has been obtained, the two Sides change their respective Bases.
14. There must always be *two Umpires* in a House Match.
15. The above Rules should be put up conspicuously in every House at the beginning of every Football Quarter, and new Boys should be required to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with them.

CROSSLEY AND CLARKE, PRINTERS, HARROW.

The third example of public school football rules is from Rugby School, where, as we shall find, certain regulations had been adopted by the boys that differed markedly from practices in

use in other institutions. Whilst, however, it is not the intention of this thesis to consider the specific development of Rugby Football, it should be pointed out that until 1863 and the formation of the Football Association, the game generally was simply known as 'football' though it was represented around the country by many differing and unique forms, not only in each public school, but also in its increasingly marginalised folk forms in many towns and villages throughout the United Kingdom. And, although this may sound rather obvious, it should be noted that the Association form did not and could not have existed as a named activity before 1863, the year in which the Football Association which gave this game-form its name was established. For this reason, I shall generally follow the development of the Rugby School variety only up until that year.

At any one time, the game at any public school represented an amalgam and accretion of the consequences of human interactions and decisions over many years, yet, at Rugby School - founded as a grammar school in 1567 but not becoming a public school until 1778 - there appeared to be a slightly different story to tell. In 1823 a boy named William Webb Ellis is said, in contravention of the then-existing conventions, to have picked up the ball and run with it, supposedly by that one action changing the nature of the game at Rugby School.

Before examining the rules of football at Rugby in detail and also comparing them to the rules of other schools, particularly those of Eton, we should consider the story of Webb Ellis. Whilst such a step involves abandoning discussion of events in chronological order, as the incident in question was said to have taken place in 1823, some 22 years before the first issuing of any written rules at Rugby, it enables us to inspect one of the most important strands in the development of football and one which has largely been accepted as part of the folklore of the game, even though there has been the occasional attempt to challenge the 'theory' as a myth.

It is not surprising that in a book endorsed by the R.F.U. and entitled Playing the Game: Rugby Union, Ian Morrison (1989: 7) says that:

The popular belief has it that one William Webb Ellis was responsible for giving us Rugby Football. Historians over the years have tried to disprove this claim but have not been all that successful...Ellis is therefore acknowledged as the 'father of the handling game'.

Young, (1968: 63) does not deny the legitimacy of this claim, stating, 'In 1823 William Webb Ellis...startled his football companions at Rugby School by catching the ball during a game and *running with it.*'

Marples (1954: 117-118) sits securely astride the fence. Firstly, he casts doubts on the fact that running with the ball was unique to Rugby, observing, 'Ellis's action in running with the ball was ...not so much an innovation as a revival of an old custom, perhaps not seen before at Rugby, but familiar in other places.'

Marples then cites as evidence the fact that the practice of handling the ball was not uncommon in many local football codes around that time. He ventures to suggest that Ellis may even have seen a handling form elsewhere and simply transferred this technique to Rugby School.

Later he reveres Ellis's memory, though he rather assumes the consequences of the lack of such an individual on the development of the rugby code when he notes that 'Without him, or someone like him, the modern rugby code would never have developed' (Marples, 1954: 117-118).

Magoun (1938: 85) simply states that Ellis caught the ball and ran forward in the direction of the opponents' goal, without challenging the interpretation, whilst Arlott (1976: 779-780) is one of the few secondary sources to dispute the supposed innovation, noting:

There is only slight evidence, however, to support this account of the birth of Rugby Football. It chiefly lies in the vivid but secondhand version of the Ellis incident given by an Old Rugbeian, Bloxam, who had left Rugby some five years before it was supposed to have occurred.

There exist two conflicting theories of the Webb Ellis episode. Jennifer Macrory (1991: 34), formerly archivist at Rugby School, presents one side of the argument in her book, Running with the Ball: The Birth of Rugby Football. She sets what she regards as the facts before us as

follows:

The facts...are these. Running with the ball was unknown at Rugby before 1821, though it was practised in a limited way after 1830. A new ground and fluctuating numbers created different conditions of play during the 1820s leading to various changes which had become established among Arnold's pupils in the 1830s. Change was not taboo provided that it was approved by a consensus of leading players. Ellis himself persisted in practices which were *not* readily acceptable and carried sufficient weight as a praeposter and fine cricketer to be able to do as he pleased. He did not, however, succeed in persuading all the other leading players to adopt his methods, and was probably regarded as unfair more for refusing to accept the custom of consensus than for attempting an innovative move. He was a pushy character with a reputation, whether deserved or not, for bending the rules both at work and at play. He was named as the boy first remembered as running with the ball in an article written by a gentle, elderly antiquarian who had no part in the rivalries between the advocates of the various forms of football which had been promoted in the 1860s. Indeed Matthew Bloxam rather disapproved of the innovations which he saw in the Rugby game, and infinitely preferred it as it was in his youth, '*football and not handball*'. In naming William Webb Ellis he intended to imply no commendation, and there is no reason to cast doubt on his reliability as a source.

The aforementioned Matthew Bloxam described Ellis's act in an article submitted to The Meteor (22 December 1880, Issue No 157: 156), the Rugby School magazine, in 1880. A central point of Bloxam's article reads:

A boy of the name of Ellis, William Webb Ellis...who in the second half-year of 1823, was, I believe, a praeposter, whilst playing Bigside at football in that half-year, caught the ball in his arms. This being so, according to the then rules, he ought to have retired back as far as he pleased, without parting from the ball, for the combatants on the opposite side could only advance to the spot where he had caught the ball, and were unable to rush forward until he had either punted it or had placed it for some one else to kick, for it was by means of these placed kicks that most of the goals were in those days kicked, but the moment the ball touched the ground the opposite side might rush on. Ellis for the first time disregarded this rule, and on catching the ball, instead of retiring backwards, rushed forwards with the ball in his hands towards the opposite goal, with what result as to the game I know not, nor do I know how this infringement of a well known rule was followed up, or when it became as it is now, a standing rule.

Macrory (1991: 29) goes on to describe Bloxam as 'a thoroughly honest antiquarian with an impeccable reputation for careful scholarly investigation.'

Dunning & Sheard (1979: 60) present, in many ways, a contradictory argument, specifically, in this case, challenging Bloxam's evidence:

There is reason to believe that the Webb Ellis story is a myth. It was first put forward by Bloxam in 1880², but he had left the school in 1820, i.e. three years prior to the supposed event. His account, therefore, was based on hearsay recalled at a distance of over 50 years.

Despite the overlapping of the Rugby School careers of Bloxam and Ellis - they attended together for five years - they were by no means exact contemporaries, though the former's brother was at Rugby for nine years, a time which coincided with Ellis, (Macrory, 1991: 29) implying that Bloxam could have learned of Webb Ellis's supposed act from his brother.

Macrory (1991:46), herself, accepts that Webb Ellis's single alleged act did not have the effect of changing the rules of the game immediately and admits that 'running with the ball' was merely introduced rather than firmly established during the 1820s.

In 1895 the Old Rugbeian Society (1897: 3) convened a committee to broadly explore the origins of the Rugby game and, with regard to Webb Ellis's innovation, clearly stated:

To this we would add that the innovation was regarded as of doubtful legality for some time, and only gradually became accepted as part of the game, but obtained customary status between 1830 and 1840 and was duly legalised first in 1841-2.

The committee had, indeed, been:

requested by the Old Rugbeian Society to investigate these statements and also to enquire into the account of the origin of our game put forward on more than one occasion by the late Mr. Matthew Holbeche Bloxam.

The statements referred to above were those of Montague Shearman (1888: 272) and he attributed the handling aspect of Rugby Football and the physical violence of the game to the fact that Rugby School alone possessed a wide open grass playground almost from its inception in 1567. The Committee refuted this, saying that for almost two centuries (1567-1749) there was no playground at all. The Old Rugbeian Report offers its support to the story

² The Meteor, 10 October 1876, page 528

penned in The Meteor by Matthew Bloxam, telling of Webb Ellis's supposed exploit of running with the ball in hand. Yet careful examination of correspondence sent to the Committee by Old Rugbeians suggests a different story.

The author of Tom Brown's Schooldays, Thomas Hughes, mentions an entirely new individual, Jem Mackie:

Dear Sir,

Your Committee have raised an old and warmly debated question of half a century back. In my first year, 1834, running with the ball to get a try by touching down within goal was not absolutely forbidden, but a jury of Rugby boys of that day would almost certainly have found verdict of 'justifiable homicide' if a boy had been killed running in. The practice grew, and was tolerated more and more, and indeed became rather popular in 1838-39 from the prowess of Jem Mackie, the great 'runner-in'.

Jem was very fleet of foot as well as brawny of shoulder, so that when he got hold of the ball it was very hard to stop his rush. He was a School House and Sixth Form boy, therefore on the numerically absurdly weak side in those two exciting matches of that time. (He was M.P. for Kirkcudbrightshire in later years, and a very useful but silent member). The question remained debatable when I was Captain of Big Side in 1841-42 when we settled it (as we believed) for all time. 'Running in' was made lawful with these limitations, that the ball must be caught *on the bound*, that the catcher was not 'off his side,' that there should be no 'handing on' but the catcher must carry the ball in and 'touch down' himself. Picking up off the ground was made absolutely illegal, as [was] running in from off your side - a ball caught by a player 'off his side' must be *at once* knocked on or the holder might be mauled; and no handing on was allowed. I am not familiar with the present rules but from looking on now and then I suppose our old settlement has been superseded; at least the game seems to me to have developed into much too much of hand-ball. I may be *laudator temporis acti*, but hold very strongly that the football of the fifties and early sixties was the finest form that football has ever attained. I don't doubt Matt. Bloxam was right that 'running in' was not known in his day. The 'Webb Ellis tradition' had not survived to my day.

Ever yours most truly,

Thos. Hughes

Hughes quite clearly believed that it should be Mackie and not Webb Ellis who should, if necessary, be credited with inventing and popularising the action of running with the ball, thereby playing an important part in embedding the practice into the Rugby game. Yet the Old

Rugbeian Committee ignored his pleadings, despite their being from a famous ex-pupil and former football captain (Hughes was captain in 1841-2). Hughes also bemoaned the fact that the game had become more handball than football, something which is consistent with the Rugby-Eton rivalry hypothesis, for at the same time, the Eton Field Game was continuing to develop as *football*, i.e. as a minimal-handling game.

In a second letter to the Committee, Hughes alludes to the practice of debating the rules on 'The Island' after a match, when the boys would sit on this grassy knoll surrounded by water to the side of their playing area and discuss whether to allow certain actions in their game. As Hughes states that 'running-in' was rare during his first year, 1834 (See first letter), although the practice had grown in popularity by Mackie's time (1838-9), the likelihood is - assuming that the practice of debating on 'The Island' was in place in 1823 - that Webb Ellis's supposed act of 1823 would have been rejected out of hand in post-match debate and regarded more as an isolated and rather foolish act.

Hughes (Old Rugbeian Society, 1897) wrote yet another letter that confirms the practice of post-match debate on 'The Island' in his days at the School:

Dear Mr. Wilson

I don't suppose you will find any entry of the rules as to 'running in' in writing amongst the old Bigside books, if indeed these still exist, which I should doubt. Our Bigside Football 'levies,' at which such matters were settled, were held on the Island, or the little mound under the Elms, between Little side and Bigside (I fancy it has disappeared like the moat) either before or after matches, during which sharp discussion had arisen whether such and such a goal should count, or the like. I certainly can't remember *signing* any written rules as Captain, but am quite clear about the practice having been settled, as in my last.

Henry H. Gibbs (Old Rugbeian Society, 1897: 15) certainly remembers 'running-in' as having been relatively popular as early as 1832, but offers some solace to those who would wish the practice to be associated with earlier times.

March 22, 1895

Dear Sir,

My evidence does not carry the matter much further back than Tom Hughes's can do, seeing that my Rugby career began in October, 1832, and his in October, 1834.

I can hardly think that the practice of running with the ball was 'only gradually coming into vogue' in his day.

I well remember that it was fully recognised in mine which ended in 1836. At what time it began in those four years, if it did not begin before, I can't say, but I certainly remember no time when it was considered absolutely illegitimate.

But any one who practised it set in more active motion the legs of his opponents for the purposes of both running and 'hacking,' using the latter as upon *hostem humani generis*; but if he escaped, it was all fair. Probably from what you quote from Bloxam it must have arisen between 1820 and 1830, and very likely in the year to which he assigns it.

A Mr. F. Lushington (Old Rugbeian Society, 1897: 16) confirms the practice to have been relatively rare and extremely hazardous:

March 24, 1895

Dear Mr. Wilson

Mr. Bloxam was a very painstaking antiquarian, and I should think his account was pretty sure to be accurate. Hughes's memory is probably more accurate on the point than mine, which tells pretty much the same story. It was done in my time, that is in the autumns of 1838-39, when I was coming to the front in football, but I should say not done very often. I remember trying it on myself on one occasion in particular, when I got particularly neatly hacked over for my pains. But it certainly was never objected to, as far as I remember, and therefore must have been recognised as a regular part of the game, as we were extremely strict about all off-side rules then.

Yours sincerely

F. Lushington

Unfortunately, from those who support the idea of his innovative role, not one correspondent claimed directly to have witnessed Webb Ellis's supposed unique act of running with the ball.

By Page 22, the Committee is ready to deliver its conclusion:

It may, we think, be fairly considered to be proved from the foregoing statements, that (i) in 1820 the form of football in vogue in Rugby was something approximating more closely to Association than to what is known as Rugby football today, (ii) that at some date between 1820 and 1830 the innovation was introduced of running with the ball, (iii) that this was in all probability done in the latter half of 1823 by Mr. W. Webb Ellis, who is credited by Mr. Bloxam with the

invention and whose 'unfair practices' were (according to Mr. Harris) the subject of general remark at the time. To this we would add that the innovation was regarded as of doubtful legality for some time, and only gradually became accepted as part of the game, but obtained a customary status between 1830 and 1840, and was duly legalized first by Bigside Levee in 1841-42 (as stated by Judge Hughes) and finally by the Rules of 1846.

Whilst one might accept conclusion (i), numbers (ii) and (iii) leave much to be desired. Running with the ball was probably an accepted practice at Rugby by the 1830s, rarely attempted and undoubtedly its aim, to score and secure a try at goal, even more rarely achieved. Had Webb Ellis scored, his supposed action might have been remembered by a greater number of former pupils. If he really did pick up the ball and run with it in 1823, he was probably one of many, over perhaps a period of 20 years before 1838-9, who tried but failed to establish the legitimacy of this practice and it is Mackie, the 'great runner-in', who should surely be credited most with mastering and popularising the tactic. Unfortunately, Mackie's exploits were 15 years later than that attributed after the event to Webb Ellis's and this undoubtedly swayed the Old Rugbeian Committee into accepting the latter's act. To people convinced of this prestige-conferring power of age, 1823 is, after all, fifteen years 'more prestigious' than 1838.

The Old Rugbeian Committee (1897: 10-11) even went as far as to admit that Bloxam's evidence had flaws:

Mr. Bloxam's very circumstantial account of Mr. Ellis's exploit, though not that of an eye-witness (for he had left the school some three years before) cannot be ignored, and though we have been unable to procure any first-hand evidence of the occurrence, we are inclined to give it our support.

Whilst some correspondents mention Webb Ellis, no one supports Bloxam's suggestion that the former in any way invented a unique and subsequently popular practice. The evidence for Webb Ellis is so thin and yet so strong in support of Mackie that any even-handed judgement ought surely to find in favour of the latter. However, there is reason to believe that the period in which the Old Rugbeian enquiry took place may well have influenced the findings of the

Committee. Indeed, one can put it more strongly than this: there is reason to believe, as Dunning and Sheard (1979) have suggested, that events in the 1890s were central in leading to the establishment of the Old Rugbeian Committee in the first place.

There can be little doubt that the decade of the 1890s was a difficult period in the history of Rugby football. The bifurcation of the game, i.e. the split between Rugby Union and Rugby League, took place at a meeting of Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs held at the George Hotel, Huddersfield on Thursday 29th August 1895. After the meeting, the following statement was issued:

The clubs here represented, forming the late Senior Competition, consider that the time is now opportune to form a Northern Rugby Football Union and will do their utmost to push forward as rapidly as possible the establishment of such a union (The Yorkshire Post, 30 August 1895: From K. Sheard: 'Rugby Football: A Study in Developmental Sociology, 1972: 299).

The issue itself had been forced by a Yorkshire Rugby Football Union proposal two years previously, which stated that 'that players be allowed compensation for *bonafide* loss of time' (Owen, 1955: 97).

Dunning & Sheard feel it can have been no coincidence that the year 1895 witnessed both the publication of the report by the Old Rugbeian Committee concerning the origins of *their* game *and* the split between the R.F.U. and the Northern Union, later to become the Rugby League. Even though Macrory cites the publication of the committee's findings as 1897 (1991: 213), this argument continues to be eminently believable, as the Committee first convened in 1895 (Macrory, 1991: 26). However, it could be possible to propose that the Old Rugbeians, representing as they did the original game as played at Rugby School, in ridding themselves in 1895 of the 'professional irritant' of the northern clubs, an irritant which was proving increasingly difficult to beat on the field of play, had little reason to re-iterate the origins of the game, as the perceived threat had 'flown the nest'. Yet, although subsequent years have shown the two codes capable of relatively peaceful co-existence, the members of the Old

Rugbeian Committee may have felt that a dangerous alternative game-form still remained and decided to issue their report.

One sizeable mistake which the Committee of Old Rugbeians appear to have made was to glorify the Webb Ellis story by erecting the commemorative tablet on the Headmaster's wall in the close in 1900. It reads as follows:

This stone
commemorates the exploit of
WILLIAM WEBB ELLIS
who with a fine disregard for the rules of football
as played in his time
first took the ball in his arms and ran with it
thus originating the distinctive feature of
The Rugby game AD 1823

The Committee seemed to champion an anti-hero by almost legitimising this act of unsporting behaviour, describing Webb Ellis's action as having been undertaken with 'a fine disregard' for the then accepted laws of the game, thus seemingly justifying the breaking of established rules. Through erecting the tablet they had succeeded in creating a myth. Despite the glorified wording of the inscription, the anachronism of its discovery and the defiance of regulations involved the Webb Ellis myth has rarely been challenged over the years. Yet although the authenticity of the episode is open to question, it cannot be doubted that in many quarters the story has proved perfectly acceptable. The year is 1995, the setting is the Newlands Stadium, Capetown and South African President Nelson Mandela is presenting the Rugby World Cup to Francois Pienaar, the Springbok captain. The inscription on the silverware? 'The William

Webb Ellis Trophy'! Let me now return to my discussion of the development of football rules at some of the other major public schools.

As I have previously noted, the boys at each school created their own brands of football. These were unique variations on a set of common themes. At each school, the boys framed their own rules and the undisciplined battles of artisan and peasant at Shrovetide and other festivals, i.e. the folk forms of the game, were gradually adapted for the pupils' use by the boys themselves. These rules were passed down to future players either by word of mouth or simply by participation and, consequently, eventual inculcation into the nuances of the game. However, on 28th August 1845, an important event took place at Rugby School, for on that day the first *written* rules of football were issued. At least no earlier written rules have survived and been discovered.

The 1845 Rugby rules - they called them 'laws' - were as follows:

Laws of Football Played at Rugby School,

28 August 1845

RESOLUTIONS

That only in cases of extreme emergency, and only by the permission of the heads of the sides, shall any one be permitted to leave the Close, after calling over, till the game be finished and consequently, that all dressing take place before that time.

That the punishment for absenting oneself from a match, without any real and well-grounded reason, be left to the discretion of any Praepostor.

That whenever a match is going to be played, the School shall be informed of it by the Head of the School in such manner as he shall think fit, some time before dinner on the day in question.

That no unnecessary delay take place in the commencement of the matches, but as soon as calling over be finished, the game be commenced.

That the old custom, that no more than two matches take place in the same week be strictly adhered to, of which, one must always take place on Saturday, without some strong cause to the contrary.

That all fellows not following up be strictly prohibited from playing any game in goal, or otherwise conducting themselves in any way which shall be deemed prejudicial to the interests of their side.

That in consequence of the great abuse in the system of giving notes to excuse fagging, &c, and otherwise exempt fellows from attendance at the matches, no notes shall be received which are not signed by one of the Medical Officers of the

School, and countersigned by the Head of the House, or by a Master when the case specified is not illness.

That all fellows at Tutor during calling over, or otherwise absent, shall be obliged to attend as soon after as possible.

That the Head of the School take care that these resolutions be generally known among the School, and as far as the case may be they shall apply equally to the big sides.

That Old Rugbeians shall be allowed to play at the matches of Football, not without the consent, however, of the two heads of the sides.

RULES

I. FAIR CATCH, is a catch direct from the foot.

II. OFF SIDE. A player is off his side if the ball has touched one of his own side behind him, until the other side touch it.

III. FIRST OF HIS SIDE, is the player nearest the ball *on his side*.

IV. A KNOCK ON, as distinguished from a *throw on*, consists in striking the ball on with the arm or hand.

V. TRY AT GOAL. A ball touched between the goalposts may be brought up to either of them, but not between. The ball when *punted* must be within, when caught without the goal: the ball must be place-kicked and not dropped, even though it touch[ed] two hands, and it must go over the bar and between the posts without having touched the dress or person of any player. No goal may be kicked from touch.

VI. KICK OFF FROM MIDDLE, must be a place.

VII. KICK OUT must not be from more than ten yards out of goal if a place-kick, not more than twenty-five yards, if a punt, drop, or knock on.

VIII. RUNNING IN is allowed to any player on his side, provided he does not take the ball off the ground, or take it through touch.

IX. CHARGING is fair, in case of a place-kick, as soon as a ball has touched the ground; in case of a kick from a catch, as soon as the player's foot has left the ground, and not before.

X. OFF SIDE. No player being off his side shall kick the ball in any case whatever.

XI. No player being off his side shall hack, charge, run in, touch the ball in goal, or interrupt a catch.

XII. A player when off his side having a fair catch is entitled to a fair *knock on*, and in no other case.

XIII. A player being off his side shall not touch the ball on the ground, except in touch.

XIV. A player being off his side cannot put *on his side* himself, or any other player, by knocking or throwing the ball.

XV. TOUCH. A player may not in any case run with the ball in or through touch.

XVI. A player standing up to another may hold one arm only, but may hack him or knock the ball out of his hand if he attempts to kick it, or go beyond the line of touch.

XVII. No agreement between two players to send the ball *straight out* shall be allowed on big side.

XVIII. A player having touched the ball straight for a tree, and touched the tree with it, may drop from either side if he can, but the opposite side may oblige him to go to his own side of the tree.

XIX. A player touching the ball off his side must *throw it straight out*.

XX. All matches are drawn after five days, but after three if no goal has been kicked.

XXI. Two big side balls must always be in the Close during a match or big-side.

XXII. The discretion of sending into goal rests with the heads of sides or houses.

XXIII. No football shall be played between the goals till the Sixth match.

XXIV. Heads of sides, or two deputies appointed by them, are the sole arbiters of all disputes.

XXV. No strangers, in any match, may have a place kick at goal.

XXVI. No hacking with the heel, or above the knee, is fair.

XXVII. No player but the first on his side, may be hacked, except in a *scrummage*.

XXVIII. No player may wear projecting nails or iron plates on the heels or soles of his shoes or boots.

XXIX. No player may take the ball out of the Close.

XXXI. No player may stop the ball with anything but his own person.

XXXI. Nobody may wear cap or jersey without leave from the head of his house.

XXXII. At a big-side, the two players highest in the School shall toss up.

XXXIII. The Island is all in goal.

XXXIV. At little side the goals shall be four paces wide, and in kicking a goal the ball must pass out of the reach of any player present.

XXXV. Three Praepostors constitute a big-side.

XXXVI. If a player take a punt when he is not entitled to it, the opposite side may take a punt or drop, without running if the ball has not touched two hands.

XXXVII. No player may be held, unless he is himself holding the ball.

As these Rules have now become the Laws of the game, it is hoped that all who take an interest in Football will contribute all in their power to enforce their observance.

Most modern secondary historical sources and the Old Rugbeian Committee quote 1846 as the year in which written rules first appeared at Rugby (Young, 1968: 63; Marples, 1954: 137; Magoun, 1938: 85; Arlott, 1976: 780). However, in 1960, Eric Dunning discovered a copy at

the school dated 28 August 1845. Jennifer Macrory (1991: 86-90) cites the 1845 rules as well. It seems to be reasonable to suggest that the publication of these rules marked a crucial stage in what was a lengthy, ongoing process of gradual division.

The Rugbeians of 1845 codified their game into written form presumably for their own enjoyment and convenience, probably never believing that written rules might facilitate its diffusion to other parts of the country. Only a year later, in the preamble to the 1846 rules, diffusion is again hardly considered as the framers regarded the laws rather as 'a set of Decisions on certain disputed points in Football, than of containing all the Laws of the Game which are too well known to render any explanation necessary to Rugbeians' (7 September 1846. In Marples, 1954: 137).

They had clearly never envisaged the game being played by anyone other than boys at the school. Yet the mere fact that written codification at the school had taken place, made it feasible that those very rules could be diffused. New headteachers such as Cotton at Marlborough and Butler at Haileybury were Old Rugbeians. Cotton had been a master at Rugby under Arnold, while Butler was a pupil there from 1861-67 (McIntosh, 1952: 35 and 37), and the fact that agreed rules had at last been reproduced in a written format meant that it was more likely these regulations would be adopted elsewhere, most probably at those particular institutions and others with Headmasters previously connected with Rugby School.

Although enjoyment and convenience for those participating must have been powerful reasons for written codification, other underlying motivations have been suggested. Dunning (1961: 117) believes that Rugby School was at that time struggling for recognition from the more established public schools and, with sport in general and football in particular forming a common link between them - a direct link in that most schools played some form of football, but not so direct as to be able to play inter-school matches because of the unique rules of each school game - the motive to create and reform a distinct form of the game may have led the boys into not only this written codification of their football, but also into establishing and

maintaining its uniqueness. A famous snub accorded to Rugby by Eton when asked by the former for a cricket fixture appears to indicate the status-exclusiveness present in mid-Victorian public schools. It reads: 'Rugby, Rugby... well, we'll think about it if you can tell us where it is' (In 'Martello Tower', At School and Sea, London, 1899: 25; quoted in J. R. de s. Honey: The Victorian Public School, 1828-1902; from Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 83).

Macrory (1991: 48) disagrees, making light of the Eton cricket captain's remarks, likening them to the modern denigration by Southerners of anywhere north of Watford, and offering the opinion that such rivalry is confined to institutions of more or less equal status.

However, does the direct rivalry between Eton and Rugby only exist because the two schools could possibly have played each other at cricket, a game possessing nationally accepted rules of play? In football, that specific situation certainly did not exist in 1850, the time of the rebuff, as the schools continued to play the game in splendid isolation and inter-school fixtures were very rare. Lack of a speedy transport system and the influence of each school's surroundings, which along with the boys, created the distinct forms of football, together with the ill-feeling which inter-school matches provided, initially militated against this type of competition. The existing house system, which gave the boys ample scope for participation, also did little to encourage games between the likes of Eton, Harrow and Rugby. It would, indeed, have been virtually impossible for Rugby, or any other school, to have developed a distinct form of cricket with which to establish a national reputation, as the game's laws had become deeply ingrained into English males since the 1730s and any new form would simply have been rejected and marginalised. Football, in the relatively new forms which were emerging in the public schools, allowed for such variance and the Rugby boys may have consciously realised this, attempting to gain recognition for their school by developing such unique playing items as the oval ball and H-shaped goals.

Dunning's original suggestion was that the Eton boys, in issuing rules in 1849 which in many senses were directly opposed to Rugby's written regulations of 1845, were deliberately

attempting to challenge a school which the Etonians believed to be nothing more than an upstart institution somewhere in middle England. At this time, Eton firmly believed that it remained superior in every sense, academically as well as in sporting terms, to Rugby. That the latter could possibly publish a set of rules intimating a certain status for *their* unique form of football, would be seen as an overt challenge to Eton's exclusive standing both in the mid-Victorian educational community and in English, perhaps even British, society at large.

It certainly seems unlikely that, because the two sets of rules were so diametrically opposed, the issuing of the Eton rules can have been an accidental or unconnected historical anomaly. Whilst Rugby's rules contained references to the practice of carrying the ball and scoring *over* the crossbar, Eton's referred to restrictions whereby the ball should not be caught, carried, thrown nor struck by the hand and scoring might only take place when the ball was kicked between the goalposts, though not above them.

However, what makes the whole argument even more convincing is the recent discovery of a written set of rules for football as played 'in the field' at Eton, dated October 1847, just a little over two years after the issuing of Rugby's original regulations. Bearing this in mind, it would now seem appropriate to consider in more detail the 1845 Rugby rules, the 1847 Eton rules and the 1858 Harrow rules. Because they most clearly illustrate the differences between the three codes, I will concentrate on the areas of the use of hands, scoring and hacking.

1. The Use of Hands

Rugby: Rule 8: Running in is allowed to any player on his side, provided he does not take the ball off the ground, or take it through touch.

Eton: Rule 22: Hands may only be used to stop the ball, or touch it when behind. The ball must not be carried, thrown or struck by the hand.

Harrow: Rule 5: The Ball may not be caught off any other part of Body but the *leg below the knee, or foot*; but if after being kicked, it hits any other part of the Body, before falling to the ground, it may then be caught.

Rule 9: The Ball, when in Play, must never be touched by the hand, except in the case of a Catch as above stated.

There is no direct reference in the 1845 Rugby rules to the fact that a player was allowed to catch and carry the ball, though this may have been thought too obvious to include. However, Rule 8, stating that 'running-in' is permissible, clearly shows the game to have been a catching and carrying form, which therefore necessitated the use of the hands. It appears a little surprising that the Eton rules do not mention the restriction on the use of hands until Rule 22 and even then hands are not disallowed completely. However, the second sentence is emphatic enough because of the use of the words 'must not', though the crux of the matter is that they outlawed carrying³.

The Rugby rules of 1845 also contain three references to the act of throwing the ball. They read as follows:

Rule 4: A knock on, as distinguished from a throw on, consists of striking the ball on with the arm or hand.

Rule 14: A player being off his side cannot put on his side himself, or any other player, by knocking or throwing the ball.

Rule 19: A player touching the ball off his side must throw it straight out.

In the 1847 Eton Field Game rules there are nine references to touching the ball (presumably with hand) in scoring a 'rouge', one reference to throwing the ball in and, finally, one to using the hands to stop the ball. It would appear incorrect, therefore, to state that these rules regulate for an *absolute* taboo on handling the football, although there remained, of course, an absolute taboo on carrying, making the Eton form of football, as soccer is today if one includes the actions of the goalkeeper, one of *minimal handling and carrying*.

Rule 6 at Harrow distinguishes their game from that of Rugby School, allowing only three yards movement with the ball, though this appears to be three yards more than at Eton. It also seems to confirm another major difference between Rugby and Eton, that is the amount of movement allowed whilst the ball was in an individual's possession. The schools remained at either end of the football spectrum, with Eton allowing no movement with the ball and Rugby

an unlimited amount.

2. Scoring

Rugby: Rule 5: TRY AT GOAL...it [the ball] must go over the bar and between the posts without having touched the dress and person of any player.

Eton: Rule 8: a goal is gained when the ball is kicked between them [goalsticks] provided it is not over the level of the top of them.

Harrow: Rule 11: Bases can only be obtained by kicking; but when any one catches the Ball near the opposite Base, he may jump the Three yards and go back to get a free kick: or if he catches it at so short a distance from the Base that he can carry it through by jumping the Three yards, he may do so.

3. Hacking

This appears to be one of the central features of the Rugby game. It was specifically mentioned four times in the 1845 regulations (Rules 11, 16, 26 and 27), along with rules concerning charging, holding and one that prohibited the wearing of footwear with projecting nails or ironplates. There was nothing in the 1847 Eton Field Game rules which referred in any way to kicking an opponent rather than the ball and nowhere was the word 'hacking' used to describe any action in the game, whilst at Harrow, Rules 8 and 12 directly legislate against holding, tripping, shinning, and back-shinning.

These references provide us with one particular contrast in the often juxtaposed rules of kickers and handlers, which later surfaced into the argument over which game was more civilised or more manly, the kickers claiming their code to be less barbaric, whilst the handlers believed their sport to be physically more demanding.

The Eton boys were only the second school to commit their rules to written form, with other major institutions eventually following suit. Shrewsbury did so around 1855, Harrow in 1858, Westminster in about 1860 and Charterhouse in 1862, all significantly later than both Rugby and Eton (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 98). However, whilst the boys of each school continued

³ Richard Guilianotti (1999: 4) incorrectly and misleadingly suggests that 'Old Rugbeians and Etonians favoured a hacking and handling game'. A comparison of the 1845 Rugby and 1847 Eton rules refutes this suggestion. 35

in splendid isolation to enjoy their own particular brand of football, the diffusion of the game was about to move into a more significant phase, where the proponents of each form clashed directly over their worth and, perhaps for the first time, had to consider sporting compromise as a solution to their continuing enjoyment and participation. I, therefore, intend to pay more attention to the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford where the ongoing development of football was to undergo further progression.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the newer forms of football were diffused, mainly by former public school boys, to various parts of English society. The boys drew on the enjoyable and rewarding experiences gained at their various educational institutions, experiences based around what became known as the 'games cult'. Marples (1954: 122) describes the ideology underlying this as

the realisation that football and other games were not merely useful as substitutes for undesirable activities, but might be used to inculcate more positive virtues - loyalty and self-sacrifice, unselfishness, co-operation and *esprit de corps*, a sense of humour, the capacity to be a 'good loser' or to 'take it'.

Uppermost in the minds of some writers is the contribution to this process of Thomas Arnold, Headmaster at Rugby School from 1828 to 1842. However, evidence appears to suggest that the leisure activities of pupils in the public schools were introduced and controlled by the boys themselves. Indeed, the 'games cult' seems to have been a continuance of a *de facto* situation involving the virtual ownership of such activities as football by the leading sporting pupils of those particular institutions (Dunning, 1983: 138). Two institutions to which the game was diffused in that context were the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

The spread of football from the public schools to Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the 1840s and 50s should hardly surprise us, as the leisure patterns of university undergraduates tended to be a simple extension of sporting life in the public schools. As soon as these schoolboys progressed to continue their studies at the Universities, they took with them their enthusiasm for sport, not only for the established activities such as rowing or cricket, but also in the 1840s and 1850s for their own particular forms of football. The public school 'games cult' proved so popular with the boys that their devotion to games in general and football in particular was to provide the catalyst for the next stage of diffusion of this game within English society.

It seems fair to assume that some of the public school forms of football were being played in the universities as early as the 1830s (Weir, 1998: 8), as football as an organised activity had certainly been played in public schools during the previous decade. Boys with some knowledge of how to play, therefore, and in many cases also with a desire to do so, would have filtered through the educational system and on to University by that time. It is, though, the undergraduates of Cambridge University who spring more often to the fore, providing us with useful insights into the way in which the game was continuing to develop. However, the early days were rarely without difficulty, as football's adherents strove to establish their new sport, often playing under the eyes of onlookers intrigued by the various forms of the game.

Dr. G. E. Corrie, then Master of Jesus College, Cambridge makes a reference to football in his diary for 10 December 1838. He states, 'In walking with Willis we passed by Parker's Piece¹ and there saw some 40 gownsmen playing at football. The *novelty* and liveliness of the scene was amusing' (Aston, 1983: 220).

Corrie's description of the game as a novelty supports the contention that, in the 1830s football may have been a recent addition to university sporting life.

Early footballers at Cambridge must have struggled to establish the game, which would probably have been regarded as a low status sport when compared with traditional, established activities such as rowing. Venn (1913: 280) commented in 1913 that,

Hockey and football were left to the boys. I have since been informed that some devotees of what was commonly regarded as a school game occasionally indulged, in obscure places, in the peculiar art that they had acquired at Rugby or Eton. But I am certain that I never saw the game played, and that no friend of mine ever practised it. This is confirmed by my brother, who tells me that he remembers a friend coming into Hall and relating that he had seen a number of Rugby men, mostly freshmen, playing a new game: that 'they made a circle round a ball and butted each other'.

Venn was quite scathing about the new game in general, whilst, from what he tells us, his brother appeared particularly unimpressed by the Rugby form of football.

¹ Parker's Piece remains a large expanse of playing field near the centre of Cambridge. It is surrounded by elm trees and is still used for organised games of football and cricket.

There is some evidence to suggest that there had been an attempt to form a football club at Cambridge and to codify a set of common rules in 1837. Edgar Montague (Given as 'Edward Montagu' by Charlesworth et al, 1995: 4), who attended Caius College between that year and 1842, claimed in 1899 that he was 'one of seven who drew up the rules for football, when we made the first football club, to be fair to all schools' (Oldham, 1952: 232).

These rules seem not to have survived. A further attempt at codification was made in 1846. Two Old Salopians, J.C. Thring - at Shrewsbury from 1836-43 - and H. De Winton - there from 1835-42 (Old Salopian Yearbook, 1911) - together with some Old Etonians, are said to have played several games on Parker's Piece, though, again, written versions of their rules do not survive (Green, 1953: 15). However, two years later, i.e. in 1848, there is stronger evidence that football rules were codified. It is contained in a letter written by H.C. Malden (Green, 1953: 15-16), who entered Trinity in 1847, relating the events of a gathering at Trinity College one year later:

I went up to Trinity College, Cambridge. In the following year an attempt was made to get up some football in preference to the hockey then in vogue. But the result was dire confusion, as every man played the rules he had been accustomed to at his public school. I remember how the Eton men howled at the Rugby men for handling the ball. So it was agreed that two men should be chosen to represent each of the public schools, and two, who were not public school men, for the 'Varsity. G. Salt and myself were chosen for the 'Varsity. I wish I could remember the others. Burn, of Rugby, was one; Whymper, of Eton, I think, also. We were 14 in all I believe. Harrow, Eton, Rugby, Winchester, and Shrewsbury were represented. We met in my rooms after Hall, which in those days was at 4 pm; anticipating a long meeting. I cleared the tables and provided pens, ink and paper. Several asked me on coming in whether an exam was on! Every man brought a copy of his school rules², or knew them by heart, and our progress in framing new rules was slow. On several occasions Salt and I, being unprejudiced, carried or struck out a rule when the voting was equal. We broke up five minutes before midnight. The new rules were printed as the 'Cambridge Rules', copies were distributed and pasted up on Parker's Piece, and very satisfactorily they worked, for it is right to add that they were loyally kept, and I never heard any public school man who gave up playing from not liking the rules.

It seems significant that Malden paid particular attention to the conflict between Old Rugbeians and Old Etonians, especially over handling the ball. W.C. Green (1905: 77), in his

² To my knowledge, only the boys of Rugby (1845) and Eton (1847) had written their rules down by that time.

account of his undergraduate days at King's (1851-54), similarly recalls:

There was a Football Club, whose games were played on the Piece, according to rules more like the Eton Field rules than any other. But Rugby and Harrow players would sometimes begin running with the ball in hand or claiming free kicks, which led to some protest and confusion. A Trinity man, Beamont, (a Fellow of his college soon after), was a regular attendant, and the rules were revised by him and one or two others, with some concessions to non-Etonians. Few from King's College ever played at this University game: about the end of my time there began to be other special Rugby games on another ground.

W.J. Beamont was born in Warrington, Lancashire in 1828, attending the local Grammar School and then starting at Eton in 1842. This fact is highly significant and confirms my belief that the most influential football participants at Cambridge during this time were Old Etonians. As an undergraduate he is recorded as having been an honorary member of Third Trinity, a boat club composed entirely of former Eton and Westminster pupils. Sadly, at present, there is no information relating to his football career at university. Following his election as a Fellow at Trinity, he spent much of his time in the Middle East before returning to become a curate in London and then a vicar in Cambridge. He died relatively young, in 1868 at the age of forty and is buried in Trinity College chapel, where there is a memorial brass dedicated to him. One portrait photograph as a Fellow also exists (Venn, 1940: 11; also correspondence with Miss Diana Chardin, assistant manuscript cataloguer at Trinity College Library).

Green, an Old Etonian, refers to more general problems experienced by ex-Rugby or Harrow men over their failure to adapt to what appears to have been an Old Etonian-dominated club. His final sentence almost treats non-Etonians with some contempt and only underlines the fact that men from Eton appear to have dominated the Cambridge football scene in that period. There is, in fact, a direct link between Eton and Cambridge. In 1440, Henry VI founded 'The King's College of our Lady of Eton beside Windsor' and only a year later also began King's College, Cambridge, which was to be directly supplied with scholars from Eton (Goodman, 1976: 2).

Mrs. P. Hatfield, Archivist at Eton College expanded on this association as follows:

The link between Henry VI's two foundations was a very close one. By the 1840s, only scholars of Eton could become scholars of King's, and the Eton teaching staff was drawn exclusively from Kingsmen, so there was a sort of circle. Each year a 'roll' was drawn up of boys eligible for 'election' into College at Eton and of Etonians eligible for King's. In each place there were meant to be only 70 so that a vacancy at King's (through death, resignation of a Fellow to marry or for whatever reason) had to be filled at once by the next boy on the roll for King's. This in turn created a vacancy at Eton which was filled by the next boy on the Eton roll. Naturally there were more vacancies at Eton, where a certain number of boys were bound to leave every year simply because of their age, than at King's, and a number of scholarships were endowed to help Etonian Collegers who had to leave but had not got a place at King's. (The advantage of a King's place was the chance not only of a College living but also of a return to Eton as a master and probably subsequent election as an Eton Fellow, a very profitable position). Oppidans, however, had no such link with King's and attended a variety of colleges in both universities, though Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity, Cambridge, tended to be particular favourites. (King's scholarships were subsequently opened to all Etonians, and the link did perhaps steer many in that direction but by no means all).

(Correspondence with Mrs.P. Hatfield, Archivist, Eton College, 17.1.97)

All this can help us to understand why Eton men, perhaps by sheer weight of numbers, their academic standing and the high status of King's College in the University, were so dominant in Cambridge football and why the rules eventually adopted there seem to have been especially biased towards the style of play as practised in the Eton Field game. Rugby, relatively new as a public school in that period, had no such direct and long standing university links. Even if this is so, however, Old Etonians, along, of course, with other students at Cambridge, were always faced in the 1830s, 40s and 50s with the problem of having to play some games with undergraduates from other schools who championed their own school's rules with equal vigour. There was still a strong possibility, in other words, that tension would occur between various groups of footballing participants, though more often than not it appears, as has been previously suggested, that the major axis of tension in this regard was between Old Boys of Eton and Rugby, the leading proponents, in the former's case of the minimal handling/carrying and in the latter's of the handling and carrying forms of football. Having framed and played under school rules that were in several ways diametrically

opposed to each other, these clashes between Old Etonian and Old Rugbeian undergraduates should perhaps appear unsurprising. However, when matches took place and the participants came from various public school backgrounds, after a period of negotiation on the finer points of the type of game to be undertaken, they were still playing a game which they designated through the single name of 'football'.

One can imagine the scene on Parker's Piece in Cambridge, as groups of undergraduates nailed their rules to one of the elms surrounding the large expanse of grass, thus informing any would-be participants of the rules which were to be adhered to on that day. (Conversation with Dr. J.A. Little, Secretary of Cambridge University A.F.C. Also in Aston, 1983: 220). We must not, however, accept the notion that only games of football played under negotiated common rules took place. That several cliques of footballers had established themselves at Cambridge, not only participating in matches under University rules but also enjoying games regulated by their much cherished public school 'laws', is suggested by the following football results which were published in the University magazine, Light Blue (IV, 1868: 123):

Oxford bt. Cambridge, Cambridge bt. Eton, University bt. St John's, first two years v Rest (Drawn), Cambridge Eton Club bt. Jesus, St John's bt. Cambridge Eton Club, Cambridge Harrow Club bt. King's Lynn, Cambridge Rugby Club bt. Haileybury, Corpus bt. Jesus.

Whilst each group may have felt their own form of the game to be superior, there is thus evidence to lead us to believe that the contrasting forms of football played in the universities in that period were institutionalised in that context as separate sports, though it also seems probable that compromise games of football were also widely played. It is noteworthy that these results were recorded five years after the foundation of the Football Association and also five years after the Cambridge Rules of 1863. Notwithstanding the continuing strength of public school clubs, H.C. Malden appears to have believed that the 1848 Cambridge Rules, of which no copy remains, worked relatively well. He wrote that 'I never heard of any public school man who gave up playing from not liking the rules' (Green, 1953: 15-16).

The next attempt to provide written regulations at the University took place in 1856. Some sources (Dunning, 1961: 120-5; Sheard, 1972: 127; Dunning & Sheard, 1975: 104) believe that the regularity with which new rules were issued at Cambridge indicates a lack of effectiveness in the 'laws', thus perhaps supporting the argument that there was continual tension between the ex-pupils of various public schools in their dealings with each other on the football fields of the University. However, eight years, the time span between the 1848 and 1856 offerings, could be looked upon as relatively lengthy and in fact evidence of a period of calm. The 1848 regulations, though we cannot be sure as no copy survives, may have been generally satisfactory for the players who reflected the balance of power among Cambridge undergraduates at that time. That is, a clear majority was in favour of a kicking and minimal handling/carrying game. However, by 1856, as a result of the diffusion of the Rugby game, a process aided by the written rules of 1845, that balance had begun to tilt more towards the handlers and runners-in, though the majority still lay with the undergraduates favouring a style closer to the Eton Field Game. By that time, too, a re-assessment of the rules seems to have been deemed necessary because of pressure from the Rugby-playing group, bolstered by new arrivals from Marlborough, Haileybury and other schools where the boys favoured the recently diffused mainly handling and carrying form of the sport.

The 1856 Cambridge Rules, a copy of which still resides at Shrewsbury School (Young, 1968: 75), were as follows:

Laws of the University Foot Ball Club

1. This Club shall be called the UNIVERSITY FOOT BALL CLUB
2. At the commencement of the play, the ball shall be kicked off from the middle of the ground: after every goal there shall be a kick-off in the same way.
3. After a goal, the losing side shall kick off; the sides changing goals, unless a previous arrangement be made to the contrary.
4. The ball is out when it has passed the line of the flag-posts on either side the ground, in which case it shall be thrown in straight.

5. The ball is behind when it has passed the goal on either side of it.
6. When the ball is behind it shall be brought forward at the place where it left the ground, not more than ten paces, and kicked off.
7. Goal is when the ball is kicked through the flag-posts and under the string.
8. When a player catches the ball directly from the foot, he may kick it as he can without running with it. In no other case may the ball be touched with the hands, except to stop it.
9. If the ball has passed a player, and has come from the direction of his own goal, he may not touch it till the other side have kicked it, unless there are more than three of the other side before him. No player is allowed to loiter between the ball and the adversaries' goal.
10. In no case is holding a player, pushing with the hands, or tripping up allowed. Any player may prevent another from getting to the ball by any means consistent with the above rule.
11. Every match shall be decided by a majority of goals.

(Signed)

H.Snow, J.C.Harkness	-	<i>Eton</i>
J.Hales, E.Smith	-	<i>Rugby</i>
G.Perry, F.G.Sykes	-	<i>University</i>
W.H.Stone, W.J.Hope-Edwardes	-	<i>Harrow</i>
E.L.Horne, H.M.Luckock	-	<i>Shrewsbury</i>

December 9th

(Charlesworth et al, 1995: 5)

The rules had been drawn up for a 'Foot Ball' rather than 'Football' club, perhaps emphasising the use of the feet as opposed to the employment of the hands. Three noteworthy rules in terms of the influence exerted by the kickers over the handlers are numbers 7, 8 & 10, concerning the method of scoring, the use of hands and tackling an opponent. Rule 7 allows only goals scored by kicking the ball *beneath*, as at for instance, Eton, rather than *above* the posts, as at Rugby. Rule 8 allows limited use of the hands, though it also prohibits running with the ball and goes on further to reiterate that 'In no other case may the ball be touched with the hands, except to stop it.' Finally, Rule 10 prevents any use of the limbs to impede the progress of an opponent, thereby ruling out the hacking or holding practices so frequently

seen in the rugby form of football at that time.

The committee of ten which drew up the 1856 laws consisted partly of six representatives of three major public schools, who generally adhered to rules which saw the participants playing a minimal handling/carrying and kicking type game. Two others were from Rugby, the main proponent of the handling form and two more were listed as representing the University. Even if the latter gentlemen had favoured Rugby's game, the minimal handlers remained in the majority. Therefore the final draft resembled a compromise between the Eton, Harrow and Shrewsbury forms, to the direct exclusion of the Rugby game.

It would seem advisable to point out that Rugbeians were especially isolated at this time because former pupils of newer public schools, to which their game had been diffused, were not yet attending University in large numbers. I am referring here to 'new' public schools such as Marlborough, Cheltenham and Haileybury who had adopted rugby football (Sheard, 1972: 128).

Sheard (1972: 128) believes that no one party had achieved dominance in Cambridge football in those years, quoting the fact that a limited use of hands was still allowed in the 1856 'laws' and suggesting that this indicated some deference to Rugby preferences. Yet use of hands appeared at Eton in the 1847 'laws', Rule 22 stating, 'Hands may only be used to stop the ball, or touch it when behind. The ball must not be carried, thrown or struck by the hand.'

There was no mention of catching in any Cambridge law and the word 'carried' seems to imply that running with the ball, a peculiar Rugby practice was certainly not allowed. I believe that one group *had* achieved a certain amount of dominance at Cambridge, that representing Old Etonians who, through their direct link with Cambridge, particularly King's College, were in turn moulding the direction of football at the University. Their influence and subsequent dominance seems to be indicated in the development of football rules at Cambridge along the lines of the kicking and minimal handling/carrying game in general and

the Eton Field Game in particular.

It seems probable that compromise was in the minds of those men who attended the various Cambridge rules debates. Many felt the need to produce a game which all could happily play without fear of regular disagreement. However, in considering these matters we should always be aware that an undergraduate's appetite for football was being additionally whetted by the continuance of games usually involving Old Boys playing under the rules of their former public school. It would appear that Sheard (1972) may be mistaken and that the supporters of the kicking and minimal handling/carrying form of football, probably led by Old Etonians, were the dominant footballing force at Cambridge. Might it be significant that the two ex-Eton representatives, H. Snow and J.C. Harkness, were the first signatories of the 1856 regulations? The hypothesis that it might have been is provided by the fact that the signatures were not set down in the alphabetical order of their schools.

Whereas in 1856 only four public schools together with the University had been represented on a football rules committee at Cambridge, by 1863 the number of schools that had to be accommodated had increased to six. The following were present at the 1863 meeting: Reverend R. Burn (Shrewsbury), who was listed as the Chairman; R.H. Blake-Humphrey and W.T. Trench (Eton); J.T. Prior and H.L. Williams (Harrow); W.R. Collyer and M.T. Martin (Rugby); W.P. Crawley (Marlborough) and W.S. Wright (Westminster). Burn tutored at Trinity College, Blake-Humphrey played for the Oppidans at the Wall at Eton in 1860 and began at Trinity in 1861, Trench also played Walls for the Oppidans in 1861, whilst Martin entered Trinity in 1859 and gained a cricket blue in 1862 (Young, 1968: 86).

Again, apart from the Chairman, the names of the Eton representatives were listed first, though the Rugby-playing party had been reinforced by a representative from Marlborough, a new, rugby-playing school, whose ex-pupils were, by that time, attending the University in more significant numbers.

The final draft of the 1863 Cambridge Rules, which were to have a lasting effect on the game,

was as follows:

1. The length of the ground shall not be more than 150 yds. And the breadth not more than 100 yds. The ground shall be marked out by posts and two posts shall be placed on each side-line at distances of 25 yds. From each goal line.
2. The GOALS shall consist of two upright poles at a distance of 15 ft. from each other.
3. The choice of goals and kick-off shall be determined by tossing and the ball shall be kicked off from the middle of the ground.
4. In a match when half the time agreed upon has elapsed, the sides shall change goals when the ball is next out of play. After such change or a goal obtained, the kick-off shall be from the middle of the ground in the same direction as before. The time during which the game shall last and the numbers on each side are to be settled by the heads of the sides.
5. When a player has kicked the ball any one of the same side who is nearer to the opponents' goal line is OUT OF PLAY and may not touch the ball himself nor in any way whatsoever prevent any other player from doing so.
6. When the ball goes out of the ground by crossing the side lines, it is out of play and shall be kicked straight into the ground again from the point where it is first stopped.
7. When a player has kicked the ball beyond the opponents' goal line, whoever first touches the ball when it is on the ground with his hand, may have a FREE kick bringing the ball straight.
8. No player may touch the ball behind his opponents' goal line who is behind it when the ball is kicked there.
9. If the ball is touched down behind the goal line and beyond the line of the side-posts, the FREE kick shall be from the 25yds post.
10. When a player has a free-kick, no one of his own side may be between him and his opponents' goal line and no one of the opposing side may stand within 10 yards of him.
11. A free kick may be taken in any manner the player may choose.
12. A goal is obtained when the ball goes out of the ground by passing between the poles or in such a manner that it would have passed between them had they been of sufficient height.
13. The ball, when in play, may be stopped by any part of the body, but may NOT be held or hit by the hands, arms or shoulders.
14. ALL charging is fair; but holding, pushing with the hands, tripping up and shinning are forbidden.

(Green, 1953: 36-38)

Probably because of their in-built majority on the committee, the minimal handlers legislated against those particular aspects of the rugby game which they felt contributed to excessive violence, which, had they been included, would have produced a form of football barely resembling anything they had previously experienced. Indeed, Rule 14 states that 'All charging is fair, but holding, tripping up and shinning are forbidden.' Sheard (1972: 131), in a suggestion which he has perhaps gleaned from Marples (1954: 143) and Dunning (1961) notes that the Rugby fraternity at Cambridge then 'broke off football relations with the other groups and started to play their own game in isolation.' (Marples's wording is, 'the Rugbeian party accordingly broke off relations with the rest, and continued their own game in isolation'). Old Rugbeian undergraduates had undoubtedly been playing their own style on Parker's Piece for some years, this being one of the many types of football which took place side by side at the University. Indeed, in subsequent years the various varieties of the game continued to flourish at Cambridge. In 1868, as previously mentioned, separate fixtures were still being played by the Cambridge Harrow and Cambridge Eton clubs as well as by the Cambridge Rugby Club (Light Blue, 1868: 123). In 1883 Cambridge Etonians played Trinity Etonians under Eton rules (presumably Field Game) in the same week as Cambridge University had a fixture against Old Etonians under Association Rules (Cambridge Chronicle, 30 November 1883). This evidence perhaps indicates that there were many diverse ways of satiating your football appetite at Cambridge in the early 1860s and beyond, though, whilst the Rugby faction may have been gradually continuing to grow apart from the minimal handling/no carrying fraternity, the 1863 rules do not necessarily provide us with the watershed in University football which Marples, Dunning and Sheard are trying to suggest, though the subsequent use made of them by the nascent Football Association may suggest otherwise.

Whilst we may know only a small amount about football at Cambridge in the mid-nineteenth century, there appears to be even less information on happenings at Oxford during this period. Some form of the game seems to have been played there in the 1830s (Weir, 1998: 8), though

there is more concrete evidence some years later from a novel published in 1853 in which a character is said 'to kick a football until he became...as stiff as a biscuit' (In Marples, 1954: 141).

Subsequent fixtures took place at the University under a variety of rules. Oxford University Old Etonians played Eton College on the Christ Church ground on 26 November 1856 under Eton rules (Weir, 1998: 8) and a year later the annual game between Oxford and Cambridge Old Etonians, held at Eton, was first played (Eton College Chronicle, 24 November 1864, 126). The minimal handling and carrying form of the sport must have been relatively popular at Oxford as this Eton College Chronicle (24 November 1864: 124) report revealed: 'FOOTBALL AT OXFORD – The Eton game of football is played three times a week during the present term, it is always well attended.'

In 1858 an Oxford XI played Old Wykehamists under Winchester rules. On 19 November 1859 an 18-a-side match lasting one hour was played between Oxford University Old Harrovians and Oxford University Old Wykehamists, again on the Christ Church ground, though the rules that were employed are unknown. (Correspondence in July 1996 with Colin Weir, the author of a history of Oxford University Association Football Club (1998) - See bibliography).

There is also some evidence to suggest that Oxford undergraduates favoured the Rugby form of football. Macrory (1991: 144) says:

There were always enough Old Rugbeians in residence for them to be able to organise games of football played to their own rules for those who wished, and the Old Rugbeian match played annually at Rugby School was chiefly arranged by Oxford men...The high attendance of Old Rugbeians from Oxford may have had something to do with the ease of railway communications between Oxford and Rugby, but the indications are that it was seldom difficult to raise a side from Oxford to play against the school.

One needs to tread carefully when dating the first inter-university match. Certainly the two clubs involved believe that the initial encounter took place at the Oval on 30 March 1874, the

Cambridge minute book recording a win for their opponents by 2-0, although an addition has been included telling us that this appears as 1-0 in other records (Aston, 1983: 221; Abrahams and Bruce-Kerr, 1931: 306). This encounter took place under Association rules, though it was pre-dated by other Oxford-Cambridge fixtures played under differing laws. For instance, The Times (2 December 1863: 5) carried the following reports of inter-varsity encounters played under firstly Harrow and secondly Eton football rules:

FOOTBALL AT CAMBRIDGE.- Eleven Harrow members of the University of Oxford came over on Saturday, November 28, to play their annual match against their old schoolfellows of the sister University. The game (which was played on Parker's Piece) was well kept up, and attended by numerous spectators, who saw, no doubt, with some satisfaction the victory of Cambridge by one base obtained by Mr. Cruikshank.

FOOTBALL AT ETON...The grand match between Oxford and Cambridge was played in the "Field," and commenced about a quarter past 2 o'clock...As the game went on the spectators congregated in lines, and formed a large quadrangle, within which the contest took place, broken occasionally as the ball was kicked over their heads. The most exciting portion of the contest was at the "bullies," before the ball was started, when the 22 were seen in one mass, writhing, crawling, and executing all sorts of contortions to get the lead. Altogether, the sport afforded an excellent example of this ancient English game, which few persons have perhaps ever witnessed in the present day; and, played as it was on this occasion, must do much to encourage its revival.

It appears that the Eton game had been experiencing a downturn in popularity, perhaps because of the very recent formation of the Football Association (24 October 1863), and this particular match was seen as an opportunity to revive its flagging fortunes.

A local Cambridge periodical (Light Blue, 1868, Vol. II: 57) reported on the game played under Eton Field Game rules three years later:

The annual Football match between Oxford and Cambridge was played on December 1 1866, on the Trinity Ground. Cambridge, having won the toss, kicked uphill during the first half-hour; nothing, however, was got till the beginning of the second half-hour, when Cambridge, who were playing more together than their opponents, got a rouge, and out of it a goal; the rouge was obtained by Mr Pelham. Oxford obtained a rouge before the end of the match, but as no goal resulted from it, Cambridge remained the victors. This is the third year in succession that Cambridge has won. Rawlins and Pelham for Cambridge, and Knight, Bridges and Phipps for Oxford played well...There was a considerable number of spectators.

The venue of this match had changed and there was an interesting reason for this as stated in a letter to The Times (4 December 1866) three days later:

Sir, - In *The Times* of Saturday, in speaking of the Football Match, which is usually played at Eton between the Old Etonians at Oxford and Cambridge, it was stated that owing to some 'unexplained circumstances' the Cambridge Eleven did not appear. The unexplained circumstances were the following – that the College tutors at Trinity put their unconditional veto on the match taking place at Eton, and therefore the Cambridge Eleven, who are chiefly down from Trinity were unable to come.

Yours etc.

EDMOND FITZMAURICE
ARTHUR F. KINNAIRD

Captains of the Eton Football Club at
Cambridge
Trinity College Dec. 3

Kinnaird was attending Trinity College following schooling at Eton (Green, 1953: 44) and was to become President of the Football Association.

The earliest date cited is by Percy Young (1963: 216) when he maintains that an Oxford – Cambridge match took place in 1855. It seems reasonable to suggest at this time that the encounter mentioned by Young would probably have been played under a set of rules advocated by one of the more prestigious Public Schools and played by Old Boys of that establishment.

It seems appropriate to examine another interesting episode in Varsity football history, that of involvement in the F.A. Cup. We might be forgiven for assuming that Cambridge ought to possess the better record in the competition, particularly taking into account that University's apparently richer history in the early development of the game. The results, however, tell a different story.

Table 2.1: F.A. Cup records of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, 1871-1881

	OXFORD	CAMBRIDGE
1871-72	Did not enter	Did not enter
1872-73	Losing finalists	Did not enter
1873-74	WINNERS	2 nd round
1874-75	Semi-finalists	2 nd round
1875-76	Semi-finalists	3 rd round
1876-77	Losing finalists	Semi-finalists
1877-78	4 th round	3 rd round
1878-79	4 th round	3 rd round
1879-80	Neither University entered again, though Caius College, Cambridge entered in this and the next season, but scratched in both campaigns.	

(Smailes, 1991: 180-2)

Oxford, despite, as far as the presently available records indicate, having little influence on the rules debate, possess the better F.A. Cup record. Together with this, an in-depth study of the players who gained international honours whilst at one of the Universities also indicates that Oxford's representatives were more successful. According to Green (1953: 627-8) twelve Oxford players represented England and two were capped by Wales in the period 1872-1885. I have chosen these dates as official internationals were begun in 1872, whilst 1885 marked the acceptance of professionalism by the Football Association and was a key year in the demise of amateur domination of the game. In the same period, Cambridge had seven England Internationals and two played in Welsh colours (Green, 1953: 627-8; Rollin 1994: 876-8). The discrepancy is even greater if we accept Weir's list (1998: 159), which adds three to Oxford's total of selections for England. The problem arises from the fact that footballers at that time often chose to represent several clubs. Not only did this create difficulties when noting the clubs of international players, but it may also have played a part in the withdrawal

of the universities from the F.A. Cup. The loyalty of successful footballers at this time was strained between their university, their Old Boys club, whether it was Old Etonians, Old Carthusians or Old Harrovians, and even international appearances (Weir, 1998: 15).

Table 2.2: Oxford and Cambridge Universities – International Players – 1872-1885

Oxford

England

F. Chappell 1872 v S

C.J. Ottaway 1872 v S, 1874 v S

J. Brockbank 1872 v S

A.S. Kirke-Smith 1872 v S

R.W.S. Vidal 1873 v S

F.H. Birley 1874 v S, 1875 v S

W.S. Rawson 1875 v S, 1877 v S

J. Bain 1877 v S

A.F. Hills 1879 v S

C.W. Wilson 1879 v S, 1881 v S

P.C. Parr 1882 v S

R.S. King 1882 v I

P.M. Walters 1885 v I, S

W. Bromley-Davenport 1884 v S, W

E.H. Parry 1879 v W, 1882 v W, S

Cambridge

England

B.G. Jarrett 1876 v S

L. Bury 1877 v S, 1879 v S

Wales

W. Evans 1876 v S, 1877 v S

A. Jones 1876 v S, 1877 v S

Wales

J. Hughes 1877 v S, 1879 v S

J.R. Morgan 1877 v S, 1879 v S,

Hon. A. Lyttleton 1877 v S, 1878 v S

1880 v E, S, 1882 v E, S, I, 1883 v E

R.H. Macaulay 1881 v S

W.N. Cobbold 1883 v S, I, 1885 v S, I

F.W. Pawson 1883 v I, 1885 v I

B.W. Spilsbury 1885 v I

S = Scotland, W = Wales, I = Ireland

(Green, 1953: 627-8; Weir, 1998: 159; Rollin, 1994: 876-8)

Weir (1998: 15) also alludes to what appears to have been a dislike for the way in which the FA Cup competition itself was being taken over by teams from the North and Midlands, together with the imminent threat of professionalism that this implied. He states that 'Romantic names of clubs such as Minerva, Ramblers, Panthers and Druids were replaced by the more workmanlike Sheffield, Nottingham and Darwen.'

My next question must be how, why and by whom further diffusion of the game of football was performed. From the universities the narrative must proceed to the wider society and focus on the formation of the earliest clubs.

Clubs formed specifically with the sole intention of allowing their members regularly to play the newer forms of football seem to have been first formed in the mid-to-late 1850s. Perhaps because the game of football in England is nowadays believed to be largely a preserve of the working class, it might be assumed that men of that same social background founded the earliest clubs. However, as Dunning & Sheard (1979: 105) state quite clearly, the first teams were initiated by 'members of the upper and middle classes.' They continue:

That is not surprising, firstly because the embryonic forms of modern football were still restricted almost entirely to the clientele of public schools, and secondly because, even today, the formation and membership of voluntary associations tends to be characteristic of the higher social strata.

Were there any exceptions? In this chapter I intend to trace the formation of the earliest clubs and examine the social backgrounds of the founders of these organisations.

During the 1850s, a number of clubs were founded with the sole intention of playing forms of the game of football. Whilst the vast majority were begun in London and the surrounding area, many were initiated in the Sheffield region. Indeed, by the mid-1850s organised football on a limited scale was being played there and the district boasts the existence of the world's oldest recorded football club, Sheffield F.C. Emanating directly from the local cricket club, Sheffield Football Club was formed on 24 October 1857 (Walters, 1957: 5). There is slim evidence that the organisation was actually founded as early as 1855, though the first written signs of a constitution and set of regulations do not appear until two years later. The leading lights in the Sheffield Club were Nathaniel Creswick and William Prest, both keen local sportsmen, who invited most participants from the ranks of former pupils of Sheffield Collegiate School, where they may have come under the influence of ex-public school men in their introduction to the game (Young, 1962: 17 and Farnsworth, 1995: 13).

Creswick was a former pupil of Sheffield Collegiate – he attended from April 1839 to June

1847 (The Sheffield Collegiate School, 1852: 13) - whose family had lived in the area for many years. They owned a silver plate manufacturing business, though Nathaniel himself became a solicitor. He achieved recognition in the volunteer movement, where he became a Colonel.

Prest originated from York and had moved to Sheffield to help his brother in a wine and spirits business. His claim to fame was in the sporting field, where he captained Yorkshire at cricket and played for the All-England XI. He was also an accomplished athlete, regularly dominating Sheffield F.C.'s end of season annual sports meetings (Farnsworth, 1995: 13-23). Interestingly, Prest had a brother who had attended both Eton and Cambridge and was thus probably familiar with the Field Game and football as it was played in Cambridge at that time.

Sheffield Collegiate School was founded by members of the Church of England and built on Broom Hall Estate in 1836. It combined with the Royal Grammar School in 1884, eventually becoming a teacher training college and part of Sheffield Hallam University in the 20th century. It had originally catered for middle class boys and had strong religious links (Vickers, 1978).

There is also evidence to suggest that both Prest and Creswick decided to write to each public school requesting a set of rules, using the preferred points of each to decide on a set of regulations for Sheffield. However their decisions were reached, the Sheffield committee codified its game as follows:

1. The kick off from the middle must be a place kick.
2. Kick Out must not be from more than 25 yards out of goal.
3. Fair Catch is a catch from any player provided the ball has not touched the ground or has not been thrown from touch and is entitled to a free kick.
4. Charging is fair in case of a place kick (with the exception of a kick off as soon as the player offers to kick) but he may always draw back unless he has actually touched the ball with his foot.
5. Pushing with the hands is allowed but no hacking or tripping up is fair under any circumstances whatever.
6. No player may be held or pulled over.
7. It is not lawful to take the ball off the ground (except in touch) for any purpose

whatever.

8. The ball may be pushed on or hit with the hand, but holding the ball except in the case of a free kick is altogether disallowed.
9. A goal must be kicked but not from touch nor by a free kick from a catch.
10. A ball in touch is dead, consequently the side that touches it down must bring it to the edge of the touch and throw it straight out from touch.
11. Each player must provide himself with a red and dark blue flannel cap, one colour to be worn by each side.

(Young, 1962: 17-18)

Young (1962: 18) believes that the laws of Rugby School influenced the Sheffield rules. Perhaps he had in mind Rule 5, presumably because use of hands was mentioned. The rejection, in the second part of Rule 5, of hacking and tripping up might be interpreted rather as a condemnation of the Rugby School regulations of the time and so, perhaps, can Rule 6 which stipulated that no player can be held or pulled over and was possibly indicative of the rejection by Prest and Creswick of what might have been an embryonic form of the later Rugby practice of tackling. Therefore, Young appears incorrect to claim any wholesale link between the Sheffield Rules of 1857 and those of Rugby School. Although the Sheffield version is similar to the 1863 Cambridge Rules in a number of ways, as the commencement of play is the same, being taken from the centre, and there is provision for a 'fair catch' followed by a free kick, the Northern game was probably slightly rougher as Sheffield, in Rule 5, allowed pushing of an opponent with the hands, whilst the Cambridge Rules outlawed the practice, Rule 14 stating that, 'holding, pushing with the hands, tripping up and shinning are forbidden' (Green, 1953: 38).

There is, however, little doubt in which camp the early protagonists of South Yorkshire placed themselves. Despite limited use of hands, a practice which was fairly widespread at the time, the Sheffield Rules disallowed any excessively violent behaviour amongst participants by legislating quite clearly against hacking or tripping (Rule 5) and holding the ball (Rule 8) except when making a 'fair catch', thereby preventing any running with the ball, which along

with hacking, were the central features of the Rugby code.

What is also noteworthy is the emphatic way in which certain rules were phrased, with the use of such words as 'whatever' and 'altogether' (Rules 5, 7 and 8), perhaps attempting to make absolutely obvious to any outsider that Sheffield footballers completely disavowed any link with the Rugby game.

The Sheffield club appears to have offered membership to 'gentlemen' only and for many years seems to have remained a socially exclusive organisation (Mason, 1980: 23). Certainly in the context of the hierarchy of social stratification in the city, the initial officers of the club are probably best described as upper or upper middle class. The President, Frederick Ward, was to become Chairman of Sheffield Forge and Rolling Mills Limited; the Vice-President, T. A. Sorby, was a well-known local merchant in his family's business; J. Ellison, the other Vice-President, was also a successful merchant; W. Baker was a technologist and local intellectual; whilst T.E. Vickers graduated to become Master Cutler in 1872 and was heavily involved as commanding officer of the local Hallamshire Volunteers (Young, 1962: 17 and Tweedale, 1986: 65-72).

Within three years Sheffield Football Club had rivals in the form of Hallam F.C. Hallam followed a similar route to other local clubs (Sheffield United and Sheffield Wednesday) in growing from an existing cricket club. Its cricketing forerunner was founded in 1805 (Farnsworth, 1995: 13). Initially known as Hallam and Stumperlowe Club, the latter part of the name was included out of courtesy towards several members of the team from the nearby hamlet of that name. Founded by T.E. Vickers (discussed above as a member of Sheffield F.C.) and John Shaw, another ex-Sheffield F.C. man, Hallam played its first game against its local rival. The Sheffield Daily Telegraph of Friday 28 December, 1860, described the game as follows:

Sheffield Football Club v Hallam and Stumperlowe Clubs - this match was played on Wednesday upon the Hallam cricket ground in the presence of a large number of spectators. Owing to the severe weather several players were absent from each side, but the spirit exhibited by those who were present prevented the game from

flagging or becoming uninteresting to the observers, who were extremely liberal with their plaudits on the successful 'charge' or quiet 'dodge', and equally unsparing in their sarcasm and country 'chaff' on the unfortunate victims of the slippery ground or the 'pure' scientific. The day was beautiful and the uniform of the men contrasting with each other and the pure snow had a most picturesque appearance. The Sheffields turned out in their usual scarlet and white, whilst most of the country players¹ wore the blue garment of the Hallam Club. It would be invidious to pick out the play of any particular gentleman when all did well, but we must give the palm to the Sheffield players as being the most scientific and also more alive to the advantage of upsetting their opponent. No serious accidents however occurred - the game was conducted with good temper and in a friendly spirit - and when darkness closed upon the scene, the Sheffield Club, notwithstanding their inferior numbers, counted two goals to nothing, and went home fully satisfied with their victory.

The reporter commented in detail on the occasion itself, though barely informed the reader of the actual events of the game. This was to be a feature of reports of early matches, until correspondents acquainted themselves with the finer points of football. The social class of participants was alluded to and we again find that the Victorian footballer around Sheffield was probably from the upper echelons of society. At least it is reasonable to surmise this, since the reporter describes the players as 'gentlemen'.

During the 1861-62 season, the practice of adding points for the scoring of a 'rouge' was included in the Sheffield Rules. This idea was an attempt to break the deadlock of drawn games, meaning that, if both teams succeeded in scoring one goal, but one of the sides had also scored a 'rouge', then the latter should be declared the winners. As well as the goalposts, further markers were set four yards to each side and, should the ball pass between the goalpost and the outer markers and an alert attacker touched it on the ground behind the goal line, a 'rouge' was declared to have been scored (Steele, 1986: 6-7). However, what was significant about such a rule was that it was a central feature of the Eton Field Game and, as such, indicates the probable influence of Old Etonians in Sheffield.

The play of several members of the Sheffield team against Hallam is described as being 'scientific', the reporter perhaps alluding to the more skilful play of a more experienced team, the Sheffield club having been formed two years before Hallam. This may have included team

¹ This is possibly where Hallam's nickname of 'The Countrymen' originates.

as well as individual patterns of play, something that might be associated with a combination honed from several years of playing together. However, the following reports appear to contradict these observations, as, perhaps, local enmities and the growing seriousness of the game were reflected in the participants' behaviour. During a charity match between Sheffield and Hallam on 29 December 1862, a particularly violent incident took place (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, Supplement, 3 January 1863: 10):

Football match at Bramall Lane - On Monday the Sheffield and Hallam football clubs played a match at Bramall Lane cricket ground, the proceeds being devoted to the Lancashire distress fund...The Hallam party having won the toss, played with the wind in their favour, but, at 'half-time', having failed to score, the ends were changed. After a rest of 15 minutes, play was resumed. The great expectation seemed to be that Sheffield, with the wind now in their favour, would soon get a goal. The Hallam men, however, played with great determination and successfully defended their goal. They appeared to have many partisans present and when they succeeded in 'downing' a man, their ardent friends were more noisily jubilant. At one time it appeared likely that the match would be turned into a general fight. Major Creswick (Sheffield) had got the ball away and was struggling against great odds - Mr. Shaw and Mr. Waterfall (Hallam). Major Creswick was held by Waterfall and in the struggle Waterfall was accidentally hit by the Major. All parties were agreed that the hit was accidental. Waterfall, however, ran at the Major in the most irritable manner and struck him several times. He also threw off his waistcoat and began to 'show fight' in earnest. Major Creswick, who preserved his temper admirably, did not return a single blow. They were surrounded by partisans and for a few minutes there was every appearance of a general fight amongst players and spectators. The advice of older and cooler heads at length prevailed, the field was cleared and play again resumed. At 3 o'clock the play terminated in a 'draw', there being neither a goal nor a rouge scored by either party. The conduct of Waterfall was much condemned and several of the Hallam players expressed their deep regret at the occurrence. There were a few, however, who seemed to rejoice that the Major had been hit and were just as ready to 'Hallam it' on the slightest provocation. The cry was very general that Waterfall should be expelled from the field, but, though this extreme course was not taken, he was quietly placed as goalkeeper for the short time the play continued...We understand the Sheffield players deprecate the long interval in the middle of the game, that was devoted to refreshments.

The following reply from the Hallam players was published three days later (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 6 January 1863: 8):

In the early part of the game Waterfall charged the Major on which the Major threatened to strike him if he did so again, for which the Major afterwards apologised. Later in the game when all the players were waiting the decision of the umpires on a rouge, the Major very unfairly took the ball from the hands of one of our players, and commenced kicking it towards their goal, when he was

met by Waterfall who charged him and the Major deliberately struck Waterfall on the face, which Waterfall immediately returned.

The Hallam Players

Two further contemporary accounts of Hallam-Sheffield encounters serve to confirm the highly competitive nature of these early local rivalries (Steele, 1986: 7).

William Chesterman of the Sheffield Club who recalled his games against Hallam, when 'bull strength' was the principle [sic] feature; he recalled often seeing the ball laying quietly on the ground whilst yards away opposing players were blocking, ramming and butting each other. The idea being to charge an opponent whenever you could, whether he had the ball or not!

W.E. Clegg, again of Sheffield Football Club, recalled an incident against Hallam (which could have occurred at Sandygate, still Hallam's home ground today, when football was played across the bottom of the field) as follows:

Down one side of the field there ran a stone wall only a foot or so off the touch line. I was running down the wing with the ball and after me came hurtling a great big fellow, twice my weight. I swerved quickly to one side and he went smack against the wall with such force that he knocked several stones out of position!

Information on other early clubs is sketchy, to say the least. The Blackheath club - Blackheath was then a village on the edge of London - began in 1858 when its members decided to follow the Rugby code, whilst a year later the Forest Club was founded at Snaresbrook in the Epping Forest by several Old Harrovians, basing their games on a version of the minimal handling tradition and including in their number Charles William Alcock, later to be Secretary of the Football Association (Green, 1953: 17). Ebenezer Cobb Morley, whose initiative led directly to the first meeting of the Football Association, formed a football club at Barnes in 1862 (Butler, 1991: X). The club itself was based at the Limes Field, Mortlake and under Morley, described as having no public school background (Butler, 1991: X), the team began to draw many of its players from local rowing clubs and nearby army establishments (Marples, 1954: 146).

Another centre for early club development was Nottingham. The Nottingham Guardian of 28 November 1862, recorded the following:

The opening of the Nottingham Football Club commenced on Tuesday last at Cremorne Gardens. A side was chosen by W. Arkwright and Chas. Deakin. A very spirited game resulted in the latter scoring two goals and two rouges against one and one.

The use of the rouge as a method of scoring leads us to two possible conclusions as to how the game was diffused to the Nottingham area. Either one or more of the participants were Old Etonians or, because of the geographical proximity of Sheffield, a football region which already employed the rouge, it was copied from their northern neighbour by Nottingham men who had visited Sheffield and favourably viewed their playing rules.

The founders and early team members of Nottingham F.C., now known as Notts. County, were from similar social strata to those of Sheffield F.C. Richard Daft was one of the country's leading cricketers and, along with his brother Charles, who ran a sports shop in Nottingham, played professionally for the county. Many players worked in the lace trade. Edward Birkhead Steegman busied himself in the family lace business, as did Christopher Silvester Wardle and Alexis Blake Baillon. The first President, Frederick Chatwin-Smith was a prominent landowner in Bramcote, a village just outside Nottingham, whilst his family owned a bank in the centre of the city. There was a fair sprinkling of former public school men in the club, indicated by a game in February 1867, between 'Non-public school men' and 'Old public school men'. Those in the club who had been the beneficiaries of a public school education lined up as follows:

C. Smith (Rugby), J. Patterson (Charterhouse), C. Rothera (Rugby), C. Elliott (Uppingham), J. Lambert (Rugby), J. Keely (Oundle), A. Deedes (Winchester), T. Elliott (Repton), G. Fellows (Repton), T. Crompton (Rugby), T.P. Keely (Repton).

The elite social backgrounds of the members of the Nottingham Club around this time are clearly indicated by the fact that the 'Old public school men' could raise their own team. Yet

it is surely surprising that, despite there being no fewer than four ex-Rugby men in the club, and perhaps there were more who did not play a part in this particular match, the rules generally followed were those which favoured a minimal handling and carrying game. Indeed, Nottingham usually played under Sheffield Rules though there have been games recorded as taking place under 'Nottingham Rules' (Brown, 1996: 8-9).

By 1865 a rival club had been formed calling itself Nottingham Forest, the latter name being used because of the area in which they played and which is still known as the Forest today. Initially titled simply the Forest Club, they drew their players from the same social levels of local society as the Nottingham Club. Their Chairman from 1868-1886 was Walter Roe Lymbery, who, when he played, was an accomplished goalkeeper. He also acted as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, held a similar position with Nottinghamshire F.A. and represented the county at the Football Association for several years. By occupation he was a lace manufacturer in Nottingham, having established himself in business in 1871 (Smales, 1991: 8).

Another early club formed solely for the purpose of playing football was situated in Stoke. However, varied historical sources have failed to agree on the exact date of its foundation. Marples (1954: 146) offers us 1863, whilst Young (1968: 90) gives the date as 1867. Sheard (1972: 134) supports Young because of the latter's additional research, saying:

Marples, presumably basing his statement on information obtained in The Book of Football (1905), gives the date as 1863. Young, however, has checked the names listed there and finds that they do not appear in the 1879 Register of Old Carthusians. He gives 1867 as the authoritative date for the foundation of the club.

Matthews' (1994: 5) more recent history of the club presents us with the following tale. Most reference books indicate that Old Carthusians working as apprentices at the North Staffordshire Railway works in Stoke formed Stoke Football Club in 1863. However, further research has uncovered that the four young men in question, Messrs. Armand, Bell, Philpott and Matthews do not appear in the official Charterhouse register for the years, 1769-1872.

Young has confirmed this by studying the 1879 register and finding no mention of the above names in that publication (Young, 1968: 90). There are, however, two pieces of more tangible proof for the formation of the club in 1868.

The Field (26 September 1868) stated:

At Stoke-upon-Trent a new club has been found for the practice of Association Rules, under the charge of H. J. Almond, one of the most prominent performers in the Charterhouse School eleven of last year.

Secondly, newspaper reports (Matthews, 1994: 5) suggest that the club played its first match on 17 October 1868 and reveal further that H.J.Almond (N.B. not Armand) scored the only goal for Stoke Ramblers, as they were then known, in a 1-1 draw. Also participating was William McDonald Matthews, another Old Carthusian. It would appear that the names of some of the founders are essentially correct, but that the date of 1863 is some five years too early. Two of the instigators, then, were former public school men and both went on to become civil engineers.

We can only conclude, from a study of the social backgrounds and occupations of the founders of the earliest English football clubs, including teams such as Sheffield, Hallam, the Forest Club (Essex), Nottingham Club, Nottingham Forest and Stoke F.C., that there appears little doubt that these clubs were founded by men whose occupations were generally elevated in the social hierarchy of their locality. They were men of high social status within the community and quite a few, but by no means all of them, had attended public schools.

Thus it certainly appears that Dunning and Sheard (1979: 105) were correct when they suggested that men from the upper and middle classes formed all the earliest football clubs in England. We shall find that later in the century working class involvement had increased, not only in club formation, but also in playing and eventually, and especially, in spectating, though this statement requires careful examination and research. It was thus that a leisure

pursuit, in this case the increasingly modern game of football, was organised simply for the intrinsic satisfaction and pleasure of its early participants.

As more and more intra- and inter-club football fixtures began to be held, a new upper and middle class sporting sub-culture was gradually established. No longer under pressure from peers and public school or friends and relations in villages to perform on the playing fields or at Shrovetide, the Old Boys were entering a football era where participation was much more a matter of free choice. The games being played were specifically taking place for the enjoyment and, perhaps, the fitness, health and character formation of the individuals involved. There were no extrinsic reasons such as payment for playing, scoring a goal to give delight to passionate spectators, nor even expending every ounce of energy to win money gambled on your team by yourself or others. Football, at that time, possessed all the intrinsic qualities for which a former public school man could wish. It increased his social status and was generally regarded as both a worthy leisure pursuit and a pleasurable social outlet for meeting like-minds.

Initially, members of clubs were able to function quite adequately among themselves, organising games between selected groups and gaining some measure of variety by pitting opponents such as 'married versus single' or 'first half of the alphabet versus second half' against each other (Steele, 1986: 4). The desire to look further afield, however, was strong and competitive fixtures against other clubs were soon actively being sought. Changes in other sections of society seemingly unconnected yet nevertheless inter-linked with sport facilitated such ambitions, as transport in general and railways in particular were improved out of all recognition.

The effect of the transport revolution on British sporting society can best be described with close reference to an essay on the dynamics of modern sport by Eric Dunning (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 205-223). He has suggested that longer and more complex chains of interdependency between individuals and groups of people were unintentionally created as a

result of rapid and accelerating change in industrial practices, demography, urban living, attitudes and politics, transforming the whole social structure of the country and affecting all aspects of life, including sport. The game of football had previously been confined to villages and towns, only being played at festival times within these restricted areas of population or, at best, against the nearest village. The public schools, possessing their own unique forms of the game, many of which were only playable in their own special environment, added to this sense of isolation and localism. The occurrence of such a fundamental social process, taking place over a series of years, provided football with a proto-national framework, an infrastructure within which its administrators and players could develop the game. The improved nature of transport banished, in large part, any feelings of regional isolation and introduced cosmopolitan and more intensely competitive attitudes to the new game. Inter-city and international matches, together with the growth of the F.A. Cup, may have been impossible to implement without the introduction of fast and relatively reliable methods of transport. Moreover, the motivation for holding such competitions probably stemmed, at least in part, from the increasing competitiveness that such developments entailed.

The decade of the 1840s is generally agreed by social historians to have been one of rapid expansion in the railway industry. Between 1844 and 1847 no fewer than 442 railway-related acts were passed by Parliament, with more than 2000 miles of new track being laid (Briggs, 1959: 296). Private companies linked London with Dover, York, Brighton, Birmingham and Bristol and 'railway mania', as it would become known, had been launched in earnest (Hill, 1957: 76). This sudden outburst of promotion and speculation enabled people of every class to travel at a much faster rate, sometimes as much as 50 miles per hour instead of the more sedentary twelve achieved by the horse and carriage (Briggs, 1957: 298). Football teams might travel from Sheffield to Glasgow overnight on Friday, play the following day and return on Sunday. As well as transforming inter-club fixtures, faster forms of transport hastened the postal services and newspapers, thus further dissolving any sense of isolation

being suffered by certain parts of the country. Such was the transformation that some scholars have gone as far as to say that the transport revolution should perhaps be seen as the most important event of the whole nineteenth century (Hill, 1957: 73).

However, although improvements in the means of transport and communication made inter-club and inter-city matches increasingly viable, as far as football was concerned there still existed the significant problem that stemmed from there being no nationally accepted set of written rules. As long as local rules were used, not only was it impossible for successful exponents of the game to gain a national reputation, but the participants exposed themselves to danger and possible injury in being asked to play against opponents unfamiliar with a particular form of the game.

The debate over national football rules seems to have begun in print at least as early as 1861.

The Field: The Country Gentleman's Newspaper (14 December 1861: 525) carried an article that contained the following passage:

What happens when a game of football is proposed at Christmas among a party of young men assembled from different schools?...The Eton man is enamoured of his own rules, and turns up his nose at Rugby as not sufficiently aristocratic; while the Rugbeian retorts that 'bullying' and 'sneaking' are not to his taste, and that *he* is not afraid of his shins, or of a 'maul' or 'scrimmage'.

We must again take note of the seemingly total contrast drawn here between the rules of Eton and Rugby and the subsequent bitter rivalry between their proponents, together with the latter sport's claim to the values of courage and masculinity. Indeed, with his use of the phrase 'not sufficiently aristocratic' in relation to the Rugby game, the article's author appeared to be providing direct confirmation of the Eton-Rugby status competition theory. Yet the main thrust of developments, even in December 1861, was that there was a seemingly desperate need, within what one might call the 'emergent' or 'embryonic' football community for common national rules. One unnamed correspondent (The Field, 14 December 1861: 525), however, was full of despair for the game:

it is found impossible to get up a game, and, unless the public schools will combine and draw up a code of rules under which football can be played by all classes, we despair of seeing it take the place which it deserves to occupy as a national winter amusement.

A fortnight later (28 December 1861: 579), in the same publication, a contributor signing himself merely 'J.C.T.', which we may assume was J.C. Thring, the Old Salopian we met earlier through his involvement in the codification of football rules at Cambridge University in 1846, commented as follows in a letter entitled 'Football, Simple and Universal'.

I believe it to be quite impossible, even if it were desirable, to induce the different schools to give up their time-honoured varieties, and to adopt a uniform game: but it might be expected that at the Universities a common code of rules would be adopted as the only chance of securing a universal game. But my experience, unhappily, runs counter to your opinion, for in 1846, when an attempt was made to introduce a common game, and form a really respectable club at Cambridge, the rugby game was found to be the great obstacle to the combination of Eton, Winchester and Shrewsbury men in forming a football club...as it is desirable to humanise the game as much as possible-for in its very nature it is rough enough, and cannot be made effeminate-the Rugby rule of 'hacking' would be alone sufficient to unfit it as a code for universal adoption. It is indeed such a blot even in a school game, that it is to be hoped that the disgrace will be shortly removed, for though Tom Brown's spirited description is well calculated to popularise football generally, it is no reason for the conclusion that the rugby game is the best one possible...to kick a player on the shins purposely is neither fair play nor manly; nay, I do not hesitate to call it thoroughly un-English and barbarous.

J.C. Thring - he was normally addressed as Charles (Tozer, 1976: 100) - was the younger brother of Edward Thring, the Old Etonian Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who became Headmaster of Uppingham School in 1853. J.C. Thring attended St. John's College, Cambridge and was an Assistant Master at Uppingham from 1859 to 1869 (Young, 1968: 78-79).

Thring's wish to 'humanise the game', combined with his realisation that football 'cannot be made effeminate', indicates an explicit desire to civilise the sport without emasculating its essential features.

Thring (1862: 9-10) published the following set of rules entitled 'The Simplest Game':

1. A goal is scored whenever the ball is forced through the goal and under the bar, except it be thrown by the hand.
2. Hands may be used only to stop a ball and place it on the ground before the feet.
3. Kicks must be aimed only at the ball,
4. A player may not kick the ball whilst in the air.
5. No tripping up or heel kicking allowed.
6. Whenever a ball is kicked beyond the side flags, it must be returned by the player who kicked it, from the spot it passed the flag-line in a straight line towards the middle of the ground.
7. When a ball is kicked behind the line of goal, it shall be kicked off from that line by one of the side whose goal it is.
8. No player may stand within six paces of the kicker when he is kicking off.
9. A player is 'out of play' immediately he is in front of the ball, and must return behind the ball as soon as possible. If the ball is kicked by his own side past a player, he may not touch or kick it, or advance, until one of the other side has first kicked it, or one of his own side, having followed it up, has been able, when in front of him, to kick it.
10. No charging allowed when a player is out of play; that is, immediately the ball is behind him.

From his contribution to The Field and from his rules for 'The Simplest Game', Thring leaves us in no doubt that he strongly favoured the minimal handling and carrying form of football. Indeed, through his use of such words as 'obstacle', 'humanise', 'blot' and 'disgrace' in his letter of 1861, he delivered a stinging rebuke to Rugby adherents as he laid the blame quite clearly at their door in the so far fruitless search for a universal code of football. As regards the rules for the 'Simplest Game' themselves, it is worthy of note that Law 2 still retains the capacity for a player to use his hands, albeit not to propel or carry the ball. Whilst Laws 3, 5 and 10 quite clearly prohibited what was increasingly coming to be regarded as the unnecessary and uncivilised roughness of the Rugby way of playing. Yet it is unclear whether Thring intended his rules to be used merely at Uppingham School, where he was a master, or to stimulate a national debate on the subject of universal laws. Young is of the opinion that Thring 'issued the rules of the 'Simplest Game' for use at Uppingham' (Young, 1968: 79). However, his letters to The Field (28 December 1861 and 31 October 1863) surely indicate motives suggesting that he was concerned enough with the lack of universal football rules to

have been proposing a code for wider consideration.

In the preface to the first edition of The Winter Game (1862: III-IV), Thring outlined his reasons for publishing his manual as follows:

I do not print these Rules with any desire of reconciling the games of football, as variously played at our old and great schools...I admit at once that I put them forward as an antidote to the Rugby game, which has unhappily been lately adopted by many clubs...But what I should more especially desire to effect, would be that our Universities should adopt this or some similar code of laws.

Not only does it appear that Young was incorrect to assert that Thring's motives stretched no further than Uppingham, though the former offers evidence to show that the manual stimulated football in the school (Young, 1968: 80), but once again the latter makes quite clear his aversion to the rugby form of football.

It was, however, in the autumn of 1863 that a vigorous debate began in the pages of The Times concerning the lack of a universal football code. The first letter (5 October 1863: 8), penned by 'Etonensis', included the following:

I am myself an Etonian, and the game of football as played by us differs essentially in most respects from that played at Westminster, Rugby, Harrow and, most of the London clubs. Now, this difference prevents matches from being played between either school or club...

Now, Sir, all these annoyances might be prevented by the framing of set rules for the game of football to be played everywhere. Say, let the captains of the football elevens at Eton, Westminster, and Rugby, and the presidents of one or two London clubs meet, with members of either University, and frame rules for one universal game.

The public schools would no doubt be very unwilling to give up their old game, and so they might very well keep it up among themselves, while the new rules might be observed at any match between schools and clubs, and, the advantages being thus equalised, football might then stand a chance of occupying, among other games, the rank which so healthy and manly a sport deserves to hold, while all the inconvenience consequent upon playing a game with no fixed rules would be avoided.

These suggestions were answered on the following day (6 October 1863: 5) firstly by 'Harroviensis', providing a possible Harrow School perspective, and then 'Carthusianus' of Charterhouse School. 'Harroviensis's' suggestion read as follows:

the schools should each keep their own game, and that one of them should be selected by a committee appointed for the purpose, and universally acknowledged elsewhere; while matches between schools might be played alternately on their respective grounds, and adhering to the regulations there acknowledged.

'Carthusianus' appeared to concur with 'Etonensis's' initial letter, saying, 'I would suggest that a meeting should be held somewhere in London of the representatives of those clubs who wish to take part in the drawing up of the new rules as soon as possible.'

The debate continued three days later (9 October 1863: 9), with 'Etonensis' adamant as to the way forward, commenting, 'We want no school to make laws or games for another; let a new game be formed which shall be the recognised football.' On the same day 'William of Wykeham', presenting a Winchester viewpoint, suggested that 'the laws of the different clubs, Universities, and schools should be first collected, as a preliminary step to a general meeting, at which I should hope every club, College, or school interested would be represented.'

Finally, on the following day (10 October 1863: 11) it was the turn of a Rugby representative, 'Rugbaeensis', to state his opinion. He wrote:

I don't think any public school would lay aside their old rules, so I do not think it the least use proposing such a thing; but I think the different public schools might learn each other's rules, so as to be able to play according to them in any friendly match between the said schools; so that if Harrow came to play Rugby at Rugby they would play the Rugby rules, and *vice versa*, and the same with Eton, Winchester, and Westminster.

This correspondence seems to suggest that there was much widespread concern from within the public schools football community of that time for a universal set of rules. However, these letters created several areas for prolonged discussion. Firstly, it seemed fairly clear that no public school would easily surrender its own traditional rules for the sake of an entirely new code. Secondly, status rivalry between the more prestigious public schools precluded the

acceptance by all of a code suggested solely by one of their number. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, the suggestion by 'Rugbaeensis' that what was commonly known as a 'home and home' strategy (the two teams should play under the rules of the home side) should prevail was often disliked by footballers as it too often led to victories for the home team, who were naturally accustomed to their own rules (See John D. Cartwright's article in The Field on Pages 79-80 of this thesis). Even a special set of compromise rules for use on one particular day appeared to be skirting the central issue. One set of laws, accepted by all was the only long-term solution. But how, with so many diverse football games, could this be achieved?

Further pressure for unified football rules came from other sources. It was around the same time that a set of highly significant articles appeared in The Field: The Country Gentleman's Newspaper, which, along with Bell's Life in London and Sporting Gazette, were amongst the few journals at that time which covered football in even the smallest detail. These articles called for a unified code of rules and were written by John D. Cartwright. They totaled eight chapters, a conclusion and a postscript and dated from 24 October 1863 to 26 December 1863. During this time, starting on 26 October 1863, the meetings leading to the formation of the Football Association were held, although Cartwright was not recorded as one of the delegates. Why was Cartwright not invited to the meetings of the newly formed Football Association? Perhaps the report of the first meeting of the FA in Bell's Life in London (Supplement, 31 October 1863: 1) provides a clue. The gathering was entitled 'Meeting of the Captains', whilst the reporter for Sporting Gazette (31 October 1863: 835) tells us more, describing it as a 'meeting of the captains and other officers of several of the London and suburban clubs.'

A series of six articles on the football rules debate also appeared in the Sporting Gazette at around the same time. These were penned by 'A Lover of Football' (he never reveals his true identity) and were very similar to those being produced by Cartwright in The Field, though they did not begin until 14 November. Chandler (Nauright and Chandler, 1996: 20 and 30) appears to attribute them to Cartwright himself. However, the contributor to the Sporting

Gazette showed a definite liking for the Rugby style of football, suggesting the following as part of a universal code: 'If a player make a 'fair catch' or take the ball on the first rebound, he may run with it towards his opponents' goal (Sporting Gazette, 19 December 1863: 950). He had already replied to a letter from J.C. Thring, a renowned kicker and dribbler, as follows (Sporting Gazette, 12 December 1863: 934):

I am very much opposed to any limit being put to the height at which the ball may pass between the goals, neither do I concur with Mr. Thring that the ball should be kept as much as possible on the ground. I am well aware that he is entirely a dissentient to any species of 'carrying' under whatever conditions, whereas I am an advocate of it being allowed if the ball be caught or taken on the first bound.

Cartwright, as I hope to suggest in the succeeding pages, was a very strong advocate of compromise being reached through the intervention of students from the universities and if anything was not particularly enamoured with the Rugby game (The Field, 28 October 1863: 523).

It should also be noted that, by the time of Cartwright's first article, the 1863 Cambridge Rules had already been framed (Green, 1953: 36; also see Chapter 2 of this thesis on the universities). The Cambridge Rules themselves were first used in a match context on 20 November 1863 (Young, 1968: 88).

Cartwright's initial stated aims were to assess 'The value of the Game, its present position, and the discussion concerning the rules (The Field, 24 October 1863: 413). But, despite the apparent value of uniform rules, one of the problems, as we have seen, was that the main public schools wanted to guard their unique games and were unwilling to set aside their existing laws. It was a question of localistic sentiments prevailing over cosmopolitan ones. Cartwright quoted the letter supplied by 'Rugbaeensis' to The Times (10 October 1863: 11) suggesting the 'home and home' strategy rejecting it thus:

The concluding proposition is to the effect that the schools should maintain their time-honoured variations of the game for their amusement on the practice ground, but that they should play matches with other schools home and home, the rules observed being those of the ground upon which the contest takes place...But it is

not what is wanted...The problem is that each club would be victorious on its own ground (The Field, 31 October 1863: 439).

In an article entitled 'The Football Controversy' an author writing in the Eton College Chronicle (15 October 1863: No.10) contended that:

Several letters in the *Times* have lately been calling our attention to the Rules of Football. The subject of these letters seems to be, get one code of Rules drawn up, by which all Football Clubs should abide. The great differences in the games, as played at all the Public Schools, render it most difficult to have any matches between them, and to prevent any Clubs being formed to play matches or games, except among members of the same school.

There is no reason why, in the winter, Football should not be played as universally as Cricket in the summer, provided that one set of Rules was everywhere adhered to. One letter, signed 'Etonensis', in the *Times* of last Friday, suggests that a set of Rules should be drawn up by a Committee, composed of individuals from every Football Club; and that their Rules should be adopted in all matches, as played by any one School Club against another; but that of course no Club need adopt it in its private matches amongst its own members.

This to us seems certainly the most feasible plan: it is ridiculous to suppose that Etonians would turn Football into what so closely resembles a fight, and wrestling match, as the Rugby game; neither would you find Harrovians who would condescend to adopt our Rules; and no one but an Etonian would ever be likely to have anything to say to Football at the Wall, as played here.

No; it seems quite clear that each Club will stick to its own rules and prejudices as much as possible, and no one can wonder at it: still, it is quite clear that, unless something be done, no Football Matches can take place between different School Clubs.

It is hard to please every one, if not altogether impossible; but by a judicious selection of the good, and a rejection of the bad parts in the existing laws of the various Clubs, all might be satisfied, if not pleased. 'It is an ill wind that blows no one good;' so that what we partly gained by one rule, would be equalized by what we lost by another: but in drawing up the Rules, we would venture to suggest that the game be what is called 'Football,' which term we understand to mean a game of kicking a ball; that is to say, not a game in which the ball should be carried, as it is at some place; not a game for kicking each other, in which case we suppose it would have been called 'kick-fellow', or 'shin-mate'. Eton is we believe about the only place in which the game is what its name indicates - real *foot*-ball.

However, all the writing and talking on the subject is never likely to produce a set of Rules which will be universally adopted.

As well as advocating the formation of a new set of universal football rules to run alongside the existing school laws, this article yet again provided confirmation of the Eton-Rugby

status-rivalry theory. Thus the author described the Rugby game as a 'fight' and a 'wrestling match' and championed the Eton Field Game as the only real '*foot*-ball' as opposed to those games where handling and carrying the ball were acceptable. Since the term 'football' had been used since at least the fourteenth century to refer to loosely regulated, locally specific kicking and handling games, it is reasonable to suppose that this article represented one of the first uses of the term in its modern sense.

A letter from 'J.C.T.' (The Field, 31 October 1863: 439), again we must presume J.C. Thring, threw up another proposal by promoting the idea of a wholly new set of rules:

I believe the only plan will be to entirely disregard any existing rules and frame others *de novo*...But I do believe that if the game was taken up and its requirements simply considered, there would be no difficulty in framing rules as all new clubs would adopt, and which any of the schools might agree to play in matches, so that all would meet on equal terms.

The opinion of both Cartwright and Thring seemed to be that whilst it would have been impossible to force the more important public schools to forsake their long-standing and unique rules and types of football, there should be no reason why another set of totally new laws should not be framed for the growing number of adult football clubs that were being formed at that time. However, towards the end of Cartwright's second article, the latter quoted an unidentified source calling himself 'A Public Schoolman' who sounded a word of warning and appeared to predict what we now know the future to have been, i.e. two distinct national football games. Thus he wrote of 'Two games, 'as distinct from each other as cricket is from either' should be formed - one on the Rugby principle, the other on the Harrow.'

Cartwright rejected this, adding, 'This would perpetuate, in a very slightly modified form, the evil which it is sought to remedy' (The Field, 31 October 1863: 439).

The desire for a single, unified code similar to that already existing in cricket continued to be widespread at that stage. However, the balance of forces among those interested in the game, as we know with hindsight, was pressing towards its national bifurcation.

A week later (The Field, 7 November 1863: 451), Cartwright suggested that one of the Universities, be it Cambridge or Oxford should debate and publish a set of compromise rules. Advocating the use of the universities' prestige in order to secure compliance with universal rules, he argued that:

They are practically acquainted with all the capabilities of the game. They have sounded its depths, and are quite familiar with the shoals upon which it has so long stuck fast, with the probability of ultimate wreck. Not only would they have the confidence of the schools, but of all the players, because all would know that they were eminently qualified to legislate upon the subject. A set of rules issued from the University of Oxford or of Cambridge would set the matter right very speedily.

Later in the same article, Cartwright informed his readers that, after examining in detail the rules of the major public schools - which he was to do in the succeeding weeks - he would submit a set of new, universal rules in an effort to solve football's problem. He was, however, clearly ignorant of the fact that new Cambridge Rules had already been issued in October 1863 (Green, 1953: 36), although they were not officially utilised in a match until 20 November as we have seen (Young, 1968: 88). The new Cambridge laws were eventually published in The Field (499) on 21 November 1863 with the editor full of praise for what he obviously felt was a step forward. He wrote:

We have much pleasure in publishing these rules, framed by Cambridge men, from Rugby, Harrow, Eton, Shrewsbury, Marlborough and Westminster. The first match to be played by them was fixed for yesterday (Friday) afternoon. Our football readers who study them closely will observe that they have many very excellent features. An amalgamation of laws has not been attempted, but the rules have been framed upon the general principles of the game. Probably after practice they will be revised. Rule 5 tells us when a participator is *out of play*, but not what makes him *in play* again. We have from the first felt and stated that the Universities offered the greatest of all facilities for establishing the game on a national basis. We trust that Cambridge will be successful in its laudable attempt - ED.

By the time of the sixth article (The Field, 28 November 1863: 521) Cartwright was in positive mood.

The necessity for discussion is now, we trust, about to be terminated by a satisfactory settlement, to be brought about in the way we have advocated, as the only one by which such a result could be obtained - through the Universities.

Cartwright even felt able to abandon his idea of publishing a new set of rules himself, because of the appearance of what he appeared to consider were perfectly adequate frameworks for discussion in the Cambridge Rules of October 1863 and the Football Association Draft Laws of 24 November of that year (Green, 1953: 36 and 34).

Cartwright's preference for the Universities being at the forefront of the game's development was continually indicated. He commented on the Rugby game as follows:

They play the game splendidly; but is the game football? Might they not have as good a game with rather less violence? Certainly they might. Such a one is now offered them from Cambridge, in the construction of which two of their own players have taken a prominent part. Will they not accept it? (The Field, 28 October 1863: 523).

In the event, as we know, they did not. I shall deal with the events that led to the national bifurcation of football into the rugby and soccer codes in the next chapter.

The initial impetus in the quest for a set of written rules for football which would be recognised nationally in England and perhaps in the British Isles as a whole, had been provided, firstly, by the publication of J.C.Thring's rules of the 'Simplest Game', secondly by the formulation of the 1863 Cambridge Rules, thirdly by the discourse in the national press and finally by Cartwright's series of articles in The Field.

Another event of perhaps equal importance for the long-term development of football took place in 1862, when the rules of rugby as played at Rugby School itself were further codified. This followed requests from Old Rugbeians for clarification of certain minor practices and, as a result, a new rule book was produced, written in a fashion which presumed no prior knowledge of the game and issued to help all players, not simply those in attendance at the school. This was regarded as necessary because new clubs were being formed around the country – for example, the Liverpool, Manchester, Richmond, and Sale clubs were all founded before 1861 - and because the Rugby game was spreading to such new public schools as Marlborough, Cheltenham, Clifton, Haileybury and Wellington (Macrory, 1991: 94-5). If the non-rugby devotees had required any motivation to universalise their rules, then here it was. The handlers and carriers could now be said to possess their own law-making centre, almost a self-appointed governing body, in Rugby School. As we start to consider the formation of the Football Association, we might consider whether the whole process was partly prompted by the issuing of these fresh written rules from Rugby School.

The Rugby rules were amended firstly to prevent excess mauling during the game and secondly to stop players from taking up and carrying a rolling ball. More particularly, Rules 14 and 21 appeared to legislate for these occurrences:

14. It is not lawful to take up the ball when *rolling* as distinguished from *bounding*.

21. That any player obtaining the ball in a maul, do have it down as soon as possible when outside the 25 yards posts at either end.

(Macrory, 1991:100)

Perhaps rugby players were concerned that their game was stagnating, with over-emphasis being placed on time-consuming mauling tactics, though what we should be more concerned with is the timing of this minor re-codification and its relationship with events in what was overtly becoming the opposing camp of football.

On 26 October 1863, a 'Meeting of the Captains' (Bell's Life, 31 October 1863, Supplement: 1) took place at the Freemason's Tavern, Lincoln's Inn Fields, whose purpose was 'the regulation of the game of football' (Green, 1953: 19). A proposition that those present should form a group dedicated to this process was carried and the Football Association was formed.

The following representatives were at the inaugural meeting:

A. Pember	(No Names, Kilburn)
E.C. Morley and P D Gregory	(Barnes)
E. Wawn	(War Office)
H.T. Steward	(Crusaders)
J.F. Alcock and A.W. Mackenzie	(Forest, Leytonstone)
G.W. Shillingford	(Perceval House, Blackheath)
F. Day	(Crystal Palace)
F.H. Moore and F.W. Campbell	(Blackheath)
W.J. Mackintosh	(Kensington School)
H. Bell	(Surbiton)
W.H. Gordon	(Blackheath Proprietary [sic] School)

(Green, 1953: 19-20)

There were a number of observers present. One of these was B.F. Hartshorne, captain of football at Charterhouse School and the only representative of a public school at the inaugural meeting. He felt unable to commit his school to joining before the attitudes of other educational establishments had been sought. Pember noted that 'their silence probably arose

from no one in particular liking to take the initiative and put himself prominently forward' (Bell's Life, 31 October 1863).

It was decided to contact the major public schools in order to assess their opinions on co-operation with the newly formed body. However, by the second meeting, on 10 November, just four replies had been received, two from Harrow alone, and they were read out to the assembled representatives:

The Rev. F. Rendalls, Harrow, N.W.
Saturday, October 31

Sir,

I am directed by the Harrow Philathletic Club to ask you for further particulars as to the objects of the Football Association, and the advantages to be gained from joining it. I should therefore be glad if you would send me the printed prospectus of the Association, if such exists, or if otherwise, to communicate with me by writing on the subject. I shall be most happy to forward you a copy of the rules of the Harrow game if they are of any use to the Committee. The headmaster directs me to say that under no circumstance could he allow the representative of Harrow to attend the annual meeting if such meeting were held during the Harrow School term.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
CHARLES GORDON BROWNE,
Captain of Harrow School

Sir,

I should have answered your note before, but was prevented, and you will therefore allow me to apologise. At present Harrow is not willing to join the Football Association. We cling to our present rules, and should be very sorry to alter them in any respect. Therefore we will remain at present as lookers on till we can judge what appears best to be done.

I am, etc.,
CHARLES GORDON BROWNE

Foundation Charterhouse, October 29th, 1863

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication yesterday, and to inform you that I am directed to state that Charterhouse cannot as yet be included amongst the clubs who form The Football Association.

Believe me to be, yours faithfully,
B. F. HARTSHORN¹
Captain of Charterhouse Eleven

¹ Bertram Fulke Hartshorne (Charterhouse 1857-1863) played football there in 1862 and 1863, being captain in the latter year (Young, 1968: 90). Two different spellings of the surname exist. Green (1953: 22) quotes it without the 'e' whilst the same author (1953: 20) and Young (1968: 89) add the 'e'.

St Peter's College, Westminster
November 6th

Sir,

I beg to thank you for your communication with regard to the Football Association, but I have also received a letter from the Secretary of the Public Schools Club, in which a meeting of the Public School Elevens is proposed. I think, therefore, that it would be more desirable for me to wait till after that meeting before I return you any definite answer.

I am, etc,
W. W. C. LANE

(Green, 1953: 21-22)

The football captain of Harrow School appeared to be exhibiting a traditional 'philosophy', probably taking into account that organised football had been played there since at least 1814 (Young, 1968: 68) and, perhaps not surprisingly, wished to retain the school's own rules. Moreover, perhaps he felt threatened by the intrusion of a fledgling Association which appeared possibly about to suggest that the school should abandon its treasured practices and embrace new doctrines being drawn up by relatively unknown individuals in London, some of whom had never experienced the 'benefit' of a public school education. Whilst Hartshorne of Charterhouse, who, from his letter and attendance at the inaugural meeting may have been a sympathiser to a common code, remained non-committal, W.W.C. Lane from Westminster brought a new element into the proceedings. He had received a letter from the Secretary of the Public Schools Club and it appears that this body had suggested to its members that the time had arrived for the schools to take united action in the hope of having an influence on the ongoing rules debate. Such a meeting had apparently not taken place by mid-December, 1863, though other voices were by then, advocating such a step. An 'Ex-Captain of Football' wrote to The Field (12 December 1863: 581) asking, 'What should prevent the Captains of school elevens meeting at some central place and deciding at once upon some course which would settle the matter?' To which the editor replied, 'The suggestion has, however, been repeatedly made, and once or twice this season, without any result.'

By the third meeting of the embryonic Football Association, however, on 17 November, at least one positive reply had been received from a public school. J.C. Thring wrote from Uppingham School expressing a desire to enroll his school in the new venture (Green, 1953: 24).

However, perhaps an Oxford undergraduate in his letter to The Sporting Life in November 1863 provided the best indicator of attitudes towards the embryonic body around this time (Green, 1953: 27).

Sir,

I think, after all, the first step towards making a universal set of laws must come from the two Universities. If a meeting were called in Oxford, and each college were to send a representative, a code might be drawn up and sent to the London Committee for approval. I do not think the meetings in London are attended by people or clubs of sufficient influence to cause their suggestions to be generally acted upon. I dare say the Barnes Club, the Blackheath Club, and others are composed of very estimable individuals, but are they to dictate rules to Eton, Harrow, Winchester, etc., each of whom consider their rules perfection. Of course, it may be said that anybody who chose might have attended; but I think some well-known public school men should have called the meeting in the first place. What I propose is, that the captain of each University eleven should call a meeting and draw up rules; that there should be a football club in Oxford and Cambridge. The adoption of a universal code must be a gradual matter, and I think this would be one step towards it.

I am, etc,
NON NOBIS SOLUM

Not only was Non Nobis Solum (Translation is 'Not up to us alone'), like John D. Cartwright (The Field, 7 November 1863: 451), championing the Universities as the prime movers in the decision-making process of football development, but he seemed also to be introducing an element of status-exclusiveness and rivalry into the debate when he cast doubts upon the social standing of those attending the initial meetings of the Football Association. What he said may have been a comment on the lack of general footballing knowledge of those attending the London meetings or, more likely, on the fact that not all of them had attended public schools. The President, Pember, representing No Names, Kilburn, mentioned at the 5th meeting that he had not attended public school (Green 1953: 29) whilst Morley, the Honorary Secretary, representing the Barnes club, had also not received a public school education

(Butler, 1991: X). An element of rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge may also have been expressed in the letter from Non Nobis Solum, with the Oxford man showing his ignorance of the fact that new football rules had been framed at Cambridge in October 1863.

It may be the case that a crucial precondition for the eventual success of the F.A. in gaining the prestige and authority necessary for *it* to be seen as *the* body for formulating nationally acceptable rules was the fact that it was composed primarily of 'gentlemen' who had *not* attended public schools. Only in that way would they have been able to avoid the tension/conflict-producing consequences of public school particularism. In a word, a mix of public school/university, non-public school/non-university gentlemen was probably a precondition for the formation of an organisation able to produce a set of compromise rules.

By the 4th meeting of the Football Association on 24 November, the representatives of the new body were ready to publish their newly framed rules. They were as follows:

1. The maximum *length of the ground* shall be 200 yards and the maximum *breadth* shall be 100 yards, the length and breadth shall be marked off with flags and the *goal* shall be defined by two upright posts, 8 yards apart, without any tape or bar across them.
2. The *Game shall be commenced* by a *place kick* from the centre of the ground by the side winning the toss, the other side shall not approach within 10 yards of the ball until it is kicked off. After a goal is won the losing side shall be entitled to kick off.
3. The two sides shall change goals after each goal is won.
4. A goal shall be won when the ball passes over the space between the goal posts (at whatever height) not being thrown, knocked on or carried.
5. When the ball is in *touch* the first player who shall touch it shall kick or throw it from the point on the boundary line where it left the ground, in a direction at right angles with the boundary line.
6. A player shall be *out of play* immediately he is in front of the ball and must return behind the ball as soon as possible. If the ball is kicked past a player by his own side, he shall not touch or kick it or advance until one of the other side has first kicked it or one of his own side on a level with or in front of him, has been able to kick it.
7. In case the ball goes behind the goal line: if a player on the side to whom the goal belongs first touches the ball, one of his side shall be entitled to a free kick from the goal line at the point opposite the place where the ball shall be touched. If a player of the opposite side first touches the ball, one of his side shall be entitled to a free kick from a point 15 yards outside the goal line, opposite the place where the ball is touched.

8. If a player makes a *fair catch* he shall be entitled to a *free kick* provided he claims it by making a mark with his heel at once; and in order to take such kick he may go as far back as he pleases, and no player on the opposite side shall advance beyond his mark until he has kicked.
9. A player shall be entitled to run with the ball towards his adversaries' goal if he makes a fair catch, or catches the ball on the first bound; but in case of a fair catch, if he makes his mark, he shall not then run.
10. If any player shall run with the ball towards his adversaries' goal, any player on the opposite side shall be at liberty to charge, hold, trip or hack him, or to wrest the ball from him, but no player shall be held and hacked at the same time.
11. Neither tripping or hacking shall be allowed, and no player shall use his hands or elbows to hold or push his adversary, except in the case provided for by Law 10.
12. Any player shall be allowed to charge another, provided they are both in active play. A player shall be allowed to charge if even he is out of play.
13. A player shall be allowed to throw the ball or pass it to another if he makes a fair catch, or catches the ball on the first bound.
14. No player shall be allowed to wear projecting nails, iron plates or gutta percha on the soles or heels of his boots.

(Green, 1953: 34-5)

Rules 9 and 10 appear to be pure Rugby, legislating for that game's practices of running in and hacking. However, with the benefit of hindsight, it appears that there were men present at this fourth meeting who were dissatisfied with the first F.A. Draft Laws and wished to consider other sets of regulations more in line with their own footballing values. This is an issue I shall expand upon a little later.

The Cambridge Rules of October 1863 had appeared in The Field on 21 November and the first game under their jurisdiction had already been played on the previous day at the University. They contained no counterparts to Rules 9 and 10 of the F.A. Draft Laws and were thus more acceptable to the minimal handling/carrying and anti-hacking fraternity on the fledgling committee. E.C. Morley and J.F. Alcock championed the Cambridge Rules at the fourth gathering, suggesting that 'the Cambridge Rules appear to be the most desirable for the Association to adopt' and that they 'embrace the true principles of the game with the greatest simplicity' (Green, 1953: 26).

Cutting through the legalistic wrangling of voting procedures and arguments over terminology at the 4th and 5th meetings in particular, it seems that the crux of the disagreement lay over Rules 9 and 10 of the F.A. Draft Laws.

Alcock initiated the attack, whilst Morley carried it further suggesting that:

As far as either hacking and running is concerned, I do not mind it myself, personally, but my object in the matter is that, if we carry those two rules it will be seriously detrimental to the great majority of the football clubs. I do not say that they would not play with us, but it is more probable that they would not; and Mr Campbell himself knows well that the Blackheath clubs cannot get any three in London to play with them, whose members are for the most part men in business, and to whom it is of importance to take care of themselves. For my own part, I confess I think that the 'hacking' is more dreadful in name and on paper than in reality; but I object to it because I think that its being disallowed will promote the game of football, and therefore I cordially agree with Mr. Alcock. If we have 'hacking', no one who has arrived at the years of discretion will play at football, and it will be entirely relinquished to schoolboys.

(Green, 1953: 28-29)

F.W. Campbell from the Blackheath Club then embarked upon an emotional defence of hacking in particular, appealing to nationalistic sentiment and even likening it to manliness.

As to not liking 'hacking' as at present carried on, I say that they had no right to draw up such a rule at Cambridge and that it savours far more of the feelings of those who like their pipes and grog or schnaps far more than the manly game of football...I will be bound to bring over a lot of Frenchmen who would beat you with a week's practice.

(Green, 1953: 29)

He even hints at Morley's lack of social status because of the fact that he had not attended a public school, saying:

I think that the reason they object to 'hacking' is because too many of the members of clubs began late in life, and were too old for that spirit of the game which was so fully entered into at the public schools and by public school men in after life.

(Green, 1953: 29)

He interestingly also commented, 'We have been willing to meet you half way' (Green, 1953: 30), thus hinting firstly that the need for compromise had been an over-riding factor in the debate, at least initially, and, secondly, in his use of the plural 'we', that those in attendance at

the meetings were factionalised, with minimal handlers opposing carriers and hackers as two distinct groups in most discussions.

However, did the supporters of the embryo soccer code play a 'dirty trick'? Campbell certainly believed so, feeling that the Cambridge Rules were not put to a vote at the 4th meeting as the former believed they would be defeated. Now, at the 5th gathering, finding themselves in the majority presumably because they had canvassed attendance from like-minded men, Alcock, Morley and their supporters were willing to press their case against hacking and running in secure in the knowledge that they would be left with a game closer to their liking. As Campbell pertinently observed at the 5th meeting, 'I think that this proposition to expunge Rules 9 and 10 would not now be gone on with, but that you see that we who are the advocates of 'running' and 'hacking' are in a minority' (Green, 1953: 30).

It seems appropriate to consider in detail whether the non-Rugby faction, those favouring the 1863 Cambridge Rules, did actually deliberately engineer a clear majority at the 5th meeting of the F.A.

There were 19 representatives of various clubs present at the 4th meeting on 24 November 1863. When they were asked to vote on the question of whether the committee should insist on hacking in any subsequent communication with Cambridge University football representatives, they voted in the affirmative, the result being particularly close, ten votes to nine. This seems to indicate that the 'Rugby' party was narrowly in the majority and, with the aid of the exact list of names of those present that evening, it might be possible to hazard an educated guess at probable voting intentions:

AGAINST HACKING AND CARRYING AND IN FAVOUR OF THE MINIMAL HANDLING/CARRYING STYLE IN GENERAL:

Pember (N.N.Kilburn) Morley (Barnes) Gregory (Barnes) Alcock and Mackenzie (Forest) Lloyd and Turner (Crystal Palace) Waun² (War Office) Lawton (N.N.Kilburn) (The Field, 28 November 1863)

² The minutes from the inaugural meeting of the F.A. spell this as Wawn.

All these clubs went on to play the Association game and remained in the Football Association after the defection of the Rugby adherents. Pember, Morley, Alcock, Mackenzie and Lawson all spoke against Campbell of Blackheath at various meetings (Green, 1953: 27-31).

FOR HACKING AND 'RUGBY' IN GENERAL:

Campbell and Cooper (Blackheath) Redgrave and Powell (Kensington School) Tauke and Shillingford (Perceval House, Blackheath) Gordon and Fox (Blackheath Proprietary) Cruickshank and Daltry (Wimbledon School)

(The Field, 28 November 1863)

All except the club-based Blackheath pair were drawn from schools who tended to favour more violent forms of play such as hacking, whilst the representatives from adult clubs were less enamoured with what they considered was dangerous behaviour and play. Indeed, the report of the 4th meeting, which appeared in The Field (28 November 1863: 523), contains evidence of a direct dichotomy of opinion between the adult players and those representing the schools:

The representatives of the school clubs differing from the other members of the Association with regard to rules 9 and 10 of the proposed new code...The schools desired that these should be enforced. On the other side it was contended with great force, that these were the rules which Cambridge had specially avoided, and that it was not desirable to enforce them.

The rules in question, those numbered 9 and 10, referred, of course, to running with the ball in one's arms and hacking. However, what is perhaps more interesting is the comparison between those present at the 4th and those at the 5th meetings of the F.A.

Pember, Morley, Gregory, Alcock, Mackenzie and Lawson were present as usual as representatives of the embryo soccer code, whilst Campbell, his namesake (who had been conspicuous by his absence from previous meetings), Gordon and Fox were in attendance for

the hacking party. Instead of Moore and Cooper, both of who had attended previous meetings as representatives of the Blackheath club, another gentleman of the same surname as himself accompanied F.W. Campbell at the fifth meeting. No initial was supplied in the original text (The Field, 5 December 1863) and I suspect this might have been a relative. A representative of Wimbledon School, named as Duthy, was also there and might, because of general leanings in school circles towards hacking, have been expected to vote with the latter group. However, no one at the fifth gathering was registered from either Kensington School or Perceval House, Blackheath and, when the votes were cast over the expunging of laws 9 and 10, their retention was heavily rejected by thirteen to four. This, of course, indicates 17 members as being present though The Field only names 15 (5 December 1863). If we accept that all representatives from Blackheath and Blackheath Proprietary voted to retain carrying and hacking, then perhaps Duthy of Wimbledon School changed sides? However, what is most significant is that four people were mentioned as having attended the 5th meeting whose names fail to appear on the list of those who had gathered at any of the first four discussions. They were, Morgan and Bouch (Forest School), possibly acquaintances of Alcock and Mackenzie of the Forest Club, and Nenich and Surdet, whose allegiances were not listed. Did the minimal handlers bring with them reinforcements with which to sway the vote in their favour? It certainly appears so. What, however, remains uncertain is, why some of the regular adherents of hacking and 'running in' failed to attend this fateful final meeting.

Despite denials by those favouring the embryo soccer code, one remains a little suspicious of some of their actions. The new F.A. Laws were published in December 1863, rules 9 and 10 now stating (Green, 1953: 38):

9. No player shall carry the ball.

10. Neither tripping nor hacking shall be allowed and no player shall use his hands to hold or push an adversary.

As Dunning and Sheard (1979: 100-101) maintain, from this point on,

the bifurcation into rugby and soccer set in motion by the Rugby-Eton rivalry in the 1840s was perpetuated on a national level and marked the formation of separate ruling bodies.

Association Football, as we now call it, the domain of the minimal handlers and non-hackers, possessed a governing body in the Football Association, whilst the carriers and hackers could argue that Rugby School performed a similar role for them until 1871 and the formation of the Rugby Football Union. The 6th meeting of the F.A. on 8 December 1863, when the Rugby adherents, led by F.W. Campbell of the Blackheath Club, walked out of the gathering, appeared to mark the final, thus far irrevocable split, between what were to become soccer and rugby, a bifurcation which had begun with the Rugby-Eton rivalry two decades earlier.

The establishment of the Football Association in the autumn of 1863 appeared to have given the proponents of the minimal handling code a significant advantage over their rugby counterparts. This was only partly the case, however, for the London-based body was not blessed immediately with national jurisdiction in football-related matters. Schools and clubs around the country still continued to play under their own rules, which were often an amalgam of various public school laws. The Honorary Secretary of the Lincoln Football Club illustrated this degree of variety in the letter that he sent to the third meeting of the nascent F.A., noting, 'I beg to send you a copy of the laws by which we have hitherto played, drawn, I believe from the Marlborough, Eton and Rugby rules' (Green, 1953: 25).

Though initially joining the F.A., despite the fact that its game contained Marlborough, Eton and Rugby laws, the Lincoln club eventually withdrew from membership in 1866 and was accused by Pember, the F.A. President, of favouring such practices as hacking and throttling (Green, 1953: 41).

This perhaps illustrates an early stage in the process of football's developing laws. There remained some distance to be travelled before a truly universal set of rules would be accepted at national level. Indeed, for many years - until April 1877 in fact (Green, 1953: 564) - one set of laws held sway in the capital, whilst another operated in Sheffield and the rest of South Yorkshire. Even teams from Nottingham used the Sheffield rules in preference to the F.A. laws during the period 1863-1877 (Brown, 1966: 9) and, although cooperation sometimes took place, the two bodies stood as rivals in a footballing sense for many years.

Though the F.A. experienced many early difficulties, one event was indicative of growing co-operation and moves towards common national laws. On 28 February 1866, at a meeting of the F.A., a letter was read out from Mr. W. Chesterman, Secretary of Sheffield Football Club, proposing a match between London and Sheffield. It is important to understand that the Sheffield Football Association was not formed until 1867 (Young, 1962: 24) and Chesterman

was therefore only representing Sheffield F.C. The date eventually agreed upon was 31 March, the match to be played at Battersea Park. The F.A. additionally issued the following five directives:

1. The ground to be 120 yards by 80 wide.
2. Dress of the London team to be white jersey or flannel shirt and white trousers.
3. The ball to be Lillywhite's No. 5.
4. Play to commence at 3pm and terminate at half past four.
5. Notice of the match to be sent to The Field, Bell's Life, Sporting Life and Sportsman.

(Green, 1953: 42)

There appear to be several interesting points to be deduced from the above information. Firstly, the ground was relatively small when compared to the maximum 200 yards in length and 100 yards in width decreed in the F.A. laws of December 1863 (Green 1953: 36). The London Association had established white as their accepted uniform, one which is still used today as the England International team's preference, and the size of the ball, whilst indeterminate from the evidence available, is described as a 'No. 5', a description still in use for the matchball used in the adult game. The duration of the game was now strictly regulated to one hour and a half, which, though a half-time break is now required, compares exactly to an adult fixture today. The F.A. was also learning the power of advertising, perhaps in a bid to promote its sport amongst the population and in the knowledge that other rival forms of the game existed, especially the Rugby form. This suggests that the organisers clearly wanted to attract spectators to their matches, probably middle-class spectators given the readership of the journals involved, and perhaps viewed it as part of their proselytising mission and struggle with the devotees of what they regarded as the less 'civilised' Rugby code.

The twenty-two players representing the two sides were as follows:

LONDON

A. Pember (N.N.Kilburn) (Captain), C.W. Alcock (Wanderers), E.C. Morley (Barnes), R.D. Elphinston (Wanderers), Hon.A.F. Kinnaird (Wanderers), C.M.

Tebbut (N.N.Kilburn), J.B. Martin (Crusaders), J.K. Barnes (Barnes), D.M. O'Leary, A. Baker (N.N.Kilburn), and R.W. Willis (Barnes).

SHEFFIELD

W.J. Chesterman (Captain), H.W. Chambers, F. Knowles, J. Knowles, J. Swift, J. Denton, A.A. Dixon, W. Baker, J.C. Shaw, J.D. Webster and A. Wightman.

(Green, 1953: 42)

Whilst London fielded a representative eleven, the first of its kind, Sheffield were simply Sheffield Football Club, drawing no players from any club other than their own. The fact that they did not select players from the Hallam side was perhaps indicative of the high status of the 'Sheffield Club' – the organisation is still to this day often referred to as simply 'Club' - in its own locality, leading to the belief that they alone should represent their region on such a prestigious occasion.

In any event, the London team proved too skilful for the Sheffields on this occasion and won by two goals and four touchdowns to nil (Young, 1962: 23). A 'touchdown' was effectively a 'rouge'. (For an explanation of the term 'rouge' see Chapter One, pages 13-14). However, there is no mention of 'touchdowns' in the December 1863, F.A. rules (Green, 1953: 36-38), nor in the 1857 Sheffield Rules (Young, 1962: 17-18), though in 1861 'rouges' were being used in Sheffield. This may lead one to believe that the rules used on this day had been adopted to avoid a draw for the interest of spectators, therefore the practice of counting touchdowns or rouges was included.

Green (1953: 42) appears to be mistaken when he states that a return game was played in Sheffield later that season. He affords us no details of the encounter and Young (1962: 23) insists that, because neither side would compromise over which rules should be employed, the fixture did not in fact take place. The next game would not be played until 2 December 1871, which might lead us to believe that Association supporters were prompted to re-introduce

such representative fixtures by the formation in that year of the Rugby Football Union.

Young (1962: 25) goes on to suggest a more specific reason for the postponement, stating that since 'the London Association was formed with the object of bringing about a universal code of rules, it would ill-become them as law-makers to sanction a team of theirs playing other rules.'

This first ever representative encounter was indicative of football's continuing development and, in sociological terms, the ever more complicated and lengthening chains of interdependency that were developing in mid-Victorian Britain. 'Localism' was continuing to give way to 'universalism' as the kingdom became more unified by an increasingly efficient system of transport and communications, and in that context, sporting sub-groups, taking advantage of these improved means of communication, began to look beyond their own small geographical areas for competition and rivals from other communities. The Sheffield and London representative sides were the first examples of this long term, social process, at least in a football sense, and, whilst they had yet to agree on nationally common rules, both sides proved willing, eventually, to accept compromise in order to complete the fixture (Dunning, In Elias and Dunning, 1986: 220).

A list of the matches, excluding the 1866 encounter, played by Sheffield - by 1871 the Sheffield team was more representative, including the supposed best players from all affiliated clubs - before their acceptance of F.A. hegemony in 1877 illustrates this willingness to seek such compromise solutions:

1871	Dec 2	Sheffield	3	London	1	(Sheffield Rules)
1872	Jan 27	London	1	Sheffield	0	(London Rules)
	Mar 2	Sheffield	2	London	1	(Mixed Rules)
	Nov 2	Sheffield	4	London	1	(Sheffield Rules)
1873	Jan 4	London	0	Sheffield	0	(London Rules)

	Mar 15	Sheffield	2	London	1	(Mixed Rules)
	Nov 11	Sheffield	8	London	2	(Sheffield Rules)
1874	Jan 3	London	1	Sheffield	1	(London Rules)
	Feb 4	Sheffield	4	London	2	(Mixed Rules)
	Nov 7	Sheffield	2	London	0	(Sheffield Rules)
1875	Jan 16	London	3	Sheffield	1	(London Rules)
	Mar 29	Sheffield	0	London	2	(Mixed Rules)
1876	Jan 1	London	4	Sheffield	0	(London Rules)
	Mar 25	Sheffield	6	London	1	(Sheffield Rules)
	Nov 11	Sheffield	5	London	1	(Sheffield Rules)
	Dec 30	London	3	Sheffield	1	(London Rules)

(Young, 1962: 28-29)

By November 2nd 1867, the F.A. had instituted a further representative fixture in the form of an inter-county game between Middlesex and a combined team selected from Surrey and Kent. This match attracted great interest in football circles and the comments of the Bell's Life correspondent seem significant. He stated, 'Football has lately increased to such gigantic dimensions that it needs something more than ordinary club matches to bring out the rising talent' (Green, 1953: 44).

There does, indeed, seem to have been a strong wish amongst the players to test their skills against other similarly talented opponents, a desire which is well illustrated by the F.A. Committee's newspaper advertisement for the game: 'A strong desire has been expressed by many of the principal players in and around London that the Rules should be tested in a County match' (Green, 1953: 43).

Here is the beginning in football of what Dunning (In: Elias and Dunning, 1986: 220) called: 'a hierarchical grading of sportsmen' and we appear to be witnessing the start of a process leading to ever-increasing rates of inter-regional soccer competition. A growth in the seriousness of sporting rivalry was taking place. Performers were becoming more constrained

by the burden of representing larger social units, in this latter case, a county, and expectations of levels of performance were growing because of pressure from outside groups such as selectors, the residents of those units or just interested spectators. Perhaps this was only a mild form of the phenomenon, though I shall be examining more explicit and intense examples later in this dissertation when I review developments in the North of England, as close-knit communities established bitter rivalries which often found expression on the football field. When consumers and spectators began to be charged entrance fees to view these contests so did the demands on players increase. What was demanded was the excitement provided by spirited and skilful play, but perhaps, most of all, there was a perceived need for victory for their local side, a victory with which all members of the local community would be able to identify. The game itself was beginning to take on a radically different form, one that produced as much, if not more, pleasure for spectators than players, as the contest became a 'display' as opposed to merely 'play'. One might say that extrinsic social tensions were changing the very nature of the game (Stone, 1955: 83-100).

If 26 October 1863 was one of the defining dates in the history of English football, then 9 July 1867 marks the genesis of the modern game in Scotland. The following minutes record the happenings of the evening at a meeting in Glasgow:

Glasgow 9th July 1867

Tonight at half past eight o'clock a number of gentlemen met at No. 3 Eglinton Terrace for the purpose of forming a 'Football Club'. - After Mr. Black was called to the Chair a good deal of debating ensued and ultimately the following measures were voted for and carried, viz.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| First. | That the Club should be called the 'Queen's Park Football club' |
| Second | That there should be four office bearers viz. a President, Captain, Secretary and Treasurer |
| Third | That there should be thirteen members of Committee including Office Bearers seven of whom to form a quorum |

The following gentlemen were then duly elected as Officebearers and members of Committee viz

1 Mr Ritchie, President	8 Mr Smith, Jr M of C
2 Mr Black, Captain:	9 Mr Edminston-
3 Mr Klinger, Secretary:	10 Mr P Davidson -
4 Mr Smith Sr, Treasurer	11 Mr Gladstone -
5 Mr Grant, Mem of Comm.	12 Mr Reid -
6 Mr Gardner Sr-	13 Mr Skinner
7 Mr Davidson R. -	

The Secretary then gave intimation that the Committee would meet on the 15th inst. for further deliberation and to draw out a code of rules for the guidance of the Club. The Business for the evening being now finished the members retired after awarding a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Black for his able conduct in the chair.

W M Klinger Secrty.

Lewis L Black Chairman

(McCarra, 1984: 6 - Presented in the same form as the original)

Together with the caber-tossers and Y.M.C.A. members, some of Scotland's earliest footballers could often be found practising their game on the particular expanse of grass in Glasgow from which they took their name, Queen's Park. For some years following no particular code (Young, 1968: 102), they eventually decided to accept F.A. laws and joined that body in the 1871-2 season (Green, 1953: 63). The team enjoyed a period of phenomenal success, not conceding a goal between their formation in 1867 and 1872 and not losing a match until February 1876 (Book of Football, 1972: 295). They were so influential in the Scottish game that, when the first international match was played between Scotland and England on 30 November 1872, it was Queen's Park with whom Charles Alcock of the F.A. conducted negotiations for the fixture, no Scottish F.A. existing until March 1873 (McCarra, 1984: 7).

There are few indications of the social backgrounds of the players from the Queen's Park club of 1867 and definite occupational data seems hard to find. However, two instances in the first minutes record that the gathering at Eglinton Terrace was one consisting of 'gentlemen' and, as Dunning and Sheard (1979: 105) confirm, we might expect that voluntary organisations

would usually be instigated and populated by men from relatively high social strata. Young (1968: 103) also alludes to pressure of business interests as a reason why so many of the original committee disappeared from the scene within a short space of time, perhaps indicating the occupational prestige of the majority of Queen's Park members. Their stance against professionalism, which still continues today, might also be indicative of the attitudes and opinions prevalent amongst their officials and administrators. Their refusal to enter the Scottish League on its inception in 1891 was based on their dislike of the veiled professionalism amongst some clubs North of the border. Queen's Park itself waited until 1900 to take part in this competition (Book of Football, 1972: 297). Coming eventually to be regarded as the 'Corinthians of the North' (Archer, 1976: 19) they dominated Scottish football for at least a decade. ('The Corinthians' were an English amateur side composed initially of top level players from the public schools and universities).

Opponents, however, were initially hard to find and Queen's Park were forced to resort to matches within the club (Young, 1968: 104), though by 1 August 1868, they had discovered their first adversaries, the 'Thistle' club:

Dear Sir,

I duly received your letter dated 25th inst. on Monday Afternoon, but as we had a Committee Meeting called for this evening at which time it submitted, I could not reply to it earlier. I have now been requested by the Committee, on behalf of our Club, to accept the challenge you kindly sent, for which we have to thank you, to play us a friendly Match at Football on our Ground, Queen's Park, at the hour you mentioned, on Saturday, first proximo, with twenty players on each side. We consider, however, that Two-hours is quite long enough to play in weather such as the present, and hope that this will be satisfactory to you. We would also suggest that if no Goals be got by either side within the first hour, that goals be then exchanged, the ball, of course, to be kicked of (sic) from the centre of the field by the side who had the orignal (sic) Kick-off, so that boath (sic) parties may have the same chance of wind and ground, this we think very fare (sic) and can be arranged on the field before beginning the Match. Would you also be good enough to bring your ball with you in case of any breake (sic) down, and thus prevent interupsion (sic). Hoping the weather will favour the Thistle and Queen's.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) Robt. Gardner

Secy.

Thistle were beaten, though the rules employed were of an interesting nature and were certainly not strictly those of the Football Association. Twenty per side and two hours duration do not tally with what had generally become the norm south of the border at that time, at least in London and its surrounds. The match took place in the summer, during what would in England then have been considered the cricket season, possibly indicating that, in Glasgow at least, there was little or none of the English summer game to be seen, and therefore no other group of sportsmen to offend or rival (McCarra, 1984: 6). Other adversaries included Hamilton Gymnasium, whom Queen's played on 29 May 1869 and Airdrie whom they played on 23 June 1870 (Young, 1968: 104).

The Scottish F.A. was founded in March 1873, and a Cup competition was instituted, to begin the following season. Members present, and therefore clubs existing at that time, were, Queen's Park, Clydesdale, Vale of Leven, Dumbreck, Third Lanark Rifle Volunteer Reserves, Easter, Granville and Rovers. Queen's Park were the first winners, beating Clydesdale by 2 goals to nil (McCarra, 1984: 8). Modern football in Scotland had effectively begun.

Inter-association and inter-county matches on a representative basis were promoted successfully by the F.A. from an early stage and, logically, the next step was to arrange matches with representative teams from other sub-national groups within the United Kingdom - what came to be called 'international' fixtures between the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish. The Scots had already gained a reputation in the sport by 1870, mainly through their premier club Queen's Park F.C. It appears, however, that a prime mover behind this further development towards universalism within football was C.W. Alcock, who had joined the FA committee in 1866 and was appointed Honorary Secretary four years later. Initially representing Old Harrovians, by the latter date his club had become the Wanderers (Green, 1955: 82-3). Alcock has been credited with providing the game with the impetus it required in the early 1870s and it was he who wrote the letter to the Glasgow Herald inviting nominations

from Scotland for a representative encounter between English and Scottish players to be played at the Oval on November 3 1870. He wrote (Young, 1968: 104):

In Scotland, once essentially the land of football, there should still be a spark left of the old fire, and I confidently appeal to Scotsmen to aid to their utmost the efforts of the committee to confer success on what London fondly hopes to found, an annual trial of skill between the champions of England and Scotland.

One immediate effect was that Queen's Park themselves became members of the F.A., a significant event and one which further lengthened universalising ties in the developing world of football. However, nominations for Scotland's eleven were harder to come by, Alcock only receiving one, that of Robert Smith, representing Queen's Park, but actually resident in London, whilst the only other member of the Scottish team born in that country was A.F. Kinnaird of the Old Etonians. Kinnaird, from Perthshire, had attended Eton and then Trinity College, Cambridge. A merchant banker, he was, at the time, a serving member of the F.A. Committee. Smith and Kinnaird proved to be the strongest links with Scottish football in the eleven that day, as the remainder of the side were merely friends of Alcock and the team itself was in fact selected by the London-based F.A. The Scots lined up thus:

J. Kirkpatrick (Civil Service)	G.F. Congreve (Old Rugbeians)
A.F. Kinnaird (Old Etonians)	R. Smith (Queen's Park)
C.E.W. Crawford (Harrow School)	G.G. Kennedy (Wanderers)
H.W. Primrose (Civil Service)	J.F. Inglis (Charterhouse)
C.E. Nepean (Oxford University)	A.K. Smith (Oxford University)
Quintin Hogg (Wanderers)	W.H. Gladstone (Old Etonians)

(Young, 1968: 104)

A.K. Smith was from Sheffield, where his family owned land around their home at Barnes Hall, Ecclesfield and practised benevolent, Muscular Christianity by donating one of their fields for use by the local community as football and cricket pitches. A soccer blue at Oxford University, he actually represented both Scotland and England at football, owing the former honour to the fact that he also inherited property in that country (Young, 1962: 15). Quintin Hogg, an Old Etonian, was a London philanthropist, best known for being founder of the

Polytechnic movement. His is the only statue in the City of London featuring a football, having been erected in Langham Place in 1906 (Butler, 1991: 11).

The England team lined up thus (Green, 1953: 627):

E. Lubbock (West Kent)	W.B. Paton (Harrow School)
T.N. Carter (Eton College)	H.J. Preston (Eton College)
C.W. Alcock (Capt) (Old Harrovians)	A.J. Baker (Wanderers)
J. Cockerell (Brixton)	R.W.S. Vidal (Westminster School)
W.P. Crake (Barnes)	R.S.F. Walker (Clapham Rovers)
T.C. Hooman (Wanderers)	

Noteworthy is the preponderance of public school men in both teams, with the Scottish side even containing an Old Rugbeian. The make-up of each team was as follows:

	ENGLAND XI	SCOTLAND XI
PUBLIC SCHOOL CLUB	4	2
PUBLIC SCHOOL OLD BOYS	1	4*
WANDERERS	2	1
UNIVERSITY	0	2
INDETERMINATE CLUB	4	2

*Includes Quintin Hogg who is known to have been an Old Etonian

No doubt not only the footballing ability but also the status of each individual was taken into account when the side was chosen and they were highly likely, though not certain, to have attended public school and, in all probability, progressed to University as well. Status was still vitally important to Victorian footballers as the background of the participants involved in this first 'international' game aptly illustrates.

Three further fixtures between teams drawn from London clubs but purporting to represent England and Scotland took place in February and November 1871 and February 1872 (Green, 1953: 48). Although these might at best be described as 'friendly' or 'exhibition' matches, what perhaps seemed important to devotees of the emergent soccer game at the time was that the Association group had, so to speak, beaten the rugby followers to the punch in regard to

representative games. The latter successfully staged an England-Scotland encounter in Edinburgh on 27 March 1871, after Scottish rugby players had challenged their England counterparts through a newspaper column, claiming that football as played in Scotland would be seen in a 'fairer light' than in the three previous matches arranged under Association rules. It was largely in the context of these events and because, despite the existence of Rugby School as a legislative lead, the rugby game had no real national governing body that the Rugby Football Union was formed on 26 January 1871 (Macrory, 1991: 185). Although the first four Association internationals were of dubious nature as genuine international encounters, sanctioned by legitimacy-claiming national ruling bodies, the one which took place on 30 November 1872 is now generally recognised as having been the first soccer international (See table below). It is clear from these events how competitive pressures continued to play an important part in the early development of the rival national football codes.

Table 6.1: Representative Football and other related events - Early Chronology

28 February 1866	First representative soccer game:	London v Sheffield
2 November 1867	First inter-county soccer game:	Middlesex v Surrey/ Kent
3 November 1870	First unofficial soccer international:	England v Scotland
26 January 1871	R.F.U. formed	
27 March 1871	First rugby international:	Scotland v England
20 July 1871	F.A. Cup instituted	
30 November 1872	First Official soccer international:	Scotland v England

The sides in the soccer international of November 1872, were as follows:

Scotland: R. Gardner (Capt), W. Ker, J. Taylor, J.J. Thomson, J. Smith, R. Smith, R. Leckie, A. Rhind, W. McKinnon, J. Weir, D. Wotherspoon. (All Queen's Park)

England: R. Barker (Capt) (Herts Rangers) E.H. Greenhalgh (Notts), R.C. Welch (Harrow Chequers), F. Chappell (Oxford University), C.J. Ottaway (Oxford University) (Capt.), C.J. Chenery (Crystal Palace and Oxford University), J.C. Clegg (Sheffield), A. Kirke-Smith (Oxford University), J. Brockbank (Oxford University), W.J. Maynard (1st Surrey Rifles), J.F. Morice (Barnes)

(Young, 1968: 107-8)

The England eleven showed a wider geographical spread than in the unofficial encounters

with three players, Barker, Greenhalgh and Clegg from provincial club sides, perhaps indicating a deliberate attempt on the F.A.'s behalf to proselytise the Association game outside London. The Scottish team was quite literally a club side, though probably still the strongest available as so few clubs had been formed north of the border by 1872 and Queen's Park were so obviously the dominant force in the game there.

Bell's Life attempted thus to capture the importance of the fixture:

This match, which from the fact that it is the first of any great importance that has been played over the border according to the Rules of the Football Association, has created an immense amount of interest both in Scotland and England, was played last Saturday, November 30th, on the West of Scotland Cricket Ground at Partick, and was attended deservedly by the greatest success that has probably ever been accorded to a contest under these laws (Green, 1953: 543-4).

The game must have been a great breakthrough for those championing Association laws. The establishment of contacts with the Queen's Park Club, who selected the Scottish team, must also have been cherished as a way of spreading the F.A.'s jurisdiction into Scotland and the estimated attendance of 4000 appears to have been particularly pleasing (Green, 1953: 545).

During the 1860s, a struggle between the representatives of the two increasingly distinct forms of the game was evidently taking place for the hearts and minds of footballers around the country. It is reasonable to suppose that the competition between the two codes may have enabled both to develop and spread more quickly than might have been expected as adherents attempted to popularise their favoured form. Initial evidence suggests, in fact, that the carriers at first outstripped the minimal handlers in achieving popular support during this period. At one stage F.A. membership fell as low as only ten clubs and, by 1866, Association clubs were complaining bitterly about the difficulties of finding like-minded teams to compete against (Williams, 1994: 28). Shearman (1855: 277-8) stated that 'between 1863 and 1870 the Rugby Union game was making decidedly more way in the country than the Association Game' and went on to cite the fact that the rugby form of football possessed the advantage that all clubs were in agreement as regards the offside law - that *no* player should be in front of the ball.

Indeed, the two major bodies in the country in 1870 who provided the minimal handling proponents with frameworks by which they could take part - the London and Sheffield Associations - disagreed on the offside law. The former stated that three defenders should be between an attacker and the opposing goal line, whilst the latter required just one (Green, 1960: 14).

Some writers believe that players following the Association code, having cemented a set of rules and instituted what was to become a national governing body some eight years earlier than Rugby, whilst not necessarily more numerous, had established an important advantage (Macrory, 1991: 193). Nevertheless Rugby adherents seemingly grew more numerous than their soccer counterparts in the latter years of the 1860s, though this rapid growth was perhaps tempered by the fact that a large proportion of Rugby players belonged to school sides, whilst the vast majority of soccer participants enjoyed their game in an adult environment (Dunning and Sheard, 1975: 125). This certainly did not mean, of course, that soccer did not have its adherents in educational institutions and, as the table below indicates, when newer schools, having no unique games of their own began to choose between the two most widespread forms of football, the embryonic games of soccer and rugby, a good proportion decided to adopt the former.

In 1870 the 27 members of the F.A. were as follows

Amateur Athletic	Hull College*	Sheffield (Old Harrovians)
Barnes	Hitchin	Totteridge Park
Bramham College*	Kensington School*	Upton Park
Charterhouse*	Leamington College*	Wanderers
Clapham	London Scottish Rifles	Westminster
Crowley (Oxford)	London Athletic	West Brompton College*
Crystal Palace	Milford College*	Worlaybe House
Donington School*	No Names	(Roehampton)*
Forest School*	Royal Engineers	
Holt	Reigate	

(Tischler, 1981: 25-6)

I have asterisked obvious school or college clubs, ten in all, and Westminster, the school rather than a club representing that area of London may well make an eleventh.

This table perhaps suggests that the F.A. saw itself as an administrative body for a game which was being practised, not only by a growing number in the adult population, but also for schoolboys who were adopting the Association form as opposed to other types, particularly rugby. In short, it provides a measure of how they were actively and successfully engaged in proselytising their sport. It should be noted, however, that only one of the educational establishments listed, two if we count Westminster, was a major public school, that being Charterhouse, whilst the vast majority, though showing what was, for the FA, an encouraging geographical spread, were merely of local importance.

The development of the Association game was given further impetus on 20 July 1871, when, at a meeting of the F.A. it was proposed by C.W. Alcock: 'That it is desirable that a Challenge Cup should be established in connexion [sic] with the Association, for which all clubs belonging to the Association should be invited to compete' (Green, 1953: 49).

Alcock may well have proposed this in direct response to the two events connected with the development of rugby in that same year, notably the formation of the R.F.U. on 24 January and the holding of the first Scotland v England international rugby fixture on 27 March. We must remember that the members of the F.A. committee had only so far organised exhibition internationals between the two countries and were still some sixteen months away from holding the first officially recognised encounter between England and Scotland which took place on 30 November 1872.

As an Old Harrovian, Alcock, had participated in his school's 'Cock House' competition, a House championship played on a knock-out basis and, it is widely accepted it was such a format which gave rise to the idea for the F.A. Cup (Green, 1960: 12).

The initial F.A. campaign was held in 1871-2 and it only involved fifteen clubs, all based in or

near London apart from the renowned Scots, Queen's Park and Donington School from near Spalding in Lincolnshire. The exact story of the latter's entry is something of a mystery, though we can perhaps surmise that one of the school's masters, or even the head himself, a Dr. Constable, had been an enthusiastic and probably successful player at his public school and university and wished to continue his involvement in the game at Donington. At any rate they received a bye in the first round, but in the second were drawn away to Queen's Park. The Scots were, of course, one of the most accomplished clubs in the Kingdom at the time and had not conceded a goal since their formation in 1867. Queen's Park's reputation, the long distance involved and the over-bearing financial burden of completing such a fixture, appeared to conspire against Donington's continued participation, so they withdrew and Queen's Park were awarded the tie. However, one hundred years later, on 13 May 1972, Donington School, now Cowley's Secondary School, eventually fulfilled the fixture, when their team met Queen's Park at the New Lesser Hampden Ground, Queen's Park being victorious by six goals to nil (Welbourne, 1972).

The growth of the F.A. had been rapid. The organisation contained 27 clubs in 1870 (Tischler, 1981: 25-6), a figure which had risen to 50 by the 1871-2 season (Butler, 1991: 15). However, the number of entries for the first F.A. Challenge Cup competition was disappointingly low, this being 15 teams in all. This has been attributed to the fact that many northern clubs' fixture cards for that season had already been completed (Green, 1960: 12). It is possible, however, to challenge this assertion by studying the succeeding year's competition. In the following season, 1872-73, only Queen's Park and Oxford University from beyond the metropolis entered, whilst the next year saw only Sheffield of the northern clubs taking part. Queen's Park's attachment to the F.A. Cup would usually be expressed in either narrow defeat - they were to succumb in the finals of 1883-4 and 1884-5 to Blackburn Rovers - or ignominious withdrawal. They awarded ties to their opponents in no fewer than seven of the first twelve competitions and withdrew from the 1877-78 campaign, though by 1873-74 they also had the

distraction of the Scottish Cup (Smailes, 1992: 180-4; Oliver, 1992: 453). Northern Clubs only began to enter in any great numbers for the first time during the 1879-80 season though perhaps a further explanation can be found in the attitude of the Sheffield Association to their London counterparts. Sheffield, soon to have its own esteemed Challenge Cup, could at this stage claim near equality with the F.A. Indeed, with 25 entries to their inaugural competition in 1876-77 (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 25.3.1876: 6), their numbers were only twelve short of the participants in the F.A. Cup of the same year and ten more than in the inaugural F.A. Cup competition (Smailes, 1992: 180-4). Ironically, the season of the initial cup competition in Sheffield would also mark their acceptance of the London F.A.'s authority over the game in England as a whole for, in April 1877, the Sheffield Association agreed to use the London laws (Young, 1962: 29).

Indeed, the fact that both bodies had recently come under extreme pressure in the press to agree upon one set of national rules seems to indicate that, despite fourteen years having elapsed since the inception of the Football Association, opinions still differed as to a preferred code for use across the whole of England. The two extracts from letters received by The Field (10 March 1877, 281) appear to illustrate feeling at the time. Firstly, Stuart G. Smith, Captain of the Manchester Association Football Club, stated:

I think that I may safely say that there is not any district in which the inconvenience of having two different codes of Association rules is felt more than here, where if a club adopt one, no matter which, it is obliged to get matches with clubs playing the other, and has to play different rules, when away, from those which it plays on its own ground.

Secondly, W.S. Bambridge of Marlborough School added:

The Sheffield Association numbers some thousands of players, and their rules differ from ours, the Football Association, in two important particulars. Firstly, they have practically no offside, as all players are on side that have their opposing Goal Keeper between them and their opponents' goal-line...Secondly, the Sheffields exact a penalty for playing the ball into touch. This is in the form of a kick in, in any direction, by a player of the opposite side...The question is a simple one, 'Is it desirable that all Association clubs in England and Scotland should play the same code of rules?'

The Sheffield Association must have come under considerable pressure to accept the Football Association's code of rules. It is, however, worthy of note that it was the northern body who, despite the fact that their membership was relatively healthy and thriving, set aside their code in favour of the London group. This may have been because of a perceived need for a true set of national rules or could have been connected with the F.A.'s geographical location in the capital. The Sheffield Association's mere title may, in comparison, have suggested a certain parochialism.

The following F.A. Challenge Cup rules may also have promoted universalism:

2. The Challenge Cup shall be open to all...and shall be competed for annually by eleven members of each club
5. The duration of each match shall be one hour and a half

(Green, 1953: 92)

The size of the ball had also been standardised by 3 October 1872, when it was decided that 'the Association ball should have an average circumference of not less than 27 inches and not more than 28' (Green, 1953: 566).

One other rule is also of note:

13. In addition to the Cup, the Committee will present to the winners of the Final Tie, eleven medals or badges of trifling value.

(Green, 1953: 93)

The expression 'of trifling value' appears to embody much of the philosophy of the amateur ethos then present in these games.

Footballers, at that time, were expected to participate for the enjoyment gained from taking part in an honourable sporting challenge and would probably not foresee personal reward, other than the prestige of having taken part and won, as the culmination of any such competition. Nevertheless, it was an indication of the growing seriousness of the game that the F.A. saw fit firstly to award a Cup and secondly such mementoes. However, making the announcement in such language - the use of the word 'trifling' appears extremely significant -

was probably an attempt to cushion the blow for those traditionalists who saw such awards as unworthy of an ethos which had hitherto prevailed in footballing circles. H.H. Almond, Headmaster of Loretto School in Scotland, was one of those traditionalists who believed that the presenting of extrinsic rewards for sport would inevitably lead to a breakdown of the present value system operating in games at that time. He believed that the enjoyment of playing would be subsumed under the pressure to win and the lure of financial inducement (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 156).

As both Association and Rugby football continued to develop and gain in popularity, it is reasonable to suggest that new clubs began to grow in clusters, with enthusiasts in whole areas or regions forming organisations leaning towards one or other of the new codes. Russell (1988) identifies mid-Lancashire, from Bolton to Blackburn, as an Association stronghold, with all 28 founder members of the County F.A. originating there. There were no fewer than five teams which included Blackburn in their name, six with Bolton and another six containing Darwen (Sutcliffe and Hargreaves, 1928: 29). However, when the Lancashire Rugby Football Union was established in 1881, Manchester became the undisputed centre of that particular code, containing such teams as Cheetham, Manchester Free Wanderers and Broughton Rangers (Russell, 1988: 189). Macrory (1991:183-4) confirms this cluster theory and adds that other rugby zones developed in West Yorkshire around Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax, in the West Country at Bath, Gloucester, Cheltenham and Bristol, in the North East in Darlington, Middlesbrough and Stockton and finally in Cumberland and Westmorland.

Generally, rugby held sway in Yorkshire, but one vitally important centre still flew the soccer flag. Russell (1988: 190), acknowledging Sheffield's national prestige in the sport, says that the city 'holds an absolutely key role in the growth of association football,' though, as we have previously noted, just to say the city and its surrounds was a strong soccer region is vastly to understate Sheffield's important role in the sport's development (See especially P.M. Young (1962) Football in Sheffield and more recently, K. Farnsworth (1995) Sheffield Football - A History).

Through careful study it is relatively simple to identify these early sporting strongholds, but offering reasons for their particular preferences is more problematic. Dunning and Sheard (1979: 137) offer four suggestions regarding the relative spread of soccer and rugby:

1. The proselytising and evangelising work of the FA gave soccer a head start.
2. Soccer was, and is, a relatively simple game.
3. Rugby, following the abolition of hacking, had become more static.
4. One of rugby's advantages, however, was that it may have been more appealing to men who valued traditional concepts of masculinity.

The first three propositions help us to understand the reasons for the general diffusion of the two codes of football throughout the country, whilst the latter might indicate the more specific reasons for the spread of one form or another to more confined enclaves.

Russell (1988: 193-5) suggests further alternatives. He stresses the role of the local elite in the development of the sport. We have already met examples of their influence in the formation of such early soccer clubs as Sheffield, Hallam, Notts. County, Nottingham Forest and Stoke City. (See Chapter Three of this thesis). Russell (1988: 194) also suggests that

it would appear that before the codification of the period from the 1830s most forms of football were much closer to what eventually became rugby than soccer. Only in certain high status public schools did a 'kicking' game with less emphasis on physical contact gain any dominance, most notably at Harrow, Eton and Shrewsbury. Hardly surprising, in view of this, most clubs in the 1860s and 1870s played rugby or very close to it.

It appears possible to challenge these claims. Soccer became and probably still remains the more popular of the two dominant forms of football in Britain. It may well have developed in this manner simply because there were many more former members of major public schools wishing to continue playing their favoured game of football and prepared to openly champion their particular type of the game, that is a minimal handling and carrying style. Of the seven major public schools, Eton, Harrow, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Winchester, Charterhouse and Rugby, only the last played a true handling code, whilst the others, especially Eton, strongly favoured only very limited forms of handling. Not only would many local elites probably contain some ex-pupils from the six 'kicking' schools, but, and perhaps most importantly, as I have previously argued, Eton, holding an especially prestigious position and with links to the Royal Court at Windsor, held a much higher status than educational establishments such as

Rugby. In other words they served as a role model for others. Having said this, where remnants of the folk forms of football continued to survive, they were probably much closer to rugby than soccer.

Russell (1998: 194) supplies us with some useful further information on the backgrounds of local elites. The soccer area of East Lancashire, he suggests, was influenced by Old Harrovians in Turton, Darwen and Bolton, leading to the establishment in those districts of clubs favouring the minimal handling and carrying style. However, in the textile belt of Yorkshire, a carrying stronghold, boys were usually sent to local schools advocating Rugby-type games rather than forms resembling the soccer code. Unfortunately, information informing us how schools came to favour a particular style is not at present available.

Many Association Football clubs in this period were formed by people already operating within existing social groups such as religious bodies, places of work, areas of residence, public houses and cricket clubs (Mason, 1980: 25-31). Indeed, a glance at the sporting reports under 'Local Intelligence' produced in the Blackburn Standard gives us a good impression of the church's early influence on the game in East Lancashire (8 January 1876; 21 October 1876; 18 November 1876; 25 November 1876; 2 December 1876). Team names such as Christ Church, which became Bolton Wanderers in August 1877 (Mason, 1980: 25), St. Mark's (Witton), St. Michael's (who played at Little Harwood), St. George's, Perseverance Griffin Church of England School and Park Road Congregational illustrate strong religious connections. They played a number of seemingly diverse football games, some with 15-a-side (St. Mark's v. Christ Church, 8 January 1876) and others 11-a-side (Church¹ v. Blackburn Rovers, 18 December 1875), though some were specifically identified as favouring Association rules (Perseverance v. Livesey United, 2 December 1876). Certainly this evidence helps to strengthen the hypothesis that many people connected with the church were interested

¹ Church is a town in East Lancashire

in the use of games such as football to instill and foster moral values. At the very least muscular christians would rather view their parishioners playing sport than gambling or imbibing alcohol in a public house (Mason, 1980: 26).

Places of work were another social focus where people interacted to form football clubs. Sheffield gives us several examples - Exchange Brewery (Founded 1871), Norfolk Works (1872) (Young, 1962: 31-2), Eckington Works, Lockwood Brothers and Milton Works (Walters, 1957: 24). The social and historical perspectives presented by two particularly detailed studies into the early years, respectively, of Crewe Alexandra and West Ham United, that is the studies by Redfern and Korr, afford us further glimpses into the much debated question of the social backgrounds of the founders of teams, in what might be described as the second stage of club formation.

I have already indicated that it was footballers from middle and upper class backgrounds who began such organisations during the 1850s and 1860s when the first clubs for the sole purpose of playing football were formed. Did this premise still hold good some 20 years and more later? What is clear from careful consideration of the studies by Redfern and Korr is that, in each case, the over-riding influence of one particular person was paramount. The town of Crewe was, at that time, dominated by the London and North Western Railway Company, so much so that senior officials at the works found it possible to exert a good deal of influence on the leisure pursuits of the workforce. As the Chief Mechanical Engineer, a position of considerable power in the town, from 1872-1903, F.W. Webb, once described as the 'King of Crewe', exercised a degree of control over the working and social lives of the L.N.W.R. staff. Playing a central role in the early development of Crewe Alexandra Athletic Club, though perhaps not in its formation - it was established in 1867, five years before Webb was appointed Chief Mechanical Engineer - he would also no doubt have been influential in the founding in 1877 of the football section. The latter, however, broke away from the Athletic

Club in 1891 over the issue of professionalism, with Webb to the forefront of the opposition to the payment of players. Although never playing the role of sole provider of leisure opportunities in Crewe, the company, largely through the efforts of Webb himself, nevertheless saw the provision of housing, schools, churches, public baths and allotments, as well as sporting clubs, as improving the non-working time of their employees and no doubt this particular example of muscular christianity had as much to do with a desire to produce a healthier and more productive labouring body as it had with any form of social conscience (Redfern, 1983: 117-136, In Walton and Walvin (Eds.)).

In the East End of London there was another individual who was to be instrumental in the development of a football club closely attached to a place of work. Arnold F. Hills, owner of the Thames Ironworks and a member of the Oxford University side that was defeated 2-0 by Wanderers in the 1876-7 Cup Final (Green, 1953: 592-3), founded a soccer team at his factory in the summer of 1895 in the belief that the move would be good for business and socially responsible. Other organisations had been formed in the works, including a string band, a temperance society and a drama club. Subscriptions from members assured the financial viability of the various leisure pursuits and each exemplified Hill's philosophy of co-operation between workers and management (Korr, 1978: 211-232). It seems relatively certain that the football section turned professional in 1898, having joined the Southern League, and two years later, following the winding up of the original Thames Ironworks F.C., became West Ham United, though the factory connection remained unbroken until 1904 (Rollin (Ed.), 1994: 547).

It is noteworthy that the guiding lights behind the formation of many clubs, even up to the turn of the century, tended to be men drawn from the upper middle class, men who had earned their wealth through the success of a particular section of industry and who seeing that leisure, in this case the game of football, had a positive influence on their workforce, founded

recreational and sporting organisations to this end. Certainly, in Hills' case at Thames Ironworks, this appears to have been part of a pre-planned social process. These particular examples, deeply researched and containing detailed information on the two clubs seem to strengthen Dunning and Sheard's claim (1979: 105) that such organisations tended to be initiated by members of the upper and middle classes. Though Mason (1980: 28-30) and Marples (1954: 166) hint at the involvement of the working class in the formation of soccer clubs - teams initially organised around public houses such as Tottenham Hotspur for example - the evidence is thin and the suspicion remains that, although the vast majority of *members* may have been working class, further investigation is likely to indicate that, as in the cases of West Ham United and Crewe Alexandra, the principal founders were from higher strata of society. Too many writers seem to suggest an over involvement of the working class in club foundation. Walvin (1994: 63), for example, states that Stoke City 'was founded in 1863 by workmen of the North Staffordshire Railway' and that Crewe Alexandra originated when 'railway workers...who had formed a cricket club in 1860, decided to form a football team in 1877.'

I only cite these examples as I believe I have already illustrated conclusively, through an examination of detailed early histories, that these particular clubs, together with West Ham United, were products in which the work of men of the upper and middle classes played an important role.

Whilst there is plenty of evidence to suggest the existence of clubs in some way connected to places of work, there is little to convince me that workers *alone* were responsible for their origins. Korr (1978: 230) sums up the argument succinctly:

In the case of West Ham United, the 'working classes' did not 'claim the game as their own' if this means their exclusive domination of the club...In this (the formation of the football club) as in so many other areas of English life, working class participation was limited to work, either as players or supporters.

In order to trace the first professional footballers, it is firstly necessary to clarify our definition. The first man to be paid for his football skills, whether in money or kind, is probably untraceable. Thus, during the early days of the sport, local farmers or landowners may have engaged the services of skilful exponents from the next village for no more than the cost of a rabbit or chicken. Perhaps a shilling or two occasionally changed hands in Sheffield or Nottingham following a particularly hard won victory against bitter local rivals. We can never be sure. At present, we can only surmise. However, it is possible to be a little more certain concerning the importation of players, initially and more particularly from Scotland, and the claims of several of their number to having been the first soccer players to gain *regular* remuneration for their sporting skills. Scottish footballers, realising that loss of form or injury might jeopardise their soccer earnings, appear to have moved south as much for the availability of non-football as for football work. Opportunities for jobs at a higher rate of pay than those existing in their own country drew them away, though no doubt in many cases their extraordinary football skills created the initial opening. A contributor to Athletic Journal (13 March, 1888: 9) noted that such men 'serve their time to a trade at home, and when they are journeymen, and find trade bad, they come to England, where it is good.' However, a Scottish writer (Fairgrieve, 1964: 35) described the process as 'The lure of English gold' and continued 'what Scotsman, after all, ever went to England without being paid for it.'

So it was that James J. Lang came to be playing football in Sheffield during the late 1870s. He was born in March 1851 and worked in the shipyard of John Brown and Company on the Clyde. It was there, in 1869 that he lost the sight of one eye and, incredibly, considering his subsequent successful football career, remained on the government's official disabled list as a blind person (Sparling, 1926: 35-6). Nicknamed 'Reddie' he is said to have guarded the secret of his disability closely, perhaps not wishing to grant his opponents any advantage (Forsyth, 1990: 14, 22). His early clubs in Glasgow certainly included Eastern and Clydesdale (Lamming, 1987: 117) and perhaps in an effort to set the record straight, he contributed an

article to the Sunday Dispatch on 4 November 1922, part of which is reproduced below:

The First Anglo-Scot James J. Lang

Who was the first Scotsman to cross the Border to play football? I have frequently been amused to hear this subject discussed and argued, because I have always had a personal connection with it. In fact, I was the first Scotsman to cross the Border to play football. I am quite well aware that some may dispute that assertion with apparent good cause. But I think I can satisfy you that my claims to any distinction there may be in it has foundation in fact. Any misconception arises from the circumstances connected with the sojourn in England of Peter Andrews, my colleague of the old Eastern club.

Peter crossed the Border early in the year 1876. I went over in the autumn. But Peter did not go to play football. He was sent to Leeds on business by his firm, and, after being there for some months, became connected with the Heeley club. Later he took his wife and family south. I joined Sheffield Wednesday in the autumn of 1876 and I played my first match for them on the first Saturday of October of that year against fourteen of a local side. That was a rather curious match. The mere fact that eleven should face up to fourteen showed that the game was at that time only feeling its way, although I can assure you that our eleven-a-side matches were as keen and as fierce sometimes as the biggest events of the present day.

As so many great Scottish players later treked [sic] southward, perhaps it may be of interest to tell the origin of my connection with Sheffield Wednesday. I was playing for the Clydesdale club in 1876 when the Wednesday visited us at Kinning Park, the ground later taken over by the Rangers, when Clydesdale left it to go to Titwood Park. There were football and cricket sections of the club in those days but now only cricket is left. But the Clydesdale of Titwood Park today are the same.

In the Sheffield Wednesday team that day in April 1876 were the brothers Clegg, the famous Jack Hunter and W. H. Mossforth. [Usually spelt Mosforth] Mossforth was one of the most brilliant forwards I ever saw. He played for England before he was 17, but he never seemed to lack for experience, he was such a natural footballer.

I had played for Glasgow against Sheffield the previous February, and between that match and the one at Kinning Park, the Sheffield people seemed to have come to the conclusion that I might be of use to them. I am not going to say that I crossed the Border to play for nothing, because you would not believe me if I did. I may say that Mr. Charles Clegg stated definitely that I was the first Scotsman to go to England to play football. No one could have better authority for saying so, for he was playing himself during those years and was intimately associated with everything that took place.

Lang's story introduces us to the career of Peter Andrews, another Scotsman who came south and played football in England, though, as Lang states, Andrews made the journey in connection with his job, finding himself transferred from Glasgow to Leeds. This probably indicates that his occupation may have been more stable and more financially rewarding than

the shipyard work practised by Lang and, though there is no firm evidence, I believe it to have been unlikely that Andrews received or indeed required money for playing football. The latter had also played for the Eastern club and there is a hint of a link to Queen's Park. This connection being so, with Queen's Park players generally holding a relatively high position in Glasgow society, it further increases the possibility that Peter Andrews was a man of middle class, perhaps lower middle class, status. Travelling the distance from Leeds to Sheffield to play for the Heeley club appears slightly prohibitive, though, at that time, a Scottish international of Andrews' standard would have found South Yorkshire far more welcoming than the Leeds area in terms of opportunities to play soccer. In February 1875, he represented Glasgow against Sheffield, when he no doubt made acquaintances with players and representatives from the city and the following month was capped by his country against England, scoring in the 2-2 draw. It was early the following year that he was forced through his job to move to Leeds, though his Sheffield footballing exploits do not begin until the following season. Indeed, he was still playing for Glasgow against Sheffield in February 1876 and in April helped Clydesdale to beat Sheffield Wednesday in front of 10,000 spectators (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 21 February 1876 / 3 April 1876). These two fixtures are significant as they undoubtedly allowed interested Sheffield officials to inquire as to the availability of the likes of Lang, who also played in the two games, and Andrews. There is in fact strong evidence to suggest that at the latter game, Lang agreed to come south to play for Sheffield Wednesday (Sparling, 1926: 35). Andrews may also have made a similar agreement with Sheffield Heeley, though, of the two Scotsmen, it was to be Lang who made the first move, playing his first match in October 1876.

What is significant about Lang's article is the claim he makes in the final paragraph, that no lesser person than Charles Clegg 'was intimately associated with everything that took place' regarding his {Lang's} move from Scotland. Clegg was a man who had seemingly achieved a great deal in football during his lifetime. He had played in the first international soccer match,

England versus Scotland in 1872; controlled two F.A. Cup Finals, those of 1882 and 1892, as referee; was elected Chairman of the F.A. Committee in 1890; and from 1923 to 1937, was President of the Football Association. More particularly Clegg was a vociferous critic of professionalism, wishing to suppress it rather than merely to limit it, claiming that 'if professionalism is allowed it will only be placing greater power in the hands of betting men and encourage gambling' (Green, 1953: 101). Charles Clegg's brother-in-law, W. Pierce-Dix, who was a fellow soccer administrator in Sheffield and represented the County Association on the F.A. Committee, warned, 'Professionalism is an evil which must be repressed' (Farnsworth, 1995: 40).

There is no doubt that Clegg was familiar with Lang and played alongside him on many occasions, perhaps the most famous occasion being the inaugural Sheffield Association Challenge Cup Final of 1877, when both were in the Wednesday team which defeated a Heeley side containing Peter Andrews. The reporter, still aware of the status distinctions which existed between 'gentlemen' participants and mere 'players', constantly referred to three Wednesday players using the prefix 'Mr.', whilst the remainder were simply identified by their surnames (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 12 March 1877). Both Cleggs were solicitors, whilst the other honoured participant was William H. Stacey, a local headmaster (Farnsworth, 1995: 34).

If we believe what Lang has written, it is surprising that a man of Clegg's expressed views and principles should have been party to such a deal. Yet Lang continued to 'work' at the knife-making firm of Walter Fearnough, a small concern at 18, Garden Street, which employed twenty to thirty men. Fearnough was a Vice-president of the Wednesday Cricket Club, out of which the football section had sprung, and served on the latter body's committee ('Men of the Period: England': White's General and Commercial Directory of Sheffield: 1879). Lang assisted Wednesday throughout the 1876-77 campaign, always playing in the cup

ties, though not being present in every friendly fixture (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 15 January, 1877, Nottingham Forest v Wednesday) and finally being rewarded with a place in the Sheffield representative side which played at Birmingham in January 1877 (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 27 January 1877). However, it then appears that his link with Wednesday took on a different form with the beginning of the 1877-78 season. He had returned to Scotland, presumably during the summer break, and began playing for Third Lanark, but, in the New Year, would travel down especially to assist his Sheffield club in local Challenge Cup matches. In January 1878, he played against Hallam, then in February against Derby and, lastly, he appeared in the Final against Attercliffe that Wednesday won 2-0. Being a Scottish-based player, he was eligible to play for his country, which he did, for a second time - his first cap had been awarded against Wales on 5 March 1876 - whilst playing for Clydesdale, against the same opponents in March 1878 (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 27 March 1876; 28 January 1878; 25 February 1878; 4 March 1878). A local Sheffield newspaper recorded his appearance as follows: 'Five minutes before time was called Lang shot the ball clean through, just below the bar. Scotland thus won by nine goals to none' (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 25 March 1878). In crediting Lang with this goal we must be aware that in the early days of match reports newspaper columnists often conflicted as to which players had scored the goals, especially after a high scoring game such as this. One source (Oliver, 1992: 455) does not have Lang among the scorers. This confusion was often due to the mass scrimmages that occurred in front of goal.

Interestingly, the inaugural Sheffield Challenge Cup Final was held on 2 March 1878, on the same day as the Scotland v. England encounter. Did Lang prefer to play for his club for financial reward or was he simply not selected for his country? Either way, Lang and those who were paying him for playing, had begun a new type of professionalism, that of importation for selected, prestigious matches.

The following season, 1878-79, saw Lang remain at Third Lanark, visiting Sheffield over New Year to play against Heeley and also taking part in a Scottish international trial in February (Glasgow Herald, 2 January 1879; 24 February 1879). Lang returned to the Wednesday at least for the seasons 1880-81 and 1881-82, most notably encountering Blackburn Rovers and Fergus Suter, (more of him later), in an F.A. Cup semi-final in March, 1882 (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 22 March 1882). As for Peter Andrews, the last recorded reference to him I have managed to obtain was 3 January, 1880, when he guested, alongside Lang, for Wednesday, ironically, against the Scottish side, Vale of Leven, who were conducting their New Year tour of Sheffield (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, 5 January 1880).

When stimulated during the early 1880s by emergent professionalism into providing a more precise definition of their values, the devotees of British amateurism aligned themselves firmly against gambling and making a profit from sport. They also invoked other principles such as fair play, the limitation of violent conduct (Elias, 2000: The Civilising Process: the History of Manners) and the fostering of sports participation as opposed to audience satisfaction (Holt, 1992: 19-21). Charles Clegg would probably have agreed with all these values, though his seemingly open involvement with James Lang might appear to suggest a degree of hypocrisy on his part. Nevertheless, in forming his amateur stance, he possessed a significant advantage over his southern counterparts - he actually played with and against men such as Lang, Billy Mosforth and Jack Hunter, all Sheffield footballers who almost certainly received remuneration for their soccer skills. Indeed, there appears to have been a good deal of class mixing through the medium of football in Sheffield at this time. Clegg appeared to have regarded any link between sport and money to be entirely abhorrent, differing markedly in his fervent opposition to gambling on sport from the attitudes displayed by members of the upper class and aristocracy, especially in the eighteenth century. Summing up his stance he said, 'If professionalism is allowed it will only place greater power in the hands of the betting men

and, if ever the gamblers get control of the game, I wouldn't give tuppence for it' (Farnsworth, 1995: 40).

The timing of Clegg's and similar opinions on professionalism seem to support Dunning and Sheard's hypothesis (1979: 147) that the amateur ethos emerged dialectically, only becoming clearly defined in opposition to a similarly emergent social and sporting phenomenon, that is professional sport. This is a compelling case, which appears to suggest that, in soccer at least, amateurism as a concrete phenomenon did not exist until professionalism itself openly appeared in July 1885. However, the Manchester-based journal Athletic News was, in March 1877, styling itself as a 'Weekly Journal of Amateur Sports' (3 March 1877). Whilst this meant that the journal considered football, a sport on which it reported extensively, to certainly enjoy amateur status, it surely also revealed that this mid-Victorian newspaper editor, at heart, felt that a concept of amateurism already existed, though, as Dunning and Sheard (1979: 146-7) rightly point out, the amateur ethos could be applied by that time to a whole variety of sports in which professionalism already existed, namely cricket, athletics, rowing and boxing, to merely mention four. Aristocrats regularly staked large sums on the outcome of all these sports, whilst many, if not all, of the participants earned monetary reward for taking part (Holt, 1989: 64 and 103-108). Lastly, it may be pertinent to mention that Athletic News dispensed with its sub-title in May 1881 (Mason, 1980: 78).

An especially noteworthy development, which proceeded hand in hand with the emergence of professionalism and was, in part, one of the underlying preconditions for it was the increase in spectator attendance. Listed below are the crowd figures, no doubt approximate, for the first 15 F.A. Cup Finals. Also noted are the two participating elevens, with the last tie mentioned occurring in the first season of overt professionalism.

Table 7.1: F.A. Cup Final Results and Attendances, 1871 - 1886

1871-2

Wanderers - Royal Engineers

2000

1872-3	Wanderers - Oxford University	3000
1873-4	Oxford University - Royal Engineers	2000
1874-5	Royal Engineers - Old Etonians	3000
1875-6	Wanderers - Old Etonians	1500
1876-7	Wanderers - Oxford University	3000
1877-8	Wanderers - Royal Engineers	4500
1878-9	Old Etonians - Clapham Rovers	5000
1879-80	Clapham Rovers - Oxford University	6000
1880-1	Old Carthusians - Old Etonians	4500
1881-2	Old Etonians - Blackburn Rovers	6500
1882-3	Blackburn Olympic - Old Etonians	8000
1883-4	Blackburn Rovers - Queen's Park	14000
1884-5	Blackburn Rovers - Queen's Park	12500
1885-6	Blackburn Rovers - West Bromwich Albion	15000

(Smailes, 1992: 180-5)

The last game was a replay after a 0-0 draw at the Oval and was played at the County Ground, Derby, which may have been an easier venue to travel to for supporters of both clubs. Of course financially it may have proved difficult, many spectators having already travelled to London for the initial game. This was also the first final between two provincial, professional clubs.

As more provincial clubs, in these examples two teams from Blackburn, Rovers and Olympic, plus West Bromwich Albion, began to appear more regularly in the Final ties, so the attendance at these fixtures increased appreciably. One of the over-riding principles of the amateur ethos was 'to encourage participation; most amateur bodies placed much more stress on playing than on spectating; in some amateur sports, notably rugby union, spectators were scarcely tolerated' (Holt, 1992: 21).

Certainly, attendance figures at the first ten F.A. Cup Finals, all involving Old Boys or southern amateur sides, whilst lower than later finals, are more than negligible. Indeed, the second final was deliberately re-scheduled to begin at 11.00 am so as to allow players and

spectators to watch the Boat Race, which was being rowed later in the day (Green, 1960: 22). Was this the first concession by soccer to spectatorism? Previous examples indicate how representatives of the infant Football

Association sought to popularise their particular form of football by advertising future games in newspapers and journals with the deliberate aim of actually encouraging spectators. This was certainly the case with the first representative encounter, London v. Sheffield, in March 1866, notices of the match being placed in The Field, Bell's Life, Sporting Life and Sportsman (Green, 1953: 42). It should, however, be pointed out that, at the time, the Association code had not established itself in preference to the Rugby form and, as such, required fairly blatant popularisation. Such popularising efforts, aimed as they were at increasing spectator numbers, might still be construed as a notable departure from one of the main principles of amateurism, that is, participation rather than spectating.

Clegg in Sheffield saw the fall of morality in the form of gambling as the main danger to the game he loved, whereas many southern amateurs might have been more concerned with the game gradually losing its ideological stress on the importance of participation, based, as it was, on the ideals expressed in public school athleticism. We must now return to the factual developments that took place, firstly, in Sheffield and eventually, though a little later, in East Lancashire itself.

An interesting chapter in the rise of football professionalism in Sheffield took place between the years 1879 and 1882. At this time the Anglo-Zulu war was raging in Southern Africa, punctuated most memorably by the twin battles, both fought on the same date, 22 January 1879, of Isandlwana, a heavy British defeat, and Rorke's Drift, an epic British victory against overwhelming odds. Just a page or two distant from the White Star v Christ Church football report the Blackburn Standard (15 February 1879: 3) relayed the startling news about Isandlwana: 'a British column, consisting of a portion of the 24th regiment and 600 natives

with one battery, was defeated with terrible loss by an overwhelming force of Zulus, who numbered 20000.'

A week later (22 February 1879: 3), they described the action at Rorke's Drift: 'six times the Zulus forced their way into the barricade, and were as often driven out at the point of the bayonet.'

The war, whilst initially shocking the British populace, appeared to catch the imagination, not least because both sides had seemingly fought with extraordinary courage and determination, with no less than eleven Victoria Crosses, the highest ever for one single action, awarded for the engagement at Rorke's Drift (Knight, 1996).

Taking advantage of such interest, an enterprising set of well known Sheffield players decided to organise a series of benefit matches, the proceeds of which would be donated to the dependents of soldiers killed in the war. Duly dressed as Zulus, with black jerseys, decorative beads, assagais and shields, they played their first game at Bramall Lane against a Sheffield Players' XI on 10 November 1879, winning 5 goals to 4. To further embellish the occasion, a member of the 24th Foot, the regiment involved at Rorke's Drift, was present in the crowd. The idea proved so popular that they played teams all around the North and Midlands and the team developed a system of charging fees for their appearance, no doubt levied from the takings from spectators. Notable amongst the members of this travelling team were the aforementioned James J. Lang, who was at one time their secretary and Jack Hunter, an England international soon to move to Lancashire to play as a professional.

However, at the end of the 1879-80 season, the Sheffield F.A. accused those involved in the Zulu team of professionalism and called a halt to their fixtures. Then, in January 1881, another Zulu game was found to have taken place and eleven local players were suspended. Not only did this action deprive local clubs Heeley and Wednesday of important members of their teams for an imminent cup semi-final, but it also forced Jack Hunter, certainly one of the

city's best footballers, to miss the imminent North v. South international trial. Fortunately for Hunter the trial was postponed due to bad weather, but the cup tie went ahead with the Sheffield F.A. secretary and the man who had been directly responsible for the decision to suspend the Zulu players, W. Pierce-Dix, as referee. Wednesday emerged comfortable winners by seven goals to two, but it was a series of incidents following the end of the game which gave rise to a plethora of letters to the press, one of which was penned by Charles Clegg, perhaps in defence of his son-in-law.

On what came to be referred to as 'The Pierce-Dix Incident', he stated (Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 26 January 1881):

I think it right to call attention to the disgraceful conduct of some of the spectators after the match at Bramall Lane yesterday. As Mr. Dix was leaving the ground for the dressing room he was hooted at and hustled and several times kicked by persons I am satisfied would be ashamed to be seen guilty of such conduct. The above and other annoyances which Mr. Dix has from time to time had to endure from various parties because he has carried out the resolutions of the committee have caused him to resign his position of hon. secretary, and we shall now have to find a suitable successor.

The following day (Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 27 January 1881) Clegg's words were challenged in a letter signed merely 'H.H.'. The correspondent supported Hunter's Zulu activities, claiming:

the managers have no moral right to prevent him earning a trifle by playing elsewhere under any guise he thinks fit....why should money payments accepted elsewhere prevent a football player appearing for an association on its own terms, any more than county cricket matches be confined strictly to non-professionals?

Pierce-Dix, although having officially resigned, actually continued, perhaps as an interim official, for a further year as Honorary Secretary of the Sheffield F.A., whilst the Zulu players apologised and were re-instated (Data on the Zulu episode from: Sparling, 1926: 44-5; Young, 1962: 36; Farnsworth, 1995: 40-2; Sheffield Daily Telegraph, January 1881).

The unfortunate Pierce-Dix had to endure further problems later on in the 1880-81 season when he was heavily criticised in the East Lancashire area for his handling of their County Cup Final, subsequently won by Accrington F.C. The reason for this criticism revolved

around that he had refereed most of the game whilst carrying an umbrella. However, closer examination of the match itself reveals that Accrington's opponents, Park Road from Blackburn had actually left the field when Pierce-Dix had refused to disallow an Accrington goal for offside (Jackman and Dykes, 1991: 13).

These actions perhaps reflect the growing advancement of professionalism, bringing with them attitudes and values that, sociologically, indicate an important stage in the process of growing seriousness in sport. Whilst participants could be regulated by the gentlemen amateurs of the F.A. - indeed the abolition of hacking in the Association game at the inauguration of the F.A. in 1863 is a perfect example of players' violent excesses being curbed by a national rule amendment - these incidents are perhaps the first evidence of the need for *spectators* to exercise stricter self-control over emotional outbursts. Initially, one might believe that the appointment of Pierce-Dix to referee the Wednesday v. Heeley semi-final could be seen as an insensitive act on the part of the Sheffield F.A. The latter body, however, would probably not have expected such spectator reaction, as Clegg's indignant letter appears to indicate. These are surely the initial stages of a continuing process, probably beginning in Britain but shortly to be overtaken by the U.S.A., in which sporting participants have adopted an ever-more competitive stance. Dunning (Elias & Dunning, 1986: 205) calls it 'growing competitiveness, seriousness of involvement and achievement orientation' and continues:

Expressed differently, the trend I am referring to involves the gradual but seemingly inexorable erosion of 'amateur' attitudes, values and structures, and their correlative replacements by attitudes, values and structures that are 'professional' in one sense or another of that term. Viewed from yet another angle, it is a trend in which, in countries all over the world, sport is being transformed from a marginal, lowly valued institution into one that is central, and much more highly valued, an institution, which, for many people, seems to have religious or quasi-religious significance in the sense that it has become one of the central, if not *the* central, sources of identification, meaning and gratification in their lives.

Association football participants experienced this change of values as working class players and spectators became increasingly involved and clashed, especially in F.A. Cup encounters,

with southern amateurs holding entirely different attitudes to sport and leisure. The former attempted to 'win at all costs' to achieve extrinsic rewards such as payment for victory, individual medals and team cups together with notoriety and fame within their own communities. The latter played for intrinsic rewards including the enjoyment of taking part and pure love of the game. Now, however, spectators, not unknown though barely significant at Old Boys only fixtures, were being subjected to attempts to force them to abandon their emotionally charged, working class loyalties and to accept defeat in a non-violent, more 'civilised' manner. Spectatorism and appropriate reactions to this phenomenon had begun.

The distribution of power in terms of footballing prowess and success was, during the late 1870s, beginning to shift from the all-conquering - certainly in regard to F.A. Cup victories - Southern Amateur clubs to the rapidly emerging East Lancashire sides, many of whom were suspected, probably quite rightly, in most if not all cases, of providing monetary rewards for their players and also of pursuing a policy of deliberately importing new talent, usually from Scotland. Around the same time, this process began to be partly reflected in the increased selection of players to represent England from teams from geographical areas outside the South East. As the power on the fields of play of the northern sides grew - Sheffield, Nottingham and Birmingham clubs all enjoyed some national success in these years - it might have been expected that their players would receive international recognition, but questions of social status, geographical bias and perhaps a dislike of creeping professionalism appear to have precluded this. In this section, accordingly, I shall examine the social composition of England elevens selected for matches against Scotland from 1872-3 to 1892-3 in order to determine the changing social status of the members of these international teams as well as investigating why the former were so strikingly unsuccessful against the latter prior to 1884-5, yet showed such a marked improvement during the following decade.

In his book *Sporting Days and Sporting Ways* (1932: 66), N.L. Jackson, the founder of the famous old amateur club 'The Corinthians', contended:

My reason for this venture [forming the Corinthian Football Club] was that our English teams were continually being beaten by Scotland, whose eleven was largely composed of Queen's Park players, the fact that these were constantly playing together giving them a combination altogether lacking in our elevens. At that period the public school and university men provided most of the players for the English side, so I thought that by giving these plenty of practice together they would acquire a certain measure of combination. And my view was fully justified, for in the nine years preceding the 1884-85 season the Scots had won eight matches and lost only one, whereas the *next* nine years saw England win four matches and lose two only, while three were drawn. The players included forty-four Corinthians, many of whom played on several occasions.

Certainly, England possessed a sorry record against Scotland between the seasons 1875-6 and

1883-4. It was:

Played 9 Won 1 Lost 8 Goals For 16 Goals Against 37

It is necessary in this context firstly to examine in as much detail as the extant data allow, the make-up of each England team versus the Scots during these years, the nine-year period before the formation of the Corinthians. The match against the Scots was the hardest test of any England XI at this time (They only played so-called 'home' internationals, of course). Although Wales recorded two early victories against the English in 1880-1 and 1881-2 they did not win again until the 1919-20 season, whilst the Irish only gained their first success in 1912-3. In addition, since Jackson's claim refers specifically to matches against Scotland, only these fixtures will be investigated.

Table 8.1: Geographical composition of England teams v. Scotland by reference to the area in which the clubs were located (1875-6 to 1883-4). Letters alongside numbers refer to comments made below as to the amateur or professional status of particular players

SEASON	SCORE	LONDON	NORTH	MIDLANDS	SHEFFIELD
(England & SOUTHWEST first)					
1875-76	0-3	10	0	1	0
1876-77	1-3	9	0	1	1 ^a
1877-78	2-7	8	0	1	2 ^b
1878-79	5-4	6	0	2	1
1879-80	4-5	7	1 ^c	2	2
1880-81	1-6	7	2 ^d	1	1
1881-82	1-5	4	1 ^e	4 ^f	2
1882-83	2-3	7	1 ^g	3 ^h	0
1883-84	0-1	5	1 ⁱ	5 ^j	0

^a This was the debut of the Sheffield forward W.H. (Billy) Mosforth. Whilst some authorities claim either Jack Hunter or Jimmy Forrest was the first professional to play for England (Freddi, 1991: 172), it seems likely that Mosforth was, even at this early stage, receiving money for playing football in Sheffield (Steele, 1986: 16; Farnsworth, 1995: 36).

^b *John (Jack) Hunter's debut. He was probably playing club football in Sheffield on the same basis as Mosforth - that is, being paid. From the working class and a virtual full-time professional (Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 73), he later masterminded Blackburn Olympic's F.A. Cup triumph in 1883.*

^c *Tom Brindle's debut. He played for Darwen, a club with a reputation for using working class players. There is reason to suspect Brindle was receiving surreptitious payment for playing.*

^d *Rostron of Darwen may very well have received payment - for reasons see Brindle, above. However, John (Jack) Hargreaves was educated at Malvern College and belonged to a social stratum not noted for or requiring payment for playing soccer (Young, 1968: 116).*

^e *'Doc' Greenwood had also attended Malvern College. He was probably not a professional (Young, 1968: 116).*

^f *Includes Alfred Jones of Walsall Town Swifts, who had moved on to Great Lever in Bolton within the year, almost certainly for extra monetary rewards.*

^g *Jones again, now of Great Lever.*

^h *Includes Stuart Macrae of Notts. County and a future Corinthian. He was, therefore, as a member of that exclusive club, almost certainly an amateur.*

ⁱ *Joe Beverley of Blackburn Rovers. The Rovers club was more middle class than rivals Darwen and Blackburn Olympic, though their playing membership appears to have involved a mixture of social classes. Beverley's status is at present unknown.*

^j *Includes Macrae and Alfred Dobson, both future Corinthians. Also Billy Gunn, a Nottinghamshire and England cricketer of some repute. He was almost certainly an amateur.*

The 1883-4 season marked the beginning of the city of Sheffield's decline in international football terms. They would not provide another representative in an England-Scotland encounter until Fred Spiksley in 1892-3. Indeed, either Mosforth or Hunter had gained all of the caps awarded to players from that city against the Scots between 1876-7 and 1881-2.

Apart from Alfred Jones, the vast majority of the Midlands players were undoubted amateurs.

These included men such as the aforementioned Macrae, Dobson and Gunn, together with

A.W. Cursham and H.A. Cursham, brothers who played for Notts. County, the latter going on to represent the Corinthians. Arthur (A.W.) Cursham was involved in a perplexing incident during the 1877-8 season when, although a leading figure of the Nottingham Club, he turned out *against* them in the opening round of that year's F.A. Cup competition. Might there have been a financial reward offered? Probably not, though Arthur, unlike Harry (H.A.), his brother, never represented the Corinthians (Brown, 1996: 12).

The most striking anomaly, however, is the lack of recognition that was accorded to players from the North West of England in this period, especially following the success of teams from this area in the F.A. Cup. Darwen had almost beaten the Old Etonians, the eventual winners, in 1878-9; Blackburn Rovers were finalists in 1881-2; Blackburn Olympic won the trophy in 1882-3, whilst Rovers were also victorious the following year. Yet by 1883-4, in games involving England and Scotland, only three caps had been awarded to Blackburn Rovers men and just two to players from Darwen. Three other players from north west clubs were capped during this time but only against Wales and Ireland, seemingly less prestigious opponents. Blackburn Rovers provided Fred Hargreaves and James (Jimmy) Brown, whilst Darwen's sole representative was Thomas (Tom) Marshall (Green, 1953: 628).

Despite their victory in the final of the F.A. Cup in 1882-3 only one Blackburn Olympic player was to be capped whilst a member of the club. Olympic's decline was so rapid that they went out of existence just six years later (Butler, 1991: 21). Even the honouring of Jimmy Ward in 1884-5 remains token recognition, particularly as the opponents that day were Wales and the fixture was held in Blackburn. Possibly as part of an attempt to stimulate spectator interest, he was one of five local stars included (Freddi, 1991: 244). Jack Hunter, who might be described as player-manager of the club at the time of their national triumph, was also capped, though his caps were gained whilst playing in Sheffield. Hunter had left the Yorkshire city under a cloud of claims that he was a professional and may have felt that being paid for playing was more acceptable in East Lancashire. Hunter, whilst in Sheffield, had

been involved in a series of matches with other renowned local players in the guise of Zulus (See pages 124-6 of this thesis), initially playing for charity though eventually developing a system of charging fees. Hunter and others were banned from playing and, though the situation was resolved, the following season Hunter left Sheffield to play for Blackburn Olympic and to manage a public house in Lancashire. In the 1882-3 season with Jack Hunter as what might only be described as player-manager the team became the first northern side to win the F.A. Cup. It seems highly likely that he received money for playing football in Sheffield and was probably awarded a large increase in such inducements to move to Lancashire (Farnsworth, 1995: 40-3). In any event, it is virtually certain that suspicions that he was a professional prevented him from gaining further international recognition.

The table below illustrates that the vast majority of English international soccer players before 1884 were from London and the South, and, therefore, highly unlikely to have accepted money for playing the game.

Table 8.2: England Internationals v Scotland, by region, 1875-6 to 1883-4

Total-99	London & the South	64	North West	6
	Midlands	20	Sheffield	9

If we accept that Jones (Green, 1953: 628) alone from the Midlands representatives, Mosforth (Steele, 1986: 16; Farnsworth, 1995: 36) and Hunter (Farnsworth, 1995: 40-3) from Sheffield and Rostron and Brindle from Darwen (Butler, 1982: 14; Green, 1960: 25; Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 58; Marples, 1954: 170) were the only seemingly working class players to wear an England shirt against Scotland between 1875-6 and 1883-4, this would mean that no fewer than 94 of the 99 footballers who represented England during these years were confirmed amateurs, upper or middleclass men who took part for enjoyment rather than financial reward.

Now let us examine the Corinthians era, that is the years between 1884-5 and 1892-3, a period when England's results against Scotland improved dramatically, largely according to N.L.

Jackson, because of the formation of the Corinthian Football Club.

Table 8.3: Geographical composition of England teams v. Scotland by reference to the area in which the clubs were located (1884-5 to 1892-3).

Again letters alongside numbers refer to notes below

SEASON	SCORE	LONDON	NORTH	MIDLANDS	SHEFFIELD
(England & SOUTH WEST first)					
1884-85	1-16	4 ^a	1		0
1885-86	1-1	7	2 ^c	2 ^b	0
1886-87	2-3	6	4 ^c	1	0
1887-88	5-0	3	4	4	0
1888-89	2-3	4	3	4	0
1889-90	1-1	4	1	6	0
1890-91	2-1	1	6	4	0
1891-92	4-0	1	5	5	0
1892-93	5-2	4	3	3	1

^a *Includes James (Jimmy) Forrest, who, playing against Wales on 17 March 1884, had become the first openly professional player to represent England. The other three, Lofthouse, Arthur and Brown, were also Blackburn Rovers players. Because of the increasingly competitive character of north west soccer following the legalisation of professionalism, it may seem safe to assume that they were in receipt of cash for football*

^b *Ben Spilsbury of Derby County and Tinsley Lindley of Nottingham Forest were both Corinthians. N.L. Jackson thought so highly of Lindley that at a meeting of the international selection committee he nominated him for each of the five forward positions in turn (Freddi, 1991: 182).*

^c *Includes G. Howarth of Accrington, who was probably a professional. Also includes the previously mentioned Forrest and Lofthouse (Blackburn Rovers) and, interestingly, Fred Dewhurst of Preston North End, a north west Corinthian.*

It seems relatively safe (following the acceptance by the Football Association of payment for playing) to assume that the vast majority of the north west and Midlands representatives after July 1885 were professionals. It is also clear that, despite the formation of the Corinthians, footballers from London and the South were playing for England against the Scots in ever-

decreasing numbers in these years, though probably the decline would have been even steeper had the England selectors taken into account their lack of F.A. Cup success during that period. Between the 1885-6 and 1892-3 seasons, not one side from London and the South reached the Final, whilst Swifts, who reached that far during the 1885-6 season, were the last team to play in a semi-final tie (Smailes, 1991: 185). All this was despite the fact that, until 1888-9, the early rounds were regionalised, meaning that the southern amateurs were not obliged to meet the largely stronger combinations from the North West and Midlands until later in the competition. During these years Midlands sides matched the success of their North West counterparts, as Wolverhampton Wanderers, West Bromwich Albion (twice) and Aston Villa on four occasions were victorious in the F.A. Cup and also provided, with the addition of Notts. County, the losing finalists no less than five times.

Table 8.4: Players used by England against Scotland between 1884-5 to 1892-93, by region:

London and the South	North West	Midlands	Sheffield	Total
34	32	30	1	97

England's record during that time was as follows:

<i>Played</i>	<i>Won</i>	<i>Lost</i>	<i>Drawn</i>	<i>Goals For</i>	<i>Goals Against</i>
9	4	2	3	23	12

The following players won the 44 caps gained by Corinthians during those games:

1885 Bailey (Westminster School), A.M. Walters (Old Carthusians and Cambridge University), Cobbold (Old Carthusians, Cambridge University and Corinthians), Bambridge (Swifts), Amos (Old Carthusians and Cambridge University), P.M. Walters (Old Carthusians, Oxford University and Corinthians)

1886 A.M. Walters, Bailey, Spilsbury (Cambridge University), Brann (Swifts), Lindley, Cobbold, Bambridge, P.M. Walters, Squire (Old Westminsters and Cambridge University; also to be an FA Committee member and Treasurer of the Corinthians)

1887 A.M. Walters, Bailey, Lindley (Cambridge University; also a medical doctor), Cobbold, Bambridge, P.M. Walters, Dewhurst (Preston North End).

1888 Moon (Old Westminsters), Holden-White, Lindley, P.M. Walters, Dewhurst

1889 Moon, A.M. Walters, Hammond (Oxford University), Lindley, P.M. Walters

1890 Moon, A.M. Walters, Currey (Oxford University), Lindley, Daft (Notts. County), P.M. Walters

1891 Moon

1892 Dunn (Old Etonians and Cambridge University)

1893 Gay (Old Brightonians and Cambridge University) Harrison (Old Westminster),
Gosling (Old Etonians), Cotterill (Old Brightonians and Cambridge University)

* 44 caps in total ** 20 different players

✍ Moon and Gay were both goalkeepers (Freddi, 1991; Weir, 1998)

In conclusion, it would appear that Jackson's argument might have possessed some validity for the seasons 1884-5 to 1889-90, when no fewer than 38 of the 44 caps gained by Corinthians during our period of study were awarded. However, only six Corinthian representatives played in the three succeeding seasons when, significantly, England were victorious on each occasion. Results, I believe, improved because of additional reasons. Between the seasons 1875-6 and 1883-4, southern amateurs provided 64 of the players involved on England's behalf in soccer games against Scotland out of a total of 99, whilst other regions, particularly the north west, were generally ignored. It might be argued, especially following the improvement shown by the teams from the north west beginning with Darwen's F.A. Cup exploits of 1879, that more consideration should have been accorded to players from this area in regard to international appearances. Even following 1884-5, in the second period of study, if F.A. Cup success is used as a guideline, clubs from London and the South, whose national competition results were, during this time, extremely disappointing, appear to have provided a disproportionate number of representatives for the England team. With professionalism and full-time training on the increase in Lancashire, the Midlands and Sheffield during the early 1880s, bringing with them higher fitness levels and consistently-honed skills, it is possible to suggest that had these players been selected much earlier and in greater numbers, England's results might have improved sooner. Indeed, there may well be a correlation between better national team results and the advent of professionalism, not simply from the date of 20 July 1885, when it was officially recognised by the F.A. but from several years earlier, in a time when growing numbers of clubs especially in Lancashire were clearly practising the payment and full-time training of players, albeit in a covert manner.

One further possible reason for England's change of fortune must be examined. From the late 1870s the steady trickle of Scottish players, necessarily the better footballers of that nation as this was the prime consideration when English club scouts were recruiting talent north of the border, began, by the following decade, to border on a flood. By the time the F.A. officially legalised professionalism in England on 20 July 1885, there were no fewer than 68 Scotsmen playing south of the Tweed. The Scottish F.A. accordingly took the decision that none of those footballers should be allowed to play in the land of their birth, except by special permission, thereby also denying them the opportunity to represent their country at international level (Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 86). It was not until 1893, that Scotland openly allowed professionalism (Mason, 1980: 80) and it would be three more years before players who had moved south were again selected for international matches (Robertson, 1979: 72).

England's record in the nine matches including and immediately following 1896 – a record which indicates a rise in Scottish footballing fortunes - was as follows:

<i>Played</i>	<i>Won</i>	<i>Lost</i>	<i>Drawn</i>	<i>Goals For</i>	<i>Goals Against</i>
9	3	4	2	14	16

Between 1885 and 1893 the Scottish international eleven was severely depleted by a decision made by their own F.A. and, with exactly the opposite process taking place in England, where professionals began much more readily to be selected for international duty, it is clearly no coincidence to find that Scotland's international results against England markedly declined.

It is accordingly my contention that Jackson's assertion that the formation of the Corinthians was the crucial factor in improving England's international fortunes against the Scots during this period is only partially true. Professionalism and its recognition in England and rejection in Scotland was a powerful force in providing better players for England and reducing the pool of international class footballers for the Scots.

Might it then be possible to suggest that the individual committee members of the Football Association, the body designated to select England international teams, emanating as they did from the upper and middle class sections of society, were openly exhibiting a form of class hostility in refusing to choose players from what they regarded inferior social groups, that is clubs from East Lancashire in particular, who were deemed to be engaged in, firstly covertly and subsequently in an open manner, a practice, the payment of footballers, which the vast majority of F.A. representatives found repugnant? Perhaps this was only part of an 'amateur response' to the rapid emergence of professionalism, as the controllers of the game sought to limit or even expunge what they considered to be this new 'evil' (Dunning & Sheard, 1979: 146). Not only did this development challenge their value system, much of which had been learned at public schools and reinforced at University, but it also saw them steadily lose their dominance on the field of play. This latter suggestion could possibly be problematic as one might imagine that a high proportion of Old Boys clubs simply played for the love of the game, without ever contemplating financial reward. However, there appears to be little evidence to suggest that this particular value ever interfered with their will to win. Indeed, one particular show of exuberance may be indicative of the complete opposite. The F.A. Cup Final of 1881-2 saw Old Etonians play Blackburn Rovers, the first time a northern side had reached that stage of the competition. Whether or not the Old Etonian players, who were triumphant by the only goal, were aware that the growing might of northern football, as represented by the Rovers players would soon consume them, is unclear. Yet, at the presentation ceremony, A.F. Kinnaird, later President of the F.A., was said to have 'jumped for joy and celebrated the victory by standing on his head in front of the Oval pavilion' (Green, 1960: 30).

Certainly Kinnaird's action cannot be said to have conformed to Dunning & Sheard's (1979: 153) second behavioural attribute of the public school elite in their discussion of the components of the amateur ethos. They state that to be worthy of the description 'sport', an activity should involve 'self-restraint and, above all, the masking of enthusiasm in victory and

disappointment in defeat.' Pleasure was gained from the enjoyment of taking part, still involving a competitive aspect, not from achieving victory as an ultimate goal. It appears that even A.F. Kinnaird, in many ways the epitome of public school values of athleticism, may have succumbed to the increasingly serious nature of soccer as expressed, at that time, by matches in the F.A. Cup. Described by Young (1968: 105) as having been in favour of a 'classless game', Kinnaird's actions after the Old Etonians' victory of 1882 suggest that his egalitarian sentiments may have been tempered by a degree of class and regional prejudice.

It is now time to switch the focus of our attention, at least geographically, to a much more detailed examination of events involved in the emergence of professional football in East Lancashire. The F.A. Cup competition, instigated in the 1871-2 season and only gradually becoming an accepted test of national footballing prowess, initially remained the domain, in terms of success and weight of entry, of the southern amateur clubs. In the first six seasons, out of a total of 157 entries, only 14 were received from clubs outside the London area (Smailes, 1992: 180-1). However, the 1877-8 draw saw two teams enter from Lancashire. In round one, with the ties still regionalised, Darwen opened with a 3-0 victory against county rivals Manchester and were only beaten by a single goal at Sheffield F.C. As a result, the footballers representing the mill town of Darwen, a place situated some ten miles south of Blackburn in a valley from which steep slopes eventually lead to high moorland might have looked forward to the following year's competition with some confidence. The first round in 1878-79 saw them awarded a bye after their opponents, Birch from Manchester, withdrew, whilst in the second, they disposed of their local rivals, Eagley, by four goals to one, following a 0-0 draw. Birch appeared undecided as to which code of football they should play. Athletic News (30 March, 1878) reported: 'The Birch Club, not content with its achievements in the Rugby Football line, has had the hardihood to throw down the gauntlet to the renowned Queen's Park.' The heavy defeat that Birch suffered (6-0) may have hastened their withdrawal from the 1878-79 F.A. Cup.

In the third round, Darwen were forced to travel to play Remnants, a side based in Slough and containing public school old boys. Despite the away fixture, the Darwen combination prevailed 3-2 (Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 58), the winning goal arriving in extra time. A visit to London, however, probably cost the club upwards of £30, a substantial sum in those years, and so, when the draw for the quarter-finals paired Darwen with Old Etonians, a powerful southern amateur combination, the Lancashire side seriously considered withdrawal. Not for

the last time, however, the townspeople rallied and various donations secured the finance required to fulfil the fixture.

The Darwen side of 1878-9 has generally been described by football historians as containing players drawn exclusively from the working class. Here is a selection of their descriptions:

‘A team of Lancashire mill workers’ (Butler, 1982: 14).

‘a team composed almost entirely of working lads and young men employed in the mills of that small Lancashire town’ (Green, 1960: 25).

‘the team was comprised almost entirely of working lads and young men from the mills of that typical Lancashire town’ (Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 58).

‘A humble local team of mill workers’ (Marples, 1954: 170).

Even ‘Free Kick’, the football columnist of the Blackburn Standard in the 1880s, noted that the Darwen players ‘belong entirely to the working class’ (27 November 1880). This may be an over-simplification. Though the exact occupations of all members of the Darwen team are unknown, there is evidence to suggest that J. Gledhill, a particularly effective forward, was a medical doctor who lived in Manchester and travelled by train to each game (Butler, 1982: 17). It is also suspected that two Scotsmen, Fergus Suter and James Love, may well have been among the first professional footballers. They were tenuously employed in the town but received the bulk of their income from their soccer earnings.

That Darwen were only defeated after three matches with the Old Etonians - the first was drawn 5-5, the second 2-2, before the northerners finally succumbed by 6 goals to 2 - is well recorded. It appears, however, to highlight several social and historical issues. We have already noted two problematic areas, namely the over-simplified notion that northern teams were necessarily composed of men employed in mundane occupations in the locality, and secondly that the Lancashire side may well have been issuing monetary rewards for playing to certain players. A further controversy at that time concerned the practice of playing all ties in the final three rounds of the F.A. Cup at Kennington Oval in London, a rule which applied

even if a provincial team was fortunate enough to force a draw and therefore earn a replay (Butler, 1982: 25). This, of course, Darwen managed not once but twice, both times having to return to Kennington Oval. Not only did this practice favour teams from the capital in football terms, since most London-based players had experience of playing at the Oval and were spared the rigours of long-distance travel, it also had an effect on club finances. For Darwen's first encounter with Old Etonians, local donations secured the visit, but between this match and the first replay, the Darwen club raised a sum of £175, a figure which no doubt covered expenses for the third game. In addition, the team received £10 from the Football Association and £5 from the Old Etonians (Green, 1953: 66). Were the F.A. and the Old Etonians finally recognising the folly of forcing provincial teams to return again and again to London?

Following the first game, Darwen had asked the Old Boys to play extra-time, a request, which had, within the laws, been refused. There were perhaps a number of reasons for this decision. Firstly, with Darwen reducing the arrears from 5-1 to the southerners at half time to five all at the final whistle, the Lancashire side was clearly in the ascendancy. Secondly, the Old Etonians were without three of their regular players, Lyttelton, Bury and Novelli; and thirdly, two comments in a contemporary newspaper report (The Sportsman, in The Darwen Cricket and Football Times, 14 February, 1879: Nos. 1, 8) might lead us to believe that the northern team used their superior fitness in extra-time to tip the balance:

‘The Etonians...were much the heavier team.’

‘The Lancashire team, indeed, seemed to be in better condition than their opponents.’

The Blackburn Standard summed up the match indignantly:

From the start the Darwen men have had the greatest disadvantages to contend with, for, after having made a draw in their first encounter; the Eton men refused to play an extra half-hour, thus entailing in the Lancashire teams another journey to London. Their second essay was quite as unproductive, but on that occasion an extra thirty minutes was indulged in.

The Darwen Cricket and Football Times (14 February 1879: Nos. 1, 2) also records the

following proposed rule change for consideration at the annual general meeting of the F.A. to be held on 27 February:

CHALLENGE CUP COMPETITION

PROPOSED BY OLD HARROVIANS

1. That no club which does not consist entirely of amateurs, as defined by rules to be drawn up by the committee, be entitled to compete in the Challenge Cup Competition.
2. That no club which does not exact some qualification for membership be entitled to compete in the Challenge Cup Competition. The sufficiency of such qualification to be determined by the committee.
3. That no player be allowed to take part in any of the cup ties otherwise than on behalf of his regiment, university, school or local club, unless he shall have been duly elected a member of, and paid his subscriptions to such club in the preceding or some earlier season.

The timing of these proposals is of particular significance. The first Old Etonians-Darwen match was played on 13 February 1879, whilst the proposed rule amendments appeared in a Darwen newspaper the day afterwards. Whilst they cannot, therefore, be seen as a direct reaction to the first F.A. Cup encounter, we must remind ourselves that the Darwen club had already visited the South and defeated Remnants F.C. of Slough. Southern footballers may indeed have been shaken by this challenge to their playing superiority, together with the threat now being posed to their dearly held amateur values. There is perhaps little doubt that the Old Harrovians' proposals were a tilt at strong rumours circulating at the time concerning the payment and importation of players to Association clubs based in Lancashire. Whilst the initial proposal attempted to deal with the monetary issue, the second and third suggestions sought to eradicate the practice of northern clubs importing players simply for vital cup ties, a practice which, in many cases, ended in the player, quite often a Scot, taking up permanent residence in the region.

These pleas, then, might be perceived as the first indications of a growing Southern fear of Northern dominance of the game of football, as players and administrators from the south

believed that *their* game was coming under threat from a section of English society who would be unable or unwilling, because of their lack of public school education and, therefore, lack of any exposure to the supposedly superior value system present in those institutions, to uphold existing standards (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 146).

Some questions, however, remained, for the time being, unanswered. We have seen how two Scotsmen played in the Darwen team, but what were two Scotsmen, Fergus (Fergie) Suter and James (Jimmy) Love, doing in East Lancashire? In order to move towards an answer to this question, an examination of football in Scotland in the late nineteenth century is required.

Queen's Park dominated football in Scotland during the 1870s and even beyond. Other clubs also enjoyed some success, one of these being Partick F.C. of Glasgow (It is important not to confuse Partick F.C. with Partick Thistle F.C. The former was the older club, though when they became extinct in 1885, Thistle took over the disused facilities (Archer, 1976: 21). The Glasgow Herald (5 February 1877) notes that Suter turned out for Partick in a fixture against Alexandra Athletic in that year and the club no doubt pursued fixtures against other local sides as well as venturing to Lancashire at New Year to fraternise and play soccer against the likes of Darwen and Blackburn Rovers. There is some dispute as to their initial visit. Archer (1976: 19) claimed this took place in early 1876, whilst 'Bedouin', football correspondent of the Scottish Weekly Record (29 August 1908) insisted:

It was to Partick the Lancashire clubs first turned when the folds of Scotland were exploited for players. The old Partick club, whose secretary was Mr Peter McColl - at the time the youngest match secretary in Scotland, and today one of the heads of The Anchor Line - was the first Scottish club to meet Blackburn Rovers in Lancashire. That occurred on a New Year holiday tour in 1878.

The Athletic News (5 January 1878) concurred with the latter date and also added that Darwen defeated Patrick (this must be a spelling error and should read Partick) by four goals to two, the Scottish team containing two players named Suter and two called Love. The Scottish Weekly Record (4 July 1914), looking back on 1880s Glasgow football, recalled

Fergie Suter and a player named Jerry Suter, perhaps a relative, the latter representing both Partick and Partick Thistle.

The first indication, however, that Lancashire clubs, motivated by local pride and a desire for success, were actively engaging the better players involved in these Anglo-Scottish New Year encounters, is given by the appearance of Fergie Suter for Turton F.C. in the final of the Turton Challenge Cup of 1878. The Turton team won the cup and along with it a financial reward: 'the second prize money, £3 won by the Turton First Team, be handed over to C. Toothill, that he pay Suter out of it' (From W.T. Dixon, History of Turton Football Club and Carnival Sports Handbook, 1909. In Mason, 1980: 69).

It seems probable that it was as a result of his performances over the previous New Year's fixtures that Suter was invited down to Turton for the Challenge Cup. However, an extensive trawl of local newspapers in the Blackburn area, together with Athletic News, a Manchester-based publication, yielded no further mention of either him or Love until the beginning of the 1878-9 season. Love is identified as representing Darwen F.C. in two matches, more particularly against Attercliffe and Blackburn Rovers in November 1878, (Athletic News, 13 November 1878) although Suter's name fails to appear until December, a fact which has great significance when the opponents are examined. Suter - remember he had rarely played for the club prior to this date - appears to have been imported specifically for the F.A. Cup tie with local rivals Eagley, a tie Darwen won after a replay.

Scottish sides continued with their New Year tradition of Lancashire tours and even extended them to other areas. Partick played both Darwen and Blackburn Rovers in 1879 with Fergie Suter guesting for them in the latter fixture (Athletic News, 8 January 1879).

At the same time Third Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers F.C. paid a visit to Sheffield and included in their 'ranks' for the game against Heeley was one James J. Lang, back temporarily in Glasgow between his two spells with the Wednesday (Glasgow Herald, 2 January 1879).

No doubt this particular visit had been instigated by Lang's connection with Sheffield, although there was no flood of Scots to the city itself as there had been to East Lancashire. Perhaps rates of pay were greater west of the Pennines or, more likely, administrators of the game in the Yorkshire steel capital, men such as the Cleggs and Pierce-Dix, were far less prepared to sanction not only the importation but also the payment of players.

So frequent had these Scottish sojourns become, that the Blackburn Standard (5 January 1884) commented: 'Football matches have been the rage everywhere...Scotchmen have been in scores, and seem to have a great partiality for Lancashire at New Year.'

It seems that Jimmy Love was appearing for Darwen on a fairly regular basis in the early half of the 1878-9 season, whereas Suter's contributions had, initially, been more sporadic. This changed in the New Year as we even find him representing the county of Lancashire against North Wales: 'The splendid play of Suter crushed many hopes...the indomitable and scientific back play of Suter, who is undoubtedly the best back in the county, contributing very materially' (Blackburn Standard, 11 January 1879).

Suter was also heavily involved in Darwen's ultimately futile struggles against the Old Etonians in the F.A. Cup of that year, although, in the defeat during the second replay he had the pleasure of scoring: 'Suter, one of the Darwen backs...met the leather mid-field, and greatly to the elation of his side the ball passed between the posts' (Blackburn Standard, 22 March 1879).

Suter now became the centre of controversy in the Blackburn area, when, at the beginning of the 1880-1 season, he decided to throw in his lot with Blackburn Rovers. Rumour had been rife in the previous campaign that he had received payment to play for Darwen and that his job, as a stonemason, was a mere front for his soccer activities. The club itself had passed no comment. Nor did they when he transferred his loyalty to Rovers, though the accepted explanation for this swift *volte-face* was that he had simply received a better offer for his

talents. Tension between the two communities was raised to a high level and this was to boil over on 27 November 1880, when Darwen visited Blackburn for a 'friendly' game. The match began amicably enough and had just re-started following the half-time break when the Darwen captain Thomas Marshall and Fergie Suter - Marshall played twice for England at outside right and would have been in direct opposition to Suter who played left back (Freddi, 1991: 190) - clashed near the touchline. The ground at Alexandra Meadows was full to capacity and so enormous was the interest created that the crowd of over 10,000 had to be accommodated on twenty lorries positioned behind the initial rank of spectators, as well as in the stands. No doubt the clash, occurring as it did in close proximity to the crowd, enflamed passions particularly amongst the Darwen following, amongst which considerable animosity still existed towards Suter. The crowd invaded the pitch and Suter himself was kicked by the spectators, leading to the abandonment of the game by the referee. The bad behaviour did not end there, as the Darwen changing tent was ransacked, presumably by the Darwen team, with one mirror being stolen and one broken (Blackburn Standard, 4 December 1880; Berry, 1976; Francis, 1925: 24-7; Jackman, 1990: 10).

Life continued to be complicated for Suter, when, in January 1882, his selection, along with those of Hugh McIntyre and Jimmy Douglas, both Scots residing in Lancashire, to represent his county against Glasgow caused the latter's administrators to withdraw their team if it meant opposing a Lancashire eleven including three Scots strongly suspected of migrating to England to play as professional footballers. Both McIntyre and Douglas had represented Scotland in the game v. Wales in 1880 whilst McIntyre was playing for Rangers and Douglas for Renfrew. McIntyre gave his services to Blackburn Rovers sporadically in the 1879-80 season, mainly for cup-ties, before finally moving on a more permanent basis the following season. Douglas soon followed. Both became licensees in the Blackburn area (Jackman, 1990: 10; Berry, 1976; Lewis, 1997: 29-30).

A debate followed in which Tom Hindle, then Secretary of the Lancashire F.A., claimed that

Suter had learned his footballing trade in the county, having only played for Partick in Scotland, which was viewed by Hindle as a lesser Scottish club. This is partially correct. Suter had received little recognition in his native land before arriving in Lancashire and had not, unlike McIntyre and Douglas, been capped by Scotland at the time of his move. As an 'Anglo' - a Scot playing football in England - he was now ignored by Scottish selectors and never received international recognition. The Scottish F.A. only relaxed this restriction in 1896.

It is also true that Partick tended to play against the lesser lights of Scottish football at that time, the likes of Alexandra Athletic, John Elder, Our Boys and Govan Union, rather than Queen's Park and Vale of Leven, though this may well have been for geographical or even, more pertinently, social class reasons than for footballing considerations (Archer, 1976:18; Glasgow Herald, 12 February 1877). Several writers, however, give testimony to Partick's prestige in Glasgow's footballing hierarchy. Archer (1976: 19) stated, for example, that: 'They were good and strong enough already to challenge some of the top English teams.'

'Bedouin', football writer of the Scottish Weekly Record (4 July 1914) echoed this importance, saying, 'My earliest recollections of Partick football date from the time when the old Partick F.C. was the leading organisation in the district.'

Indeed, any club who had the inclination and financial viability to be the first to undertake tours in England must have been a relatively prestigious organisation, and, despite Hindle's pleas, all three Scotsmen were replaced before the Lancashire v. Glasgow fixture took place.

Suter enjoyed a highly successful career as, along with McIntyre and Douglas, he gained three consecutive F.A. Cup winners medals from 1884-6. Poor Jimmy Love, however, suffered an altogether different fate, being killed during a battle in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1882 (Mason, 1980: 78).

The game of Association Football was beginning to emerge as a professional sport. External influences led the organisers and administrators of the football clubs representing the tight-knit communities of East Lancashire to seek outside playing help, often from north of the border. These influences included, on a national scale, the F.A. Cup competition, and, on a local level, the intense rivalry created by the expectations and wish for success of the population inhabiting those towns. These rivalries appear to have been particularly prevalent in the industrial North and seem to have provided the local factory workers with an exciting, out-of-work focus for their lives, which was in direct contrast to their repetitive, production line a job during the week. The unintended consequence of the accidental harnessing of local energies and pride in the form of regular and mass spectatorism at football matches was that each *successful* club became the recipient of large amounts of cash taken at the gate. The controversial Blackburn Rovers v. Darwen game of November 1880, had taken over £250 in gate receipts (Blackburn Standard, 4 December 1880), a huge sum for those times, when one considers that a one way trip to Australia cost but 14 guineas and a country estate could be obtained for only £800 (Butler, 1982: 17). The practice of gatetaking was not restricted solely to Lancashire clubs. The Football Association registered receipts of £144 14s 0d for the match against Scotland in April 1879 (Green, 1953: 65), the difference being that, whilst this august body spent such takings on printing, stationery and refreshments, the likes of Blackburn Rovers and Darwen were covertly paying their players. So great was the revenue from the semi-final and subsequent replay of 1882 that £35 each was given by the Football Association to the Mayors of Sheffield and Blackburn to divide between local charities (Green, 1953, 66).

Any attempt by individual clubs to lift themselves morally above what amateur devotees called the 'professional mire' simply led to self-inflicted ruin. The public, ever discriminating, was only interested in watching winners, and winners were only produced by engaging the best exponents of the game, those exponents 'moving with the money'. That is, the best players journeyed to the clubs who paid the highest wages. An administrator representing

Burnley F.C. commented in 1885 that 'The fact of it is, the public will not go to see inferior players. During the first year we did not pay a single player, and nobody came to see us' (Athletic News, 10 February, 1885: 3).

Blackburn Rovers became the first club outside the southern amateurs to reach an F.A. Cup Final, losing by the only goal to Old Etonians. In their semi-final, the Blackburn side had disposed of Sheffield Wednesday after a replay, two games which would have made interesting viewing with, on one side Fergie Suter of Rovers and, opposing him Jimmy Lang of Wednesday, both of whom had claims to be the first professional footballer (Athletic News, 22 March 1882). The year 1882, however, was to prove to be the Old Boys' swansong, as no club from the *amateur* south ever again lifted the trophy. It was the following campaign, 1882-3, which provided provincial clubs with their first success.

Strangely, it was not to be Blackburn Rovers, Darwen, Nottingham Forest or a club from Sheffield that was to be honoured. Blackburn Olympic, in only their third tilt at the trophy - they had lost in the first round in both their previous attempts - were the slightly surprising winners (Smailes, 1991: 183). Scoring 35 goals and conceding just 5, they were worthy victors, though we must surely consider more closely how a club which had only been in existence since 1878 could have managed to win England's most prestigious award. The key, as in many a club's swift rise, lay in importation and surreptitious payment, though, in this case, from Sheffield rather than Scotland. The Olympic signed Jack Hunter and, along with him, George Wilson, both driven from their native city under a cloud of allegations of professionalism, moving, it would seem, to an area with a more lenient view of payment for playing football or, at least, where administrators of clubs had found and accepted ways and means of facilitating the practice (Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 73). Hunter was, by this time, an England international, having made his debut in 1878 against Scotland, though, interestingly, he was never capped following his move to Blackburn Olympic, perhaps by

then being perceived as a professional.

Hunter might be described as the first player/manager, a man who began to apply training and fitness regimes to football. The Olympic trained for each cup-tie and not just the final, supported by employers who even allowed employees some time off for fitness preparation and whole free Saturdays when the team were involved in away fixtures. Most famously, the side trained for a whole week on the sands of Blackpool, the trip being financed as a result of collections in local mills and factories. They even dined on the following special diet:

6am	:	Port, 2 raw eggs, 3 mile walk
Breakfast	:	Porridge, haddock
Dinner	:	2 legs of mutton between the team
Tea	:	Porridge, 1 pint of milk each
Supper	:	6 oysters each

(Kay, 1948: 36)

The occupations of the players were, unlike those of their neighbours Darwen, unmistakably working and lower middle class. Hacking was a dental assistant; Warburton the captain, a master plumber; Ward, a cotton operative; Astley, Dewhurst and Yates were weavers; Matthews, a picture-framer; Gibson an iron-moulder and Costley, who scored the winning goal in the Cup Final, a spinner; the remaining two members were Hunter and Wilson, the probable professionals (Gibson and Pickford, 1906: 73).

The game itself, together with other observations, makes interesting reading in The Eton College Chronicle (8 May 1883):

The match was decided at the Oval on March 31, between the Old Etonians and the Blackburn Olympic Club from Lancashire. The latter had made a considerable reputation by defeating Church, another Lancashire club who had previously beaten Darwen (the conquerors in the first round of Blackburn Rovers), and by extinguishing the chance of the Old Carthusians at Manchester in the other semi-final tie. So great was their ambition to wrest the cup from the holders, that they introduced into football play a practice which has excited the greatest disapprobation in the South.

For three weeks before the final match they went into a strict course of training, spending, so reports says, a considerable time at Blackpool, and some days at Bournemouth and Richmond. Though it may seem strange that a football eleven composed of mill-hands and working men should be able to sacrifice three weeks to train for one match, and to find the means to do so too, yet when we reflect on the thousands who attend and watch matches in Lancashire, and so swell the revenues of the Clubs, and on the enthusiasm of the employers of labour in the pursuits of successes of their countrymen it is not so surprising.

To be brief the Blackburn men were in splendid condition for the match, and had spared no pains to gain victory. The Old Etonians played the same eleven as in the last previous matches, and had they only played in form approaching that which they displayed against Notts. would have won easily.

No one will deny that they were the better team of the two, but it was their very confidence in this fact which probably lost them the match. Had they only been non-favourites, the result would have been different, for their play during the first part of the game was too casual, and they certainly should have gained more than one goal while fresh. As it was, this was the only point scored till half-time, when a most unfortunate accident occurred: Dunn was severely injured and had to leave the field, and shortly afterwards Goodhart was seized with cramp in both legs, and Macaulay received a nasty kick on the knee. This completed the 'rot' which had by this time set in, and the Northerners were not long in making matters even.

After an hour and a half the score was equal, one goal to either side. Now came the turning point. The Association Committee had decided before the commencement of the match that an extra half hour should be played if the result was a draw.. Neither side should have agreed to this, as there is no rule to force a club to play an extra half hour when only one day is fixed for a match; but the Northerners naturally did not object, knowing that their course of training would stand them in good stead, while the Old Etonians did not care to rebel against the decision of the superior body. In this fatal half hour the Olympic scored 1, the crowning point, and so gained the honour of being the first Northern Club to win the cup.

It is important to challenge several myths that have arisen in connection with the Old Etonians-Blackburn Olympic match. Firstly there is the question of southern amateur teams objecting to the methods used by Olympic in preparing for the final. There must be some truth in this as The Eton College Chronicle notes such disapproval. However, some writers, in their discriminatory use of only parts of the report, seem to cloud the issue. Rippon (1983: 33-4), for example, writes, 'The Eton College Chronicle said darkly, 'It may seem strange that a football eleven composed of mill-hands and working men should be able to sacrifice three weeks to train for one match, and to find the means to do so', whilst according to Smailes (1992: 183) 'The Eton Chronicle hinted darkly that they [Olympic] were professionals.'

Deeper analysis of The Eton College Chronicle's report, however, shows an almost grudging respect and admiration for the northern club, in particular for the direct financial support of the community in the form of paying spectators and benevolent employers. Rippon (1983: 34) is also incorrect to suggest that 'The game went into extra-time, though there was no obligation on the part of Old Etonians to agree, especially since they had only ten men and were missing two other regular players. It was a magnanimous gesture.'

This was no magnanimous gesture on the part of the Old Boys for, as The Eton College Chronicle rightly states, *both* teams before kick off had agreed upon an extra half-hour. One is also reminded in a report from the time of the Old Etonians' refusal to play extra-time against Darwen during their first encounter in 1879: 'Darwen, anxious to have the tie settled, made strong representations to play an extra half-hour as on the former occasion, this was positively declined by the Etonians' (The Darwen Cricket and Football Times, 14 February 1879).

Finally, The Eton College Chronicle hints at over-confidence on the part of the Old Etonians, something which, because of the excellent past record of southern teams and their status as holders, is not particularly hard to understand. Perhaps, too, there was a hint of social superiority involved, leading to the belief that artisans could never beat aristocrats.

The Athletic News (21 March 1883), a Manchester-based newspaper, was left to poke fun at the Southerners' accents and at the latter's invention of excuses for defeat. For example, they wrote sarcastically of the 'beastly professional twaining those Owimpian fewwows had gone through that won the match.'

The Cup remained in Blackburn for a further three years following Olympic's triumph, with Rovers recording a hat-trick of victories, the first two being against Queen's Park. The classic Anglo-Scots encounters were made possible by the fact that Queen's Park, already a member of the Scottish F.A., were also affiliated to the Football Association. Sides from north of the border continued to enter the F.A. Cup until the 1886-7 season, when the Scottish F.A.,

perhaps concerned about matters of jurisdiction in the event of a dispute between clubs, decided that there would be no further entries from sides under their control into the English competition (Green, 1953: 130-1).

During the early 1880s, however, Scottish footballing migrants to East Lancashire turned, as we have seen, from a trickle into what many have called a flood. Part of the incessant flow was John (Jock) Inglis. His story was told by his granddaughter, Eve Clucas, in the transcript of an interview from the B.B.C. Television series, 'Kicking and Screaming':

as far as I know he first played for Glasgow Rangers in the early 1880s and he was known as a good dribbler, graceful player...he came down to Blackburn Rovers in about 1883/84 and he played for them in the the F.A. Cup Final. He also played two international matches for Scotland, one against England - the score was 3-2 - and the other one was against Wales, and the score was 3-nothing... then he left Blackburn Rovers and went back up to Glasgow again and then he came back again and started for Preston North End...

When he wasn't playing football he earned his living as a mechanic and also as a coachman to sort of eke out the pay that he wanted...

He had eight children to keep and of course the wages up in Scotland then, particularly in the Clyde area where he lived, weren't very good so he came down to Blackburn Rovers because the pay was better at football than it was in Scotland...

Blackburn Rovers won the F.A. Cup, they had a big banquet and...it was that that started my grandfather on his drinking...when he started his football career he started drinking and he kept on drinking...and then after a painful illness he died at the age of 61 in August 1920.

Inglis did, indeed, represent his country against both England and Wales whilst playing for Rangers in Glasgow (Rollin, 1998: 315), though a year later, at the end of the 1883-4 season he was to be found in Blackburn Rovers' F.A. Cup winning side as they triumphed by 2 goals to 1 against Queen's Park.

Alongside him that day were three other Scots, Suter, McIntyre and Douglas, about whom I have previously written. Eve Clucas's reminiscences provide us with additional evidence in our quest to understand the motivations of Scots migrating South at that time. It appears that football earnings alone were insufficient to sustain Inglis, though with eight children to

provide for, there is little wonder that he felt obliged to find additional work. He was, however, fairly typical of industrial workers around Glasgow in the early 1880s - work was available, though payment for their labour seemingly never approached the rates to be found in East Lancashire. Remuneration for football was either not forthcoming even in a covert sense, or the illegal payments which were given to players again failed to match those on offer in and around Blackburn.

Men like Inglis continued to rush south. William Struthers and John Devlin (1880), James Mckernon, Jimmy Brogan and W. Cox (1882) all came to play for Bolton Wanderers. Nicholas Ross, Geordie Drummond, Sandy Robertson, David Russell, Jack Gordon and Sam Thomson were all Scotsmen playing for Preston North End by 1883. Others included Dan Friel of Burnley, James Richmond of Darwen and the net even extended itself as wide as Wales, whence came John Powell, Jackie Vaughan, Bob Roberts and Di Jones to represent Bolton Wanderers (Lewis, 1997: 27-34). By December 1884, the Football Field revealed that no fewer than 60 Scottish born players were registered with just 11 major East Lancashire sides (13 December, 1884).

Similar developments were taking place in an around Sheffield, though these did not include the wholesale importation of players from other geographical regions. Players were still in the habit of turning out for several sides, even in the early 1880s, initially to secure regular competition, though later to link themselves with a successful club and, no doubt, for financial reward. This practice led to a plethora of official complaints to the local FA regarding the eligibility of certain players. At the centre of much of this veiled professionalism was Billy Mosforth. An England international since 1877 when he won his first cap at the age of 19, he was undoubtedly one of the leading players of his day. Locally he was regarded as an amateur, though coming from a working class background and perhaps welcoming a fairly regular supplement to his everyday wage, he appears to have exploited the fact, firstly that he possessed a special talent which was much in demand, and secondly, because it was still

possible to represent several clubs, he operated as a 'free agent', profiting from the relation between supply and demand. On 11 October 1884, just prior to a Sheffield Association Challenge Cup game between Hallam and Wednesday, he appeared wearing the former's colours, only to re-enter the changing room and re-appear in Wednesday's strip following a plea, backed by a monetary offer, from a spectator. He was also not averse to placing bets on himself to score, though there is no direct evidence that he ever backed his own team to lose (Steele, 1986: 15-16; Farnsworth, 1995: 36).

Not only did clubs make complaints to their local Association, but grievances also became relatively commonplace following F.A. Cup encounters, when offended sides sought judgement from the parent body, the Football Association. Even before their F.A. Cup third round tie with Sheffield Wednesday in the 1882-3 season, Nottingham Forest lodged a protest that a Wednesday player, Arthur Malpass, had received payment for assisting another local club, Sheffield Wanderers, in a match at Bolton. Furthermore, following the initial encounter, which ended in a 2-2 draw, Forest officials were found in Sheffield offering a substantial reward for information which confirmed that several Wednesday players had only become members of the club immediately prior to the cup tie. Forest not only lost the replay, 3-2, but were also unsuccessful in their subsequent appeal to the F.A. (Farnsworth, 1995: 37-8).

Also in 1882, in response to the growing number of complaints and the rumours which were rife concerning veiled professionalism, the F.A. introduced Rule 16 which stated (Green, 1953: 97):

Any member of a club receiving remuneration or consideration of any sort above his actual expenses and any wages actually lost by any such player taking part in any match, shall be debarred from taking part in either cup, inter-Association, or International contests, and any club employing such a player shall be excluded from this Association.

Green (1953: 97) felt, however, that 'the 'wages lost' clause was so abused as to make the rule utterly worthless.' Secretaries of clubs paying players were not about suddenly to reveal all.

Nor were they likely to be discovered as no written evidence was kept and players, the principal beneficiaries of the system, would rarely have been likely to turn themselves in. To the Football Association, importation was no longer the central issue. It was quite clear that it existed and that it would be difficult to reverse the trend. However, it certainly *was* an issue to the rest of the community, particularly those who resided in the East Lancashire mill towns. The football correspondent of Athletic News (25 January 1882) summed up the feelings of local communities who, despite perhaps possessing a successful team, felt that victories gained by a side largely made up of Scotsmen had a hollow ring about them:

I understood when I gave my mite towards purchasing the handsome cup [The Lancashire Football Association's trophy] that it was for Lancashire lads, and they alone. If the richer clubs can afford to pay professionals, let them do so, but when they compete for our grand trophy, let the true Lancashire lads have equal chance of winning it.

It appeared that, initially, the amateur members of the F.A. committee were either unwilling or unable to grasp the problematic nettle that was professionalism. However, in November 1883, they finally acted. Strangely enough it was Darwen, much maligned several years previously for 'employing' Fergie Suter, who complained to the F.A. that both Church and Accrington had paid one James Beresford to play for them. Darwen had eliminated Church from that season's F.A. Cup competition in the first round and, despite not directly opposing Accrington in the competition, were, nevertheless, near neighbours and rivals. Beresford had only played one game for Accrington, but the evidence that condemned the club appeared straightforward. The player received a sum of money to continue his relationship with Accrington from a member of the public not directly connected with the club. This in itself was not evidence enough. However, the fact that the treasurer and secretary were both aware that this action had taken place was deemed to be sufficient by the F.A. to see Accrington disqualified from that season's competition (Jackman and Dykes, 1991: 14-15).

Behind these machinations, did there exist an element of class prejudice or perhaps status rivalry between the previously dominant southern amateurs and the increasingly successful

northern 'professionals'? One might have believed that such a rivalry was impossible, given the extent of the social gap between the two groups. This was no doubt the case off the field, but *on* the field of play a level battleground had been created, and, in terms of performance and results, though perhaps not in terms of values and behaviour, membership of a particular class grouping was irrelevant except insofar as class values affected footballing effectiveness and skill. Contributors to The Athlete (30 January 1884) were in no doubt as to their attitude towards the new arrivals, saying, 'none but gentlemen should play at the game [football], as they are the only personages who can afford to lose time and spend money on travelling.' Another writer to the newspaper (29 September 1884) complained that 'employment of the scum of the Scottish villages has tended, in no small degree, to brutalise the game [football].'

Yet perhaps the former correspondent was unable to comprehend that working men, especially those that still laboured six days per week, did not possess the leisure during which to participate in the sport, let alone train for it, advantages which upper class amateurs had always enjoyed. It was financially impossible for someone from the working class to challenge the soccer pre-eminence of the Old Boys of the south and retain his position as a pure amateur. Without a 'wages lost' clause, he could ill afford to absent himself from work or refuse remuneration, at least before the passing of Rule 16 by the F.A. in 1882, made him a professional. The steady nationalisation of the game that resulted from the introduction of the F.A. Cup, the consequent undertaking of long distance travel to away ties, the growing seriousness of competition provoked by such tournaments, together with the intense rivalries between growing, tightly-knit communities in the North living barely a few miles from each other and the unplanned growth of spectatorism which allowed clubs to afford to reward their players, all contributed to the march of professionalism in association football. Perhaps the strongest motivation, at least from an individual player's viewpoint, was that the chance to become a professional footballer offered working class men an opportunity to experience a more rewarding and in many ways healthier environment – they were, of course, exposing

themselves to the hazards of football itself - in which to earn appropriate wages. When seen in those terms, it is perhaps less difficult to understand why many of them chose professional football.

To have referred to the imported Scottish professionals as 'scum' was strong language indeed, though it perhaps helps us to comprehend why so many ex-public school men abandoned the Association game in favour of the rugby form following the legalisation of professionalism by the F.A. in July 1885. However, from that date the administrators of the game had accepted that players would be allowed, under stringent conditions, to profit from their ability at football. They had solved one problem and perhaps saved the game from any kind of split, but, in legitimising over-competitiveness and an over-emphasis on winning, the F.A. may well have created other monsters.

In terms of the spread of football around the world, most British writers, at least, seem convinced of their homeland's far-reaching and ultimately crucial influence. The available evidence supports them. Walvin (1975: 93), for example, concludes, 'in the case of football...the game percolated because of the missionary zeal of travelling Englishmen anxious to play their national game and equally anxious for the locals to play with them.'

Scottish zealots are said to have carried the game to Ireland when, after an exhibition between Queens Park and Caledonian in 1878, the population had become fixated by 'the noxious Scottish weed' (Rafferty, 1973: 20).

Mason (1974: 106) adds:

Throughout the nations of Europe...virtually every pioneering football club was founded by the British. Despite the various medieval traditions of football - particularly the elaborate, courtly rituals of the Italian Calcio - there was no surviving tradition of the game on the Continent by the mid-nineteenth century.

Janet Lever (1983: 51) in her book *Soccer Madness* also places great stress on the swiftness with which Association Football spread around the globe. She contends that

soccer was spreading like wildfire across Europe from the late 1870s through the 1880s. The speed with which soccer travelled from England to the Continent and established itself as the international game was truly remarkable.

English businessmen working in the port of Genoa, Italy, helped form the Genoa Cricket and Football Club in 1893 (Mason, 1986: 68), making it the oldest in Italian football. Both cricket and football were, indeed, initially played, though the former was soon dropped and the club was renamed the Genoa Football and Athletic Club. The players, however, were exclusively British, Italians only being admitted in 1896 (Baker, 1982: 135) or 1897 (Mason, 1986: 68). By 1914 Genoa had become the nation's premier club, having already won six Championships.

Palermo Football and Cricket Club was founded by British residents in 1897 (Walvin, 1975: 95) and, in the same year, the famous Juventus Football Club of Turin began, based largely on the work of Edwardo Bosio, a salesman in optical goods from the city, who travelled frequently to and from England, returning full of new ideas, football equipment and enthusiasm.

The following year, with so many new clubs forming across the country, the Federazione Italiana di Football was instituted. The anglicised title has now been dropped in favour of a more Italian name - Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio (Hammond, 1988: 315).

Perhaps the most fascinating story is that of A.C. Milan. Initiated in 1899 by English and Italian businessmen as Milan Cricket and Football Club (Hammond, 1988: 326), the members were forced in 1938 by Benito Mussolini to drop their title F.C. Milan and immediately become A.C. (Associazione Calcio) Milano. However, on the dictator's death, they reverted partially to tradition, re-surfacing as A.C. Milan. Further controversy has marked their history. In 1908 disaffected members left to form their own club, Internazionale, thus creating a bitter rivalry that exists to this day (Hammond, 1988: 320).

Finally, two other Italian clubs to trace their roots back to English forebears are Fiorentina and Bologna. The former was initiated in 1907 at a chance meeting between three Englishmen in a local teashop, though the founding of the present club dates back to 1926 (Rollin, 1990: 57). Bologna began in 1909 under the guidance of English businessmen and local students (Rollin, 1990: 53).

However, perhaps the most rapid initial progress in establishing the game took place in Denmark. An English boy studying at a Danish school received a parcel from home. Inside was a football, which, when inflated, provided Denmark with its first taste of soccer (Meisl, 1955: 77).

An apocryphal tale, perhaps, but one which begins a series of lasting football links with Britain. In 1879, an organisation called the English Football Club was instituted in Copenhagen (Tyler, 1976: 62). Within five years the members of the Copenhagen Boldklub, originally founded in 1876 to play a game not dissimilar to rounders, began a football competition that boasted an entry of fifteen clubs (Mason, 1974: 106). Before the end of the decade the country possessed a national association, the Danish Boldspil Union (Oliver, 1992: 232).

In 1903 Copenhagen's top four clubs united for the purpose of playing matches against international opposition (Meisl, 1955: 78). They formed the Staevnet or Copenhagen Combination. In a sense this unification had been forced on the Danes to accommodate visiting English professional sides, who were demanding guaranteed payments of up to £100 for their visits. Through pooling their resources the Copenhagen clubs could comfortably agree to these demands.

The football traffic was by no means all one way. Nils Middelboe, a member of the K.B. Club, went to London in 1913, where he became Chelsea's amateur centre-half. He stayed for nine years, spending most of that time as captain (Meisl, 1955: 79).

Such a strong internal structure bred a strong national team, albeit an amateur one, as Denmark continued to be a major force in Continental football up to the First World War. Their greatest exploits were reserved for the Olympic Games of 1908 and 1912, when they were silver medallists, losing to England on each occasion. Coached in London in 1908 by an English referee, Charles Williams, they swept their way to the final, trouncing a French side 17-1 at the semi-final stage. Four years later, in Stockholm, history repeated itself as the Danes, quite easily the best side on the Continent, were forced yet again to settle for the silver (Glanville, 1969: 41). They have the distinction, however, of being the first international team

to defeat an England XI, winning 2-1 in Copenhagen in 1910 (Mason, 1974: 106). After 1918, the size of their country and a reluctance to adopt the physical methods of other European nations began to count against them. In addition, failure to embrace professionalism led to their better players seeking their fortunes abroad, leading to a consequent deterioration in domestic playing standards.

Finally, how close were the real ties between Denmark and England in a football context? Perhaps we need to examine two celebratory matches that the Danes staged. In 1949 England sent her strongest professional representative side to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the Danish Boldspil Union and four years later the Football League dispatched a representative eleven in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Staevnet. This was the first time a League representative side had travelled abroad. In the former, the Danes gained a very creditable 0-0 draw, though in the latter the visitors triumphed by four goals to nil (Meisl, 1955: 82).

Generally speaking, football in Denmark was developed by the Danes for the Danes, and, despite the fact that, geographically, Denmark and England are some distance apart, the latter appear to have provided the opposition for the majority of celebratory fixtures. It was, however, Germany, and not England, who opened the new Idraetspark in Copenhagen on the same night as the latter were losing in a friendly international in Spain on 23 September 1992. The Danes' decision was perhaps influenced by the reputation of England's supporters for unruly behaviour.

In Germany, the pattern of diffusion was fairly similar. English pupils in boarding schools popularised the game in Heidelberg and Baden-Baden. A little later, University students made similarly successful efforts in Karlsruhe. Eisenberg (1991: 205-206) notes how English settlers, tourists and students seeking opponents or even teammates around the 1870s

introduced the game. She mentions its relatively slow development up to 1914, citing the fact that the game's rising popularity can be traced almost exclusively to young middle-class men, to the exclusion of working class males.

British merchants founded the Bremen F.C. (1881) in that city (Meisl, 1955: 83), Anglo-American F.C. in Hamburg in the same year, English F.C. in Berlin four years later and English F.C. in Dresden at the beginning of the next decade (Mason, 1974: 106). Indeed, the Hamburg club even recorded its minutes in English for the first five years (Tyler, 1976: 62).

The first international played by England against continental opposition took place on 23 November 1899, in Berlin against a German eleven (Meisl, 1955: 83). However, in official terms it has turned out not to be the first 'true' international – an England professional eleven's 3-3 draw with Germany in Berlin in 1930 is recognised by the FA as the first football confrontation between the two countries (Oliver, 1992: 255) - though the hard work put into its organisation by the Schricker brothers must have made it a memorable occasion. In fact three games in all were played all hefty triumphs for the English.

Other clubs took on English names, the Aston Villa and Britannia teams in Berlin being just two. The latter name continued only until 1914, when it was changed to Berliner S.V. 92 at the outbreak of war (Meisl, 1955: 85).

The football bug, too, stung France. The 'doyen' or senior club of that country, Le Havre Athletic Club, readily manifests its close ties with England in its retention of an anglicised title and the club colours of 'Ciel et Marine', light and dark blue, reflecting the influence of ex-Oxford and Cambridge men in its initial ranks. The original impetus for football in Le Havre came when English businessmen, resident in the Norman port, came together once a week to play the game. This was in 1872 and the club's first President was an Englishman, F.F. Langstaff (Onze Mondial, 1992: 35).

They acquired a pitch in Sanvic, a suburb of the town, in 1884 and, seven years later, after a stormy debate, former students of Oxford and Cambridge decided the club colours (Onze Mondial, 1992: 35). It may be symbolic of the close ties between football club and city, that the new crest of the latter contains the club's colours (Mignon, 1992: 32).

In 1919 they opened their Cavee-Verte (Grassy, sunken lane) Stadium with a game against Olympique de Marseille. Czechoslovakia played Holland there in the World Cup of 1938, though the ground is now dilapidated and used only by amateurs (Inglis, 1990: 128). They now perform at Stade Jules Deschaseaux, a modern, compact 22,000 capacity ground just off the eastbound N15 road. As regards success on the pitch, they have moved precariously between local amateur leagues and the French Second Division, though are now enjoying relative success in Division One. Their greatest moment came in 1959 with victory in the French Cup.

Le Havre also illustrates the 'nearest neighbour' or 'proximity theory' of diffusion. The Norman port remains a five and a half-hour ferry journey from Portsmouth and it is not difficult to envisage a preponderance of British influence. Mignon (1992: 28) recognises a long tradition of close relationships between Le Havre and England, due not unnaturally to the harbour. Dockers at the port staged games against teams of visiting English sailors whilst, during the lull in the French Championship at the mid-winter break, keen supporters have travelled to watch the likes of Southampton and Arsenal. He even alludes to the description of Le Havre's supporters by L'Equipe as 'typically British', their 'Kop Havrais' displaying Union Jacks and various English club scarves. This contrasts particularly with the mode of support in Marseilles, which tends to be influenced by the Italian Ultras. This idea is echoed by John Williams (1991: 160-1), who has tried to explain the ready embracing by Continental fans of English terrace culture, writing that 'From Gothenburg to Ghent there sprang up Union Jacks, English football songs and English names for emergent 'hooligan' gangs.' We should not

assume, therefore, that Le Havre is unique in its adoption of English fan behaviour and the symbolic artefacts that they commonly use. Finally, in the 1992-3 season Le Havre has been involved in the curiously titled, 'Cross-Channel Challenge Cup', in competition with Chelsea, further developing their anglicised links.

Moving away from the coast, we should not be surprised to find Britons plentiful in the Paris of the late nineteenth century. No doubt with the red wine flowing freely and armed with a great enthusiasm for football, many of them agreed to form clubs to occupy their free time. One of the first was begun by a Scot, Jack Wood, who christened the new team White Rovers F.C. in 1891 (Holt, 1981: 66). A year later came Standard A.C., who were to become the first Champions of France and establish such a revered reputation that their fame spread to nearby Belgium (Tyler, 1976: 62). Here, in 1898, a number of enthusiasts started their own club in the industrial town of Liege, copying the Parisian club's name and becoming the now famous Standard Liege. However, the original impetus for football in Belgium appears to have come directly from Britain, when, as early as 1880, Royal Antwerp F.C. was founded. The club still retains its anglicised title today (Oliver, 1992: 188).

Some of the first continental clubs were set up in Switzerland. English boys attending private Swiss schools are credited with the formation of Le Chatelaine of Geneva (1869), St. Gallen F.C. (1879) and the most successful of all Swiss Clubs, Grasshoppers of Zurich (1886) (Baker, 1982: 134).

From 1880 Lausanne boasted a Football and Cricket Club, which refused to play on Sundays, though the present club, Lausanne Sports, dates its inception as 1896 (Mason, 1986: 69). Meanwhile, Young Boys of Berne began life in 1898 (Tyler, 1976: 62), and, as well as retaining their anglicised name, are still one of the country's leading sides.

Nearby Austria is one of the prime examples of the influence that Britons exerted on football's

diffusion. Like Paris, Vienna possessed a sizeable British colony at the turn of the last century. An English gas company had been awarded the contract to illuminate the city; English artists were appearing on the stage and many British goods were in demand (Meisl, 1955: 55). Indeed, one of the first clubs, 1st Vienna F.C., were formed by the English gardeners on the estate of Baron Rothschild (Inglis, 1990: 64). Not only did they adopt his racing colours, yellow and blue, which they still retain, but they were also involved in Austria's first club match, when on 15 November 1894, they played Vienna Cricket and Football Club, now F.K. Austria Vienna, who played in blue and black (Mason, 1974: 107). The 'Cricketers' won 4-0 though they have since spurned their original colours for blue and white (Hammond, 1988: 66).

Another expatriate, M.D. Nicholson, who had arrived in 1897 to work at the Vienna branch of Thomas Cook's travel agency, had played right back for West Bromwich Albion's cup-winning team of 1892 (Tyler, 1976: 73-74). He made such an impact on the Vienna sporting scene that, in 1900, he became the first President of the Austrian Football Union.

One country in Northern Europe, which shows surprisingly little sign of English influence, is Holland. There are the usual tales of pupils studying at English Public Schools bringing back the new game to the Netherlands, though nothing specific as regards the initiating of particular clubs.

What we do know is that Ajax, originally named after the Greek god, was founded on 18 March 1900 by three gentlemen, R. Stempel, 'Pa' Dade and C.R. Reeser, who met in an Amsterdam restaurant (Hammond, 1988: 272). In 1915, however, British influence arrived in the form of Jack Reynolds, from Swiss club St. Gallen. He committed himself to the club for over fifty years until his death at the age of 88. As a tribute, part of Ajax's former ground, the De Meer Stadium, was named after him. Under Reynolds came a string of Ajax successes, as

they became Dutch Champions five times in the 1930s (Hammond, 1988: 272).

It was on 'Queensday' – an annual, national holiday in Holland - in 1913 that four young men, on the initiative of Gerard and Anton Philips, the founders of the giant electrical company, formed P.S.V. Eindhoven (Hammond, 1988: 275). Those present at the meeting elected the club's first President, who chose the club colours, red and white, from those of his lemonade and notebook, which were lying on the table at the time. Philips gave an indication of their control of the club recently, when they changed the name to Philips Eindhoven.

On the Iberian Peninsula the classic example of British influence is Athletic Bilbao. The name itself tells us much about the club's past and that it was, in fact, formed by English engineers who were working in the Basque country and Spanish students, who had visited Britain (Mason, 1986: 68). They are the country's oldest club, formed in 1898 (Rollin, 1990: 50) and have been extremely successful, winning eight Spanish Championships since the competition's inception in 1929, despite the fact that they still pursue the policy of employing only Basque players. Barcelona, although having no direct English links on formation, did play their first match against British sailors (Mason, 1986: 71). Crossing the border into Portugal, we find that Cosme Damiao, who had been taught the game by British residents, inspired their most prestigious club, Benfica of Lisbon.

Let us consider Eastern Europe. Was British influence less because of the great distance from these Isles? Let us begin with the former Soviet Union, although all of the information used here refers only to Russia. According to Riordan (1977: 21) 'The most important agents in popularising the game of soccer in Russia were British residents.'

These were primarily factory owners, technicians and diplomats, with the most striking example being that of Clement and Harry Charnock from Lancashire, the cradle of English professional football, who owned (Mason, 1974: 106) or were employed as advisers in

(Baker, 1982: 135) a textile factory at Morozovsky, sixty miles from Moscow in the 1890s. The Morozovsky factory actually advertised in *The Times* for engineers from England who could also play football, no doubt hoping that they could improve on an already highly successful factory-based team playing before crowds of 15000 or more (Mason, 1974: 106). The introduction of football to the workers 'was said to be an attempt to woo them away from vodka drinking on Sunday' (Riordan, 1977: 22).

There is a tenuous link here for the Charnocks' team being the forerunner of Moscow Dynamo, (Rollin, 1990: 56), though any English influence was thoroughly minimised or completely erased in the post-revolution re-working of Russian history.

In 1892 came the first recorded match between Russians. It took place at the Semyanov Hippodrome in St. Petersburg (Riordan, 1977: 27). Two years later Victoria F.C. was formed by English and German workers and there were soon leagues in Moscow and St. Petersburg. British dominance lasted until around 1908, when local skill and technique proved too much for the expatriates (Riordan, 1977: 22). Friction arose between the two factions, as administration still remained in the hands of foreign residents. However, British influence did not wane completely. In 1912, the first Russian inter-city championship appeared, with each side restricted to three British players. Odessa, with four such players, an infraction that received only a token reprimand, won the title (Riordan, 1980:113).

Our study of Eastern European football continues in Rumania, where 'The first effective teams...were, according to *The Times*, organised by British workers at the Colentina textile factories and the Ploesti Standard Oil fields' (Mason, 1986: 68).

It is perhaps appropriate at this juncture, as we end our investigation into British football influence on Continental Europe, that we examine the role of the coach. It is appropriate because coaches played a part of some importance in the diffusion of the game.

After the initial infusion of enthusiasm by the gifted and dedicated amateur, it seemed vital that 'professional' consolidation took place, though we should not, in any way, see this as a deliberate or pre-planned process. No one better exemplified the British coach as missionary than the legendary Jimmy Hogan.

The year was 1911 and that erstwhile manager, coach, international referee and father of Austrian football, Hugo Meisl, made an inspired choice when he brought over a British coach for the Austrian F.A. (Mason, 1974: 109). Hogan, a Scot, had been a moderate professional player with Bolton Wanderers, possessing an imaginative football brain and a passion for the short passing game of the Scots. Already having coached the Dutch national side, he set about building an Austrian team that became good enough to beat Tottenham Hotspur and then, at the 1912 Olympics, to defeat Vittorio Pozzo's Italians. To save him from internment during the First World War, he was smuggled from Vienna to Budapest, where he continued to coach, being particularly successful with M.T.K. (Magyar Testgyakorlok Kore) (Meisl, 1955: 58). This club replaced the British-formed Budapest Gymnastic and Athletic Club in 1888 (Rollin, 1990, 63) and won all ten league titles before the advent of professionalism in 1926. They have undergone several name changes, from M.T.K. to Voros Lobogo and now to M.T.K. - Voros Meteor (Hammond, 1988: 298).

Hogan's fate was indeed a fortunate one. His compatriot, George Blakey, a representative of a Lincolnshire agricultural firm, was so well liked in Vienna that he was left free to coach and travel as he pleased for the duration of the war (Murray, 1994: 74).

Hogan's compatriot, George Blakey, a representative of a Lincolnshire agricultural firm, was so well liked in Vienna that he was left free to coach and travel as he pleased for the duration of the war (Murray, 1994: 74).

Following the 1914-1918 conflict, Hogan returned to Vienna where he remained until 1925,

before being enticed back to M.T.K. However, the twenties were not to be the most successful of decades for Hogan, who also had disastrous experiences at home in England with Fulham and Aston Villa (Mason, 1974: 109). Strangely reminiscent were the experiences of Bobby Houghton, the manager of 1979 European Cup finalists Malmo F.F. from Sweden, and a failure with Bristol City. Hogan's continuing influence on the Continent, however, remained. Brought back to Austria by Meisl, his national side drew 3-3 with Germany in 1930, whilst being unfortunate to lose by the odd goal in seven to England at Stamford Bridge two years later. He then prepared the Austrian Olympic team for the 1936 Games in Berlin, where they finished sensational runners-up to Italy's full and semi-professionals (Meisl, 1955: 63).

In the larger cities of Central Europe the game began to flourish under the meticulous attention of other expatriates. Following Hogan's success in Austria and Hungary, continental clubs flocked to employ Britons. Scots, in particular, seemed in demand. Two of their number worked in Prague. Arsenal's John Dick coached Sparta in the 1920s (Meisl, 1955: 58), whilst John Madden, the former Celtic and Scotland goalkeeper, managed their great rivals, Slavia, for 33 years. Indeed, the latter was so revered, that 'when the Hapsburgs still ruled the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there was a statue erected in Prague to Johnny Madden...who was largely instrumental in introducing the skills of the game to Central Europe' (Crampsey, 1978: 75).

A final word must consist of an examination of the part played by another disciple of the English game, Vittorio Pozzo. He was studying in England in the early part of the present century, teaching languages part-time to pay for his rent, when he became captivated by the football being played by Manchester United at Old Trafford and, in particular, by the attacking centre-half, Charlie Roberts. After long conversations with Roberts and Steve Bloomer, of Derby County and England, he began formulating theories, which would lead him to coach two Italian World Cup winning sides in the thirties. His initial reward on his return to Italy was to be appointed secretary of the Italian Football Federation and to be

entrusted with the coaching of the national side for the 1912 Olympics (Mason, 1974: 108-109).

So it was that such men as Pozzo and Meisl carried the message, tinged and coloured constantly by British influences, around Europe. Meisl began the Mitropa Cup in 1927 (Rollin, 1990: 89), a competition between Central European club sides and a forerunner of the European Champions Cup. Together they organised internationals between Italy and Austria, as well as club matches between Juventus and the 'Cricketers' of Vienna.

We must now move across the Atlantic to South America, where football appeared to be embraced by the majority of the population with some enthusiasm. Britain's informal Empire and the trade and commerce links established therein played an important role in the story. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in Argentina. 'Great Britain quickly replaced the two Iberian countries as the dominant economic force in Latin America and held that primacy throughout the nineteenth century' (Burns 1972: 113).

In 1824 the English community in Buenos Aires was 3000. By 1877, however, there were more than 30,000 British nationals living in the Buenos Aires province (Mason, 1986: 69), and by 1890 45,000 Britons were living in the capital or close by. Archetti (1990) notes the foundation of Buenos Aires F.C. in 1867, though most clubs began after 1880, with the vast majority springing up from English schools. Indeed, the English High School were to be early winners of the National Championship (Hockings, 1991: 55). The Scotsman, Alexander Watson Hutton, the founder of the school, became President of football's national body in 1893, which was actually named in English, the Argentine Football Association (Mason, 1986: 69). It was not until 1934 that the Spanish 'futbol' replaced the English word 'football' (Archetti, 1992: 6).

As for particular clubs, English residents (Rollin, 1990: 61) formed River Plate in 1901 and in

1911 one Argentinian club still consisted entirely of Englishmen. Yet again, one only has to scan the Argentine League for anglicised club names such as Newell's Old Boys, Boca Juniors and Quilmes Athletic Club (Oliver, 1992: 595).

In Brazil, the story goes that British sailors played football there as early as 1874 (Meisl, 1955: 65). Four years later 'men from the boat 'Crimea' allegedly gave an exhibition of football in honour of Princess Isabel in front of her palace' (Meisl, 1955: 65).

However, a Brazilian-born Englishman, Charles Miller, who returned to Sao Paulo in 1894, kitted out with two footballs, gave the first real impetus (Mason, 1974: 110). In April of that year he organised the country's first match, a 4-2 defeat of the English Gas Company by Sao Paulo Athletic Club. Ten years later, the first club to consist of mainly local players, Mackenzie College, took to the stage (Baker, 1982: 136).

Further up the coast, more Britons were busy stimulating soccer in Rio de Janeiro. It was here in 1902 that they formed Fluminense Football Club, which still bears that exact name today (Rollin, 1990: 58).

Janet Lever (1983) gives us unique social insights into football's development in Brazil when she notes how the new sport was initially restricted to the immigrants, particularly British, though eventually Germans, Portuguese and Italians, together with the sons of the local, indigenous elite were allowed to take part.

This period of upper class control was short lived.

Industrial workers who began as spectators soon became players and formed their own distinct clubs. Many claim credit for the transition. Bangu, a textile factory run by the British, started its own team in 1904, allowing two Brazilians to play with them. More importantly, the factory workers were invited to watch games. Club historians claim that Flamengo brought the game to the common people because it was the only team to hold training sessions in an open field in plain view of neighbours and labourers returning from work (Lever, 1983: 53).

What a fascinating, though, at times, confusing, existence footballers experienced in Brazil. Only in 1888 was slavery declared illegal (Meisl, 1955: 65), though, despite this new freedom, it appeared impossible for people of African descent to become involved, to any large extent, in the middle-class, foreign dominated football clubs.

Nicholas Mason (1974: 111) contends that this colour bar severely limited Brazil's success in international fixtures, particularly with Uruguay, who appeared not to operate one. However, Meisl (1955: 70) refers to the fact that 'The Uruguayans...stuck to tradition. They had just one negro in their eleven', thus seemingly contradicting Mason's observation at least partly.

Whilst football has become a unifying factor in Brazil, a common focus for a people composed of many different nationalities and so-called 'races', no country in the world, in a football sense, is as chaotically organised. Although a National Championship has been in place since the 1970s, the fans and players alike seems to attach far greater importance to the provincial titles. The major clubs, Flamengo, Vasco da Gama, Botafogo and Fluminense of Rio, Sao Paulo F.C. and Corinthians from Sao Paulo, also dislike the National Championship, mainly because of the cost of flying thousands of miles around Brazil (Hockings, 1991: 81).

For such a small nation, both in terms of surface area and population, Uruguay enjoys a successful soccer history. In 1891, four British railway workers founded the Central Uruguayan Railway Cricket Club, which in 1913, became Penarol, destined to be national champions 35 times before 1990 (Baker, 1982: 136).

English was the language used to describe this new sport. Terms that have never been translated include 'football', 'offside', 'forward' and 'corner'. Arbena (1988: 64-65) describes this as a 'cultural dependency on Europe, specifically Great Britain' and concludes (1988: 2), 'The foundations of nearly all modern sports...are located historically in England.'

It is important now to consider any contradictory evidence to the possibly rather anglocentric

view that only Britons were involved in the diffusion of Association Football to countries other than the colonies and Dominions. Also, within these considerations, we must assess whether there was any competition for the new game from other sport-forms, including sports native to particular countries, and why various sport-forms prospered in particular areas.

Certainly in France, it soon became clear that traditional gymnastics was gradually losing its appeal when faced with growing competition from new athletic forms introduced from England (Holt, 1981: 61). Repetitive and inflexible exercises were no match for games enabling freedom for the individual player allied closely to a belief in the value of teamwork. Little equipment was, after all, required to play and there existed a widespread belief that the new English games offered far more physical and psychological satisfaction than regimented gymnastic displays.

We should perhaps temper these rather sweeping dismissals of gymnastics with Lanfranchi's (1991: 9) assertion that, especially in Italy, this separation seems less obvious, as it was gymnastics clubs who were the first to participate in football competitions. Indeed, Pro Vercelli, who were to become champions of Italy on seven occasions (Oliver, 1992: 365) developed in 1892 out of a local fencing and gymnastics club (Walvin, 1975: 94). Gehrman (1989: 342) offers evidence, in his history of Schalke 04 Football Club, of close affinities between soccer and gymnastics in Germany. Immediately following the First World War, Westfalia Schalke, the local football club, amalgamated with the much older Schalke 1877 Gymnastic Club to become the new Schalke 1877 Gymnastic and Sport Club. As we might expect, the gymnastic section held prominence in the title. After an unclear internal wrangle, the footballers left in the middle of 1923-24 season.

It was following the humiliating military defeat by the Germans in 1870 that some members of the French elite, headed by the likes of the young Pierre de Coubertin, began to look to the

English educational system as a means of helping them to rediscover 'past glories'. Physical training in the 'Lycees', when contrasted with English public school athleticism paled in comparison. Whilst England produced strong, physically fit young men, France seemed to turn out a poorly conditioned population, fit only for the most menial of tasks (Holt, 1981: 62-63). Holt (1981: 63) continues,

Observers of English society were fascinated by the way, in which the British managed to combine rapid economic growth with political stability, and most agreed that the educational system played an important part in forging an elite.

Although there was great enthusiasm for English type sports, Mason (1974: 106) reminds us that 'virtually every pioneering football club was founded by the British.' Indeed, Holt (1981: 65) confirms that Le Havre Athletic Club was influenced by former Oxford and Cambridge students, 'but it was not until the following decade that there was any indigenous French response. Here the young Parisians came to the fore, founding the Racing Club de France and the Stade Français.'

This seems to mark a salient point in my study. Whilst the local population may have been involved in the process of club formation eventually, it appears that Britons were particularly influential in the initial stages. Genoa, A.C. Milan, and Bologna in Italy, the English Football Club in Denmark, Victoria F.C. and Bremen F.C. in Germany, Le Havre and White Rovers in France, the Charnock brothers in Russia and Royal Antwerp in Belgium. The list is lengthy and illustrates my assertion of initial British influence.

Whilst Association Football spread quickly around the world, Rugby enjoyed a more sporadic development. Generally, it fared poorly in Europe, though Racing and Stade in Paris played regularly during the winter. In contrast, soccer became a game dominated by the British in France's capital. It also seemed to take on a class dimension. 'Association Football was not thought to be suitable for the well-to-do because of the distinctly popular character it was

acquiring in Britain' (Holt, 1981: 66).

The date of Racing's formation being 1882 (Holt, 1981: 65) would neatly coincide with 1883 and the wresting of the F.A. Cup from the grasp of the southern amateurs by Blackburn Olympic, a team strongly suspected of being professionals (Smailes, 1992: 183). The paucity of changing facilities for soccer teams such as Standard Athletic Club from Paris when contrasted with their Rugby cousins of Racing and Stade illustrates the 'rather less exclusive' (Holt, 1981: 67) nature of the sport.

Despite the relative success of Parisian rugby, it appears that only in the south west of the country, particularly around Bordeaux, did clubs promote the sport enthusiastically. The teachers included young representatives of the London wine trade or others such as Alfred Russell, who travelled to Bayonne to study French and stayed to teach rugby. Holt (1981: 68) re-affirms this, writing, 'The development of rugby in the south-west was assisted by the presence of a sizeable contingent of well-born British families engaged in the wine trade or living in one of the retirement colonies of affluent Britons at Pau or Biarritz.'

The affluent nature of this colony could explain their preference for the rugby code over its increasingly working-class counterpart. However, Holt (1981: 71) advises caution in any assessment of the game of rugby in France, saying that 'it would be quite misleading to assume that rugby remained a purely middle-class game' and goes on to quote the participation of lower-middle class groups such as office workers, skilled artisans and small shopkeepers.

However, Baker (1982: 134) reinforces our perceptions of rugby as the bastion of the more well to do.

Rugby's limited appeal in France, however, accurately reflects its lack of attraction for all of Europe. Most French sports of the era were for the rich and well bred;

rugby football was even more so. It was, according to one contemporary, 'the preserve of an elite', whereas soccer was 'essentially popular'.

Let us now consider other European countries. The people of Florence, Italy have advanced claims that a type of football was played there in the 16th century in the form of 'calcio', an elaborate, ritualised game, violent at times, played initially in the Piazza della Croce (Glanville, 1969: 11), transferred to the Piazza della Signoria (Green, 1953: 16) and in 1993 again held in the former (Onze Mondial, May 1993: 8). There is disagreement, however, on the composition of the teams. I have found references to 21 (Green, 1953, 17) participants in two competing teams of white and red or 27 (Onze Mondial, May 1993: 8) in four groups, though two teams only play at any one time, each representing an area of Florence, with additional colours of green and blue. The square is completely covered with sand, with the whole width of the Piazza at opposite ends counting as the goal. Green (1953: 17) emphasises its violent nature, noting 'The fierceness of the exchanges at once calls up the faded savagery of the centuries.'

Lanfranchi (1991: 6) alludes to the attempts by followers of this mediaeval tradition to revive the game towards the end of the 19th century. Perhaps this was merely a local reaction to the invasion of Italy by English game-forms? In any event the violent rituals of this Italian form of football failed to develop far beyond the stage of a folk representation (Lanfranchi, 1991: 7). However, the very fact that the Italian translation of football is 'calcio' ('Kicking' in English) and the ready adoption by many clubs together with the National Association of this word to describe the sport, should indicate to us the seriousness with which the Florentine claims are taken by many Italians.

Lanfranchi (1991: 12) notes, too, that F.C. Barcelona in Spain, was begun in 1899 by Swiss and German technicians, who had learned the game at school, whilst their city rivals, Espanol, formed in the following year (Hammond, 1988: 482) were influenced by local engineers who

reacted against the cosmopolitan nature of their neighbours.

There are complications in this argument. A literal translation of the name Español ('Spanish') would lead us to believe that Español represent those inhabitants of Catalonia less enamoured with the notion of separateness from the rest of Spain, whilst F.C. Barcelona continue to be strongly regarded as a symbol of exactly this particular idea (Burns, 1999).

However, when Middlesex Wanderers played a touring match against F.C. Barcelona in 1914, they found a

most international set up, including, as it did, Jack Greenwell; the brothers Wallace; a Swiss, Bru; a Frenchman, Bigne; and a South American, Amechazuva, who had been specially brought from South America to assist the Barcelona club (Alaway, 1948: 35).

As well as representing Catalan separateness, F.C. Barcelona has always possessed an international element, often exhibiting this in the form of its ready recruitment of foreign players. Indeed, its squad of 1901 consisted of twenty-two players, of whom no fewer than nineteen were imported (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 27).

It may be simplistic to suggest that Espanol represent centralist government from Madrid within Catalonia. However, there may be an element of truth to this argument. There is little animosity between Espanol and Real Madrid when they meet as rivals in the Spanish League and many supporters of the former express their support for Spain and their dislike for F.C. Barcelona in their songs, a favourite being 'Viva Espana' (Duke and Crolley, 1996: 24-49).

The history of the Italian club, Genoa, is just as revealing. Certainly, the initial impetus was British, but, ultimately, it was around a group of young businessmen, students and engineers, sometimes English but often Swiss or Italian, that the club began truly to develop. In Bologna, Bari, Naples and Milan the first teams to be formed had names such as 'Sporting Club', 'Black Star' or 'Racing Club', despite having no English links (Lanfranchi, 1991: 13). British

influence was still strong, even if the founders of particular clubs were from the local population.

Lanfranchi (1991: 13) goes on to cast slight doubts over the influence of local English communities and anglicised schools in the beginnings of modern sport on the continent. He places more stress on the integration of a modern and trans-national, urban society. At the beginning of the century, if football symbolised working-class culture in England, on the continent it represented technical progress.

Lanfranchi is in little doubt that the young, enterprising, mobile middle classes, in search of new openings and fresh markets, favoured the propagation of football and created many of the first organised teams on mainland Europe. He concedes that this did not totally exclude more traditional promoters, the English students and translators, abroad to perfect their language, or continental pupils back from English public schools. However, he remains insistent that class remains a point of distinction between English and continental football.

Argentina provides us with our final illustration. The country's acceptance of the Association form of football is seen in contrasting ways. Baker (1982: 135-6) feels soccer may have played a subsidiary role there to rugby: 'The popularity of the rugby game relegated soccer to an inferior position until a later mass immigration of Italians swamped the rugby crowd.'

Archetti (1992: 2) has little doubt about football's standing as Argentina's national sport, whilst Mason (1974: 110) notes the formation of the first Argentinian soccer club as being as early as 1867. They both agree on the crucial influence of the Italians. Archetti (1992: 3) further notes them as 'steadily increasing in ascendancy' whilst the tour made by Vittorio Pozzo's Torino team in 1914 may well have had an influence on the way the game developed there (Baker, 1982: 135).

However, over a period of sixty years, Argentina has lost its better players to the Italian,

Spanish and, occasionally, English leagues. Italy included three Argentinians in their 1934 World Cup winning side - Luis Monti, centre half in the beaten Argentina team in the 1930 Final, Raimundo Orsi, a brilliant winger who collected a silver medal at the 1928 Olympics and Enrique Guaita (Morrison, 1990: 31). Persistent Argentinian economic problems have meant a continued draining of talent to Europe. Alfredo di Stefano left during the players' strike of 1948 (Oliver, 1992: 594) and eventually played international football for Spain. Osvaldo Ardiles and Ricardo Villa joined Tottenham Hotspur following the 1978 World Cup Finals, whilst Diego Maradona left for Barcelona in Spain, before leading Napoli to two Serie 'A' titles in 1987 and 1990 (Oliver, 1992: 366).

Many difficulties hindered the development of the rugby code in Argentina, the one South American country where it has made any obvious impact. In rugby terms the Argentinians became geographically isolated and lacking international opponents for the sport to become anything more than an eccentric pocket of Argentine upper class play. Archetti (1992: 2) notes a clear class bias in rugby, with the masses of Argentina and, indeed, South America, preferring the simpler game of soccer.

There may be problems in accepting soccer's subsidiary role to rugby at the end of the 19th century as proposed by Baker (1982: 135-6), particularly when one is aware of the fact that the Argentinian Rugby Union was only formed in 1899 (Baker, 1982: 134) a full six years after its Association counterpart (Hockings, 1991: 55). Three soccer clubs existing today in Argentina, Quilmes, Gimnasia y Esgrima, both founded in 1887, (Hockings, 1991: 71) and Rosario Central, formed in 1889 (Hockings, 1991: 69), all began considerably earlier than the national rugby body. Gimnasia, as its name suggests, was more concerned with gymnastics and did not create a football section until after the beginning of the twentieth century (Oliver, 1992: 594).

Finally worthy of note is that Britons formed by no means all of Argentina's soccer clubs.

Boca Juniors, though founded by an Irishman, had their roots in the Italian community, whilst Racing were named after the Paris-based club of the same name and wore the same light blue colours. River Plate were formed by Englishmen and of this 'big five' only Independiente were formed by Argentines, all of whom worked for a store called City of London. The store already had a team but the Argentines wanted to play for a separate team, hence the name (Oliver, 1992: 594).

Unfortunately, Oliver only mentions four clubs. The other, in terms of National Championships won is San Lorenzo, though Estudiantes de la Plata, with three Copa Libertadores (the South American club championship) and a World Club Championship, might qualify. Disgruntled members of Gimnasia y Esgrima founded Estudiantes in 1905 when the former failed to encourage a viable football section (Oliver, 1992: 594).

There are further examples of the involvement in South American football of foreign nationals other than Britons in the initial stages of that continent's soccer development. A Chilean provided the spark in Bolivia when he initiated a football club in Oruro, whilst in Brazil, Portuguese influence existed at Vasco da Gama, Italian involvement at S.E. Palmeiras, formerly Palestra Italia, and obvious German connections at Germania (Oliver, 1992: 611, 615).

In conclusion, whilst we must always be aware of Lanfranchi's (1991) contentions, in terms of Association Football, it was most probably the British who did most to introduce the game to Europe and further afield. Mason (1986: 68) sums up the situation succinctly when he states that 'The British were important because they were a prestigious world power who had pioneered a simple, attractive and manly game.'

However, it is important that we should not accept the global diffusion of the game of Association Football as being a pre-conceived idea. On the contrary, it seems more likely that it occurred as part of an unplanned social process.

Archetti (1990: 2) sees the spread of football as being 'due to Britain's world power status and her active presence in commerce, industrial production, territorial control and financial international connection.'

Mason (1989: 171) adds,

Britain, with its high standards, domination of the 1908 and 1912 Olympic football competitions, professional leagues and international prestige was the country to whom the growing number of European football enthusiasts looked for leadership.

In a world that welcomed British goods, services and skills, football proved equally attractive. It appealed to boys and youths with plenty of free time and abundant energies, to organised working men with a certain amount of leisure time and spare cash for recreation, and to those educational groups which encouraged physical activity as part of a rounded education. In an era of massive expansion of their global political and material power, the British unintentionally transplanted their language, institutions, religious beliefs and economic interests throughout the world. We ought not to be surprised that their games should have followed. Indeed, long after other British influence disappeared or dwindled to insignificance, Association Football survived.

Walvin (1975: 93) concludes that 'in the case of football...the game percolated because of the missionary zeal of travelling Englishmen anxious to play their national game and equally anxious for the locals to play with them.'

However, Jones (1988: 164-5) echoes Lanfranchi and advises caution:

Though Britain was not the only force behind the spread of football, British commerce, education and the Army were vital influences in the introduction of the game to all parts of the globe. The game has developed in such countries

as Argentina, Brazil, Rumania, Russia, Spain and the Colonies benefited from enthusiasts drawn from British bankers and businessmen, clerks and manual workers, teachers and officers.

The countries in which football was so enthusiastically received appeared ripe for this intrusion. 'Soccer in South America and Europe succeeded largely because it encountered no competition from other team sports' (Baker, 1982: 136). However, there was opposition to be found in Germany, where participants in the form of gymnastics known as Turnen provided some resistance. Indeed, one of the problems that the followers of English sports faced when trying to establish their favoured pastimes in Germany was that the middle classes had already established their physical routines in the form of Turnen (Dunning, 1999: 73-5). The supporters of this movement 'became the enemies of modern sport, which they perceived as Liberal, rational, international and un-German' (Guttmann, 1979: 89). When the Olympic Games were resurrected in Athens in 1896, the German Turner not only voiced vehement opposition but also expelled one of their member groups that dared to attend. Modern sport was seen as an English invention and was to be carefully avoided, just as the British showed an almost complete disregard for Turnen (Guttmann, 1979: 89).

Although the Deutscher Fussball-Bund (D.F.B.) was founded in 1900 (Hammond, 1988: 564), its rate of growth was relatively slow when compared with other leisure pursuits. At the outbreak of the First World War, the soccer enthusiasts equalled the membership of the National Choral Societies Association and the National Athletics Association (Eisenberg, 1991: 205). Eisenberg continues, 'The DFB could not match the venerable Gymnastics Association (Deutsche Turnerschaft), which recruited more than three times as many members between 1900 and 1914.' This virulent opposition bordering on anglophobia is confirmed by Merkel (2000: 168-175) who notes that the proponents of gymnastics argued that the English concept of physical culture had 'no spiritual foundation,' lacked 'an ideological basis' and focused too strongly on 'the notion of competitiveness, outstanding achievements and

records.'

Where development took place it appeared everywhere to follow similar lines. Britons working abroad began to play their favourite sport and locals were asked to join in to swell the numbers. Eventually the teachers had to accept that their students had become more proficient at the game than their instructors. Few of the Britons involved appear to have resented this. On the contrary, they applauded their charges' success and took over in administrative capacities. Two excellent examples were M.D. Nicholson, who was elected first President of the Austrian Football Union in 1900 (Meisl, 1955: 56) and Alexander Watson Hutton, who held a similar position in Argentina in 1893. (Mason, 1974: 110) Whatever the degree of their influence, it is difficult to dispute that 'The feet of the English were everywhere' (Mason, 1986: 67).

However, whilst British emigrant workers instilled an initial enthusiasm, the first form of consolidation came from British touring sides. Before the beginning of the 20th century this particular form of diffusion remained firmly in the hands of amateur players. However, professional sides were coming increasingly to the fore.

Perhaps the most famous of the amateur tourists were the Corinthians. As we have seen, the original club was founded in 1882 by N.L. Jackson (Harrison and Slade, 1989i), following concern at England's lack of success against the 'old enemy', Scotland. The latter had won seven of the previous nine internationals against England (Oliver, 1992: 252) and were thought to possess superior teamwork.

But probably the Corinthians' greatest contribution to the game was their 'missionary work' abroad. Their first tour was to South Africa in 1897, which, incidentally, was also the first time an English club side had played outside Europe (Harrison and Slade, 1989ii). There was also a racial dimension to the tour. Mason (1986: 75) notes that 'All their matches were

against white teams based in towns or provinces, with a few 'test' matches against South Africa thrown in.'

The Corinthians' first trip to Continental Europe was in 1904, which included visits to Hungary and Scandinavia. They also played in Bohemia where they recorded two victories against Slavia Prague (Mason, 1974: 107). Canada and the United States in 1906 were next on the agenda, but perhaps their most famous tour took place four years later when they undertook the long journey to Brazil, the boat taking 17 days to complete the journey from Southampton to Rio, following an invitation from the club side Fluminense.

This was the first of three such visits, all of which had profound effects on the promotion of football in Brazil. In 1910, six matches were played, all resulting in comfortable victories for the Corinthians (Harrison and Slade, 1989ii). The quality of their football left an indelible impression on certain residents of Sao Paulo in particular. These same locals formed a club, naming it after the Corinthians and even adopting their colours of white shirts and dark shorts (Harrison and Slade, 1989ii). So began Sport Club Corinthians Paulista, which was later to nurture such world famous players as Rivelino and Socrates.

Janet Lever (1983: 53-4) notes,

The famous amateur Corinthians team, made up of Oxford and Cambridge graduates who had the time and means to travel, swept victoriously through southern Brazil in 1910. Ironically, the elite Corinthians name was taken for a new club formed in Sao Paulo by a wallpainter, a tailor and some factory and railway workers who, according to folklore, played in homemade uniforms of burlap sacking as Brazil's 'first poor team'.

The importance of the tour should not be underestimated. Meisl (1955: 68) refers to it as 'incomparably the most important...and most thrilling visit of any foreign side to Brazil.'

Mason (1986: 73) also recognises their contribution as he remarks, 'Their importance in

helping to advance football in the places they visited should not be underestimated.'

Clubs from the south of England, with its geographical proximity to the Continent and its proliferation of amateur sides also toured extensively abroad. One of these was Middlesex Wanderers. Originally based on Old Boys from Richmond County School, they have been re-christened many times. Firstly British Old Boys in 1901, then Richmond Old Boys, followed by Richmond Town Association, Richmond Town Wanderers and finally Middlesex Wanderers in 1906 (Alaway, 1948). With ever-strengthening continental opposition, the name appears to have been changed to reflect the need to maintain their standard of play by drawing better playing personnel from a wider area. Northern France was visited in 1901 whilst further tours took place to Belgium and Holland.

The final trip abroad before the outbreak of the First World War came at Easter, 1914, taking Middlesex Wanderers to Spain, having been invited there by Juan Gamper, the Barcelona President (Alaway, 1948: 35).

It was during this period that the foundation stones appear to have been laid for the future of world football by such amateur pioneers as the Corinthians and Middlesex Wanderers. Alaway (1948: 14) goes further and states that they did much 'to greatly influence the further development of the game in Europe. I would go further. It fashioned the game abroad.'

There seemed to have been a proliferation of English professional sides that toured Argentina at one time or another. This may have been an indication of that country's standing as part of Britain's informal Empire (Perkin, 1989: 6) and, with the thousands of Britons resident in the country, contacts would have been relatively easy to obtain. Exeter, Southampton, Nottingham Forest, Everton, Tottenham Hotspur and Swindon Town, for example, had all visited Argentina before 1914 (Mason, 1986: 69, 73).

Forest undertook the journey in 1904, playing one game in Montevideo, Uruguay, against

Peñarol, and a further eight in Argentina, winning all by wide margins (Smales 1991: 63). There is evidence that they also wanted to visit Brazil, but, for no apparent reason, the boat never docked at Rio (Meisl, 1955: 67).

Thirteen players took part, accompanied by Mr Hallam, the secretary, who refereed three matches and Mr Radford, a Vice-President:

The party left Nottingham on 19 May and arrived at Montevideo after a voyage of a little over three weeks, landing back in Nottingham on 2 August. Mr. Hallam regarded the class of play there as almost equal to Second Division football, certainly superior to Midland League. The attendances at the matches were good, even when compared to first-class matches in England and the prices of admission are three or four times as high as at any First Division match in this country (Smales, 1991: 63).

Indeed, the joint best attendance of 10,000 was at the stadium of the Sociedad Sportiva Argentina against Alumni, who dominated Argentinian football around that time. Between 1901 and 1911 Alumni won no fewer than nine National titles (Oliver, 1991: 598-599).

Representative tours were a rarity in those days, however, possibly indicating the rather conservative attitudes of the four national bodies representing football in the United Kingdom to the wider world of soccer development (Mason 1974: 46). The Football Association's only venture in this field came in 1899 when a mixed amateur and professional XI was dispatched to Germany (Meisl, 1955: 83). The three matches they played have never been deemed full internationals, but, for the record, the games, two in Berlin and one in Karlsruhe, ended in heavy defeats for the hosts.

Through these tours, skills and tactics were amply demonstrated to local populations and a general enthusiasm for the game was equally engendered. But, perhaps most of all, as Archetti (1990: 3) notes, 'the myth of invincibility of the British football [sic] was then created.'

Let us, finally, temper this anglocentricity by recalling the influential and elongated visit of

Vittorio Pozzo's Italian club side, Torino, to Argentina in 1914, which, Nicholas Mason (1974: 110) claims 'did much to spread the game's popularity and eventually to knit the Italian and Spanish attitudes into a powerful footballing force.'

Meisl (1955: 68) records Torino as also visiting Brazil without losing a single match during their lengthy stay, the termination of which was only brought about by the outbreak of war in 1914. He also notes that Pro Vercelli, five times Italian champions already, toured Brazil in that year.

Yet it was, of course, the British who provide us with the majority of examples of tourists in those years. Indeed the tour appeared to become an established part of British football and is still evident today, providing the catalyst for certain individuals to become interested in the game and for others, already perhaps experienced in such matters, to refine their skills or re-emphasise their commitment to the sport of football.

The question I must now urgently address is why, with the exception of Canada which borrowed a variant of the American game, did the emerging Dominions and Britain's major colonies adopt Rugby Union in preference to Association Football, a game which was being so enthusiastically embraced by Europe and South America in particular? For the purposes of this dissertation I shall mention only Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, accepting that a further set of considerations can be applied to North America.

In Australia, another form of football came into existence to complicate matters in the 1840s. Soccer in that country thus not only had rugby to contend with, but also Australian Rules Football. Some form of football was being played in Melbourne perhaps as early as 1840, though the first recorded match of which I am aware took place on 5 June, 1858, and was noted in the diary of Dr. John E. Brumby, Headmaster of St. Kilda Grammar School, when that institution's representatives defeated those of Melbourne Grammar School (Blainey,

1990: 15).

Just over a month later, on 10 July, a letter was received by the newspaper, Bell's Life in Victoria, from one Tom Wills. A well known local sportsman and an Australian by birth, he had been sent by his father to be educated in England between the years 1850 and 1856, spending the majority of his time at Rugby School. The contents of the correspondence were as follows:

PEDESTRIANISM

WINTER PRACTICE

To the Editor of Bell's Life in Victoria

SIR, - Now that cricket has been put aside for some few months to come, and cricketers have assumed somewhat of the chrysalis nature (for a time only 'tis true), but at length will again burst forth in all their varied hues, rather than allow this state of torpor to creep over them, and stifle their new supple limbs, why can they not, I say, form a foot-ball club, and form a committee of three or four to draw up a code of laws?

If a club of this sort were got up, it would be of a vast benefit to any cricket-ground to be trampled upon, and would make the turf quite firm and durable; besides which it would keep those who are inclined to become stout from having their joints encased in useless superabundant flesh.

If it is not possible to form a foot-ball club, why should not these young men who had adopted this new-born country for their mother land, why I say, do they not form themselves into a rifle club, so as at any rate they may be some day called to aid their adopted land against a tyrant's band, that may some day "pop" upon us when we least expect a foe at our very doors. Surely our young cricketers are not afraid of the crack of the rifle, when they face so courageously the leathern sphere, and it would disgrace no one to learn in time how to defend this country and his hearth. A firm heart, a steady hand, and a quick eye, are all that are requisite, and, with practice, all these may be attained. Trusting that some one will take up the matter, and form either of the above clubs, or, at any rate, some athletic games, I remain, yours truly,

T. W. WILLS.

The letter itself is worthy of further examination. Firstly, Wills appears to have been writing as an individual sportsman and not, as he was at the time, the secretary of Melbourne Cricket

Club. Wills may have been influential in the securing of the Melbourne Cricket Ground for several Australian Rules matches during the next few years, though, because the surface often suffered following a vigorous football encounter, the cricketers and exponents of the winter game were continually at odds over the use of the venue. Following the initial ventures of 1858, it has been believed until fairly recently that the next formal Australian Rules Football game to be played on the Melbourne Cricket Ground took place as late as 1869 (Hess and Stewart, 1998: 36-7). However, Batchelder (1998: 3-13) has produced evidence to prove that the sport was occasionally played there in the intervening years.

Secondly, the wording of the letter suggests that Wills was not simply an advocate of the game of football. Rather he appears to have been somewhat desperate for any activity to fill the winter months. Indeed, one of his suggestions was a rifle club, perhaps not such an inappropriate idea when one considers that the Crimean War had only ended two years previously, that British soldiers had been recently massacred in India, and that many settlers still perceived a threat of attack from aboriginals (Blainey, 1990: 18). Indeed, aboriginals were responsible for the deaths of Tom Wills's father and 18 others in Queensland in 1861 (Mancini and Hibbins, 1987: 9).

Despite the fact that this piece of correspondence is one of the most important artefacts from the early years of the Australia game, it did not elicit a response until the end of the same month, when the following appeared:

FOOTBALL - We understand that a number of gentlemen interested in keeping the muscles in full vigour during the winter months, and also anxious for an occasional afternoon's outdoor exercise, have determined upon getting up a football club. Mr Bryant, of the Parade Hotel, on the principle that 'an ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory,' will have a ball on the Melbourne cricket ground, or adjoining portion of Richmond Park, to-day, at one o'clock. After the game, a committee will be formed to draw up a short code of rules. We wish every success to this movement in the right direction.

(Bell's Life in Victoria, 31 July 1858)

No doubt Bryant, a recently arrived cricket professional of the Melbourne club, profited in his hostelry from the thirst acquired by the participants. It was, however, a highly significant gathering in football terms, as the players, applying the rules with which they were cognisant in Britain to their game that afternoon, encountered difficulties similar to those experienced by Cambridge University footballers a decade before. One participant recalled the mayhem:

Each man played a lone hand or foot, according to his lights, some guided by their particular code of rules, others by no rules at all. Disputes, wrangling, and utter confusion were the inevitable outcome of such a state of affairs...Three or four Saturdays of this kind of play sufficed to show that something must be done to reconcile the different codes of rules.

(Marshall, 1896: Manuscript)

However, compromise rules were not arrived at immediately. It was not, in fact, until the following year, 17 May 1859 to be precise, that the first set of rules for what became Australian Football were drafted. They read as follows:

1. The distance between the goals and the goal posts shall be decided upon by the captains of the sides playing.
2. The captains on each side shall toss for choice of goal. The side losing the toss has the kick-off from the centre-point between the goals
3. A goal must be kicked fairly between the posts without touching either of them or a portion of the person of any player of either side.
4. The game shall be played within the space of not more than 200 yards wide, the same to be measured equally upon each side of the line drawn through the centre of the two goals and two posts to be called the kick-off posts shall be erected at a distance of 20 yards on each side of the goal posts at both ends and in a straight line with them.
5. In case the ball is kicked behind the goals, anyone of the side behind whose goal it is kicked, may bring it 20 yards in front of any portion of the space between the kick-off posts and shall kick it as nearly as possible in the line of the opposite goal.
6. Any player catching the ball directly from the boot may call 'mark'. He then has a free kick. No players from the opposite side being allowed to come into the spot marked.
7. Tripping and pushing are both allowed but not hacking when any player is in rapid motion or in possession of the ball except for the case provided by rule 6.

8. The ball may be taken in hand only when caught from the boot or on the hop. In no case shall it be lifted from the ground.
9. When a ball goes out of bounds (the same being indicated by a row of posts) it shall be brought back to the point where it crossed the boundary line and thrown in at right angles with that line.
10. The ball while in play may under no circumstances be thrown.

(Hess and Stewart, 1998: 9)

It seems significant that Law 7 prohibits hacking. This was the same disputed practice that the people present at the first meetings of the Football Association in London in 1863 had had to face. However, fully four years earlier than their counterparts in England, the rule-makers of football in Melbourne decided, with perfect unanimity and apparently without the sorts of fractious arguments that preceded the split between soccer and rugby, that hacking should be excluded from their game. They appear to have done so primarily because adults refused to accept debilitating injury as readily as schoolboys might. As a local newspaper, *The Argus* (14 May 1860), commented, 'Black eyes don't look so well in Collins Street [Melbourne's financial district].'

Laws 6 and 8 cater for an element of handling, though it should immediately be remembered that most forms of football being played at this time in England still included some form of handling of the ball. As we have seen, even as late as 1863 the first draft Football Association rules of December 1863, retained the following regulation: '8. If a player makes a fair catch, he shall be entitled to a free kick, provided he claims it by making a mark with his heel at once' (Green, 1953: 39).

The Cambridge University rules of October 1863, however, stated firmly, '13. The ball, when in play, may be stopped by any part of the body, but may *not* be held or hit by the hands, arms or shoulders' (Green, 1953: 39).

In the Australian football rules of 1859 there was no rule which concerned itself with offside.

It appears that the colonists, holding to their fervent wish that their new game should be simple and therefore easily understood by immigrants from different backgrounds, appreciated that this particular law might be both difficult to explain and become highly contentious. Therefore, no doubt reflecting on the fact that offside at Rugby School in 1846 required six rules to clarify, they opted to exclude it completely. Australian Rules football still has no offside today (Hibbins, 1989: 183).

In terms of diffusion, however, we must ask ourselves whether the Australian game originated solely from that country or if there were elements of football as played at English Public Schools to be found in its original rules and methods of play. The key to formulating a useful answer to this problem appears to lie in an examination of the backgrounds of the signatories to the original rules document. There were seven of these. However, only four of the committee are subsequently mentioned as having had any direct influence of the framing of the 1859 laws. They were T.W. Wills, (T.H.) Smith, W.J. Hammersley and the secretary, J.B. Thompson (Hibbins, 1989, 177). J.B. Thompson, as secretary, was unaware of Smith's initials and, consequently, I have included them in parentheses. This led in subsequent years to suggestions that his importance as a rules formulator should be devalued (Hibbins, 1989: 188-9). The same writer (1989: 190), however, is convinced that Hammersley, Thompson and Smith, rather than Wills, should be given the credit for the furtherance of the Australian code of football, saying, 'Australian Rules Football...was...sustained substantially by the unacknowledged work of two English journalists and one Irish schoolmaster.'

Wills was an ex-Rugby School pupil and would almost certainly have favoured a handling and running form of football. Smith had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where a type of football similar to that practised at Rugby was played. Hammersley and Thompson, however, had attended Trinity College, Cambridge, the former certainly during 1846 and 1847, whilst the latter has been discovered as being on the rolls at least from 1849 to 1850.

This would mean that both were at Cambridge around the time of the drafting of the 1848 Cambridge Rules, a set of laws which favoured a minimal handling and carrying style of the game over that of the carriers (See Chapter 2 in this dissertation). A balance of opinion and experience appeared to exist between the members of the rules committee. Further investigation, however, appears to suggest that the kickers perhaps were victorious in the debate. Firstly, we have already mentioned the ban placed on hacking in the original rules, something that initially indicates that an anti-Rugby School football lobby might have participated in the debate. Secondly, Wills, though he had achieved some fame, especially as a cricketer, was the junior of all the others by some seven or more years; that is he was 23 whilst the rest were around 30 years of age (Mancini and Hibbins, 1987: 26). This may have minimised his influence and, with Thompson holding the often all-important position of secretary, could only have strengthened the kickers' argument.

A further intriguing intricacy in the unravelling of the various types of football in Australia is the failure of the devotees of Australian Rules to spread their message to New South Wales and Queensland. Perhaps the very fact that the game emanated from Victoria was enough to damn it (Mason, 1988: 78) and there certainly does seem to have been more than a hint of provincial jealousy involved where imports from other states were concerned (Murray, 1994: 77). This intercolonial rivalry is, however, rejected as an over-simplification by Sharp (1987: 43). He prefers to focus on the poor promotion of the sport by Sydney Australian Football officials and further to that proposes a climatic explanation. Australian Rules had, he suggests:

evolved in Melbourne because cricketers did not want to be injured playing rugby on hard grounds. In Sydney, conditions were more like England than Melbourne - Sydney's annual rainfall was twice that of Melbourne and Sydney averaged 20 more wet days each year than did Melbourne. Sydney's grounds were therefore much softer than Melbourne's and this reason for changing the style of football was not so pressing (Sharp, 1987: 28).

A further problem for the Australian game was that the best footballers in Sydney played rugby and, as a result, New South Wales teams were never able to compete effectively with those from Victoria or South Australia. Indeed, the local Rugby Football Union in Sydney actually banned their players from taking part in Australian Rules (Sharp, 1987: 32).

Despite changing the name of the game from Victorian to Australian Rules early in the twentieth century and, more recently re-locating teams to Sydney and Brisbane to create a National League, the Victorian game is still a minority sport in two major states (Murray, 1994: 77).

The rugby code became the chosen football of New South Wales and Queensland. Union initially and later, after the split, Rugby League, which developed as a professional rival to the Union game. However, the latter retained its popularity in the Australian Universities (Murray, 1994: 77) and was able to withstand further competition from both League and Australian Rules because of its continued primacy in such important areas as Queensland (Titley and McWhirter, 1970: 41).

When Rugby League began in 1908, Sydney spectators finally had a brand of football in which their team was successful. Between 1908 and 1912 the New South Wales Rugby League team won all eleven of its matches against Queensland...nine out of eleven matches against New Zealand, and two out of three games played against England. The majority of spectators and best players soon flocked to the new professional game, Rugby Union went into decline and Australian football was left to a small band of devotees, most of whom were expatriate Victorians and South Australians (Sharp, 1987: 42).

As for Association Football, the first match in Australia was reputedly held in August 1880, some twenty-two years behind its Australian counterpart. It was played on Parramatta Common between the King's School and the Wanderers (Vamplew, 1992: 3). In terms of touring, neither the Corinthians nor Middlesex Wanderers visited Australia at any time and the Football Association only visited for the first time in 1925 {Mason, 1986: 78}. Perhaps all parties were restrained by the 'tyranny of distance' (Murray, 1994: 77). Curiously the first

tourists to play soccer in Western Australia were actually English cricket elevens. In 1902 the visitors beat a local line up by four goals to nil just before returning home following their cricketing exertions and, although this might at first appear to have been a poor effort by the Western Australians against opponents seemingly more proficient in another sport, the English included in their ranks one J. Gunn, who at one time played for Notts. County, one of the leading clubs in the English League at that time. Further matches were played in 1904, 1908 and also in 1925, when the home side was eventually victorious (Kreider, 1996: 23-5).

Murray (1994: 77) alludes to the fact that soccer has always been seen as a 'pommie' or 'dago' game and Vamplew (1992: 4) confirms this: 'So much did soccer become identified with ethnic groups that, despite a long and continuing British involvement, it became disparagingly referred to as 'wogball', a term now enshrined as an Australian colloquism in the Macquarie Dictionary.'

Spectator and player violence within Australian soccer has, in recent years, become a problem. Throughout the country, teams were founded on ethnic lines with names reflecting their players' country of origin. Clubs such as Croatia, Perth Italia, Heidelberg Alexander, Budapest and Hellas all clearly identify their founder members' ethnic origins. On the field of play, the British stamina, strength and speed approach contrasted with continental finesse and emphasis on skill, giving games between such opponents an explosive atmosphere. Violence also broke out when ethnic teams faced each other. Often issues other than football were at stake when, for example, Croat faced Serb. It is hardly surprising, then, that Association Football has been labelled a sport of immigrants perhaps unwilling to forego ties with the home country (Vamplew, 1992: 7).

Australian Rules Football, as well as originating before other forms of the game in Australia, outpaced the Association and Rugby codes in all aspects of appeal and organisation in the

thirty vital years following 1858. Cup competitions were started in Victoria nearly a whole decade before anything similar in England and League tables were published in the early 1880s almost eight years before the founding of the Football League in England. According to Mandle (1973: 511):

What has been demonstrated is that Australia, as an offshoot of British nineteenth century society, did not escape the mother country's new obsession with sport...but colonial conditions and possibly colonial psychological attitudes resulted in distinctive new characteristics being attached to the games, the extent of the innovation varying according to the stage of development reached by the game on its adoption in Australia.

The first organised game of football played in South Africa was probably between Military and Civilians in August 1862 (Titley and McWhirter, 1970: 42). The match was played under Winchester College rules, this particular form of football being introduced to Capetown businessmen as a healthy form of winter exercise by Canon G. Ogilvie (Mason, 1974: 48).

The most English of the South African provinces, Natal, an area where organised soccer was being played around the turn of the century (Mason, 1986:75), clung to the Association game as long as possible, before eventually succumbing to the rugby tide. A Rugby Union was formed there in the early 1890s, following the national body's foundation in 1889 (Titley and McWhirter, 1970: 42).

At this present moment, Association Football is by far the most popular game in South Africa, but only among native Africans, 'coloureds' and Indians. White South Africans rank the game behind rugby and cricket, also holding tennis, bowls and field hockey higher in their affections (Murray, 1994: 78).

Yet it should be recorded that South Africa has supplied a number of players to top British soccer clubs, Liverpool, in particular, have a strong connection with the country. Gordon Hodgson, who was to become one of the club's finest ever goalscorers, arrived in 1921. He

was able to combine his football with playing cricket for Lancashire and in the 1930-31 season set a record of 36 goals for Liverpool. Other Springboks who made their way to Anfield included Jimmy Gray, Leslie Carr, Bob Priday, Dirk Kemp, Hugh Gerhadi, Danny Van den Berg and Berry Nieuwenhuys and were all recommended by the club's agent in South Africa (Kelly, 1987: 34).

Liversedge (1976: 3) quotes the club's former Chief Executive, John Smith, as having said, 'We had very close ties with South Africa and with the football authorities over there, and, when the South Africans sent over a touring side in 1924, the ball started rolling.'

Charlton Athletic were another club who benefited from close contact with the Dominion. Not only did they gain a whole forward line from South Africa for less than £1000, but they soon found out that this included one Eddie Firmani, who went on to play in Italy, representing that country after taking out citizenship there (Murray, 1994: 78). Firmani scored five goals in one game against Aston Villa in 1955 and came back to manage the club from 1967-1970 (Williams, 1992: 153). Glasgow Rangers were yet another team to dip into the South African reservoir of talent. Johnny Hubbard and Dan Kichenbrand were servants to the Ibrox cause. Finally, it was a South African, Bill Perry, who scored the winning goal in the famous 'Matthews' F.A. Cup Final of 1953 (Butler, 1991: 112).

As with many instances of football diffusion, the game was introduced to South Africa by British sailors docking in South African ports and challenging the locals to play with them. By 1882, the Natal F.A. had been formed, with this province leading the way in terms of soccer development (Murray 1994: 78). The national F.A. followed ten years later, seemingly to provide a focus for countrywide development. Mason (1986: 76) expresses the view that no overall organisation existed which could foster the furtherance of the sport in South Africa, though this relatively early formation of a national Football Association and the fact that the

Natal F.A. was, along with that of New South Wales, the first to be formed outside the United Kingdom (Murray, 1994: 78), tend to deny rather than support his case.

From a touring point of view, South Africa neither suffered from a lack of visitors, nor did her teams display a reluctance to visit other lands. The Corinthians played there on three separate occasions (Mason, 1986: 75) though their matches, all against white opponents, suggest that even as early as 1897, South Africa was fragmented by race. In 1906, a South African team toured South America and won eleven of its twelve games (Murray, 1994: 78-9). Then, in a gesture that suggests a wish to popularise the game in this particular Dominion, the Football Association despatched a side in 1910, playing, amongst other games, against a white South African representative team in Johannesburg in front of 14,000 spectators (Mason, 1986: 75). The Indian population of South Africa also took the game to its heart. A team was sent to tour their home country in 1921, playing in front of 100,000 spectators and a return visit was welcomed in 1933 (Murray, 1994: 79).

Whilst soccer perhaps reached its zenith in South Africa just prior to World War One, it has recently been one of the few sports which has been used to attempt to bridge the racial divide. In 1952 the three non-white groups (blacks, 'coloureds' and Asians) formed a non-racial soccer league, the South Africa Soccer Association – though this body never gained international recognition - and seven years later created a professional league. This open threat to the apartheid system that had begun in 1948 was highlighted by the fact that the white-controlled South African F.A. was suspended from F.I.F.A. in 1962. In an attempt to secure readmission the S.A.F.A. offered to enter an all-black team for the World Cup in 1966 and an all-white one in the following event in 1970. Their efforts to produce what they considered a fair solution were met with disbelief by the world community. They were expelled from F.I.F.A. in 1976 and, as a result, South African blacks have been, until recently, excluded from the surge of soccer in Africa as a whole (Murray, 1994: 79). The Confederation of

African Football, sufficiently satisfied that a single governing body was finally in place, re-admitted South Africa to the world football 'family' in January, 1992 (Oliver, 1992: 764).

Mason (1986: 76) sums up:

Both the Afrikaaner and English elite turned to Rugby Union, where South Africa had already shown its ability to compete successfully with the British at one of their own games. Were it not for racism and later the institutionalised 'separate development' of apartheid, South Africa might by now have become the most powerful football nation outside Europe and Latin America.

Rugby and cricket were the two sports which Britain and her Dominions of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand shared with most enthusiasm. Rugby, in particular, became a vehicle for Afrikaaner self-expression and identity. The 'Boer' element has come to predominate in Springbok sides ever since the end of the 19th century. Just to take one example, eleven of the fifteen South Africans who represented their country at rugby against France on Saturday 26 June 1993 had surnames suggesting Afrikaaner origin (The Independent, 28.6.93). Fierceness in the tackle came to represent a positive image for their people. They may have been playing an 'English' game, but they were doing so to underscore their separateness from and superiority over the British Empire as a proud and independent people. Whereas New Zealanders might re-affirm old loyalties to Britain even in beating the Motherland in sporting contests, the Boers, as the majority presence in the Rugby Springboks, use the game to underline their independence:

This preference for rugby was partly as a result of the public school education of important officials and settlers, and partly a response to the sudden professionalisation of football in Britain. The dispersed and relatively small populations of the Dominions could not hope to sustain highly paid professional soccer teams to compete with the English or the Scots. However, the amateurisation of Rugby Union and its weakening as a result of the schism with the northern clubs in 1894, permitted countries like New Zealand and South Africa to play the British on equal terms - some would say more than equal terms (Holt, 1989: 226).

In distant New Zealand, a Dominion far removed geographically from Great Britain but strikingly similar to the motherland in cultural terms (Baker, 1982: 133), rugby was introduced by Charles John Munro, the son of the-then speaker of New Zealand's House of Representatives (Baker, 1982: 133) and a former pupil of Sherborne School (Titley and McWhirter, 1970: 41). Returning to his home in Nelson, he initiated the first match to be held under the rugby code in New Zealand in May 1870. The town club, having previously played under Association and Victorian rules, switched to rugby, developing rapidly under his tuition (Titley and McWhirter, 1970: 42). The game continued to grow and quickly spread to Wellington, Canterbury, Otago, and Auckland, all of which possessed governing bodies by 1883 (Mason, 1974: 48).

Whilst this is the story of early New Zealand rugby, there had been a considerable amount of football played, particularly in such public schools as Christ's College, Canterbury, probably in an effort to mimic the successful activities of schools such as Rugby, Eton and Harrow in England. These games were of an informal nature and sides consisted of an unlimited number of players. Contests continued along these lines until the 1880s, changing to more formal gatherings following that time (Crawford, 1985: 41).

By 1890, 700 Rugby clubs existed in New Zealand partly inspired by the touring capabilities of local players. Such were the difficulties of communication and transportation - railways were scarce and roads inadequate - that the impact and popularity of the game could not be transferred down the road to the next town or village. It depended upon men travelling large distances to obtain a weekend game and, at the same time, unintentionally help to propagate their favourite pastime. In 1875, for example, the combined Auckland clubs journeyed 1500 miles to play five games of rugby (Mason, 1974: 47).

A further critical element in the increased popularity of Rugby Football was:

the creation of an intelligent sports bureaucracy which established a stable administration base and, by mixing legal "savoir faire" with business acumen, made sense and order out of the hodge-podge of English football, Victorian rules and the various folk football customary rules (Crawford, 1985: 41).

Association Football suffered by comparison with this missionary effort and effective organisation. According to Mason (1974: 46):

While the FA sat at home embellishing the national game with cup competitions and League Championships, leaving the Empire and foreigners to pick up the game from itinerant civil engineers or the Royal Navy on shore leave, the Rugby Union and its supporters carried the message through a receptive Empire.

In short, New Zealand soccer received little support or encouragement from the governing bodies of football in the United Kingdom.

The final link in the establishment of New Zealand rugby came in 1892 when, due to the efforts of E.D. Hoben (Titley and McWhirter, 1970: 42), and from a concern to facilitate dealings between each of the smaller unions (Mason, 1974: 48), the New Zealand Rugby Football Union was formed.

However, perhaps one set of events more than any other, finally entrenched Rugby Union in the minds and hearts of New Zealanders. In 1905-06 the touring All Blacks, as New Zealand's Rugby Union representatives came to be known, established an incredible match record throughout their visit to The British Isles, France and North America. It read: Played 35, Won 34, Lost 1, Points for 976, Points against 59 (Crawford, 1985: 43).

The prowess of the charging All Blacks of 1905-06 marks the clear emergence of an elite team and its success not only established an international reputation but their impact on the New Zealand public elevated a popular winter sport to the status of the national game (Crawford, 1985: 45).

Rugby was also adopted by the indigenous Maori population of New Zealand, further spreading the gospel to all areas of the country's society (Murray, 1994: 78). Indeed, the identity of the whole nation has for many years been bound together with the performance of

the All Blacks. Sporting success against Britain tended to reinforce the dominant political culture of loyalty to the Commonwealth and the monarchy (Holt, 1989: 229). Grant Fox, therefore, when he kicked the winning points in the All Blacks' First Test Victory in 1993 over the British Lions, was perceived by a majority of his fellow countrymen as a loyal subject of the Commonwealth as well as a patriotic Kiwi.

The story of Association Football in New Zealand is an uninspiring one for the soccer enthusiast. Clubs existed in Dunedin, that most Scottish of antipodean towns, as early as 1880, together with others on the north island shortly afterwards (Murray, 1994: 78). The national association was founded in 1891, a year before its rugby counterpart, and just over one hundred years later, in 1993, is responsible for over 300 clubs and 75,000 registered players (Onze Mondial, June 1993). The game had originally been imported from England by Charles Craven Dacre (Onze Mondial, June 1993), with the national team playing its first game in Dunedin in July, 1904 against a New South Wales representative side. An important development took place in 1923 when a cup presented by sailors from H.M.S. Chatham was introduced as an annual knockout competition for club sides, a contest that even today remains a vital feature of New Zealand soccer (Oliver, 1992: 861).

Why, then, did Britain's Dominions reject soccer? Perhaps it was the national satisfaction gained from beating the mother country (Mason, 1986: 76) and '(t)o win at football...would perhaps have taken longer than in the still strictly amateur world of Rugby Union' (Mason, 1986: 80-81). There did exist a sense of substantial achievement in winning against any British combination and, in this sense, nationalist feeling played a part (Perkin, 1989: 151).

• However, the determining factor in the adoption of a sport was undoubtedly popularity with the local population, and more particularly with the local social elite. This popularity came about in several ways. In Europe and South America, soccer was simple to organise and

exceptionally easy to teach to the local inhabitants. In the Dominions, with the new settlers eager to compete with and even defeat the representatives of the motherland, rugby in the winter and cricket in the summer proved to be ideal vehicles (Perkin, 1989: 151).

To illustrate my next point, I must analyse the world as it looked, from Britain at least, between 1850 and 1900. There existed two areas of Empire. Firstly the informal one, consisting of most of the trading countries of the world, where businessmen from Britain operated profusely. This could include Europe, including Russia, the United States and Latin America (Arbena, 1993: 153).

Secondly came the formal Empire of the four Dominions of Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia (Perkin, 1989: 148). For the purposes of this dissertation I have not included Canada and the United States, both of which deserve separate study.

As I have previously noted, British businessmen, engineers, representatives and soccer coaches exerted a widespread influence in the 'informal empire'. M.D. Nicholson and Jimmy Hogan in Austria, the Charnock brothers in Russia, F.F. Langstaff in Le Havre, Jack Wood of Paris, John Dick and John Madden in Prague, Alexander Watson Hutton in Argentina and, finally, Charles Miller in Brazil. In the formal Empire and in a rugby context, there were Charles Munro and E.D. Hoben in New Zealand, Ogilvie in South Africa, together with the British Armed Forces and teams of administrators in all the Dominions (Perkin, 1989: 149).

Perkin (1989: 150) contrasts the two Empires in terms of soccer and rugby diffusion, saying, 'The answer, at least in part, lies in the different social backgrounds and attitudes of the missionaries of British sport who went to different areas of the world.'

Old Boys from Oxford and Cambridge, Eton and Rugby went out to govern the Dominions, taking with them games they had played at school and university. Yet these sports would have consisted of several types of football. Perhaps the carrying game of Rugby and Marlborough

or the minimal handling game preferred by Harrow and Eton.

For twenty years after the founding of the Football Association in 1863, gentleman amateurs dominated the game of Association Football (Perkin, 1989: 147). For eleven seasons following the inaugural F.A. Cup competition in 1872, southern amateur teams, made up primarily of former public schoolboys, reigned supreme (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 183). Then over a two-year period from 1883 to 1885, the game passed through a watershed, which would change the attitude of ex-public schoolmen towards it forever. In the F.A. Cup Final of 1883, Blackburn Olympic became the first northern team to take the trophy, amid whispers of professionalism (Butler, 1991: 20). Two years later, the F.A., faced with the prospect of disunity, legalised professionalism (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 186). According to Perkin (1989: 151):

As such it was much less attractive to the public school men who went out to build the Empire. The merchants, engineers and bank clerks who went out to the rest of the world were less commonly public school boys and rarely Oxbridge graduates, and had less objection to the plebeian and less expensive game.

In embracing professionalism, Association Football began to become increasingly a proletarian sport, literally 'the people's game'. The F.A., however, though accepting professionals, had, at the same time, prohibited them from serving on any committees or other significant decision-making bodies. The game was to be played by professionals, but administered by amateurs (Lever, 1983: 50).

The winning of the game's premier trophy and the inevitable sanctioning of professionalism, merely accentuated a process which had been underway since the late 1870s, when soccer was taught to the emerging industrial working classes by clergymen, businessmen and factory managers. Seen as a way to combat urban delinquency, it contributed to the eventual incorporation of the new working class into Victorian society (Lever, 1983: 49).

And so our particular story reaches its conclusion, having traced the diffusion of football from public school to the Universities, on into wider society with the formation of the early clubs, recalling the emergence of professionalism and its eventual globalisation. The game during those years appeared to pass through certain identifiable stages and, had we traced it further, no doubt it would have changed a little more – indeed, it continues to develop as we begin the 21st century.

CONCLUSION

Any conclusion to this thesis must surely assess to what extent the aims and objectives discussed in the introduction have been fulfilled. My primary task was to test Dunning's status-rivalry theory in relation to the emerging forms of football of the two public schools of Eton and Rugby. Of course, such rivalry could only be irrefutably established by the discovery of written evidence pointing directly to a reaction on the part of the Eton boys following the publication of Rugby's rules in 1845. In this sense I have so far failed. Whilst such evidence remains elusive, we can only hypothesise as to the relationship between the pupils of the two establishments. However, I feel that my discovery of the 1847 Eton Field Game rules – the earliest previous record dated them as 1849 – makes it more probable that these laws were produced as a direct consequence of the publication of the Rugby School regulations. I believe Dunning's theory to have been strengthened and, with a little more research into direct links between Eton and Rugby Schools during the 1840s, might be proven beyond reasonable doubt.

One area where more research is required – sociologically rather than historically – is the development of the game at the Universities. It was here that the first rules debates took place between adults, discussions that were to provide the basis for the Football Association's initial set of agreed laws. Following Dunning and Sheard (1979), it is my contention that because Old Etonians, former pupils of, arguably, the most prestigious public school, were the most influential voices in the rules debates, the laws upon which the Cambridge committees eventually agreed were heavily biased towards the minimal handling and carrying or kicking form of football. This rivalry within the Universities also began a process of disagreement between the minimal handlers and the carriers or handlers, that is those footballers who championed the form first practised at Rugby School. One might argue that this process

continues today.

A further form of sporting rivalry has seemingly run parallel to the disagreements between protagonists of the two codes of football. The gradual emergence of professionalism in the 1880s and 1890s appears to have split the playing personnel of both games into two distinct camps. On the one hand, men single-mindedly intent on furthering their own and their team's success, usually though not always from the working class, earning monetary reward for playing and winning soccer matches. On the other, in the main, aristocrats or upper middle class footballers engaged in the sport for their, often selfish, enjoyment, being able to spurn financial gain because of their financial independence and elevated social position. There seems little doubt that conflict between the two groups occurred, manifesting itself in different ways, initially on the field of play, where it soon became evident that the working class clubs from the North and Midlands were simply too powerful for the southern amateurs, but eventually appearing in relations between the working class players and the administrators of the game, an area jealously guarded as their own by the upper middle class amateurs.

I believe Chapter 8 explains another element of this conflict in terms of opportunities, or the lack of them, offered to working class players to represent England between the seasons 1875-6 and 1883-4. There appears to have been a deliberate policy of exclusion from selection based on class. One of the administrators of the game at the time and an England selector, N.L. Jackson, suggested that the improvement in the England side's performance against Scotland during this period was due largely to the inclusion of players from the Corinthians club, a group of specially trained, in terms of teamwork, upper middle class amateurs. I believe this assertion to have been incorrect. England's successes in terms of results against the Scots are more feasibly explained by the gradual selection of technically more accomplished working class players together with the draining of talented individuals from Scottish football to English clubs, talent which the Scottish selectors decided not to use during

our period of study. Previous poor performances were the direct result of selectorial unwillingness to pick highly skilled, yet socially unacceptable, working class footballers. Eventually the selectors were unable to ignore their claims, coinciding with significantly better performances by the England XI.

Finally, the curious inconsistency of the diffusion of soccer to Britain's Dominions required unravelling. Leaving aside individual differences between the three countries involved in our investigation, that is Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, the one pattern linking the lack of development of the game in each of them appears to be linked to the struggle for ownership and control of Association Football in Britain itself. At a time when proponents of the game were seeking to gain a foothold in the Dominions, the members of British working class were seizing the opportunity to exercise control over football by defeating the upper middle class amateurs on the field of play. Their success was viewed by their defeated opponents as being gained by 'ungracious' and 'unfair' means, that is the working class victors deliberately trained on a full-time basis in order to be physically and technically superior to their amateur opponents. In the Dominions the men who would normally have diffused British sports, those men who belonged to an influential social elite who were involved in the establishment and continuance of British rule in the Dominions, rejected a game which reflected the values of the British working class, winning at all costs and payment for playing, in favour of rugby, a sport whose proponents promoted amateurism, fair play and participation for enjoyment.

As I end this dissertation I cannot but think that there is still so much to be discovered about the world's most popular sport. I get the distinct impression that my work has not ended; rather it has only just begun.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrahams, H.M. and Bruce-Kerr, J. (1931) Oxford versus Cambridge: A Record of Inter-University Contests from 1827-1930
Faber and Faber, (London)
- Abrams, N.D. (1995) "Inhibited but not 'crowded out': The Strange Fate of Soccer in the United States"
International Journal of the History of Sport, 12, December 3, 1-17
- Ainger, A.C. (1917) Memories of Eton 60 years ago
John Murray, (London)
- Alaway, R.B. (1948) Football all around the World
- Alcock, C.W. (Ed.) (1881) The Football Annual
- Andrews, C. (1983) "1883 Cup Final: 'Patricians' v 'Plebeians'"
History Today, May, 21-24
- Arbena, J.L. (1988) Sport and the Study of Latin American Society
Greenwood Press, (Westport)
- Archer, I. (1976) The Jags: The Centenary History of Partick Thistle Football Club
Molendinar Press, (Glasgow)
- Archetti, E.P. (1990) "In Search of National Identity: Argentinian Football and Europe"
(Paper presented to the conference 'Le Football et L'Europe', Florence, Italy, 3-5 May)
- Archetti, E.P. (1992) "Masculinity and Football: the Formation of National Identity in Argentina"
(Paper presented to the Conference 'Soccer, Culture & Identity', University of Aberdeen, 1-4 April)
- Arlott, J. (1976) The Oxford Companion to Sports and Games
Oxford University Press, (Oxford)
- Aston, S.C. (1983) "Cambridge University Association Football Club"
The Cambridge Review, 18.11.83; 20-22

- Bailey, P. (1978) Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830 - 1885
Routledge & Kegan Paul, (London)
- Baker, W. (1979) "The Making of a Working Class Football Culture in Victorian England"
Journal of Social History, 13, Winter, 241-251
- Baker, W. (1982) Sports in the Western World
Rowman & Littlefield, (Totawa, NJ)
- Bale, J. (1982) Sport and Place
C. Hurst, (London)
- Bale, J. (1989) Sports Geography
E. and F.N. Spon, (London)
- Baron, J. (Commenced 15.10.1921) Men and Matches - Newscuttings from Blackburn Weekly Telegraph
- Barrett, N. (1995) The Daily Telegraph Football Chronicle
Stanley Paul, (London)
- Batchelder, A. (1998) The First Football Matches on the Melbourne Cricket Ground
The Yorker, July, 3 -13
- Batchelor, D. (1954) Soccer
Batsford, (London)
- Berry, H. (1976) A Century of Soccer, 1875-1975
Veevers and Hensman, (Burnley)
- Best, G. (1979) Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75
Fontana, (London)
- Birley, G. (1993) Sport and the Making of Britain
Manchester University Press,
(Manchester)
- Blainey, G. (1990) A Game of Our Own: The Origins of Australian Football
Information Australia, (Melbourne)
- Blake, H.J.C. (1831) Reminiscences of Eton by an Etonian
(Chichester)
- Book of Football (Several volumes)
Marshall Cavendish, (1972)

- Bradford-Burns, E. (1972) Latin America: A Concise Interpretive History
Prentice Hall
- Brailsford, D. (1992) British Sport: A Social History
Lutterworth Press, (Cambridge)
- Briggs, A. (1959) The Age of Improvement
Longmans, (London)
- Burns, J. (1999) Barca: A People's Passion
Bloomsbury, (London)
- Butler, B. (1982) The Giant Killers
Pelham Books, (London)
- Butler, B. (1991) The Official History of the Football Association
Queen Anne Press, (London)
- Cashmore, E. (1990) Making Sense of Sport
Routledge, (London)
- Chandler, T.J.L. (1988) "Emergent Athleticism: Games in two English Public Schools, 1800 – 1860"
International Journal of the History of Sport, 5, December, 312-330
- Chandler, T.J.L. (1991) "Games at Oxbridge and the Public Schools, 1830-1880: The Diffusion of an Innovation"
International Journal of the History of Sport, 8, 2, 171-204
- Charlesworth, M., Moulds, R., Trimby, R., Dickson, M. and Sturdy, C. (1995) Shrewsbury School Football
- Checkland, S.G. (1964) The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885
Longmans, (London)
- Clareborough, D. (1989) Sheffield United: The First 100 Years
Sheffield United F.C., (Sheffield)
- Clarke, J. and Critcher C. (1985) The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain
Macmillan, (Basingstoke)
- Cotton, G.E.L. (1853) Circular to Parents (June)
- Crampsey, B. (1978) The Scottish Footballer
Blackwood

- Crawford, S. (1985) "The Evolution of Rugby from Folk Football in Colonial New Zealand: The Shaping of a National Ethos, 1850-1907" Carnegie Research Papers, 1, 7, December
- Duke, V. and Crolley, L. (1996) Football, Nationality and the State Longman, (Harlow)
- Dunning, E. (1961) Early Stages in the Development of Football as an Organised Game: An Account of Some of the Sociological Problems in the Development of the Game. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, (University of Leicester)
- Dunning, E. (Ed.) (1971) The Sociology of Sport: A Selection of Readings Frank Cass, (London)
- Dunning E. (1975) "Industrialisation and the Incipient Modernisation of Football" Arena (Stadion) 1, 1, 103-139
- Dunning, E. (1983) "Notes on some recent contributions to the Sociology of Sport" Theory, Culture, and Society, 2, 1
- Dunning, E. (1999) Sport Matters: Sociological Studies of Sport, Violence and Civilisation Routledge, (London)
- Dunning, E., Maguire, J. and Pearton, R. (Eds.) (1993) The Sports Process: A Comparative and Developmental Approach Human Kinetics Publishers, (Champaign, Illinois)
- Dunning, E. and Rojek, C. (Eds.) (1992) Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process Macmillan, (Basingstoke)
- Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. (1979) Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football Martin Robertson, (Oxford)
- Eardley Wilmot, E.P. and Streatfield, E.C. (1895) Charterhouse Old and New (London)
- Edwardes, C. The New Football Mania

- Eisenberg, C. (1991) "Football in Germany: Beginnings, 1890-1914"
International Journal of the History of Sport 8, 2, 205 - 220
- Eitzen, D.S. (1989) "The Sociology of Amateur Sport: An Overview"
International Review of the Sociology of Sport
24, 2, 95-104
- Ekblom, B. (Ed.) (1994) Handbook of Sports Medicine and Science: Football (Soccer)
Blackwell, (Oxford)
- Elias, N. (2000) The Civilising Process: The History of Manners
Blackwell, (Oxford)
- Elias, N. and Dunning, E. (1986) Quest for Excitement: Sport and Lesiure in the Civilising Process
Blackwell, (Cambridge)
- Fairgrieve, J. (1964) The Rangers: Scotland's Greatest Football Club
Robert Hale, (London)
- Farnsworth, K. (1995) Sheffield Football: A History, Volume 1 1857 - 1961
Hallamshire Press, (Sheffield)
- Farror, M., and Lamming, D. (1972) A Century of England International Football: 1872 - 1972
Robert Hale & Co., (London)
- Fisher, G.W. (1899) Annals of Shrewsbury School
(London)
- Football Association (1990) Blueprint for the Future of Football
- Forsyth, R. (1990) The Only Game: The Scots and World Football
Mainstream, (Edinburgh)
- Francis, C. (1925) History of the Rovers Football Club
Geo. Toulmin and Son Ltd., (Blackburn)
- Freddi, C. (1991) England Football Fact Book
Guinness, (Enfield)

- Gehrmann, S. (1989) "Football in an Industrial Region: The Example of Schalke 04 Football Club" International Journal of the History of Sport 6, 3, 139 - 260
- Gibson, A. and Pickford, W. (1906) Association Football and the Men who made it (4 volumes)
Caxton, (London)
- Gillett, R. (1988) "Where the Big Men Fly: An Early History of Australian Football in the Riverina" Sporting Traditions: The Journal of the Australian Society for Sports History 4, 2, 162 -175
- Girault, C., Mislin, G. and Marcault, B. (1992) 100 European Cups
Burlington, (Windsor)
- Giulianotti, R. (1999) Football: A Sociology of the Global Game
Polity Press, (Cambridge)
- Glanville, B. (Ed.) (1962) The Footballer's Companion
Eyre and Spottiswoode, (London)
- Glanville, B. (1969) Soccer: A Panorama
Eyre and Spottiswoode, (London)
- Goodman, N. (1976) Eton College
Pitkin Pictorials, (Andover)
- Grayson, E. (1974) Oxford
- Green, G. (1953) Soccer: The World Game
Phoenix House, (London)
- Green, G. (1953) History of the Football Association
(London)
- Green, G. (1960) The Official History of the F.A.Cup
Heinemann, (London)
- Green W.C. (1905) Memories of Eton and King's
Spottiswoode and Co. (Eton College)
- Grogans, B. (1993) "The Game, Administrators and the Players in the Early Development of Scottish Football"
Scottish Football Historian
1, 54, 2 -5
- Guttmann, A. (1978) From Ritual to Record
Columbia University Press, (New York)

- Hamilton, I. (Ed.) (1992) The Faber Book of Soccer
Faber & Faber, (London)
- Hammond, M. (Gen. Ed.) (1998) The European Football Year Book 1988-9
Facer, (Exeter)
- Hargreaves, J. (1986) Sport, Power and Culture
Polity Press, (Cambridge)
- Harrison, D.G. & Slade A.A. (1989 a)
(1989 b) Corinthian-Casuals Jubilee Brochure
Corinthian-Casuals FC Brazil Tour 1988
- Hess, R. & Stewart B. (Eds.) (1998) More than a Game: An Unauthorised
History of Australian Rules Football
Melbourne University Press, (Carlton)
- Hibbins, G.N. (1989) "The Cambridge Connection: The Origin
of Australian Rules Football"
International Journal of the History of
Sport 6, 2, 172 - 192
- Hill, B.J.W. (1961) Football
Blackwell, (Oxford)
- Hill, C.P. (1957) British Economic and Social History 1700-
1982
Edward Arnold, (London)
- Hill, J. & Williams J. (Eds.) (1996) Sport and Identity in the North of England
Keele University Press, (Keele)
- Hobson, J.A. (1902) Imperialism: A Study
George Allen and Unwin, (London)
- Hockings, R. (1991) Hockings' South American Cups
Articulate, (Emsworth)
- Holt, R.J. (1981) Sport and Society in Modern France
Macmillan, (London)
- Holt, R.J. (1988) "Football and the Urban way of Life in
19th Century Britain"
IN: Mangan, J.A. (Ed.) - Pleasure, Profit
and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport
at Home and Abroad: 1700-1914
Frank Cass, (London)
- Holt, R.J. (1989) Sport and the British: A Modern History
Oxford University Press, (London)
- Holt, R.J. (1992) "Amateurism and its Interpretation:
The Social Origins of British Sport"
Innovation, 5, 4, 19-31

- Honey, J.R. De S. (1977) Tom Brown's Universe
Millington (London)
- Hopcraft, A. (1968) The Football Man
Simon & Schuster, (London)
- Hopkins, E. (1979) A Social History of the English Working
Classes 1815 - 1945
Edward Arnold, (London)
- Horak, R. (1991) "Football Spectators in Vienna: From the
Local Club Supporter to the Soccer-
Interested Consumer"
Paper presented to the N.A.S.S.S.
Conference, November 6-9, 1991,
Milwaukee, U.S.A.
- Huggins, M. (1989) "The Spread of Association Football in
North East England, 1876 - 90: The
Pattern of Diffusion"
International Journal of the History of
Sport 6, 3, 299 - 318
- Hughes, T. (1857) Tom Brown's Schooldays
Oxford University Press, (Oxford)
- Inglis, S. (1990) The Football Grounds Of Europe
Willow Books, (London)
- Jackman, M. (1990) Blackburn Rovers: A Complete Record
1875-1990
Breedon Books, (Derby)
- Jackman, M. and Dykes, G. (1991) Accrington Stanley: A Complete Record
1894-1962
Breedon Books, (Derby)
- Jackson, N.L. (1932) Sporting Days and Sporting Ways
Hurst & Blackett, (London)
- Jarvie, G. (1985) Class, Race, and Sport in South Africa's
Political Economy
Routledge and Kegan Paul, (London)
- Jarvie, G. and Walker, G. (Eds.) (1994) Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation:
Ninety Minute Patriots?
Leicester University Press, (London)
- Jones, S. (1988) Sport, Politics and The Working Class
Manchester University Press,
(Manchester)

- Kay, H. (1948) Things about Blackburn Rovers
Dickinson and Sons, (Blackburn)
- Kelly, S.F. (1987) You'll Never Walk Alone
MacDonald, (London)
- Kelly, S.F. (Ed.) (1992) The Kingswood Book of Football
Kingswood Press, (London)
- Kitchin, L. (1966) "The Contenders"
The Listener 27 October: 694-5
- Knight, I. Rorke's Drift: 1879
Osprey, (London)
- Korr, C.P. (1978) "West Ham United F.C. and the beginnings
of Professional Football in East London:
1895-1914"
Journal of Contemporary History
13, 2, 211-232
- Kreider, R. (1996) A Soccer Century: A Chronicle of
Western Australian Soccer from 1896
to 1996
Sports West Media, (Perth, Australia)
- Kuper, S. (1994) Football Against the Enemy
Orion, (London)
- Lamming, D. (1987) A Scottish Soccer Internationalists'
Who's Who: 1872-1986
Hutton Press, (Beverley)
- Lanfranchi, P. (1991) "England's Most Durable Export"
Paper presented to the conference
'Sporting Traditions VIII'
Canberra, July
- Laws of Football Played at Rugby School,
28 August 1845
- Law of Football Played at Rugby School.
7 September 1846
- Lever, J. (1983) Soccer Madness
University of Chicago Press, (Chicago)

- Lewis, R.W. (1997) "The Genesis of Professional Football: Bolton-Blackburn-Darwen. The Centre of Innovation"
International Journal of the History of Sport 14, April, 1, 21
- Liversedge, S. (1976) Liverpool Football Club
Vantage, (London)
- Lowerson, J. and Myerscough, J. (1977) Time to Spare in Victorian England
Harvester, (Hassocks, Sussex)
- Lubbock, A. (1899) Memories of Eton and Etonians
John Murray, (London)
- Lucas, J.A. and Smith, P.A. (1978) Saga of American Sport
Lea and Febiger, (Beckenham)
- McCarra, K. (1984) Scottish Football: A Pictorial History: From 1867 to the Present Day
Polygon, (Edinburgh)
- McIntosh, P. (1952) A History of Physical Education in England since 1801
(London)
- Mack, E.C. (1938) Public Schools and British Opinion 1780-1860
Methuen, (London)
- Macrory, J. (1991) Running with the Ball: The Birth of Rugby Football
Collins Willow, (London)
- Magoun, F.P. (1938) History of Football, from the beginnings to 1871
Kolner Anglistische Arbeiten 31,
(Bochum)
- Maguire, J. (1993) "Globalisation, Sport and National Identities: 'The Empire Strikes Back?'" "Society and Leisure, 16, 2, 293-322
- Mancini, A. & Hibbins, G.M. (1987) Running with the Ball: Football's Foster Father
Lynedoch, (Melbourne)
- Mandle, W.F. (1973) "Games People Played: Cricket & Football in England and Victoria in the late 19th Century"
Historical Studies 15, 511-535

- Mangan, J.A. (1981) Athleticism in the Victorian & Edwardian Public School
Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge)
- Mangan, J.A. (Ed.) (1987) Pleasure, Profit Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad: 1700-1914
Frank Cass, (London)
- Markovits, A.S. (1990) "The Other 'American Exceptionalism': Why Is There No Soccer in the United States?"
International Journal of the History of Sport September, 230-264
- Marples, M. (1954) A History of Football
Secker and Warburg, (London)
- Marshall, T.S. (1896) The Rise and Progress of the Australian Game of Football
Manuscript
- Martello Tower, At School and At Sea, London 1899. Quoted in J.R. de S. Honey: The Victorian Public School, 1828-1902: The School as a Community, Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford, 1969
- Mason, N. (1974) Football
Temple Smith (Aldershot)
- Mason, T. (1980) Association Football and English Society: 1863-1915
Harvester, (London)
- Mason, T. (1986) "Some Englishmen and Scotsmen Abroad: The Spread of World Football"
IN: A Tomlinson & G Whannel (Eds.) - Off the Ball Pluto Press (London) 67-82
- Mason, T. (1989) Sport in Britain: A Social History
Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge)
- Mason, T. (1996) "Football, Sport of the North?"
IN: J. Hill & J. Williams (Eds.) - Sport & Identity in the North of England
Keele University Press, (Keele)
- Matthews, T. (1994) The Encyclopedia of Stoke City F.C. 1868-1994
Lion Press, (West Bromwich)

- Meisl, W. (1955) Soccer Revolution
Phoenix House, (London)
- Men of the Period: England
The Biographical Publishing Company
(London) (1896)
- Merkel, U. (2000) "The History of the German Football Association (D.F.B.), 1900-1950"
Soccer and Society, 1, 2, Summer, 167-186
- Midwinter, E. (1986) Fair Game: Myth and Reality in Sport
Allen and Unwin, (London)
- Mignon, P. (1992) "Hooligans and Supporters in France"
IN: R. Giulianotti & J. Williams (Eds.)-
Modernity & Identity in Global Football Culture
- Morrison, I. (1989) Play the Game: Rugby Union
Ward Lock, (London)
- Morrison, I. (1990) The World Cup: A Complete Record
Breedon Books, (Derby)
- Moynihan, J. (1968) The Soccer Syndrome
MacGibbon & Kee, (London)
- Murray, B. (1994) Football: A History of the World Game
Scolar Press, (Aldershot)
- Nauright, J. and Chandler T.J.L. (Eds.) (1996) Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity
Frank Cass, (London)
- Norwood, C. (1929) The English Tradition of Education
(London)
- Nudd, K. (1993) "Thomas Hughes: Author of Tom Brown's School Days"
Book and Magazine Collector
January, 106, 42-48
- Old Etonian Football Club
Minutes, 1887-88
- Old Rugbeian Society (1897) The Origin of Rugby Football
A.J. Lawrence
- Oldham, J.B. (1952) A History of Shrewsbury School
- Oliver, G. (1992) The Guinness Record of World Soccer
Guinness, (Enfield)

- Owen O.L. (1955) The History of the R.F.U.
(London)
- Parry-Jones, D. (1998) Rugby Remembered
Partridge Press
- Pascoe, R. (1995) The Winter Game: The Complete History of Australian Football
Reed Books, (Port Melbourne)
- Pawson, J.J. (1935) The Field Game
Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., (Eton)
- Pawson, T. (1972) One Hundred Years of the F.A. Cup
Heinemann, (London)
- Pendle, G. (1963) A History of Latin America
Penguin, (Harmondsworth)
- Perkin, H. (1969) The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880
Routledge and Kegan Paul, (London)
- Perkin, H. (1989) "Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth"
International Journal of the History of Sport 6, September, 2, 145-155
- Radnedge, K. (Gen. Ed.) (1994) The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Soccer
Hodder and Stoughton; (London)
- Rafferty, J. (1973) 100 Years of Scottish Football
Pan, (London)
- Raspaud, M. (1992) "From St. Etienne to Marseilles Tradition & Modernity in French Soccer & Society"
Paper presented to the Conference, Soccer, Culture & Identity
Aberdeen, 1-4 April
- Ray, D. From Webb Ellis to World Cup
Rugby School pamphlet
- Riesman, D. and R. Denney (1951) "Football in America: A Study in Culture Diffusion"
American Quarterly 4, 242-257
- Riordan, J. (1977) Sport in Soviet Society
Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge)

- Riordan, J. (1980) Soviet Sport
Blackwell, (Oxford)
- Rippon, A. (1983) Soccer: The Road to Crisis
Moorland Publishing, (Ashbourne,
Derbyshire)
- Rivington, R.T. (1991) “William Webb Ellis and Ashbourne
Football”
International Journal of the History of
the History of Sport 8, 1, 133-9
- Robertson, F. (1979) Mackinlay’s A-Z of Scottish Football
McDonald, (Loanhead, Scotland)
- Robinson, J. (1988) The European Championship
Marksman (Cleethorpes)
- Robinson, R. (1920) The Queens Park Football Club
Hay, Nisbet and Co.Ltd., (Glasgow)
- Rollin, J. (1990) Rothman’s Encyclopedia of World
Football
Queen Anne Press, (London)
- Rollin, J. (Ed.) (1994) Rothman’s Football Yearbook
Headline, (London)
- Rollin, J. (1998) Rothman’s Book of Football Records
Headline, (London)
- Rubenstein, D. (1984) “Sport & the Sociologist: 1890-1914”
The British Journal of Sports History
1,1,14-23
- Rules of the Harrow PhilathleticClub, 13 April 1853
- Russell, D. “ ‘Sporadic and Curious’ The Emergence
of Rugby and Soccer Zones in Yorkshire
and Lancashire, c. 1860-1914”
The International Journal of the History of
Sport 5, 2, 185-204
- Sharp, M.P. (1987) “Australian Football in Sydney before
1914”
Sporting Traditions: The Journal of the
Australian Society for Sports History
4, 1, November, 27-45

- Sheard, K. (1972) Rugby Football: A Study in Development Sociology
Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, University of Leicester
- Shearman, M. (1888) Athletics and Football
Longmans, (London)
- Shearman, M. (1889) Football
(London)
- The Sheffield Collegiate School
Simpkin, Marshall and Co.
1852, (London)
- Sheffield & District Who's Who
1905, (Sheffield)
- The Old Salopian Yearbook
Shrewsbury School (Shrewsbury)
- Smailes, G. (1991) The Breedon Book of Football League Records
Breedon Books, (Derby)
- Smales, K. (1991) Forest: The First 125 Years
Temple
- Smith, S. (1810) Edinburgh Review
16, August: 326
- Sparling, R.A. (1926) The Romance of the Wednesday
Leng & Co., (Sheffield)
- Steele, J.A. (1986) The Countrymen: The Story of Hallam Football Club: The World's Second Oldest Soccer Club
Henry Boot Ltd., (Chesterfield)
- Stone, G.P. (1955) "American Sports: Play and Display"
Chicago Review, IX, 83-100
- Sutcliffe, C.E. and Hargreaves, F. (1928) History of the Lancashire F.A. 1878-1928
Toulmin and Sons, (Blackburn)
- Taylor, R. (1992) Football and its Fans: Supporters and their relations with the game, 1888-1985
Leicester University Press, (Leicester)
- Thompson, E.P. (1963) The Making of the English Working Class
Penguin, (Harmondsworth)

- Thring, J.C. (1862) The Winter Game: Rules of Football
J. Hawthorn, (Uppingham)
- Tischler, S. (1981) Footballers and Businessmen
Holmes and Meier, (New York)
- Titley, U.A. and McWhirter, R. (1970) Centenary History of the R.F.U.
R.F.U., (London)
- Tomlinson, A. and Whannell, G. (Eds.) (1986) Off the Ball
Pluto Press, London
- Tozer, M. (1976) Physical Education at Thring's
Uppingham
Uppingham School
- Turner, I. and Sandercock, L. (1981) Up Where, Cazaly? The Great Australian
Game
(London)
- Tweeddale, G. (1986) Giants of Sheffield Steel
Sheffield City Libraries, (Sheffield)
- Tyler, M. (1976) The Story of Football
Marshall Cavendish, (London)
- Vamplew, W. (1988) "Sport and Industrialisation: An Economic
Interpretation of the Changes in Popular
Sport in 19th Century England"
IN: Mangan, J.A. (Ed.): Pleasure, Profit
and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport
at Home & Abroad: 1700-1914
Frank Cass, (London)
- Vamplew, W. (1992) "Wogball: Ethnicity & Violence in
Australian Soccer"
Unpublished article
- Van Bottenburg, M. (1992) "The Differential Polarisation of Sports in
Continental Europe"
Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences
28, 1, 3-30
- Venn, J. (1913) Early Collegiate Life
(Cambridge)
- Venn, J. (1940) Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, Volume I
Cambridge University Press (Cambridge)
- Vickers, J.E. (1978) A Popular History of Sheffield
Applebaum, (Sheffield)

- Waddington, I. and Murphy, P. (1992) "Drugs, Sport and Ideologies"
IN: Dunning, E. and C. Rojek (Eds.):
Sport & Leisure in the Civilising Process
MacMillan, (Basingstoke)
- Wagg, S. (1984) The Football World
Harvester, (Brighton)
- Wagg, S. (1995) Giving the Game Away: Football, Politics
and Culture on 5 Continents
Leicester University Press, (London)
- Walters, F. (1957) The History of Sheffield F.C.: The Oldest
Club in the World
Sheffield Telegraph and Star, (Sheffield)
- Walton, J.K. and Walvin, J. (Eds.) (1983) Leisure in Britain 1780-1939
Manchester University Press,
(Manchester)
- Walvin, J. (1986) Football and the Decline of Britain
MacMillan, (Basingstoke)
- Walvin, J. (1994) The People's Game: The History of
Football Revisited
Mainstream, (Edinburgh)
- Weir, C. (1998) The History of Oxford University
Association Football Club: 1872-1998
Yore, (Harefield)
- Welbourne, D.J. (1972) Donnington School and the first F.A. Cup
Competition, 1872
(Pamphlet issued by the school to mark its
Centenary)
- White's General and Commercial
Directory of Sheffield (1879)
- Williams, G. (1994) The Code War
Yore, (Harefield)
- Williams, J. and Wagg, S. (Eds.) (1991) British Football and Social Change: Getting
into Europe
Leicester University Press, (London)
- Williams, T. (Ed.) (1993) Barclays Football Club Directory
Burlington
- Wymer, N. (1953) Dr. Arnold of Rugby
Robert Hale, (London)
- Young, P.M. (1962) Football in Sheffield
Stanley Paul, (Sheffield)

Young, P.M. (1968)

A History of British Football
Stanley Paul, (London)

NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS AND MAGAZINES

The Argus (Melbourne, Australia)
The Athlete
Athletic Journal (Manchester)
Athletic News
Bell's Life in London
Bell's Life in Victoria (Australia)
Blackburn Standard
Cambridge Chronicle
The Cambridge Review
Darwen Cricket and Football Times
Derby Mercury
Edinburgh Review
The Eton College Chronicle
The Etonian
The Field (The Official Record of the Keepers of the Field (Captains) at Eton College)
The Field: The Country Gentleman's Newspaper
Football Field
Football Today (March 1988)
Glasgow Herald
Light Blue (Cambridge University Periodical 1866-71)
The Meteor (Rugby School Magazine)
Nottingham Guardian
Onze Mondial (French Football Magazine) February 1992, May 1993, June 1993
Scottish Football Historian
Scottish Weekly Record
Sheffield and Rotherham Independent
Sheffield Daily Telegraph
Sheffield Evening Star and Daily Times
Sporting Gazette
Sunday Dispatch (Glasgow)
White's General and Commercial Directory of Sheffield, 1879