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# The Victorian Sporting Legacy

*The immense vogue in outdoor games . . . has been one of the salient features of modern England, and has expanded far beyond the limits of the schools in which it began. It deserves attention for devotion to athletics is as much an element in 'opinion' as devotion to any school of political or religious thought.<sup>1</sup>*

That the Victorians' enthusiasm for sport was reflected in the "public" schools and universities is hardly surprising. What is significant, is that the pursuit of athletics in these institutions did not simply mirror sporting developments in the larger society. To the contrary, the contribution made by these upper-class educational institutions to the growth, organization, popularization, and diffusion of modern sport was one of central and abiding importance.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the English aristocracy and gentry spent a considerable amount of their leisure time pursuing such traditional field sports as hunting, shooting, and fishing.<sup>2</sup> Their sons, who attended prestigious schools like Harrow and Eton, participated in abridged versions of these activities and spent much of their free time at school in unregulated exploration of the surrounding countryside. They also played extremely rough forms of mob football where brute force and strength were the prime requisites of success. This unsupervised play, in which bullying and other acts of physical cruelty not infrequently took place, was but one aspect of the upper-class boarding schools that was in urgent need of reform. Food, housing, teaching, discipline, and pupil-teacher relations were often uniformly poor. The criticism these conditions evoked grew in volume in the 1820's and 1830's. Various pressures were brought to bear and slowly and haphazardly at first, but then with increasing speed, boy-life in the schools began to improve.

change. In this instance, the hostile teacher-Ministry of Education relationship, the sentiments of teachers towards evaluation, the policy of teachers' unions towards member evaluation, the limited resources provided to implement the probation system, our evident lack of knowledge regarding who the effective teacher is and the lack of skill in supervision on the part of teacher and administrator respondents are all factors contributing to an inadequate test of the teacher probation system. Until some of these factors are more adequately controlled or accounted for, the value of the probation system must remain in doubt.

## references

1. Quebec Ministry of Education Publication, *The Teacher Probation System: Basic Document*, 1971, p. 1.
2. Quebec Ministry of Education Publication, *The Teacher Probation System: Guide and Working Instrument*, 1971.
3. W. J. Sparkes, President of PAPT, letter to Louis Rousseau, Ministry of Education, Quebec, June 17, 1971.
4. Yvonne M. Martin, "A Test of Fiedler's Contingency Theory of Leadership Effectiveness," unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill, 1973, Chapter IV.
5. *Ibid.*
6. For one study see Yvonne M. Martin, Geoffrey B. Isherwood and Robert E. Lavery, "Leadership Effectiveness in Teacher Probation Committees," *Educational Administration Quarterly*, forthcoming.
7. This data was derived from a class project conducted in 1973.
8. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations*, San Francisco: Chandler, 1962, pp. 45-49.
9. Ralph L. Mosher and David E. Purpel, *Supervision: The Reluctant Profession*, New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1972, Chapter 3; B. J. Biddle, "The Integration of Teacher Effectiveness Research," in *Contemporary Research on Teacher Effectiveness*, B. J. Biddle and W. J. Ellena, eds., New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964, pp. 1-40.

A marked change occurred in the attitude of the school authorities toward games and sports during this period. Hitherto, games had been a jealously guarded preserve of the boys and masters paid them little heed. Now, however, the masters came to regard games as instruments of control, agencies for the improvement of social relations, and a potentially rich and valuable means of character formation. To further these ends, athletic activities were supervised, made subject to written rules, and warmly encouraged by teachers and parents alike. As for the boys, where they had previously roamed freely over the countryside, they were now expected to participate in team games governed by standardized rules and uniform codes of conduct and behavior. In a word, athletic activities were institutionalized.<sup>3</sup>

A major and far-reaching result of this institutionalization was that the emerging forms of modern team games and athletic sports were invested with the distinctive attitudes, values and assumptions of the reformed "public" schools. These early nineteenth-century boarding schools were upper-class institutions educating the sons of England's governing elite. The values they attempted to transmit through sport were elite values. Thus, modern sport in this formative period was dominated and shaped by the values of England's upper class.

### **influential ideals**

A variety of ideals contributed to the ethos of these schools but three may be singled out as having had a special influence on the development of sport and the sporting spirit. These were humanism, the gentlemanly tradition, and manliness. Each had affected English thought and behavior for centuries.

England, sharing in the common heritage of the Western world, had long been influenced by humanistic concepts of life. Early in the nineteenth century, however, there was a marked renewal of interest in the Greek concept of human life and conduct. Reacting against the philosophy and fruits of the industrial revolution, men turned to ancient Greece for aid in developing a reasoned way of life and an ideal to which they could aspire. There they rediscovered a humanism — corresponding in part with the precepts of Christianity and the gentlemanly code — which placed great values on the precept of "a sound mind in a sound body." Greatly influenced by the classical ideals and values of neo-humanism, supporters of social and educational reform advocated a return to first principles, stressing the value of balanced moral, intellectual and physical development.<sup>4</sup>

The English gentlemanly ideal, which had evolved from centuries-

old concepts of gentility and chivalry, provided the central norm or standard for the new humanism. High standards of gentlemanly conduct and behavior were encouraged and the development of "gentlemen" became the dominant aim of the reformed "public" schools. Physical prowess and fair play, qualities on which a gentleman had traditionally placed much value, were held in high esteem. In addition, the belief that modesty in victory and the acceptance of defeat cheerfully and gracefully, was also emphasized. These values greatly influenced "public" school sport and their impact on the development of modern competitive team games and sports has been considerable.<sup>5</sup>

Manliness, the third ideal, perhaps the most typically Victorian of the three, was also a hallowed ideal of long standing. One of the best known Victorian advocates of the manly ideal was Thomas Hughes, author of the influential novel, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857). Hughes, a son of the English gentry and an active sportsman himself, considered active sports an incomparable means of promoting manliness and believed cricket and football to be indispensable agents in the development of an upright moral character.<sup>6</sup> Leslie Stephen, scholar, athlete, mountaineer and Cambridge don, also warmly espoused the ideal of a manly active life.<sup>7</sup> A third influential advocate was the Rev. Charles Kingsley, a popular novelist and churchman, who is often regarded as the founder of the "muscular Christianity" movement. Kingsley's novels advanced an ideal of manliness in which vigorous physical exercise was seen as being a fulfillment of man's nature. Active sports, he stressed repeatedly, were an essential part of the heritage of every Englishmen.<sup>8</sup>

These three ideals, along with Christian morality, provided the basis of the value system that shaped the spirit of the institutions in which modern team games and sports underwent their formative experience. They also provided the intellectual and cultural foundations for the prevalent assumptions regarding sport, underwrote the value attached to games, and colored upper-class attitudes toward participation in vigorous physical activity. Fair play, gentlemanly behavior, honest competition, modesty in victory, cheerfulness in defeat, manly courage and co-operation became the watchwords of Victorian Sport. Later they were abbreviated still further and "good sportsmanship," "play the game" and "it's not cricket" became phrases which reflected their origins and stood for all that was esteemed worthwhile in sport. Even today, a century later, they still retain much meaning and serve to indicate the persistence of Victorian norms and conduct in the world of sport.

On leaving the "public" schools to go up to Oxford and Cambridge, many young men took their interest in sport with them. Like

Thomas Hughes, who attended Oxford's Oriel College in the early 'forties, they joined a community where sport was beginning to occupy a large share of an undergraduate's time and energies. Traditional upper-class sports such as rowing, cricket, and boxing were popular, as was a rudimentary form of football, but as yet these activities were not highly organized. Changes were already afoot, however, stimulated by similar considerations to those that affected reform in the "public" schools. Throughout the second-half of the century, university sport became subject to greater organization and inter-university sport developed in strength and depth.<sup>9</sup>

For centuries, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge universities have played an important role in all areas of English national life. Nineteenth-century sport was no exception and graduates from these prestigious universities often filled high offices in influential sporting bodies such as the Jockey Club and the Marylebone Cricket Club. Moreover, as new national associations were established in different sports, Oxford and Cambridge men were sometimes responsible for, and nearly always actively engaged in, their formation. The Amateur Athletic Association, for example, grew out of a meeting jointly convened by the Presidents of the Oxford University Athletic Club and the Cambridge University Athletic Club in April, 1880.<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere, too, leadership drawn from the universities and that of the upper classes in general, contributed significantly to the establishment of sporting bodies such as association football (1863), rugby football (1871), yachting (1875), rowing (1879), boxing (1884), and fencing (1898).<sup>11</sup>

Such leadership was clearly not restricted to the administrative affairs of these new organizations. On the contrary, these associations were the authoritative decision-making bodies in their respective sports. In their deliberations, upper class leadership exerted much influence and control over the development of uniform rules and regulations. Of even greater significance, of course, was their role in the formation of all-important norms of conduct and behavior. Under the auspices of these national associations, the essentially Victorian upper-class ideology of sport was extended beyond the playing-fields on which it was conceived and diffused throughout the nation at large.

## **contribution of the middle-classes**

Mention of the widespread diffusion of the Victorian sporting spirit suggests we examine the role of that growing and multi-stratified group: the middle-classes. Their contribution to both the development and later diffusion of modern team games and sports was cru-

cial. In the mid-Victorian period they took to athletics in the hundreds of thousands, expanded and broadened the range and number of games and sports pursued, and imbued sport with a sense of their moral earnestness, respectability, ingrained competitiveness and talent for organization.

The rise of the English middle-classes to positions of industrial and commercial power occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the 1830's, fully aware of their increasing strength, they were demanding recognition of their contribution to the nation's rapidly expanding wealth and prestige. Political reform and enfranchisement was their major objective, of course. But they also agitated for an education more suited to their needs and sought access for their sons to the famous "public" schools.<sup>12</sup>

All too well aware of and anxious to share in the social prestige that attendance at these schools bestowed, they were nevertheless highly critical of the education they provided. Indeed the pressure they brought to bear in the cause of educational reform helped greatly to bring about the changes referred to earlier. Headmasters like Thomas Arnold at Rugby, who was among the first to recognize and respect the importance of the industrial middle-classes, introduced reforms explicitly designed to fuse the aristocracy and the wealthy middle-class into a gentlemanly ruling class.<sup>13</sup> Other schools followed Arnold's example and that of his more prominent disciples. Fresh and energetic educational leadership emerged. Old schools took on a new lease of life, new schools were established, endowed grammar schools were transformed into expensive boarding schools, and thousands of middle-class boys rushed to fill them. Without exception team games and athletic sports came to enjoy an honored place within their walls.<sup>14</sup>

The renowned "public" schools continued to serve as important models, however. In 1861, for example, the government appointed a royal commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Clarendon, to investigate and report on conditions in the most prestigious "public" schools.<sup>15</sup> While clearly unhappy over some things, the Commissioners expressed warm approval of the important place athletics occupied in the daily life of these schools:

The bodily training which gives health and activity to the frame is imparted at English schools . . . by athletic games, which whilst they serve this purpose well, serve other purposes besides. Pursued as a recreation and voluntarily, they are pursued with all the eagerness which boyhood throws into its amusements; and they implant the habit, which does not cease with boyhood, of seeking recreation in hardy and vigorous exercise.<sup>16</sup>

Aspiring schools hastened to emulate and even outdo the illustrious Clarendon schools in the emphasis they placed on sport. And neither

the apprehension of professional educators, nor the indictments of vocal critics, had any effect upon what was in fact developing into a cult of organized sport in the rapidly expanding body of "public" schools.<sup>17</sup>

A veritable flood of sports players poured out of the "public" schools in the late Victorian years. For many, active participation in games and sports had become a way of life and in order to continue playing them "public" school graduates and their friends, founded clubs in a wide variety of athletic activities. Members of the urban and suburban middle classes, firmly established and enjoying increased leisure time, followed their lead.<sup>18</sup>

### **class distinctions**

The wholesale adoption by the middle classes of organized competitive team games and sports, along with their characteristic upper-class sporting values, did not result in any reduction of class distinctions in sport. Indeed, it is possible to argue that the reverse occurred and that social stratification in sport became even more pronounced. For with the rise of the middle-class, Victorian men and women became even more conscious of position and actively competed for it. Snobbishness, together with the intricate gradations of social class associated with it, increased accordingly and was clearly mirrored in sport.<sup>19</sup>

Traditional field sports, for example, remained a jealously guarded aristocratic preserve and few members of the middle-class were welcomed as participants in these pursuits. The Eton and Harrow cricket match at Lord's may have been a fiercely partisan affair, but it was even more important as a major social event in the London season. One has only to read Vachley's novel, *The Hill*, to capture the highly tuned niceties of social discrimination and distinction that operated among upper-class spectators toward the newly rich. The middle-classes were equally if not more discriminating against those they considered ranked below them socially. Thus, to cite a well-known example, the rules of the Amateur Athletic Committee, as well as the Henley Regatta Committee, baldly stated that anyone who was "by trade or employment for wages a mechanic, artisan, or labourer" was ineligible to enter its competitions.<sup>20</sup> In 1900, such discrimination was still actively practised; one late Victorian advocate of this viewpoint declaring sanctimoniously that "the average workman has no idea of sport for its own sake."<sup>21</sup> Competitive sport, according to these interpretations, could only properly be pursued by gentlemen — a term by which most middle-class males now referred to themselves.

Equally revealing illustrations can be drawn from the sphere of club sport. Sociologist Eric Dunning has observed, for example, that in the 1880's when working-class soccer clubs began to compete successfully against opponents drawn from the middle and upper classes, the latter gradually withdrew from further competition.<sup>22</sup> Professionalism, too, was on the rise. Rejected by the majority of the upper and middle-classes, who equated the term "amateur" with that of "gentleman," it nevertheless proved an irreversible trend. Its very success, however, proved divisive and was responsible in large part to the three-way split that occurred in football.<sup>23</sup> During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Association football was progressively perceived as a game of the urban working masses; Rugby League football was confined to the working men of the north of England; and Rugby Union football, the only game that remained aggressively amateur, was played almost exclusively by the middle and upper-classes. This division, moreover, clearly organized along class lines, has remained virtually the same to this day.

## **mass sport**

An analysis of the context in which these divisions occurred is instructive. They took place at precisely that point in time when the age of mass sport was undergoing revolutionary changes in the direction of democratization. Fitfully, at first, but then with ever increasing speed, greater opportunities to participate in and watch athletic sports were offered millions of less affluent Englishmen and women.<sup>24</sup>

Much evidence to this effect is available, but perhaps a few illustrations will serve to indicate the remarkably rapid growth of the mass sports movement. Take the growth of the Football Association, for example. When it was founded, in 1863, it had a total membership of ten clubs. Eight years later, the number had risen to fifty. Then followed a period of phenomenal expansion as the game took hold among the working-classes. By 1905, the membership rolls of the Football Association revealed astonishingly that club membership had exceeded the figure of 10,000. Spectator sport also boomed. In the 1871-72 season, only 2,000 spectators watched the Association Challenge Cup Final. But in the 'eighties, spectators poured through the gates and onto the terraces. Twenty-seven thousand people saw the cup-tie between Aston Villa and Preston North End in 1888; 45,000 attended the Cup Final in 1893; and, in 1903, all previous records were smashed when 110,000 spectators crowded into the Crystal Palace to cheer their favorites.<sup>25</sup>

The origin and spread of this mass sports movement — what J. L. Hammond has termed a revolution in the common enjoyments of

the English people — is not to be found in any desire of the upper-classes to share their games and athletic activities with the workers.<sup>26</sup> The entry into organized sport of the working classes, massive though it was, serves only to reinforce what has been said earlier of the essential class basis of Victorian sport. Only certain team games and sports were penetrated and taken up; others remained exclusively in the hands of the middle and upper-classes.<sup>27</sup> Nor has the situation changed markedly in the intervening period. Now, as then, professional and spectator sports dominate the sporting interests of the overwhelming majority of England's working-class men and women.

## diffusion abroad

Victorian England's political, economic and cultural influence extended to all five continents and wherever Englishmen travelled they brought along team games and sports as part of their cultural baggage. What is more, the entire Victorian ideology of sport — its values, attitudes, assumptions, and class bias — was carried with them.<sup>28</sup>

Sporting developments on the North American continent, for example, clearly reflect their English origins and vividly demonstrate the export of those class distinctions we have come to associate with Victorian sport. In Canada, officers of the British Army enthusiastically engaged in sport and were largely responsible for the founding of the Montreal Racket Club (1829) and the Toronto Cricket Club (1834). These clubs were essentially social in character and membership was restricted to individuals of acceptable social and financial standing. The persistence of these distinctions, and the use of English sporting models as all-important referent points, is even more forcibly brought out in the period after 1860. Participation in athletic activities had expanded rapidly. And inevitably, it seems, expansion led to the by now familiar dispute over what constituted amateur sports. Even in lacrosse, an indigenous game, which points up all the more clearly the powerful influence of the English amateur ideal, the social problem was acute.<sup>29</sup>

It might be thought that Canada provides a unique case, due to its close cultural and historical ties with England, but this is not borne out by the evidence. Throughout nineteenth century Europe, as Eugen Weber has perceptively observed, organized team games were strictly regarded as English upper-class pursuits. That this was so is underlined by the initial refusal of the Swedish labor movement to accept the sports movement on the grounds that it was an invention of the Anglo-Saxon upper class and therefore suspect.

The French also looked upon athletics as a peculiarly upper-class English activity. Indeed, the English amateur ideal appears to have survived its Channel crossing very well. Thus the amateur/professional division, with all its connotations of class discrimination and distinction, was introduced along with team games into late-nineteenth century France. Soccer, for example, was far less popular than rugby because it was “tainted by English professionalism, [and] carried too many vulgar associations.” For this and other related reasons, team games and athletic sports remained for a long time the preserve of the privileged few. As for the mixing of the social classes in sport, it was generally frowned upon during this period. The official publication of the USTSA, for example, opposed the practice on the grounds that friction would result, adding that many young people “would never consent to mix with workers, sharing the games of a class they did not know and from whom they were separated by prejudices of birth, wealth and upbringing.” The idea that sporting activities might be pursued by working men was never taken seriously. “Explicit or implicit, elitism ensured that ‘athletic sports’ would remain the privilege of a minority.” Only in the 1920’s and 1930’s did the French sports association begin to cater to the needs and interests of the working class.<sup>30</sup>

## **conclusion**

The Victorian ideology of sport, then, as the examples of France and Canada illustrate so well, and similar case studies confirm, proved remarkably capable of withstanding transplant abroad. Spanning continents, cultures, and peoples it has demonstrated such powerful qualities of persistence and survival that, despite modification and dilution, its imprint upon modern sport remains.

The pervasive influence of what were essentially Victorian upper-class attitudes toward sport still prevails — at least in theory if not in practice. There remains, for example, the widespread and prevalent faith in the character-forming values of team games. Like the Victorians, many today claim that these games promote courage, self-control, initiative, and self reliance. Many consider they foster cooperation and promote respect for authority, community loyalties, national unity, and even global understanding. More to our purpose, many of our contemporaries believe, as did the Victorians, that the “friendly strife” of the playing-fields excludes discrimination, reduces social tensions, purges hostilities, and fosters harmony and good fellowship.

But much of what the Victorian believed regarding the value of sport is highly suspect. Sport is an activity that can just as easily reinforce negative qualities as nurture positive traits. Success in

games may go not only to the skilled and strong, but to the unprincipled competitor immune to any sense of sportsmanship or fair-play. Sport for sport's sake may give way to sport for personal aggrandizement and gain. Sport can help foster inter-group relations, or produce disharmony and strain. Sport may bring members of different social strata together, but it can just as easily divide them and often does.

The upper class Victorians equated sport with leisure and both the positive and negative aspects of this belief linger on. It underlies, for example, the amateur/professional controversy which reappears with depressing regularity every four years as nations select and prepare their athletes for the Olympic Games. To receive payment for sport was not considered gentlemanly by many Victorians; nor in some circles does it appear so today. For over half a century now, the Victorian amateur creed, based so firmly on nineteenth-century class attitudes and values, has dominated world class amateur competition. Despite vocal and often valid criticism it is likely to do so for some time to come.

Sport, then, is a double-edged weapon capable of positive or negative application and use. That this is so rarely occurred to the Victorians. So confident were they of their values, they simply elicited and stressed its more positive aspects. Today, this is scarcely the case. But it remains true that sport has received less penetrating attention and systematic analysis than perhaps any other comparable area of man's activity. This may well be one reason why Victorian sporting attitudes and beliefs have enjoyed such universal application and approbation. Their legacy, of course, has not gone unchallenged. Many may consider it a curious anachronism; yet it continues to exert its influence. That it does so not only confirms the close relationships that exist between social class and sport, but also suggests that contemporary sport represents one of the final and beleaguered bastions of nineteenth century beliefs in a world where change is endemic and increasingly swift.

## references

1. D. C. Somervell, *English Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Longmans, Green, 1950, p. 114.
2. "The English landed society did not pursue games but sports. Its recreations were shooting, fishing, hunting, coursing, and horse racing; beside these the little unorganized cricket and football, which its members might play at school, were of small account. Archery was the only widespread aristocratic sport involving competitive scores; tennis was rare, lawn tennis unborn, and golf a peculiarity of Scotsmen." R. C. K. Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936, p. 164.
3. The author has written at length on these developments and is presently preparing a manuscript on the subject for possible publication in book form.

4. This paragraph is based largely on ideas and materials contained in Sir R. W. Livingstone's *Greek Ideas and Modern Life*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.
5. See T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: The Modern Library, Random House, 1934, and P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*, London: C. A. Watts, 1963.
6. Within twelve months Hughes' novel of schoolboy life at Rugby had run to six editions, selling over 14,000 copies. By 1890, fifty editions or reprints had been published, and his fervent advocacy of games translated into practice in both the old and new "public" schools. See E. C. Mack and W. H. G. Armytage, *Thomas Hughes*, London: Ernest Benn, 1952, p. 90.
7. It is said that Stephen took clerical orders and became a Cambridge tutor in order to inculcate in young men the principle of fearing God and walking a thousand miles in a thousand hours.
8. And yet, as Kingsley was well aware, not all Englishmen had the opportunity of enjoying their heritage. In his novel, *Alton Locke*, he contrasted the play of Cambridge undergraduates with that of the London artisan, Alton Locke. The latter, while envying them their opportunities to study, "envied them just as much their opportunity of play — their boating, their cricket, their football, their physical health and strength, and which I mistook for the swagger of insolence; while Parker's Piece, with its games, was a sight which made me grind my teeth, when I thought of the very different chance of physical exercise which falls to the lot of a London artisan." C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961, p. 186.
9. "Athletics," *Contemporary Review*, 3, September-December, 1866, pp. 374-91.
10. D. G. A. Lowe and A. E. Porritt, *Athletics*, London: Longmans, Green, 1929, p. 12.
11. P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*, London: C. A. Watts, 1963, p. 93.
12. E. C. Mack, *Public Schools and British Opinion, 1780-1860*, London: Methuen, 1938, p. 129. This work and its companion volume, *Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, is an excellent source of information on the development of sport in the "public" schools. For a more stringent criticism of the essentially class nature of these schools, and those that modelled themselves on their practices, see B. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
14. The cult of athletics, of course, as many critics have pointed out, developed out of all proportion. Writing in 1913, even a moderate critic like H. B. Gray inveighed against its monopolizing tendencies terming it a "national madness" and its worship a "pestilential superstition." With a certain frustrated and sardonic humor he quoted the English "public" schoolboys ten commandments as listed in an article "L'éducation nouvelle," in *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*. 1. There is only one God, and the captain of football is His Prophet. 2. My school is the best in the world. 3. Without big muscles, strong will and proper collars, there is no salvation. 4. I must wash much, and in accordance with tradition. 5. I must speak the truth even to a master, if he believes everything I tell him. 6. I must play games with all my heart, with all my soul, and with all my strength. 7. To work outside class-hours is indecent. 8. Enthusiasm except for games, is in bad taste. 9. I must look up to the older fellows, and pour contempt on new-comers. 10. I must show no emotion,

- and not kiss my mother in public. *The Public Schools and Empire*, London: Williams and Norgate, 1913, p. 172, f.n.l.
15. The schools were Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Rugby, Merchant Taylor's, and St. Paul's.
  16. *Report of H. M. Commissioners on Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, Studies Pursued and Instruction Given*, 1864, 20, pp. 40-41.
  17. Hon. E. Lyttelton, "Athletics in Public Schools," *Nineteenth Century*, 7, 1880, p. 49.
  18. See, for example, G. M. Young, ed., *Early Victorian England, 1830-1865*, London: Oxford University Press, 1934, p. 237.
  19. See, for example, H. Nicolson, *Good Behavior, A Study of Certain Types of Civility*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1960, p. 189 and *passim*.
  20. A. Natan, ed., *Sport and Society*, London: Bowes and Bowes, 1969, p. 20.
  21. H. Graves, "A Philosophy of Sport," *Contemporary Review*, 78, December, 1900, p. 884.
  22. E. C. Dunning, "The Evolution of Football," Reprint from *New Society*, 30 April, 1964, p. 2.
  23. The Football Association was founded in 1863, the Rugby Football Association in 1871, the Football League in 1888, and the Northern Rugby Union in 1895. Two years later the Rugby League Challenge Cup was introduced.
  24. These opportunities were made possible by the aggregate and cumulative operation of a variety of factors. After passing the mid-century mark, England entered a period of relative prosperity and quiet. Real earnings increased for large sections of society, and the work hours of many were reduced. By the seventies, the weekly half-holiday, though not universal, was common and annual and Bank Holidays added significantly to the amount of available leisure time. Mass methods of production and improved distributive techniques lowered the cost of consumer goods. Cheap rail travel opened up new possibilities of recreation for millions of people. Improved transport facilities encouraged the growth of suburbs where open spaces were more widely available. Newspapers and magazines were published in greater numbers, gave extensive coverage to sport and enjoyed increased circulation figures as a result. Elementary schools began, however slowly, to offer some provision for play and exercise. Voluntary societies fought to provide open spaces for the urban poor. Gradually, too, local government authorities recognized their responsibility to provide for the recreational needs of the people and acted to fulfill it.
  25. M. Marples, *A History of Football*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1954, pp. 165 and 172; P. C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*, p. 74; T. H. S. Escott, *England, Its People, Policy, and Amusements*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1891, p. 536; and James T. Lightwood, *The Cyclists' Touring Club*, London: The Club, 1928, p. 274.
  26. P. Ariès in his brilliant study *Centuries of Childhood, A Social History of Family Life*, makes the point that "for centuries the same games were common to the different classes; but at the beginning of modern times a choice was made among them: some were reserved for people of quality, the others were abandoned to the children and the lower class. Henceforth," he continues, "games once common to the whole society formed part of a class system." New York: Vantage Books, Random House, 1962, p. 414.
  27. Yachting, rowing and mountain climbing along with field sports continued to be preserves of the few. Games such as squash, badminton and lawn tennis attracted and continued to draw support from the middle but not

the working-classes. Track and field athletics also remained outside the spectrum of working-class sport, and only recently have they drawn support from this group. With the exception of fishing, and perhaps cycling and swimming, only those sports which proved capable of commercial exploitation were participated in by the mass of the English people at the end of the Victorian era. ....

28. This is not to say that sport is anything less than an integral part of the society in which it is pursued. Rather I wish to stress the important influence English sporting values and practices have exerted abroad.
29. A. Metcalfe, "Sport and Social Class in Nineteenth Century Canada," Paper presented at the American Historical Association Annual Conference, December, 1971, p. 9.
30. The material in the above two paragraphs is based on an article by Eugen Weber in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1, February 1971, pp. 70-98.