

NOTES

1 Capitalism and the birth of modern sport

- 1 Anon., *The Jockey Club, or A Sketch of the Manners of the Age*, London, 1793, p. 2.
- 2 The foremost works on play come from sociologists, most notably Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*, originally published in 1938, and Roger Callois's *Man, Play and Games*, originally published in 1958.
- 3 V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History?* London, 1942. A useful critique can be found in Neil Faulkner, 'Gordon Childe and Marxist Archeology', *International Socialism*, no. 116 (Autumn 2007), pp. 81–106. For a more contemporary discussion of the relationship, see, for example, Keith Thomas's introduction to *The Oxford Book of Work*, Oxford, 1999.
- 4 For example, see the discussion in Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*, New York, 1978, ch. 1.
- 5 Roland Renson, 'Traditional Sports in Europe', in Tony Collins, John Martin and Wray Vamplew (eds), *Encyclopedia of Traditional British Rural Sports*, Abingdon, 2005, pp. 1–19. Alessandro Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture c. 1425–1675*, Basingstoke, 2003, ch. 6.
- 6 John McClelland, *Body and Mind: Sport in Europe from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance*, Abingdon, 2008. John Marshall Carter, *Medieval Games: Sports and Recreations in Feudal Society*, Connecticut, 1992. Thomas S. Henrick, 'Sport and Social Hierarchy in Medieval England', *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Summer, 1982), pp. 20–37.
- 7 George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, London, 1937, p. 148.
- 8 Andrew Leibs, *Sports and Games of the Renaissance*, Connecticut, 2004. Jean-François Loudcher, 'The Origins of French Boxing: Bare-knuckle Duelling, Savate and Chausson 1820–45', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2001), pp. 168–78.
- 9 For an English-language outline of the history of sport in France see Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France*, London, 1981.
- 10 Baseball is referred to in Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, Oxford, 1980, p. 7, written in 1798–99.
- 11 Elliott Gorn, *The Manly Art*, Ithaca, NY, 1986, pp. 46–68, and Elliott Gorn and Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports*, New York, 1993, pp. 49–53.
- 12 For a more detailed exposition of this view see Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Harmondsworth, rev. edn 1999, pp. 10–16. For an outline of the debate on the

- transition see Perry Anderson, *Arguments within English Marxism*, London, 1980, and Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*, London, 2002, pp. 11–72.
- 13 Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641*, Oxford, 1968, p. 383. For aristocratic gambling in general, see pp. 567–72.
 - 14 The Broughton–Slack fight is described in Pierce Egan, *Pancratia, or, a History of Pugilism*, London, 1812, p. 47.
 - 15 For a broad discussion of gambling in eighteenth-century France, see Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance*, Baltimore, 1993, esp. pp. 67–106.
 - 16 Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings*, Oxford, 1988, p. 84.
 - 17 Richard Tuck and Michael Silverthorne (eds), *Thomas Hobbes On the Citizen*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 94.
 - 18 Specifically on this, see Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-century England*, Princeton, NJ, 1978 and *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism*, New York, 2010. For a broader discussion of these developments, see Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism*, New York 1999.
 - 19 Quoted in John Henry, ‘Science and the Coming of Enlightenment’, in Martin Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Enlightenment World*, Abingdon, 2004, p. 24.
 - 20 In Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, London, 1724, p. 464.
 - 21 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Chicago, 1976, p. 18.
 - 22 It should be noted that this pre-dated sport’s use in the service of Social Darwinism by around 100 years.
 - 23 *Pierce Egan’s Book of Sports*, no. XXII (1833), p. 337.
 - 24 Anon., *The Jockey Club, or A Sketch of the Manners of the Age*, p. 2.
 - 25 Pierce Egan, *Pancratia, or, a History of Pugilism*, p. 6.
 - 26 Pierce Egan, *Boxiana*, 1824 edition, London, p. 1.
 - 27 For a broader discussion of the development of leisure, see J.H. Plumb, *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-century England*, Reading, 1973 and Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England*, London, 1982.
 - 28 Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, London, 1961, pp. 202–12. Michael Harris, ‘Sport in the Newspapers before 1750: Representations of Cricket, Class and Commerce in the London Press’, *Media History*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1998), pp. 19–28.
 - 29 The earliest newspaper advertisement for boxing I have been able to locate is in the *Weekly Journal With Fresh Advices Foreign and Domestick*, 16 April 1715.
 - 30 The Whitacre–Gretton exchange can be found in the *Daily Post* (London), 13 November 1727.
 - 31 Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, pp. 63–5.
 - 32 James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1907, vol. 2, p. 720. Pierce Egan notes the centrality of London to sport in the 1700s in his *Boxiana*, 1818 edition, p. 136.
 - 33 See, for instance, the examples cited by Wolfgang Behringer, ‘Arena and Pall Mall: Sport in the Early Modern Period’, *German History*, vol. 27, no. 3 (2009), pp. 331–57.
 - 34 Douglas Hay et al., *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-century England*, London, 2011 (new edition); E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*, Harmondsworth, 1975. The fullest discussion of the emergence of rules for sport can be found in Wray Vamplew, ‘Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 47, no. 7 (May 2007), pp. 843–71.
 - 35 Karl Marx, ‘Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s *Philosophy of Law*’ (1843), in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Collected Works*, Moscow, 1975, vol. 3, p. 106.
 - 36 Wray Vamplew, *The Tuff*, Harmondsworth, 1975, pp. 17–25; Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: A History*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 53–5.
 - 37 Quoted in James Christie Whyte, *History of the British Tuff from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, London, 1840, vol. 1, p. 389.

- 38 Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball*, Ithaca, NY, 1989, p. 143.
- 39 The best account of early boxing remains Dennis Brailsford, *Bareknuckles: A Social History of Prize Fighting*, Cambridge, 1989.
- 40 For an outline of Figg's career, see Egan, *Pancratia*, pp. 32–35. *Daily Post*, 21 January 1725.
- 41 John Broughton, *Proposals for Erecting an Amphitheatre for the Manly Exercise of Boxing*, London, 1 January 1743, p. 2.
- 42 Broughton, *Proposals for Erecting an Amphitheatre*, p. 3.
- 43 *Daily Journal*, 26 July 1725. The fullest account of the development of cricket is David Underdown's *Start of Play: Cricket and Culture in Eighteenth-century England*, Hammondswoth, 2000.
- 44 In 1793 the *Sporting Magazine* reported on nine cricket matches for stake money of 1,000 guineas.
- 45 *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, 16 May 1719.
- 46 Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, London, 1999, p. 18.
- 47 Underdown, *Start of Play*, p. 88; Harris, 'Sport in the Newspapers before 1750', p. 25. Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, p. 27; *Sporting Magazine*, vol. 2, June 1793, p. 134.
- 48 These are reprinted in the *Sporting Magazine*, vol. 2, June 1793, pp. 134–6.
- 49 Details of stake money compiled from the 1793 and 1800 editions of Samuel Britcher's *A Complete List of All the Grand Matches of Cricket that Have Been Played in the Year 1793: With a Correct State of Each Innings. And the Articles of Cricket Inserted, with an Old Cricket Song*, London, 1793.
- 50 Stefan Szymanski, 'A Theory of the Evolution of Modern Sport', *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2008), pp. 1–32.
- 51 Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford, 2001.
- 52 See Gorn and Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports*, pp. 40–60.
- 53 For the rules of golf, see Vamplew, 'Playing with the Rules: Influences on the Development of Regulation in Sport', pp. 846–7.
- 54 Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London, 2001.
- 55 P.F. Radford and A.J. Ward-Smith, 'British Running Performances in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Sports Sciences*, vol. 21, no. 5 (May 2003), pp. 429–38.
- 56 For more on changing perceptions of the nature of time, see E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-discipline and Industrial capitalism', *Past & Present*, vol. 38, no. 1 (1967), pp. 56–97.
- 57 D.P. Blaine, *An Encyclopedia of Rural Sports*, London, 1840, p. 1206–12. G. Jobey, 'Cockfighting in Northumberland and Durham during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Archeologia Aeliana*, vol. 20 (1992), p. 16.
- 58 J.-F. Loudcher, 'A History of Savate, Chausson and "French Boxing" 1828–1978', *Sport in History*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Sept. 2007), pp. 459–86.
- 59 Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France*, p. 142.
- 60 As is argued, for example, by Allen Guttmann in *From Ritual to Record*, New York, 1978.
- 61 *London Gazette*, 4–7 April 1719.
- 62 For White Roding, see Derek Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain*, Manchester, 1993, p. 115. For Kettering, see E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, vol. 50, no. 1 (1971), p. 116.
- 63 See the wide range of football types in Hugh Hornby, *Uppies and Downies: The Extraordinary Football Games of Britain*, London, 2008.
- 64 Montague Shearman, *Athletics and Football*, London, 1887, p. 260.

2 Class conflict and the decline of traditional games

- 1 *Derby and Chesterfield Reporter*, 7 February 1845, quoted in Anthony Delves, 'Popular Recreation and Social Conflict in Derby, 1800–850', in Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590–1914*, Brighton, 1981, p. 94.

- 2 Martin Walsh, 'November Bull-running in Stamford, Lincolnshire', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 30 (1996), pp. 233–47. Stamford contrasts with the *encierro* in Pamplona, where the bull chases the citizens through the town.
- 3 Quoted in Robert Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700–1850*, Oxford, 1973, p. 104.
- 4 The fullest exploration of the concept of Merrie England can be found in Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700*, Oxford, 1996.
- 5 Keith Thomas, 'Work and Leisure in Pre-industrial Society', *Past & Present*, vol. 29 (1964), pp. 50–62.
- 6 For the debate on recreational continuity, see Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780–1880*, London, 1980 and Peter N. Stearns, 'The Effort at Continuity in Working-class Culture', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 52, no. 4 (1980), pp. 626–55.
- 7 There is a considerable literature on this debate, the most important contributions being Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society*; Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590–1914*, and J. Golby and A. Purdue, *The Civilization of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750–1900*, London, 1984. Two useful contributions to the debate can be found in Emma Griffin, 'Popular Culture in Industrializing England', *Historical Journal*, vol. 45 (2002), pp. 619–35 and Peter Borsay, *A History of Leisure*, London, 2006.
- 8 For the role of pubs in maintaining traditional sports, see Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol*, Oxford, 2002.
- 9 Christopher Hill, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution: A Social and Economic History of Britain 1530–1780*, London, 1967, p. 20.
- 10 E.J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing*, London, 1969, pp. 27–36.
- 11 See Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*, London, 2002, pp. 125–46.
- 12 Quoted in Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Harmondsworth, rev. edn, 1999, p. 79. The importance of fixed pieces of land for football games can be seen in David Dymond, 'A Lost Social Institution: The Camping Close', *Rural History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Oct. 1990), pp. 165–92.
- 13 The classic account of this process is E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-discipline and Industrial Capitalism', *Past & Present*, vol. 38, no. 1 (1967), pp. 56–97.
- 14 *Hansard*, 24 May 1802, quoted in *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 21 September 1805, p. 423.
- 15 Michael Perelman, *The Invention of Capitalism: Classical Political Economy and the Secret History of Primitive Accumulation*, Durham, NC, 2000. Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain 1870–1914*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 39.
- 16 Douglas A. Reid, 'The Decline of Saint Monday 1766–1876', *Past & Present*, vol. 71, no. 1 (1976), pp. 76–101.
- 17 Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, London, 1978. R.D. Storch, 'The Policeman as Domestic Missionary: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England 1850–80', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 9 (1976), pp. 481–509.
- 18 *Derby and Chesterfield Reporter*, 23 February 1832, quoted in Malcolmson, *Popular Recreation*, p. 113.
- 19 Horatio Smith, *Festivals, Games and Amusements*, London, 1831, p. 122. Emma Griffin explores the issue of recreation and changing leisure spaces in her *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660–1830*, Oxford, 2005.
- 20 E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, London, 1963, p. 451.
- 21 However, many Chartists opposed traditional recreations as demeaning and sought to encourage other forms of intellectual and physical improvement. See, for example, Brian Harrison, 'Teetotal Chartism', *History*, vol. 58, no. 193 (1973), pp. 193–217.
- 22 Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society*, p. 127.
- 23 G. Jobey, 'Cockfighting in Northumberland and Durham during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Archeologia Aeliana*, vol. 5, no. 20 (1992), pp. 1–25.

- 24 Roger Munting, *An Economic and Social History of Gambling in Britain and the USA*, Manchester, 1996, ch. 1. Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling in English Society c. 1823–61*, Manchester, 1992, ch. 2.
- 25 Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, ch. 5.
- 26 Karl Marx, 'Anti-Church Movement', in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Collected Works*, Moscow, 1975–2005, vol. 14, p. 303.
- 27 Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*, Suffolk, 2010, ch. 1.
- 28 Jonathan Bayes, 'William Wilberforce: His Impact on Nineteenth-century Society', *Churchman*, vol. 108, no. 2 (1994), p. 29.
- 29 John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday*, Manchester, 1980. Brian Harrison, 'Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth-century England', *Past & Present*, vol. 38 (1967), pp. 98–125.
- 30 Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793–1850*, Aldershot, 2003, p. 64.
- 31 Brian Harrison, 'Animals and the State in Nineteenth-century England', *English Historical Review*, vol. 88 (1973), pp. 786–820.
- 32 As is argued by Eric Dunning and other followers of Norbert Elias. See, for example, Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, 2nd edn, Abingdon, 2005.
- 33 John Emory (ed.), *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley*, London, 1831, vol. 3, p. 612.
- 34 Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, Allen Lane, 1983, p. 185. See also Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge, MA, 1989.
- 35 See Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France*, London, 1981, pp. 107, 122, 127.
- 36 Adrian Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon: A History of the Spanish Bullfight*, Oxford, 1999.
- 37 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (Hackett edition), Indianapolis, 1992, pp. 24–5.
- 38 Reprinted in John Wain (ed.), *The Oxford Library of English Poetry*, vol. 2, p. 223.
- 39 *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 28 September 1805, p. 442
- 40 There is a huge literature on this subject. A useful review can be found in Emma Vincent Macleod, 'British Attitudes to the French Revolution', *Historical Journal*, vol. 50, no. 3 (2007), pp. 689–709.
- 41 *Pierce Egan's Book of Sports*, no. XI (1832), p. 172.

3 Sport, nationalism and the French Revolution

- 1 Pierce Egan, *Boxiana*, London, 1824 edition, p. i.
- 2 The gathering is described in *The York Herald, and General Advertiser*, 25 June 1814. The Blucher remark is in *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 June 1814. A description can also be found in Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London, 2001, pp. 223–5.
- 3 The impetus that the French Revolution gave to nationalism across Europe is of course well documented. For an outline see E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge, 1990.
- 4 Christiane Eisenberg, 'Charismatic Nationalist Leader: Turnvater Jahn', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1996), pp. 14–27. Heikki Lempa, *Beyond the Gymnasium: Educating the Middle-class Bodies in Classical Germany*, Lexington, 2007, pp. 67–111.
- 5 This is often cited but rarely referenced. It comes from Jahn's 1810 work *Deutsches Volksthum* – see David J. Rosenberg, *Towards a Cosmopolitanism of Self-difference: Heinrich Heine and Madame de Staël between France and Germany*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Santa Barbara, 2008, p. 4.

- 6 Roland Naul, 'History of Sport and Physical Education in Germany', in Roland Naul and Ken Hardman (eds), *Sport and Physical Education in Germany*, London, 2002, pp. 15–27.
- 7 William J. Baker, *Sports in the Western World*, Illinois, 1988, p. 100–1.
- 8 See, for example, Gertrud Pfister, 'Cultural Confrontations: German *Tumen*, Swedish Gymnastics and English Sport', *Culture, Sport and Society*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2003), pp. 61–91.
- 9 Fridolín Macháček, 'The Sokol Movement: Its Contribution to Gymnastics', *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 17, no. 49 (1938), pp. 73–90.
- 10 Claire E. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, London, 2002.
- 11 John Broughton, *Proposals for Erecting an Amphitheatre for the Manly Sport of Boxing*, London, 1 January, p. 2.
- 12 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837*, Newhaven, CT, 2009, p. 174.
- 13 *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 10 August 1805, p. 200.
- 14 Peter Radford, 'Lifting the Spirits of the Nation: British Boxers and the Emergence of the National Sporting Hero at the Time of the Napoleonic Wars', *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2005), pp. 249–70.
- 15 Egan, *Boxiana*, p. ii.
- 16 Windham letter to A. Hudson, 17 August 1809, in *The Windham Papers*, vol. 2, London, 1913, pp. 351–2.
- 17 Peter Radford, *The Celebrated Captain Barclay*, pp. 185–6. Carl B. Cone, 'The Molineaux–Cribb Fight, 1810: Wuz Tom Molineaux Robbed?', *Journal of Sport History*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Winter, 1982), pp. 83–91.
- 18 *The Literary Magazine, and American Register*, vol. 6 (1806), p. 257.
- 19 *Sporting Magazine*, November 1804, p. 84.
- 20 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 36 (March 1820), p. 610.
- 21 G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries from Chaucer to Queen Victoria*, London, 1978, p. 362.
- 22 Anon., *The Art of Manual Defence*, London, 1799, pp. xiii–xiv.
- 23 Anon., *The Complete Art of Boxing, etc.*, London, 1788, p. 18.
- 24 William Wordsworth, *The Complete Poetical Works*, London, 1888, p. 212.
- 25 Martin Johnes, 'Archery, Romance and Elite Culture in England and Wales, c. 1780–1840', *History*, vol. 89 (2004), 193–208.
- 26 For Egan, see J.C. Reid, *Bucks and Bruisers: Pierce Egan and Regency England*, London, 1971.
- 27 William Hazlitt, 'Merry England', in *Sketches and Essays*, Oxford, 1936, p. 51.
- 28 See Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*, Oxford 1960, pp. 8–12; James A. Vlasich, *A Legend for the Legendary: The Origin of the Baseball Hall of Fame*, Wisconsin, 1990, pp. 162–8; Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, London, 1998, pp. 5–8; and William Baker, 'William Webb Ellis and the Origins of Rugby Football', *Albion*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Summer, 1981), pp. 117–30.
- 29 See D. Chatziefstathiou, 'Pierre de Coubertin: Man and Myth' and Mark Golden, 'The Ancient Olympics and the Modern: Mirror and Mirage', both in H. Lenskyj and S. Wagg (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Olympic Studies*, Basingstoke, 2012, pp. 15–25 and 26–42.
- 30 For an overview of early cricket literature in its historical context, see David Underdown, 'The History of Cricket', *History Compass*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2006), pp. 43–53. Derek Birley's *The Willow Wand*, London, 1979, handsomely demolishes many of cricket's long-standing myths.

4 The middle-class invention of amateurism

- 1 Arthur Budd, *Rugby Football*, London, 1899, p. 2.
- 2 This argument runs counter to that of Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793–1850*, Aldershot, 2004.

- 3 Quoted in Anon., 'Review of "Tour in England, Ireland and France in the Years 1828 and 1829" by A German Prince', *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. 54 (Dec. 1831), p. 397.
- 4 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, London, 1978, p. 270.
- 5 Dennis Brailsford, *A Taste for Diversions: Sport in Georgian England*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 164.
- 6 Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793–1850*, pp. 166–7.
- 7 Quoted in Wray Vamplew, *The Turf*, Harmondsworth, 1975, p. 91.
- 8 Adrian Harvey, *Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture*, p. 46.
- 9 Robert Light, 'Ten Drunks and a Parson: The Victorian Professional Cricketer Reconsidered', *Sport in History*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2005), pp. 60–76.
- 10 Keith A.P. Sandiford, 'Amateurs and Professionals in Victorian County Cricket', *Albion*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Spring, 1983), pp. 32–51; W.F. Mandie, 'The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century', *Labour History*, no. 23 (Nov. 1972), pp. 1–16; Ric Sissons, *The Players: A Social History of the Professional Cricketer*, London, 1988.
- 11 Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Harmondsworth, rev. edn, 1999, p. 55.
- 12 For an overview of this period, see K.T. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846–86*, Oxford, 2000.
- 13 There is a considerable literature on the public schools in this period, most notably J.R. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School*, London, 1977; J.A. Mangan's *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, London, 1981; and M.J. Bradley and B. Simon (eds), *The Victorian Public School*, London, 1975.
- 14 Quoted in Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, London, 1918 (Folio Society edition), 1986, p. 171; A.P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, London, 1845, p. 290.
- 15 *The Rugby Miscellany*, no. 7 (Feb. 1846), p. 226.
- 16 W.E. Winn, 'Tom Brown's Schooldays and the Development of Muscular Christianity', *Church History*, vol. 29, no. 1 (1960), pp. 64–73.
- 17 For a discussion of this relationship, see, Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion*, Suffolk, 2010.
- 18 For the original meaning of 'amateur', see, for example, Pierce Egan, *Boxiana*, London, 1824, pp. 12, 14, 15, 56, 111 and 204.
- 19 For a detailed discussion, see Richard Holt, 'The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain', *Sport in History*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2006), pp. 352–69.
- 20 For these and many other examples of amateur regulations, see Appendix 2 of Wray Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain 1870–1914*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 302–7.
- 21 The process is described in Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, London, 1999, pp. 101–8.
- 22 The best account of amateurism in cricket remains Derek Birley, *The Willow Wand*, London, 1979.
- 23 Frank Mitchell, 'A Crisis in Rugby Football', *St James's Gazette*, 24 September 1897.
- 24 For the fullest account of the debate see Dave Russell, 'From Evil to Expedient: The Legalization of Professionalism in English Football, 1884–85', in Stephen Wagg (ed.), *Myths and Milestones in the History of Sport*, Basingstoke, 2011, pp. 32–56.
- 25 Arthur Budd, 'The Rugby Union Game', in *Football Annual*, London, 1886, p. 52.
- 26 As is argued in Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Gentlemen, Barbarians and Players*, 2nd edn, Abingdon, 2005.
- 27 The debate is discussed in Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, London, 1998, pp. 41–51.
- 28 Tony Collins, *A Social History of English Rugby Union*, Abingdon, 2009, pp. 37–42 and 116–21.
- 29 Some aspects of this are discussed in J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, Harmondsworth, 1986.

- 30 *The Times*, 23 December 1985.
- 31 See Eugen Weber, 'Pierre de Coubertin and the Introduction of Organized Sports in France', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 5 (1970), pp. 3–26 and 'Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siècle France: Opium of the Classes?', *American Historical Review*, vol. 76 (1971), pp. 70–98.
- 32 Quoted in Eugen Weber, 'Pierre de Coubertin and the Introduction of Organized Sports in France', p. 15.
- 33 Philip Dine, *French Rugby Football: A Cultural History*, Oxford, 2001.
- 34 See Mike Ryland, *The Forbidden Game*, Brighouse, 1999.
- 35 Quoted in Elliott Gorn, *The Manly Art*, Ithaca, NY, 1986, p. 188.
- 36 Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920*, Cambridge, MA, 2003, p. 20.
- 37 Parke H. Davis, *Football: The American Intercollegiate Game*, New York, 1911, p. 24.
- 38 These issues are explored in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940*, Manchester, 1987.
- 39 Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball*, Ithaca, NY, 1989, pp. 122–3.
- 40 Michael Robidoux, 'Imagining a Canadian Identity through Sport', *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 115, no. 456 (Spring, 2002), pp. 209–26.
- 41 Caspar Whitney, *A Sporting Pilgrimage*, New York, 1894, p. 164.
- 42 Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, p. 108.
- 43 Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France*, London, 1981, p. 79.
- 44 Donal McAnallen, "'The Greatest Amateur Association in the World?'" The GAA and Amateurism', in Mike Cronin, Paul Rouse and William Murphy (eds), *The Gaelic Athletic Association, 1884–2009*, Dublin, 2009, pp. 157–82.
- 45 The classic account is Michael Oriard, *Reading Football*, North Carolina, 1998.
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7 Sport and the age of empire

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8 Unfair play: the racial politics of sport

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Conclusion: what future for sport?

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