SCOTLAND'S GAMES - ~~ENGLAND'S~~ GREAT GIFT TO THE WORLD!

by

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Abstract

A distinguished historian, R.C.K.Ensor, has claimed that the development of organised games, a distinctive characteristic of late nineteenth century England, constitutes one of England's leading contributions to world culture. He further claims that this English contribution has been more recent than is often realised. The observations of internationally celebrated historians, sociologists, educationalists, clergymen, youth leaders, sportsmen, sports writers and novelists, support Ensor's claims.

English games, played in a somewhat disorganised and brutal fashion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, became, in the nineteenth century, a readily assimilative means of popularising a desirable national morality of "fair play." This change from brutality to morality had been substantially effected by the end of the nineteenth century, and resulted from the popularity of the "Arnold tradition" of school reform, the rise of the suburban middle class, an increasing availability of private and public schooling, the cult of "muscular Christianity," and the spread of the British empire.

Because organised games were thought to have contributed largely to Britain's international prestige and standards of excellence, other nations sought to emulate the British by playing Britain's character-building games. An admiring Frenchman's appreciation of the correlation between British sport and excellence led to the inauguration of the modern Olympic Games.

Aberrations in the pattern of "fair play" and of "playing the game for the game's sake" have occurred, e.g., gambling, professionalism, "playing to win at all costs," racial discrimination, and nationalism. Despite these aberrations, or even partly because of them, the popularity of games continued to increase. If to-day the parent Pax Britannica is no more, its legitimate offspring, Pax Olympica, is one of the arresting phenomena of world culture.

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B.J.M.

PREFACE

A note of explanation and definition.

Historians are often cruelly categorised in their consideration of sport as an important area of study. The editor of a prestigous sports publication recently criticised the historian's study of sport as a primary focusing of attention upon chronology.[1] The editor did, however, seek to redeem the historian by noting that there is a current awakening to the more critical approach of cause and effect relationships in that study. As part of the "new awakening" discipline, this thesis is presented.

"Games" is the traditional British description for what is called "sport" in most countries to-day. However, sport is a somewhat ambiguous term, connoting not only the actual playing of an organised game but also the institutions and value systems associated with the play occurrence. Nevertheless, it may be fairly claimed that when we think of the meaning of sport, we do usually think of sports, i.e., the playing of specialised types of games. Games, in turn, have been defined as "any form of playful competition whose outcome is determined by physical skill, strategy, or chance, employed singly or in combination."[2]

"Organised games," or its synonym "sport," will be interpreted,[3] then, as a game occurrence, evolving into an institutional game, a social institution, a social situation or social system.

For the purposes of this thesis organised games will be described as both "English" and "British." In either case the description refers to the same organised games. R.C.K.Ensor, an examination of whose claim for English organised games forms the substance of this thesis, uses the word "English." However, as his English organised games include, for example, the Scottish game of golf, it seems more just and more accurate to describe these games as British. It may be argued, of

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1. Marvin H. Eyler, "Editorial Comment," Quest, monograph X (Spring Issue, May 1968), p.vi.

2. John W.Loy, "The Nature of Sport: a Definitional Effort," Quest, monograph X (May 1968), p.1.

3. ibid. pp.1-15.

course, that although golf is a game of Scottish origin it remained for England to develop the popularity of the game in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Such an argument would, however, be open to lively debate, and possibly help provide the phoenix-like Scottish nationalist movement with more fuel to fire the heather.

The ambivalence of one game, soccer, has resulted, perhaps, in that game being unfairly treated in this thesis. Whilst, in its genesis and early years, agreeable to the tradition of "playing the game for the game's sake", soccer has been severely criticised latterly for its lack of "fair play", for its desire of "playing to win at all costs". Yet soccer is now the most universally played of all British organised games. Therefore, whilst acknowledging the fact that its acceptance has been more world-wide than that of any other British game, this thesis concludes that the nature of soccer's contribution to world culture remains something of an open question.

Chapter 1: Introduction.

In the course of his analysis of English social life during the late nineteenth century, R.C.K. Ensor made this arresting claim:

> nothing is more characteristic of it [England 1870-1886] than the development of organised games. This, which on any reckoning may rank among England's leading contributions to world-culture, has been far more recent than is often realised.[1]

At first glance, the author's claim seems so extreme that a reader might wonder whether Ensor had written somewhat facetiously after the manner of Sir Dennis Brogan who described organised games as:

> one of the great English exports, along with railways, snobbery, and governesses.[2]

Indeed, Brogan's cavalier assessment of England's gift of games is indicative of that thinking which may well have prompted the famous British mountaineer, Sir Arnold Lunn, to indict the historian as one who:

> is apt to forget that sport in some form or other is the main object of most lives, that most men work in order to play, and that games which bulk so largely in the life of the individual cannot be neglected in studying the life of the nation.[3]

Ensor, however, clearly rebuts Lunn's indictment, not only

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1. R.C.K.Ensor, England 1870-1914 (London,1960), p.164.

2. Sir Dennis Brogan, The English People (New York, 1943), p.19.

3. Sir Arnold Lunn, Quest, Monograph IV (Spring Issue, April, 1965),p.32.

acknowledging the role of organised games in the life of the English people, but also according to those games the most generous of recognitions in the world's patterns of culture.

In order that Ensor's claim might not be dismissed as a passing phase peculiar to a grand era of British imperialism, the on-going feature of his assessment is confirmed in a variety of twentieth century observations. In 1928, the German Rudolf Kircher wrote:

> We think of England as the home of sport . . . The impulse to play is not confined to athletics but permeates the culture of the whole nation . . . English sport is immediately and inseparably bound up with the whole life of the people.[1]

In 1936 the great Dutch historian, J.Huizinga, recognising the highly developed sporting instincts of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, declared that "modern sport is in no small measure a gift to the world from England."[2] And in 1946, the Texan J.Frank Dobbie, on recording his impressions of Cambridge University, where he had been the Pitt Professor of American History, remarked that a matter of lasting impression was the English undergraduate's sense of "fair play." Under the title: "The Ideal of Fair Play" he wrote:

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1. Rudolf Kircher, Fair Play (London, 1928), p.3. Kircher was, for many years, London correspondent of the German newspaper Frankfürter Zeitung.

2. J. Huizinga, In the Shadow of Tomorrow (New York, 1936), p.180.

3. ibid., p.174.

> What in English university life struck you most forcibly, an American Rhodes Scholar was asked. "Three thousand young men, every one of whom would rather lose a game than play it unfairly," he replied.
> This sense of fair play is the ideal of all English-speaking people. It comes near being a realised ideal in the English school system. I do not know that it is there much sermonised on. Rather it seems taken for granted as an inherent part of life. Violation of it entails public disgrace. At Cambridge I heard old-timers recalling by name, year, and accomplishments this man and that man of past generations who was a "blue" (Letter man) in rowing, cricket, rugby, soccer. No society or institution could place more emphasis on excelling in sports than the University men, but the emphasis is more on the playing than on the winning. A majority of the men go in for some sport, mostly in a mild way. All seem to cycle and walk. Inter-collegiate matches were everyday occurrences.[1]

This philosophy of games, which so profoundly impressed Professor Dobbie and other observers of English life, still prevails. In a recent newspaper description of a rugby football match between England and New Zealand, the reporter proudly declared:

> Here in a lawless age, was sport in the genuine sense of the word - hard, fast, and chivalrous... an attacking, adventurous outlook, with risks cheerfully taken... This was what Rugby football is all about.[2]

The Times report accords well with that match so heroically described[3] by Thomas Hughes in Tom Brown's Schooldays over

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1. J.Frank Dobbie, "A Texan Teaches American History at Cambridge University," The National Geographic Magazine, vol.LXXXIX (No.4,1946), pp.430-431.

2. The Times (London), November 6, 1967, p.11.

3. Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays (Glasgow,1949).

a century ago. Hughes' narrative, in turn, underscores the famous dictum, popularly attributed to the first Duke of Wellington, that the battle of Waterloo was won upon the playing fields of Eton. Again, the Rugby critic's current description of the match between England and New Zealand approximates a contemporary confirmation of the Duke's popular observation. Nor did this ducal remark echo only in the land of its birth, for the late General Douglas Macarthur, in an appeal to the parents and youths of the United States of America, maintained:

> Athletic sport - the game - has become a symbol of our country's best qualities - courage, stamina, co-ordinated efficiency... On the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds which in other years and on other fields will bear the fruit of victory.[1]
>
> Fathers and mothers who would make their sons into men should have them play the game... Athletic competition is a vital character builder... it teaches them [youth] to be proud and unbending in honest defeat but humble and gentle in victory.[2]

However, despite this "jolly old games euphoria," all is not sweetness and light in English gamesmanship. Some persons are not enamoured of the request to "play up, play up, and play the game." G.K. Chesterton offers a rather gentle remonstrance:

> It was absurd to say that Waterloo was won upon Eton cricket-fields. But it might have been fairly said that Waterloo was won on the village green,

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1. C.Gaylord, Modern Coaching Psychology (Dubuque, Iowa, 1967), p.5.

2. R.A.Moore, Sports and Mental Health (Springfield, Illinois, 1966), p.73.

> where clumsy boys play a very clumsy cricket. In a word, it was the average of the nation that was strong, and athletic glories do not indicate much about the average of a nation.[1]

Rudyard Kipling, eschewing gentility, scornfully disclaims against "the flannelled fools at the wicket" and "the muddied oafs at the goal."[2] Indeed, as early as 1810 athleticism was roundly attacked in the Edinburgh Review,[3] the author questioning any practical advantage arising from one's ability at cricket or rowing, and protesting that:

> there is a manliness in the athletic exercises of public schools, which is seductive to the imagination as it is utterly unimportant in itself . . . exercises, in which the greatest blockheads commonly excel the most, render habits of idleness inveterate.[4]

A half century later, in the same magazine, a famous jurist,[5] reviewed the then newly published Tom Brown's Schooldays and attacked athleticism as implying:

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1. G.K.Chesterton, "Patriotism and Sport," All Things Considered (London, 1913), pp.61-62.

2. Rudyard Kipling, "The Islanders," Collected Verse (New York, 1907), p.203.

3. Sidney Smith, "A Review of Remarks on the System of Education in Public Schools," The Edinburgh Review, vol.XVI (1810), pp.326-334. Sidney Smith (1771-1845) was a celebrated writer and clergyman.

4. ibid., pp.328-329.

5. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, Bart.(1829-1894) was a distinguished lawyer, judge, publicist, and author of History of the Criminal Law of England.

> a certain slur on intellectual strength... A boy might really infer from "Tom Brown" that he was only sent to school to play at football, and that lessons were quite a secondary consideration.[1]

In this twentieth century Alec Waugh, with an attack on the "Bloods" system in his 1917 novel, The Loom of Youth, popularised the attack on the cult of games. Punch caricatured, often quite derisively, the popular craze for games;[2] and in the inter war years, 1918-1939, some of the research in education[3] severely indicted the stress upon athleticism. One of the most popular of all English adventure writers, John Buchan,[4] readily endorses an English boy's disinclination to participate in organised games and "the Public School" spirit; a most successful English mystery writer, Agatha Christie,[5] portrays her detective hero, Hercule Poirot, belittling, as passé, his English colleague's insistence upon "playing the game"; and one of the most recent works of fiction on

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1. Fitzjames Stephen, "A Review of 'Tom Brown's School-days'," The Edinburgh Review, vol.CVII, (January, 1858), p.193.

2. A.Adburgham, A Punch History of Manners and Modes 1841-1940 (London, 1961).

3. H.J.Savage, "Games and Sports in British Schools and Universities", The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, (Bulletin No.18, 1927), pp.42-46.

4. John Buchan, The Island of Sheep (London, 1956), pp.21-23.

5. Agatha Christie, 13 at Dinner, (New York, 1933), p.141.

English public school life[1] is incisively critical of the traditional "games dogma."

Even the area of international rugby union football, so conscious of its amateur status and standards of sportsmanship, is not free of public rebuke. Despite the heroic language used in the Times (London) reporting of the 1967 rugby football matches between England and New Zealand, the same newspaper carried letters to the editor condemning the ungentlemanly arrogance of the "All Blacks'" approach to the game. Sociological studies[2] of the rugby game have lamented the racist issues which recently marred the matches between New Zealand, with its splendid Maori players, and apartheid South Africa. These issues prompted many to doubt the validity of the "fair play" claim for rugby football, and as a result the question has been posed: does sport unite or divide?[3] There are, then two sides to the English games "coin," and some see, in its obverse side, a debasement of the moral currency.

As a modest means of examining Ensor's seemingly immodest claim, four areas of investigation readily present themselves:- organised games in school-life, in popular literature, in the cult of "muscular Christianity," and in contemporary society.

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1. Michael Campbell, Lord Dismiss Us, (New York, 1967).
2. e.g. R.Thompson, Race and Sport, (London, 1964).
3. ibid., pp.32-39.

Limitations must necessarily be imposed upon the number of schools to be considered. Only recently, the Illustrated London News completed a series of reviews of the major schools of the United Kingsom, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, under the general title: "The Education of Commonwealth Youth". These reviews covered some 96 famous schools and were spread over a five years period of publication. For convenience, a sampling of the English Great Public Schools, the major independent Boys' Schools of Canada, and some of the more prominent private boys' schools of the United States of America, will be examined as examples of Ensor's claim for the development and spread of the influence of English organised games.

The area of "muscular Christianity" also presents a landscape of broad horizon. To investigate the writings of Charles Kingsley alone would be a considerable undertaking. The issues underlying, and stemming from, Kingsley's attractive vehicle of propagation inevitably lead the student of "muscular Christianity" to a study of the Boys' Brigade, the Boy Scout movement, the Young Men's Christian Association, Church Youth Clubs, Tennis Clubs etc., to say nothing of the youth organisations associated with the rise of Nazism in Germany, and Fascism in Italy. Fascinating as such an investigation might indeed prove, it would provide a sufficiency of material for a study in its own right. Therefore, the present work will examine

the concept of "muscular Christianity" in two areas: (a) the Kingsley setting, and (b) as a contemporary phenomenon.

An examination of the varieties of popular literature, short stories, epic poems or ballads, serial magazines and annuals (e.g. Chums and The Boys' Own Paper), at once opens up vertical and horizontal dimensions that seem to have no immediately visible end. For example, the novel Tom Brown's Schooldays might well appear the logical terminus a quo for a literary approach to an examination of the claim that games constitute one of England's leading contributions to world culture. However, even this one novel invites, in its vertical dimension, a background study of its author, Thomas Hughes; its adult hero, Dr. Arnold; the pre-existing system of education typified by the Winchester School; and, of course, that long series of debates on education waged within the pages of The Edinburgh Review and other popular literary magazines, and highlighted by protagonists of the calibre of Sidney Smith and T.S.Coleridge. On the horizontal plane, there are the political ramifications in which Hughes, together with F.D.Maurice and Charles Kingsley were embroiled; the author's involvement in activities such as the Working Men's College; and in the religious sphere, the liberal Anglican polemics of Arnold and Kingsley.

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the sphere of popular literature will be limited to selected writings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even these imposed limitations might still permit too vast a subject. Hopefully, this thesis will provide some modest form of prolegomena for a later and more comprehensive treatment.

The aim, then, is to attempt an examination of Ensor's claim that,

> nothing is more characteristic of it [England 1870-1885] than the development of organised games. This, which on any reckoning may rank among England's leading contributi as to world-culture, has been far more recent than is often realised:[1]

using for the purposes of such examination, four areas of discussion:

(a) The ethos and practice of games in selected schools of England, Canada, and the United States of America.

(b) The concept of "muscular Christianity".

(c) The treatment of games in selected popular literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(d) The contemporary role of organised games.

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1. Ensor, England 1870-1914, p.164.

Chapter 11: Degenerate Sport and Tyrant School.

(English sport and English schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries).

> "Detested sport,
> That owes its pleasures to another's pain;
> That feeds upon the sobs and dying shrieks
> Of harmless nature..."[1]
>
> William Cowper, 1731-1800.

> "Public schools are the nurseries of all vice and immorality".[2]
>
> Henry Fielding, 1707-1754.

Jerusalem was far from being built in the green and pleasant land of eighteenth century England. Although the dark satanic mills were to be more a nineteenth, than an eighteenth, century phenomenon, yet it must be admitted that the darkness of the eighteenth century English collective conscience is readily discernible in the indifference to, and worse, the enjoyment of, overt and accidental suffering. In describing the savagery of a bear baiting contest of this period, the author of English Sports and Pastimes observes that;

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1. William Cowper, "The Task", Poetical Works (London, 1967), p.171.
2. Henry Fielding, Joseph Andrews (London, 1882), p.223.

> the brutality of the contests was in keeping with the roughness of the age... as for ordinary people, they had no qualms whatever about the matter... it was a spectacle familiar to everyone, from the most sophisticated Londoner to the simplest inhabitant of a remote hamlet.[1]

Henry Fielding, in his description of a hunted hare conveys something of the brutish nature of the chase. However, it is in his subsequent narrative of the huntsmen setting their hounds upon Parson Adams that the utter callousness and brutality of it all arrests the reader:

> The squire and his companions, whom the figure of Adams and the gallantry of Joseph had at first thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and who had hitherto beheld the engagement with more delight than any chase, shooting-match, race, cock-fighting, bull or bear baiting, had ever given them, began now to apprend the danger of their hounds, many of which lay sprawling in the fields.[2]

The squire's righteous indignation at Joseph Andrew's assaulting his hounds is as nothing compared with his huntsman's genuine indignation at the abuse of the hounds in his care:

> this huntsman... wondered his master would encourage the dogs to hunt Christians; that it was the surest way to spoil them, to make them follow vermin instead of sticking to a hare.[3]

In presenting the barbaric nature of eighteenth century English sport, it must be remembered that such sport was but one particular expression of the

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1. C.Hale, English Sports and Pastimes (London, 1949), p.104.

2. Fielding, Joseph Andrews, p.235.

3. Ibid., p.236.

more general assent to cruelty characteristic of English life during that century. In no one area was this corporate brutality so obvious as in the very law of the realm, for doctrines of natural law and natural rights appeared to be divorced from the law's active administration. Indeed, it has been strongly argued[1] that never were the technicalities of procedure in English law more calculated to defeat the ends of justice:

> So far as it interested itself in the criminal law, Parliament did little but add to its already merciless severity...The result was an appalling number of capital offences, many of them of a trivial character. It was a capital offence to steal to the amount of forty shillings from a dwelling house, or to pick a pocket to a greater amount than twelvepence. For such crimes men, women and children were hanged or transported. Misdemeanours were variously punishable, sometimes by imprisonment, sometimes by transportation, sometimes by whipping. Offenders were set in the pillory, to be tormented by brutal mobs, or whipped at the tail of a cart. Public flogging of women was not abolished until 1817.[2]

From a multitude of precedents G.M. Trevelyan[3] can describe the English people of that time as a race that had not yet learned to dislike the sight of the infliction of pain. Whipping and hanging are described as recreational events, though less sporting

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1. W.J.V.Windeyer, Lectures on Legal History (Sydney, 1938), p.195.

2. Ibid., pp.193-194.

3. G.M.Trevelyan, English Social History (London, 1945), p.281.

than boxing, bear-baiting and cock-fighting. The administration of corporal punishment attracted large crowds of onlookers, and,as such, provided spectacles much to be relished.

Gladiatorial contests were euphemistically described as the sport of the prize-ring. These encounters were not only carried on with fists, but also with swords, daggers and quarter-staffs. Women too were among the contestants:

> Women frequently challenged each other to single combat, fighting with half-a-crown in each clenched fist, the one who dropped her money first to lose the battle. Sometimes they took part in the matches arranged by men.[1]

In a series of essays, descriptive of Samuel Johnson's England, pugilism is condemned as "downright slaughtering."[2] Examples of boxing and cudgel play at the 1749 Southwick Fair are cited as instances of a barbarity which resulted in their suppression on the grounds of public nuisance.[3] However despite such damning criticism, the eighteenth century prize ring received faint praise:

> Nevertheless, the old prize-ring possibly served no bad purpose in its day, the glamour which hung around it spreading abroad a spirit of dogged, if

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1. G.Paston, Social Caricature in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1905), p.78.

2. E.D.Cuming, "Sports and Games", Johnson's England ed.A.S.Turberville (Oxford, 1952),vol.1,p.376.

3. ibid.

brutal, courage which largely contributed to the victories of our English soldiery in the Peninsula and at Waterloo. For this reason the author entirely refuses to indulge in sentimental lamentations over the moral degradation induced by the ring, though, at the same time, he admits that its revival in anything like its original form would be highly undesirable at the present time.[1]

If, with such complacency, sportsmen could countenance cruelty being readily visited upon humans, how much more readily was cruelty practised in the "sporting" events associated with animals and birds. Bear-baiting and cock-fighting are reputed to have been the two most popular sports in eighteenth century England:

> A good fighting bear or bull was the pride of the district . . . and every Englishman, from the primitive peasant, unashamedly revelled in the rough-and-tumble contest between the great beast chained to its stake and the barking, snapping dogs who returned again and again to the attack in spite of the risk they ran from the cruel claws and horns of their savage opponent.[2]

The most popular sport of all sports was cock-fighting,[3] with its accompanying corollary of large-scale gambling. The fighting birds were trained and encouraged to tear each other to pieces, and as aids to a more devastating thrust of their legs, prize birds were often mounted with silver spurs.

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1. R.Nevill, Sporting Days and Sporting Ways (London, 1910,) pp.171-172.

2. Hale, Sports and Pastimes, p.103.

3. Trevelyan, English Social History, p.281.

This brief review of English sport in the eighteenth century tells little, if anything, of "fair play", or of the goal of "a healthy mind in a healthy body". Indeed;

> an examination of the sporting prints of the eighteenth century leads the student to the melancholy conclusion that the English of that period, were not, in our modern sense of the phase, a nation of sportsmen. Certainly they were not as yet given over to the cult of athleticism... It is better, from the point of view of physical fitness, to play the part of a "flannelled fool" or a "muddied oaf" than to assist at a cock-fight or attend a professional sparring match in the character of a noble patron.[1]

All was not dark, however, on the sporting horizon of eighteenth century England. Some team sports had emerged in rough, though recognisable, form:

> Rowing was sufficiently developed at Westminster in the forties of the 18th. century for Warren Hastings to distinguish himself at it; but cricket, Harrow's great game, did not become popular until the sixties, and football was a product of the nineteenth century.[2]

Even this acknowledgment of the early popularity of the game of cricket at Harrow is qualified by some of the practises associated with the playing of matches in the eighteenth century. Although the rules of cricket were first codified in 1744, it has been argued[3] that the effects of cricket upon the English national character

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1. Paxton, Social Caricature, pp.75-76.

2. E.C.Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion (London, 1938), p.40.

3. J.Steven-Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (London, 1960), p.337.

were no better than the effects of horse racing. So large a role did gambling play in the game of cricket, that Lord Frederick Beauclerk (parson son of the Duke of St. Albans) is reported[1] to have made 600 guineas per annum as a gambler thanks to his skill in slow bowling. With justification, Soame Jenyns could lament England's degeneracy as a result of:

> her well bred heirs
> Gamesters and jockeys turned, and
> cricket-players.[2]

It is a far cry from the brutal and degenerate nature of eighteenth century English sport to the noble concepts envisaged and practised in the nineteenth century sportsman's understanding of "fair play". What a remarkable transformation was to be effected in the first half of the nineteenth century!

The brutality of eighteenth century English life, so readily discernible in its sporting pastimes, was seen also in the tyrannical nature of contemporary schooling. Yet it was within the more famous public schools e.g. Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Rugby etc. that games were played and developed. Indeed the public schools of England are recognised as the chief contributory factor to the development and spread of organised

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1. Steven-Watson, The Reign of George III, p.337.
2. ibid.

games and the philosophy of "fair play." To the making of this tradition, town and village sport contributed as well. A survey of London life in 1720 revealed that the sports of its citizens consisted of:

> cock-fighting, bowling upon greens, playing at tables, or backgammon, cards, dice and billiards; also musical entertainments . . . they sometimes ride out on horseback, and hunt with the Lord Mayor's pack of dogs when the common hunt goes out. The lower classes divert themselves at football, wrestling, cudgels, nine-pins, shovel-board, cricket, stowball, ringing of bells, quoits, pitching the bar, bull and bear-baiting, throwing at cocks, and what is worst of all, "lying at ale-houses."[1]

It was by village, but more particularly school, participation in the game of cricket that its popularity was assured. It is claimed[2] that, during the period 1760-1790, cricket emerged from obscurity in villages of the Weald and in schoolboys' pastimes, into prominence as a national game.

Despite this village and town contribution to games, the chief source of the popularity of organised games resided in English schools, and the great public schools in particular. Writers point to an innate love of boys for games as the source of the modern tradition of organised games amongst Englishmen, claiming, at the same time, that such organised games, especially football,

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1. J.Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of England (London, 1903), p.xxix.

2. Steven-Watson, Reign of George III, pp.336-337.

were of slow, not modern, development. For example;

> the tradition of sport at schools was produced by the love of games among normal boys, especially English boys, and by the free atmosphere which made this practice possible. Even masters contributed. Wykeham believed in the value of recreation for boys . . . the boys amply availed themselves of opportunities . . . The modern traditional games were, however, slow in developing.[1]

Although Mack's dating of cricket and football confirms, rather than destroys, the contention that organised games are of modern development, ready agreement can be given his syndrome of "schoolboys - school games - organised games." This syndrome is further amplified by the observation[2] that whilst the initial steps towards the development of organised games lay with the boys, this "inborn spirit" of play was subsequently developed and encouraged by such masters as, Arnold of Rugby, and Thring of Uppingham. As the classics prevailed in teaching, so the Greek view of a healthy mind in a healthy body was taken up as well. The moral concepts of "fair play" and unselfish team work were to give special significance to the English word "sport." In such observations there is, of course, an anticipation of the nineteenth century reforms so zealously prosecuted by Thomas Arnold, and of the

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1. Mack, Public Schools, p.39.
2. E.Parker, British Sport (London, 1941), pp.7-8.

Christian emphasis propounded by Charles Kingsley and others of the school of "muscular Christianity" in their interpretation of the classical dictum of mens sana in corpore sano. What then was the nature of the English public schools, of that schooling system wherein largely lay the genesis of England's contribution of organised games to world-culture?

One of the most intriguing accounts of eighteenth century English schooling is found in a late nineteenth century edited version[1] of Daniel Defoe's: The Compleat English Gentleman.

Both Defoe, in the text, and the editor, in a lengthy and liberally documented historical introduction, clearly reveal the substantial resistance to the formal classical education offered in the English schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From a host of judgments, the observation of a fashionable army officer aptly illustrated the pragmatic roots of resistance to "school-learning". The officer sneeringly asks;

> Do you think my Lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin?[2]

and Defoe himself, in reaction to the great stress placed upon classical languages, argued strongly against such an

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1. Daniel Defoe, The Compleat English Gentleman, ed. K.D. Bullring, (London, 1890).

2. ibid. p.xlviii.

over emphasis on the classics. Defoe claimed that:

> the knowledge of things, not words, make a scholar,[1]

and, again;

> men may be scholars without Latin and philosophers without Greek.[2]

Locke's condemnation[3] of English schooling as a dreary study of dead languages is strongly supported by Bülring's multitudinous collection of evidence and by Defoe's eloquent pleading.

If the nature of formal learning itself was tyrannical, so indeed was the discipline imposed upon the students. Defoe's imagined reaction of a "gentleman's" mother to her son going to school, illustrated something of disciplinary practise:

> Shall my son be sent to school to sit bareheaded and say a lesson to such a sorry diminutive rascal as that, be brow beaten and bectored and threatened with his authority and stand in fear of his hand! my son! that a few years after he will be glad to cringe to, cap in hand, for a dinner! no, indeed, my son shall not go near him. Let the Latin and Greek go to the Devil. My son is a Gentleman, he shan't be under such a scoundrel as that.[4]

Even in Ascham's day (1515-1568) it was reported[5] that

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1. Defoe, English Gentleman, p.212.
2. ibid, p.215.
3. ibid, pp.lxxi-lxxviii.
4. ibid, p.7.
5. ibid, p.lx.

several scholars of Eton had run away from the school for fear of beating, and again in 1768, following an abortive rebellion on the part of the Eton scholars, it was noted that;

> Everybody seems to have been more or less flogged sooner or later, and order was restored.[1]

At Winchester College, the novelist Anthony Trollope is reputed to have endured five scourgings in one day.[2]

It would be a grave error, however, to imagine that, in English public schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cruelty was the peculiar province of the masters and other school authorities. The boys themselves were culpable in the matter of cruel punishment. At Winchester School, in 1778;

> a boy Moody had been whipped by a prepostor. The father complained that his son had been brutally beaten by one of the older boys . . . the boys fell on the father, stole his wig, broke his head and caused both father and son to run for their lives to a master's house.[3]

The incident[4] of the eighteenth century schoolboy, Tate Williamson, who ran away from school, further illustrates this disposition to cruelty. Upon

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1. B.Darwin, The English Public School (London,1929),

2. Melville Bell Grosvenor, ed., This England (Washington, D.C, 1966), p.183.

3. Darwin, English Public School, p.47.

4. Mack, Public Schools, p.43.

Williamson's recapture the boys were the first to demand that their schoolmate be flogged and subsequently applauded his taking the punishment without a whimper. Writing of his schooling at Eton, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, testified to the dismal nature of the experience, complaining that he had hardly known a boy whose spirit had not been broken at Eton; and that while a public school might be an excellent thing for a youth of hot and violent character, it was not the place for a tender or docile disposition.[1] From such evidence it has been concluded that;

> the individual in the relatively unorganised 18th. century schools was, however, also subjected to the capricious orders and brutality of the strong. High-handed tyranny and cruel bullying were almost universal occurrences at all the schools.[2]

The Earl of Chatham's plea for consideration of a boy's character or disposition, strikes at the very philosophy underlying much of the brutality of games, and the tyranny of schools, in eighteenth century England. John Locke, in the seventeenth century, had already recommended[3]

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1. A.Von Ruville, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (New York, 1907), vol.1. p.72.

2. Mack, Public Schools, p.43.

3. John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education", The Works of John Locke (London,1890),pp.403-408. - Locke began his "Thoughts Concerning Education," with the statement: "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano, is a short but full description of a happy state in this world: he that has these two, has little more to wish for."

ETON COLLEGE FROM THE PLAYING FIELDS

open air exercise for schoolboys. In this he is said to have followed closely the recommendations of a famous sixteenth century Frenchman who argued:

> Games and exercises will be a good part of his a boy's study . . . his physical adaptability to be fashioned at the same time with his soul . . . Harden him to sweat and cold, wind and sun, and the dangers that he must scorn; wean him from all softness and delicacy in dressing and sleeping, eating and drinking; accustom him to everything. Let him not be a pretty boy and a little lady, but a lusty and virogous youth.[1]

Certainly, an eighteenth century sketch of the boys' activities on the playing fields of Eton illustrates the emphasis placed upon physical hardness through exposure to open air exercise and outdoor games.

However, this basic influence of a Frenchman's teaching upon the subsequent development of English games necessarily poses the question:- why did England, and not France, develop the phenomenon of organised

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1. Michel E.Montaigne: The Complete Works, trans. D.M. Frame (London), p.122.

games? After all, as a study[1] of French schooling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows, the French school stressed exposure to open air exercise. The answer to the question is to be found chiefly in the nineteenth century reforms in English schooling, especially those reforms associated with the Thomas Arnold of Rugby. Some answer is also found, though to a less extent, in Britain's immunity to the threat of enemy attack by land.

When Kipling admonished the "flannelled

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1. G.Snyder, La Pédagogie en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siécles (Paris, 1965), p.375.

Il serait injuste de soutenir que les Jésuites du XVIIe siècle aient ignoré l'importance des jeux et des exercises physiques et des precautions a prendre pour préserver la santé. Mais les Encyclopédistes réclament qu'un temps plus considerable y soit consacré et surtout ils veulent modifier le style de cette gymnastique: non plus seulement des promenades et des amusements comme la toupie, le colin-maillard ou la balle, mais des exercises plus vigoureux, plus énergiques, où l'on ne craindra pas d'aller jusqu'à une certaine rudesse et de mettre à l'épreuve les capacités d'endurance; par example, on ferait vivre les enfants au grand air et même parmi les intempéries avec une nourriture frugale et un confort voluntairement restreint. - On voit ce qui est en question ici: se retremper dans une sorte de jaillissement brut de l'énergie naturelle; un contact immédiat avec les difficultés naturelles et les réponses naturelles que l'enfant peut leur apporter - et faire confiance à ce monde encore direct, élémentaire.

immunity from attack Thesis

fools at the wicket"[1] he was attacking the practises of those who saw in their freedom from offensive military occupations an opportunity for Britons to indulge more in play. Indeed, Kipling's warning approximates a jingoistic rendering of the Biblical exhortation: "woe to those who take their ease in Zion."[2] Certainly, a French school of thought considers Britain's immunity to attack by land a valid explanation of the English propensity to games. A distinguished French sports writer, contends that, even today, Napoleon's shadow must be banished if sport is to increase amongst Frenchmen:

> A basic fault lies at the very heart of French sport. Of nine million young, able-bodies people less than three million give any leisure time to active participation in sport. If you take, for example, the schools and universities, only 400,000 young people between the ages of 15 and 25 take part in various age-group competitions. The reason is that in France the organisation of the schools and universities dates back to Napoleon. At that time the aim was to form men and soldiers, to subject them to hard barrack-room discipline, whereas sport, according to Dr. Arnold, is essentially a "passion for freedom."[3]

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1. "Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
With the flannelled fools at the wicket or
the muddied oafs at the goals." Kipling, Collected Verse, p.203; see also H.Jackson: The Eighteen Nineties (Harmondsworth, 1950), pp.233-246.

2. "The Book of the Prophet Amos," The Bible, chapter Vl, verse 1.

3. G.Meyer, "Banishing Napoleon's Shadow," World Sports, vol.33, No.11 (November, 1967), p.20.

In further support of this "immunity from land attack" hypothesis, a study text[1] prepared for American university students, observes:

> Since Great Britain was completely surrounded by water and had a strong Navy, there was little fear of outside attack during the 19th. century. Without the necessity of promoting a strong army England developed a program of outdoor sports for many of their people to participate in during their leisure time. The British emphasised the development of sound character, social qualities, and general physical fitness in the educational program in contrast to the continental countries which stressed patriotism and military fitness.[2]

The chief answer, however, to the question of why England, and not France, developed organised games in the nineteenth century, lies in those school reforms associated with Thomas Arnold of Rugby. A corollary of the Arnold emphasis upon good example and teamwork was, of course, "fair play" in games. In turn, this concept of "fair play" was popularised by Thomas Hughes' best-seller, Tom Brown's Schooldays, and by Charles Kingsley in his novels and poems. A famous preacher, Kingsley also fathered the school of "muscular Christianity." By means, then, of school, printing press, and pulpit, the value of the "fair playing" of organised games was widely proclaimed.

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1. W.R.Battle, Physical Education in the Liberal Arts College (Dubuque, Iowa, 1937).

2. ibid., p.10.

Chapter 111: The Great Awakening. (Stirrings of reform: Arnold of Rugby, Kingsley and "muscular Christianity").

> "The 19th. century witnessed a growth of athleticism in Public Schools remarkable alike for its technical development and for its social significance."
> P.C.McIntosh.[1]

Henry Fielding's parson Adams condemned eighteenth century English Public schools as "the nurseries of all vice and immorality,"[2] and, in the same century, William Cowper, who excelled[3] at cricket and foot-ball, declared: "Public schools 'tis public folly feeds."[4] It is reported[5] that in 1800, the great public schools of England - Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse and Rugby - had shown no significant progress in public regard. Eton, which had 344 boys enrolled in 1698, had only 13 more (357 enrolled) attending in 1800. Yet in 1825 Eton's scholars numbered 568, and the middle years of the nineteenth century were a time of uninterrupted expansion for the public schools of England. Two factors chiefly contributed to this advance - the spirit of reform in

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1. P.C.McIntosh, Physical Education in England since 1800 (London, 1952), p.13.

2. Fielding, Joseph Andrews, p.223.

3. C.Ryshamp, William Cowper of the Inner Temple,Esq. (Cambridge,1959), p.27.

4. William Cowper, "Tirocinium,l, 250", Poetical Works (London,1967), p.247.

5. Darwin, English Public School, p.7.

general, and the Arnold reforms at Rugby in particular.

Both in sport and in schooling, reform marked the first half of the nineteenth century in England. In 1833, and again in 1935, bear-baiting and bull-baiting were forbidden by law,[1] and cock-fighting was largely discredited. Prize-fighting continued but gloves were used. Rugby union football, as an organised game, became popular amongst schoolboys; association football (soccer) found favour with the working class;[2] cricket attracted much middle class support and was popular at the old and the new public schools. Cricket also gave rise to first-class amateurs, among them, the famous Dr. Grace.

> Recognising the validity of the claim that, an appreciation of the character of Public School growth is of vital importance for the student of British civilisation.[3]

this brief review of school reform in nineteenth century England will focus on morality, discipline and games.

It is P.C.McIntosh's[4] contention that because of the greater freedom permitted the headmasters of Rugby and Shrewsbury, it was with these schools, rather than at Eton and Winchester - where the headmaster's power was more

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1. E.L.Woodward, The Age of Reform, 1815-1870 (London,1958), p.603.

2. ibid, p.606: "the English working class had at last found a cheap and amusing way of spending Saturday afternoons".

3. Mack, Public Schools, p.xi.

4. McIntosh, Physical Education, pp.16-17.

restricted by ecclesiastical powers - that the great reforms were instituted. Accordingly,

> because the reforms at Rugby under Arnold headmaster 1828-1842 permeated the whole mass of schools in the forties and fifties, so in the world of sport the practices in vogue at Rugby tended to be copied in other schools.

In corroborating McIntosh's[1] acknowledgment of Arnold's great contribution, Darwin[2] asserts that the public school spirit, which attracted the admiration of upper middle class parents, could be largely attributed to Arnold of Rugby. He cites the founding of Marlborough, on Rugbean lines, one year after Arnold's death, as evidence of Arnold's direct connection with the public school spirit, and sees the influence of Arnold in the singular and striking change which came over English schools.

Some fifty years prior to Arnold's era of reform Dr. Samuel Johnson had observed:

> More is learned in public than in private schools, from emulation: there is the collision of mind with mind, or the radiation of many minds pointing to one centre. Though few boys make their own exercises, yet if a good exercise is given up, out of a great number of boys, it is made by somebody.[3]

Johnson's appraisal of the role of emulation in public schools was a fitting prologue to Thomas Arnold's

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1. McIntosh, Physical Education, p.17.
2. Darwin, English Public School, p.7.
3. J. Boswell, Life of Johnson (New York), p.543.

re-orientation of school life. In a pre-confirmation address[1] delivered in the Rugby School Chapel, Arnold summarised much of the motivation for, and strategems of, his reforms in education:

> It is to run the race of Christians that you are preparing; and that must needs be most difficult, where not the flesh only, but the world are united to obstruct it... But as the world of men is far less pure than the Spirit of God, so the opinions of the world of boys is even less pure than that of men. Idleness, which in after life is despised, is perhaps rather encouraged by the voice of that society in which you are now living; selfish extravagance, and the practice of increasing debts, too lightly censured in manhood, are here, I fear, scarcely censured at all. The fact is, that public opinion, in schools, is in many points the opinion exactly of the most worthless members of them, which they spare no pains to enforce, and to which the well-disposed yield out of weakness... And as the public opinion among boys, as well as men, is swayed by the influence of decided characters, so two or three individuals, steadily and quietly acting as they think right, will in a short time, be able to leaven, the whole mass; they will win over to their side that number, in all societies, who follow the turn of the stream; and the bad will be left in that state in which it is our hope that they may be hereafter in the universe - a minority of unmixed evil.[2]

Arnold's aim,[3] then, was to cultivate true manliness in place of false manliness, to emphasise gentlemanliness, morality and responsibility, to give a more directly Christian character to what constituted the education of the whole English gentry.[4] The leaven for

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1. Thomas Arnold, Sermons preached in the Chapel of Rugby School (London,1850), pp.317-319.

2. ibid.

3. A.P.Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D. (London, 1845), pp.76-89.
   N.Wymer, Dr. Arnold of Rugby (London,1953),pp.104-132.

4. Stanley, op.cit., p.76.

the whole lump of the boys of Rugby School was the sixth form - thirty boys in whom Dr. Arnold put complete trust.

The enduring nature of Arnold's goal and strategy may be seen in the fact that one hundred years after Arnold's death, the late William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking at the Arnold Centenary Celebrations, observed:

> If you are to develop in people a sense of public spirit, it can only be done by making them members of a community in which they have a real measure of responsibility, so that they know that the tradition of the community is entrusted to them.[1]

Arnold's principle of responsible membership in society, issued, not only in the prefect system, which was an overt consequence of the principle, but also found expression (as a logical corollary) in organised games.

Despite the fact that football was played at all English schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was no code of rules, nor was uniformity of play to be assured even within a single school.[2] The change in the game as played at Rugby stamped the nature of the game from 1823 onwards, but not until 1840 was a code of Rugby football ever drawn up for nation-wide acceptance.

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1. F.A.Iremonger, William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1948), p.12.

2. Darwin, The English Public School. Pp.157-167.

It is generally conceded that Arnold's reforms at Rugby indirectly encouraged the growth of athleticism, and speaking with some competence on education (himself a Rugbean and ex-headmaster of Repton) Dr. Temple declared:

> What is the principle of (our) traditional education? It is that real education comes not chiefly through instruction, but chiefly through membership in a society. We take our boys and throw them into a society in which they can realise membership to the full. Games immediately become the predominant interest. That is quite right, because it is in games that the boys can really manage their own concerns... It is healthy and right that games should come first provided that, this is only true of a stage through which they pass as they grow up. When therefore, I praise the English traditional education, I am praising education by means of a corporate life, whose main expression is through organised games.[1]

It is one thing for Arnold's reforms to have gained acceptance in the public school system of nineteenth century England but quite another matter for his concept of responsibility and gentlemanliness to have gained such a popular hold upon the public imagination. How was this achieved? According to Wymer[2] it was achieved through agitation in parliament, the press, the various reviews, popular literature and especially Tom Brown's Schooldays.[3]

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1. Iremonger, William Temple, p.12.

2. Wymer, Dr. Arnold.

3. "Tom Brown's Schooldays was a best seller; 11,000 copies were sold during 1857... Many editions were brought out during the rest of the century and the influence of this novel on educational thought and practice has been incalculable." P.C.McIntosh, Physical Education, p.41. "It is no exaggeration to say that Tom Brown's Schooldays made the modern public school." E.C. Mack and W.H.G. Armytage, Thomas Hughes (London, 1952), p.100.

The sermons of popular preachers were also most effective organs of dissemination; Charles Kingsley, both in his preaching and in his novels, being a prominent exponent of the cause.[1] By such means the desirable concept of "teamwork" was made popular.

In Tom Brown's Schooldays the organised game of cricket is proclaimed to be "the birthright of British boys old and young, as habeas corpus and trial by jury are of British men."[2] A conversation between Tom Brown and one of his masters further expounds the philosophy:

> "The discipline and reliance on one another which it teaches is so valuable I think," went on the master, "it ought to be such an unselfish game. It merges the individual in the eleven, he doesn't play that he may win, but that his side may."
> "That's very true," said Tom, "and that's why football and cricket now one comes to think of it, are such much better games than fives or hare and hounds, or any others where the object is to come in first or to win for oneself, and not that one's side may win."
> "And then the captain of the eleven," said the master, "what a post is his in our school-world! almost as hard as the Doctor's, requiring skill and gentleness and firmness and I know not what other rare qualities."[3]

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1. Charles Kingsley, whose novel, Westward Ho, was published in 1855 is thought to have strongly influenced Thomas Hughes, author of Tom Brown's Schooldays. "Both Westward Ho and Tom Brown's Schooldays were novels whose heroes were drawn in glowing colours and were intended to display the excellence of simple understanding and unconscious instinct to do good. They were moreover adorned with every sort of athletic accomplishment. These books were thus representative of the school of 'muscular Christianity' of which Kingsley was the chief apostle." McIntosh, Physical Education, pp.41-42.
   In 1879 Hughes published a series of lectures entitled: The Manliness of Christ, a striking parallel to the popular theme of Kingsley's preaching and writing.

2. Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays, p.257.

3. ibid.

Whilst Kingsley's novels and poems still hold a somewhat popular position (often as compulsory school texts) the same can hardly be said of his sermons. Yet it is within those sermons (and Kingsley was a most "popular" preacher) that the apostle of "muscular Christianity" proclaimed so much of the gentlemanly, teamwork philosophy. Even a brief glimpse at some of his published sermon titles clearly shows his emphasis upon the Christian manliness of "muscular Christianity":

> "The True Gentleman",[1] "Public Spirit", "Noble Company",[2] "Discipline", "God's Training", "The Armour of God", "Self-Help", "Endurance".[3]

In "The True Gentleman", Kingsley declares:

> The man, unless he be a clergyman, has not so much time as a woman for actually helping his neighbour by acts of charity. He must till the ground, sail the seas, attend to his business, fight the Queen's enemies; and the way in which the Holy Spirit of charity will show in him will be more in his temper and his language, by making him patient, cheerful, respectful, condescending, courageous, reasonable with every man whom he has to do with.[4]

In his sermon entitled "Public Spirit",[5] Kingsley contends that what transforms a soldier from a slack youth into an erect, cheerful and brave person is

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1. Charles Kingsley, Sermons for the Times (London, 1898), pp.262-277, 295-311.

2. Charles Kingsley, Westminster Sermons (London, 1894).

3. Charles Kingsley, Discipline and other Sermons (London, 1899).

4. Kingsley, Sermons for the Times, p.269.

5. ibid, pp.295-311.

the fact of his regiment, his being a member of a body. As Arnold attacked idlesness, so Kingsley attacked slackness; as Arnold sought corporate responsibility, so Kingsley sought teamwork.

In preaching on "Discipline", Kingsley maintained:

> For the moral discipline which goes to make a good soldier or a successful competitor on this ground - the self-restraint, the obedience, the diligence, the punctuality, the patience, the courtesy, the forbearance, the justice, the temperance, - these virtues, needful for those who compete in a struggle in which the idler and the debauchee can take no share, all these go equally toward the making of a good man.[1]

A report[2] of his inaugural presidential address to the Birmingham and Midland Institute shows Kingsley endorsing the motto mens sana in corpore sano, and advocating obedience to the laws of nature i.e. to the goodwill of God, in order that children might be healthy, strong and have all the intellectual and social, as well as the physical advantages which health, strength and beauty give. Kingsley claimed that an unhealthy body loses its manly independence and gave as examples of his claim the decline and fall of Rome, Alexandria and Constantinople.

This theme of Kingsley's presidential address was, of course, pre-eminent in his novels - novels which had such popular appeal in the second half of the nineteenth

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1. Kingsley, Discipline, pp.7-8.
2. The Times (London) October 8, 1872, p.3.

century. Evan an incisive critic of Kingsley's concept of "muscular Christianity" was compelled to admit Kingsley's novels were powerful stimulants despite their tendency to "lead readers not to take exercise but to dream of taking it."[1] Perhaps there was some truth in this criticism of vicarious reading, for in 1848 Lord Dalmeney (father of the "sporting" Prime Minister, the Earl of Rosebery) felt impelled to address[2] himself to "the middle classes upon the subject of Gymnastic Exercises" in the hope that they might engage more in exercise. Twenty years later, however, the position seems to have changed, at least, according to Rosebery's biographer, amongst the undergraduates at Oxford:

> Athletic sports of every description have increased and multiplied with giant strides, until their growth has been pronounced precocious... If these aspirations of young England for muscular excellence, or muscular Christianity (call it which you please), be extravagant, they are also suicidal, and if left to themselves will soon find the "due mean" and pursue a proper course without exciting anyone's bounties. But really we don't see extravagance. For the last two terms, there has been a great run upon them, but they have been embraced by men who found in them a most suitable field for the exercise of their ambition

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1. Stephen, Edinburgh Review, vol.CVII, p.192.

2. "I address these remarks to the middle class because it is to the middle classes that they are particularly applicable. The lower classes are condemned by necessity to undergo the toil to which the upper resort for the sake of exercise or diversion. Poverty compels the one, pleasure prompts the other, to adopt the habits and enjoy the benefits of physical exertion... Unfortunately, what is the exception with the extreme classes, is the rule of the middle classes; and hence I venture to offer it a few words of warning and advice." T.E.C.Coates, Lord Rosebery: His Life and Speeches (London, 1900), vol.I. pp.15-23.

> as well as of their limbs... And if only on the ground that it promotes sensible activity, this comparatively new athletic movement should meet with encouragement and approbation.[1]

A consequence, then, of Arnold's legalising self-government by the boys, with prefects and fagging, was the preparation of the ground for the growth of organised games. At Marlborough (founded in 1843 and with its second headmaster Arnold-trained at Rugby), and at Uppingham, organised games were much encouraged. As both these schools were essentially the preserve of the middle classes[2] the spread of organised games was assured.

The rising English middle class showed much interest in games and the public school system.[3] Indeed, Darwin attributes the popularity of the new public schools[4] to this interest and support of the middle class. Critics are quick to point out, of course, that this middle class admiration for, and support of, the public school spirit, expressed in the cult of organised games, provided a means of entrance, real or imaginary, into the sphere of the upper class. Comparing the aristocracy in England with

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1. Coates, Lord Rosebery, p.93.
2. ibid., p.35.
3. Woodward, Age of Reform, p.605.
   Darwin, The English Public School, p.7.
   McIntosh, Physical Education, pp.35-37.
4. Marlborough, Uppingham, Clifton, Hailebury, Wellington, and King Edward VI School, Birmingham.

that of France, de Tocqueville observed that,

> the difference between England and France in this matter turns on the examination of a single word in each language. "Gentleman" and "gentilhomme" evidently have the same derivation, but "gentleman" in England is applied to every well-educated man whatever his birth, while in France "gentilhomme" applies only to a noble by birth . . . The English aristrocracy is open to everyone.[1]

It is a twentieth century French sports critic who argues[2] that sport is a means whereby the Englishman may gain entrance to the ranks of the aristocracy. Joubert claims that sport has made no real impression on the soul of the French nation because it is not rooted in the national way of thought as in Great Britain. This phenomenon is probably due, he submits, to the differing social structures of the two countries. Because the Third Republic abolished class differences, the bourgeoisie began to find its way to the top, and the sporting hierarchy was levelled out amongst the people. This process developed more quickly and thoroughly in France than in Britain, Joubert argues, because France did not play cricket. This amazing claim for cricket is not submitted facetiously, but seriously, being rooted in the observation that cricket is "a way to the top." Joubert sees cricket as a decisive factor in the development of British sport because the game

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1. A.de Tocqueville, Journeys to England and Ireland (London, 1957), p.67.

2. E.Joubert, "Sport in France," Sport and Society, ed. A.Natan (London, 1958), pp.29-30.

of cricket had this worth-while goal of being "a way to the top," i.e. from the middle class to the aristocracy. No other country, claims this French sports critic, could boast of such a link.

There is even an imaginary, romantic form of class emancipation associated with the literary cult of the public school spirit in Britain. In his study of the English people, Sir Dennis Brogan comments:

> The hold of the public-school system on the English mind is revealed in its literary aspect, the school story. This is a purely English phenomenon. All literatures have stories of youth and adolescence which may include some account of formal education. But they are not like the classical English school stories which are marked by the acceptance of the values of adolescence; the author is not explaining the kind of man he is by telling us the kind of boy he was; he is treating the boy as an end in himself, his own final cause... That the public-school system should achieve this for its own sons is miracle enough, but far more astonishing is the success with which this literature is sold to boys and girls who have no first-hand experience of the system at all. Yet the annual crop of public-school stories find markets far wider than those provided by the old or present or prospective publis-school boys.[1]

A delightful illustration of this "school story" phenomenon is found in a confession of Sir James Barrie, who himself attended a non-public school (a mixed school of boys and girls in Scotland);

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1. Brogan, The English People, pp.47-48.

> ...Here is something of a still darker character. In those tender days I used, when in funds, to devour secretly penny dreadfuls ... what most enamoured me were the stories of goings-on at English boarding schools... I felt that those were the schools for me.[1]

The popular sale, for many years,[2] of the Boy's Own Paper and similar periodical publications for boys and girls, serve to validate Brogan's vicarious reading hypothesis. The children's annuals (Chums, Boy's Own Annual, Girl's Annual etc.), readily sold at Christmas time, were full of the most exciting of public school type stories.

Governmental recognition of the role of organised games in the development of desirable character came as a result of the 1864 Clarendon Commission Report on Public School Education, and of the 1868 Taunton Commission Report on grammar schools, proprietary schools, private schools, and the education of girls. The Clarendon Commission Report[3] revealed that a great number of hours could be spent upon the playing of organised games. At Eton, in order to obtain a place in the cricket team a boy had to spend five hours three times a week, and two hours three times a week, at the game; at Winchester, three such hours were to be spent every day; and at Rugby, the demand was

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1. J.M.Barrie, M'Connachie and J.M.B. (London,1938),p.62.

2. Similar boys and girls magazines are still sold at the major news' stands in Victoria, British Columbia, and in Toronto, Ontario.

3. McIntosh, Physical Education, p.49.

three hours for three days a week and two hours for three days. At Eton, a position in the rowing eight meant four hours a day on the water. Such a heavy inroad upon a boy's time was a ready indication of the pride of place which games had come to occupy in the curricula of English public schools, yet the Clarendon Commission Report does not indict such heavy stress upon games preparedness but offers this gentle opinion (half rebuke, half praise):

> ... the importance which boys themselves attach to games is somewhat greater, perhaps, than might reasonably be desired but within moderate limits it is highly useful.[1]

This recognition of the value of organised games in the formation of desirable character, is formally, and publicly, registered in the Report's further finding:

> It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most - their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not staunch respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sport and exercise.[2]

The Taunton Commission Report of 1868 consisted of a diversity of individual reports[3] by a variety of commissioners with no unanimity of opinion as to the value

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1. McIntosh, Physical Education, p.50.
2. ibid., p.46.
3. 21 volumes - 782 grammar schools were examined as well as proprietary and private schools.

of the role of organised games within the non-public schools of Britain. What did emerge, however, was the fact that although many of these grammar schools, private and proprietary schools, were ill-provided with facilities for games, those schools with greater financial backing were already elevating games to a lofty position.

It is little wonder, then, that Dr. Temple, when Archbishop of Canterbury, could speak, not only out of his personal and professional experience, but as heir to a multiplicity of nineteenth century precedents, and say:

> When therefore, I praise the English traditional education, I am praising education by means of a corporate life, whose main expression is through organised games.[1]

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1. Iremonger, William Temple, p.12.

Chapter IV: Games For Ever! or "How to Identify an English Gentleman!" (The late nineteenth century "craze" for games. The propriety of games; the ethics of "fair play".)

"Play up! Play up! and play the game!"
H.Newbolt: Vitai Lampada.

In support of his claim that nothing was more characteristic of England 1870-1886 than the development of organised games, R.C.K.Ensor draws attention[1] to a progression of observable data of the period:

(i) The rise of the suburban middle class.

(ii) Association Football (Soccer)[2] had been codified, and in 1871 the English Rugby Union was formed. The first international matches, both in Rugby football and Soccer, were played between England and Scotland in 1871 and 1872 respectively.

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1. Ensor, England, 1870-1914, pp.164-167.

2. The free-from-work Saturday afternoons permitted working-men to take up soccer. The popularity of the game was helped initially by the Public School men's espousing the theory and practice of "muscular Christianity", along with their knowledge (from school-days) of the game of football. In 1871 the F.A. Challenge Cup Competition was started on the initiative of an old Harrovian, C.W.Alcock, and in 1874 two Church clubs were formed - Aston Villa Wesleyan Chapel, Birmingham, and one at Brighton. McIntosh, Physical Education, p.61.

(iii) Soccer became the game of professionals, Rugby remained the amateur football game.

(iv) Dr. Grace, an amateur cricketer, was at the zenith of his powers during this period, and cricket became a popular game to watch.

(v) Cricket reporting achieved considerable space in the newspapers.

(vi) The demand for cricket fields (ovals) led to the formation of clubs made up chiefly of professional men and suburban dwellers.

(vii) A great stimulus to the game of cricket was the 1878 advent of an Australian touring team, the latter winning the series of matches.

(viii) In 1875 a Committee of the Marlebone Cricket Club drew up the rules for lawn tennis.[1] The popularity of tennis was much enhanced by female participation in the game.

(ix) In 1877 the Wimbledon All England Croquet and Lawn Tennis Club made the more or less final revisions of the rules for lawn tennis. Tennis meant that a good-sized suburban garden (capable of containing a court) matched the resources of a country house.

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1. It is claimed that the game of lawn tennis was patented in England by Major Wingfield in 1871: P.C.McIntosh, Sport in Society (London, 1963), p.83. However, despite any differences of opinion as to the establishing of rules for the game of lawn tennis, both Ensor and McIntosh are agreed that the game "came into its own" during the eighteen-seventies.

(x) Not until 1885, when women were permitted to play, did golf become popular.[1]

(xi) Cycling became a popular pastime, saving the costs of stabling and grooming a horse.

(xii) Games and cycling were the chief influences in modifying men's costumes in this period e.g. the lounge coat, the Norfolk jacket, loose trousers buckled below the knee and open shirts.

To Ensor's list a further feature might well be added - the Education Act (1870) which established a system of universal primary education. As a result, between 1870 and 1890 the average school attendance rose from one and a quarter million to four and a half million.[2] These school children would, of course, be exposed to some form or other of organised games at school.

The first feature[3] of Ensor's list of sociological - games data for the period 1870-1886 warrants some amplification. It is not the rise of the

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1. Three prime ministers - Asquith, Lloyd George and Baldwin - were avid golfers. All three were of the suburban middle class. Telling of H.H.Asquith's fondness for golf, his biographer writes:
"In the heyday of Asquith's career, there was hardly a politician of note who did not seek his relaxation (and in some cases attempt to transact a part of his business) upon a golf links."
R.Jenkins, Asquith (London,1967), p.26.

2. Trevelyan, English Social History, p.581.

3. The rise of the suburban middle class.

middle class in general, but the rise of the suburban middle class, in particular, that arrests Ensor's attention. G.M.Trevelyan underscores the validity of Ensor's insistence upon the importance of the suburban middle class as over against their rural brethren by noting[1] that in the "eighteen-eighties" the word "society" connoted the whole of the upper and professional classes, but not the well-to-do bourgeois of the provinces.

John Buchan (himself of the suburban middle class)[2] has defined the middle class in a reflective memoir:

> at one end of the social scale is the plutocracy, whose sons will be sufficiently well dowered to indulge their fancy... At the other end are the wage-earning classes, who in their health and wealth are largely the care of the State. Between come the "middle folk" in many gradations; their characteristics are that they have to earn their living, since they have no accumulated fortunes, that the State has little responsibility for them, that they have a reasonable average of culture and certain strong traditions in customs, manners and conduct. The class contains most of the knowledge and skill in the nation. Also, since our nominal aristocracy has been so copiously diluted, it contains most of the older stocks, the people with the longest proven descent.[3]

This suburban middle class, exposed to the cult of organised games, in theory or in practice, at

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1. Trevelyan, English Social History, p.562.

2. A Church of Scotland minister's son, a graduate of Oxford University, lawyer, business man, parliamentarian, novelist, Governor-General of Canada.

3. John Buchan, Memory Hold the Door (London, 1940), pp.287-288.

school or at university,[1] achieved an eminence in British public life during the second half of the nineteenth century. In a brief biographical sketch of F.E. Smith (Lord Birkenhead),[2] Sir Winston Churchill could write:

> Our country draws its strength from many sources. And in the last century and a half she has dis-dovered fresh reserves of leadership in the men of the new middle classes, created by the expansion of enterprise and wealth which followed the Industrial Revolution. Without name or influence to help them, often with no money save what they won by their own efforts, these sons of merchants and manufacturers, of doctors, lawyers, and clergymen, of authors, teachers, and shop-keepers, have made their way to the front rank in public life and to the headship of almost every great business by native worth alone. Their contribution to government has been rich and varied. It is impossible, looking back, to imagine what we should have been without them. Blot them from the pages, and how much is left of the political history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Peel, Gladstone and Disraeli; Bright, Cobden and the Chamberlains; Asquith, Bonar Law, and Baldwin are all swept from the scene.[3]

Sir James Barrie,[4] in his publicly expressed admiration for the great English public schools, typified

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1. "Games and sports at Oxford and Cambridge have their roots in the sports traditions of the public schools." Savage, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Bulletin No.18, 1927),pp.131-132.

2. Lord Birkenhead was a classical example of the rise of the suburban middle class. He rejoiced in achieving the "glittering prizes" of public distinction, and was an avid disciple of the cult of organised games.

3. Winston Spencer Churchill, Great Contemporaries (London,1939), p.172.

4. Barrie, M'Connachie and J.M.B., pp.59-67.

the middle class appreciation of the public school spirit. Certainly, Barrie saw something of this spirit in those games which, he said, "we love in this land and are right in loving."[1] Barrie's whimsical espousal of the Public School spirit and organised games is a somewhat lyrical exposition of what Dr. William Temple could praise as traditional English education "by means of a corporate life, whose main expression is through organised games."[2] Indeed, as early as 1857, with the publication of Tom Brown's Schooldays, the middle class was publicly expressing its admiration for schooling through corporate life and organised games.[3] So strong was this sentiment amongst the British middle class, that it found ready export to the dominions and colonies of the Empire. At the turn of the century Dr. Symon, headmaster of Trinity College, Ontario, Canada, declared:

> Anglo-Saxon superiority is not the product of book-learning alone, but of many factors, qualities of heart and head and stout spirit, which have been cultivated in boarding school life, through which almost all English boys who lead in the political, civil service, military, naval and commercial worlds have passed.[4]

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1. Barrie, M'Connachie and J.M.B., pp.59-67.

2. Iremonger, William Temple, p.12.

3. McIntosh, Education in England, pp.39-40.

4. H.Symons, "The Boarding school system in Canada", Canada Educational Monthly, 1903, p.22.

What makes Symon's statement particularly interesting is the fact that this acknowledgment of English superiority was taken from a French writer, Desmoulins,[1] who was fondly quoted by Englishmen of this period. In distant, but true, echo of the dictum popularly attributed to the first Duke of Wellington, another Frenchman, the educationist, Père Didon, who visited Eton at the end of the nineteenth century, remarked that the boys who there learned to command in games were those learning to command the Indies.[2]

It was this equation of the English public school system with leadership that permitted Dr. William Temple, when headmaster of Repton College to write to one of his senior boys, leaving the school in 1913, in these terms:

> My dear Mr -
>
> On this the last day of the term I am writing you a brief letter as to-morrow you will leave Repton for holidays and after that you will be launching out into the world - a schoolboy no longer.
>
> My dear boy, all I need say to you is keep up the courage, straightforwardness and sportsmanship you have always displayed in school and at sports and your success in any branch of life is assured.

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1. T.J.Wigney, The Independent Boys Schools in Canada, (unpublished manuscript, Institute of Higher Learning, University of Toronto),p.13.

2. McIntosh, Education in England, p.13.

> Your example here as a higher form boy prefect and later as head of the school has been of such a high character I wish every boy would try to emulate.[1]

This games philosophy has been graphically expressed in the poem, "Vitai Lampada", which, in common with hundreds of thousands of schoolboys throughout the British Empire and Commonwealth, this present writer learned at his Australian school:

> There's a breathless hush in the Close to-night-
> Ten to make and the match to win -
> A bumping pitch and a blinding light,
> An hour to play and the last man in.
> And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,
> Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,
> But his Captain's hand on his shoulder smote -
> "Play up! Play up! and play the game!"
>
> The sand of the desert is sodden red -
> Red with the wreck of a square that broke:
> The Gatling's jammed and the Colonel dead,
> And the regiment blind with dust and smoke.
> The river of death has brimmed his banks,
> And England's far, and Honour a name,
> But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks:
> "Play up! play up! and play the game!"
>
> This is the word that year by year,
> While in her place the School is set,
> Every one of her sons must hear,
> And none that hears it dare forget.
> This they all with a joyful mind
> Bear through life like a torch in flame,
> And falling, fling to the host behind
> "Play up! play up! and play the game!"[2]

This British emphasis upon responsibility, as a key to leadership and excellence of character, is

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1. Iremonger, William Temple, p.153.

2. Henry Newbolt, "Vitai Lampada", Anthology of Sporting Verse, ed. E.B.Osborn (London, 1930), pp.206-207.

aptly illustrated in a contemporary evaluation of the anomalous nature of the British Empire:

> It was an unnatural empire . . . hardly one of the 308 million Indians had any say in the government which was run by 1,300 British officials . . . In the glory of it all, the British could blind themselves to such anomalies.[1]

But when it is remembered that by the end of the nineteenth century, the playing of organised games was regarded as a suitable form of character training for "ruling the Indies," some understanding might be accorded those who saw no anomaly in the British governing of India. In 1901, a partisan declared:

> If asked what our "muscular Christianity" had done, we point to the British Empire. Our Empire would never have been built up by a nation of idealists and logicians.[2]

Even the indictment of the British Empire as unnatural and anomalous, was accompanied by the concession that Britain was not just another superstate:

> However degrading the idea of imperialism now seems to us, in its great days the British Empire revived many a stagnant alien culture, prodded many a dormant people into activity, distributed the ideas and techniques of the modern world on a scale that dwarfs today's world banks and development agencies. Grander still out of that old empire sprang a whole

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1. James Morris, "A Wistful Good-bye to All That," New York Times Magazine, February 18,1968,p.97.

2. McIntosh, Education in England, - viz. also Dr. William Temple's boast that if Eton provided the empire with viceroys, Rugby provided the many more governors. Iremonger, William Temple, p.13.

> assembly of brand new nations... Britain really was Mother Country to half the earth.[1]

From the American Lyman Bryson, writing in defence of freedom, comes the acknowledgement that whatever virtue might be found in those great days of the British Empire should be attributed to the virtue of sportsmanship.[2] A recent major study of the British Empire concludes that the concept of "fair play" was the empire's saving flaw.[3]

The influence upon British public life resulting from the rise of the suburban middle class has been widely acknowledged. In turn, that class' admiration for the Public School spirit expressed in organised games, has been generally recognised. What then was the peculiar character of those games whereby "the English gentleman" could be discerned? The answer lies

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1. Morris, New York Times Magazine February 18, 1968, p.96.

2. "The value of sportsmanship... is shown in international affairs. Empires would be less likely to exist and would in any case be less evil if all strong and imperial peoples had the sportsman's ideal. The fact that the British imperialists with all their faults, with all their brutalities even, have still been more beneficial in recent administration than other tyrants, is a clear result of sportsman's virtues. L.Bryson, Science and Freedom (New York,1947), p.132.

3. James Morris, Pax Britannica, The Climax of an Empire (London, 1968), p.499-517.

in the concept of "fair play", and no one English game is more illustrative of this concept than the game of cricket. Indeed, a popular maxim[1] is that cricket is more than a game; it is a way of life, a reflection of national character, somehow holding a mirror up to the Englishman's nature.

One of the most widely acclaimed of all cricket writers is Sir Neville Cardus. In a history of English cricket, he refers to the somewhat shady practices of the game in its early and bad old days and then continues:

> But in the high noon of Victorian respectability, after muscular Christians had incorporated the game into the curriculum of an English gentleman's education, why, by this time the bat was straight and of white willow made. Two sayings became liturgical almost, "Play a straight bat," and "It's not cricket."[2]

It is because of this association of organised games with the character of the participants that a game such as cricket came to be regarded as more than a game;[3] character is expected to reveal itself and to develop:

> In the long run the game is the sum total of the character of the men who take part in it. Negation

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1. Neville Cardus, English Cricket (London, 1947), p.9.
   Melville Bell Grosvenor, ed. This England. pp.174-175.
2. Cardus, Cricket, p.9.
3. ibid, pp.8-11.

> on the field of play indicates negation of mind and soul. The style and the spirit are the cricketers themselves.[1]

The rougher sports, such as football, were as zealously concerned with the practice of "fair play" as was the game of cricket:

> The association between sport and character training was certainly taken for granted at Public Schools whence came the game of association football. The code of gentlemanly conduct was enforced as rigidly as the laws of the game. So long as the code was generally understood it was not even necessary to have a referee. When it became necessary to enlarge the rules of the game to cover accidental infringements or misbehaviour which could not be immediately forseen, at first umpires and then a referee were empowered to control the game by a clause penalising "ungentlemanly conduct." The clause is still retained in the laws of the game as a signpost to the morality of sport.[2]

So much has the concept of "fair play" become an anticipated trait of the English gentleman's conduct, that it readily lends itself, along with religion and politics, as a target for humour, satire and caricature. A.P.Herbert's delightfully humorous treatment[3] of a golfer's ungentlemanly loss of temper, takes for granted an appreciation of the need of gentlemanly conduct in the game of golf, whilst Stephen Potter's engagingly satirical expositions[4] - Gamesmanship, Lifemanship, One-upmanship,

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1. Cardus, Cricket, p.48.
2. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.77.
3. A.P.Herbert, Uncommon Cases (London,1948), pp.18-23.
4. Penguin Books, 1962.

and Supermanship - demand, as a sine qua non, an appreciation of the concept of "fair play".

These observations upon cricket and football are substantially confirmed by the American authors of a recent world history of physical education.[1] They point out[2] that the strengthening of national unity and the intensification of patriotism by means of physical education as evidenced in European schools of the nineteenth century were less emphasised in England. The English, the authors claim, sought rather to cultivate sound character, social qualities and general physical fitness.

The role of "muscular Christianity" was important in the formulating of those goals of gentlemanly conduct which English sought to cultivate in their playing of organised games. In his 1872 inaugural presidential address to the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Charles Kingsley charged that intellectual, social and physical advantages could accrue to mankind through obedience to those laws of nature (i.e. the physical science of health) which are the voice of God.[3] In his later treatise on Health and Education, Kingsley argued that:

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1. Van Dalen and others, A World History of Physical Education (Englewood Cliffs,N.J.), 1956.

2. ibid, p.290.

3. The Times (London), October 8, 1872, p.3.

> games conduce, not merely to physical but to moral health; that in the playing fields boys acquire virtues which no books can give them; not merely daring and endurance, but better still, temper, self constraint, fairness, honour, unenvious approbation of another's success, and all that "give and take" of life which stand a man in such good stead when he goes forth into the world, and without which, indeed, his success is always maimed and partial.[1]

Here, then, are the qualities of an English gentleman, which qualities were, for Kingsley and the many followers of the school of "muscular Christianity", those of a "true" or Christian gentleman: - patience, cheerfulness, respect, condescension, courage, being reasonable with others.[2] These qualities comprise the very ethos of "fair play", the very spirit of the Englishman's playing of organised games.

Sir Harold Nicolson, a distinguished British diplomat, provides an interesting illustration of English gentlemanliness at work in public affairs. In international relations, Nicolson saw[3] the ties between the sense of "fair play" and Britain's prestige in the world. Nicolson contended that prestige for the average Englishman would mean justice; a dislike of bullying, a preference for what is called the sense of "fair play". In international affairs British prestige, then, was "power based upon reputation rather than reputation based upon power,"[4]

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1. Charles Kingsley, Health and Education (London,1874),p.86.
2. Kingsley, Sermons for the Times, p.269.
3. H.Nicolson, The Meaning of Prestige (Cambridge,1937).
4. ibid, p.9.

whereas for the Germans prestige was essentially a matter of status, and for the French prestige was reputation based upon military capacity and cultural achievements. For Nicolson, the reputation upon which British power was based lay rooted in character and conduct. "Fair play", "playing the game", were considered of the essence in British diplomacy.

A facile expression of appreciation of the British sense of "fair play" is a Frenchman's delightful little letter[1] of advice to a young compatriot going to England. Following a humorous series of injunctions to modesty in speaking of sporting achievements, Maurois advises:

> If you are unjustly treated (that will happen; they are sometimes unjust) go straight to them and explain why you think they have been wrong. There is a good chance that they will admit it. They attach importance to playing the game.[2]

The grand era of late nineteenth century British imperialism, of the "Britisher abroad," affords a splendid opportunity to trace something of the initial spread of the cult of organised games, this English gift, in its world-wide setting.

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1. André Maurois, Three Letters on the English (London, 1941).

2. ibid, p.6.

Chapter V. The Sun Never Sets on English Games!

(The spread of the cult of organised games).

> "In 1896 occurred the revival of the Olympic Games. The modern Olympics' major motivation seems to have been based on the belief that sports excellence in English schools has been a major factor in England's long position as world leader."
> R.Moore, Sport and Mental Health, p.12.

On the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897, it was proudly reported[1] that the British monarch reigned over an empire upon which the sun never set. By the turn of the century Victoria was queen or empress to one quarter of the world's population. Britain's navy ruled the waves and Elgar's stirring Land of Hope and Glory asked that Britain's bounds might be set wider and wider, that "God who made her mighty, [might] make her mightier yet." The self sufficiency of the statement "civis Britannicius sum" found its corollary in the Britisher's adage! "when in Rome, do as at home." Of this period John Buchan could write:

> Looking back, that time seems to me unbelievably secure and self-satisfied. The world was friendly and well-bred... its strength was its steadiness of nerve.[2]

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1. H.Johnson, The Eighteen Nineties (Middlesex, 1950), p.239.

2. Buchan, Memory Hold the Door, p.94.

The bard of "muscular Christianity," Charles Kingsley, prefaced it all with his admonition:

> What we can we will be
> Honest Englishmen.
> Do the work that's nearest,
> Though it's dull at whiles.
> Helping when we need them,
> Lame dogs over stiles.[1]

Recalling the claim that "muscular Christianity" had pragmatically expressed itself in the formation of the British Empire, it is significant to note Kingsley's admonition taken up by the bard of Empire, Rudyard Kipling, in his poetic acknowledgment of the fledgling imperialism of the United States of America:

> Take up the White Man's burden -
> Send forth the bestye breed -
> Go, send your sons to exile
> To serve your captive's need;
> To wait in heavy harness
> On fluttered fold and mild -
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
> Half-devil and half-child.[2]

Not only was there self-satisfaction at home at this time of Britain's apogee of power, but there was admiration abroad on the part of foreigners profoundly impressed by the British dominance. Representative of these admiring Europeans is the Frenchman, Baron de Coubertin, generally recognised as the chief architect of the 1896 revival of the Olympic Games. Born in 1868, de Coubertin, as a schoolboy, read a French translation

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1. cited, McIntosh, Physical Education, p.65.

2. Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," Collected Verse (New York, 1907), p.215.

of Tom Brown's Schooldays and:

> often referred with respect and sympathy to this educational novel. At the age of twenty he visited England and made his pilgrimage to Rugby School. From that moment he appears to have become an an Anglophil of great power... (it was) the public schools' philosophy of sport... that appealed to de Coubertin.[1]

P.C.McIntosh contends[2] that the 1894 International Olympic Committee proved to be more British in outlook than de Coubertin himself, for whilst the latter had thought more in terms of individual sport, the International Olympic Committee from the beginning included a team game - football, and later other team games were included in the Olympic programme.

> * At its outset then, the Olympic Movement looked back to ancient Greece for its ideal of physical prowess and the ennoblement of man in athletic contest. It looked to Britain, and to Britain's Public Schools for a modern interpretation of the ancient ideals and it looked to Britain, too, for its organisational structure.[3]

This apogee of British power and influence also led, of course, to a ready spread of the cult of games throughout the Empire itself. Cricket, football and tennis became extremely popular games in Australia, football and cricket in South Africa and New Zealand, cricket in India, Pakistan and the British West Indies.

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1. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.90.
2. ibid., p.92.
3. ibid.

Although football and cricket became popular on the west coast of Canada and in certain areas of eastern Canada, the more popular games were Canadian football and baseball,[1] both stemming from English precedents.

In New Zealand the national sport is rugby union football. In 1967 the New Zealand Rugby Union celebrated its 75th. anniversary - "75 years in which the game has risen from a sport to a religion."[2] To celebrate this anniversary it was hoped that the New Zealand team might make an undefeated tour of Britain, though, as a sports writer pointed out, "the team is dedicated to good football, not winning at all costs."[3] So strong, indeed, is the hold of rugby union football upon the New Zealanders, that the 1960 exclusion of Maori players caused a public furore:

> The decision of the New Zealand Rugby Union to exclude Maori players from selection for the representative All Black rugby team which toured South Africa in 1960 plunged the Dominion into what was perhaps its most vigorous controversy since the prohibition issue at the end of the last century.[4]

It is significant to note that the New Zealand government, which declined to intervene in the dispute on behalf of

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1. Baseball, an English game, was known in England in the eighteenth century: McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.82.

2. A.D.Thurston, "The Game that Became a Religion," World Sports. vol.33, No.11. (November,1967),p.14.

3. ibid. p.19.

4. Thompson, Race and Sport, p.39.

the Maori interests on the principle of 'fair play' was subsequently defeated at the 1960 general election.

The pervasive popularity of cricket in Australia may be illustrated through this present writer's commonly shared experiences - families waiting up late at night and through the night to hear the radio broadcast of the Test matches being played in England, transistor radios at school, in the office, and even carried by the most sedate-looking of business and professional men going to and from appointments. Cricket played in the backyard (lawn) during the afternoon of Christmas Day by the many relatives gathered for the Christmas Dinner. This popularity of cricket even extended to remote bush areas,[1] where cricket and tennis are happily played in temperatures well over the century, and, of course, football played in the winter.

Writing of the Sydney Cricket Ground W.Brookbank asks:

> Surely there is no game so steeped in tradition as cricket, nor one whose records of past glories are so well preserved!... No game has a statistical attraction anywhere nearly approaching cricket... "There's a breathless hush in the close to-night"... It is perhaps a far cry from English school and village green cricket to the standard played at the S.C.G. [Sydney Cricket Ground] but each has

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1. This present writer, who ministered for five years in the Australian outback, often played tennis in the cool (95 degrees temperature) of the evening.

> experienced time without number the tenseness, the drama of a tight finish.[1]

If in Australia cricket is more the game, football and tennis are also very popular. In South Africa, despite the popularity of cricket, football is the South African's game, but in Pakistan, India, and the British West Indies, the honours lie again with tennis and cricket.

Whilst the spread of the cult of organised games to the various dominions and colonies of the once proud British Empire might in itself be said to have resulted in a considerable contribution to the culture of a significant proportion of the world's population, England's gift of games is not confined to those many peoples who, until recently, once constituted the British Empire. The United States of America also shared in the sphere of British games influence.

In a brief historical review of the nature and development of sport in various nations of the world, W.R. Battle concludes (by way of understatement):

> The English ideal of participation in sports was brought to America by the colonists and has been influential in American life.[2]

Football, baseball, tennis and golf were the British games which became very popular in the United States of America.

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1. W.Brookbank, "Sydney's Cricket Sanctum", Walkabout June 1964, pp.14-16.

2. Battle, Physical Education, p.11.

Football had been introduced in colonial times but in 1871 a team of old Etonians visited Yale University to play the latter at Rugby Football and in 1876 the inter-collegiate Football Association adopted the Rugby rules. The English game of baseball, whose rules had been published in London in 1828,was introduced to the United States of America in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1871 the National Association of Baseball Players was organised. Lawn tennis was introduced in 1874, and in 1881, both the American Lawn Tennis Association was formed and the first American championships were held under English rules. Golf also came into prominence in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

It is in the ideal philosophy of sport that the American also shows his initial indebtedness to the English understanding of the value of organised games. In a commentary upon President Kennedy's heavy selection of Rhodes scholars in his administration Robert Massie observed:

> ... the President has obviously attracted to the qualities that are demanded of and mark most Rhodes scholars. They are seemingly, qualities with which the President is trying to stamp his Administration. Cecil Rhodes spelled them out in his will when he stipulated the kind of men he wanted to hold his scholarships: "literary and scholastic attainments... fondness for and success in manly outdoor sports.. moral force of character and of instincts to lead.[1]

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1. R.Massie, "Many Rhodes to Washington", New York Times Magazine, April 16, 1961, p.54.

One of America's leading sports writers, Herbert Warren Wind, sees the secret of the attraction of sports in its appeal to the ideal or poetic in people:

> What made the sports field - the empty lot and the country club, the backyard and the school gym - so appealing when each of us first encountered it in our youth was that people were at their best there. It was as simple as that. They were full of humor and fun without even trying. They were spontaneous, as they were nowhere else. In a deeper sense, it is not going too far to say that in a miraculous way the something idealistic in our natures when we are young and the poet in all of us blossoms wordlessly in a genuine sporting atmosphere. These are the reasons why all our lives we go out to sports so wholeheartedly.[1]

Perhaps nowhere is this American indebtedness to the spirit of British organised games more easily discernible than in the _dicta_ of those engaged in the teaching of sports.

Professor A.R.Beisser, of the University of California summarises the essentials of sportsmanship under these heads:

> First, the athlete must adhere to the rules of the game and strictly confine his aggression to the way in which it is permitted. Second, he must believe that the loser is no less worthy than the winner, that the result is less important than giving the best effort and sticking to the rules. He demonstrates humility in victory and pride in defeat. Third, he must appreciate the "good play" whether it be his or his opponent's. He is like an art critic who judges not the artist but only the work.[2]

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1. Herbert Warren Wind, _The Gilded Age of Sport_, cited _New York Times Book Review_, October 29,1961, p.14.

2. A.R.Beisser, _The Madness in Sport_ (New York, 1967),p.187.

On the east coast of the United States of America, in the State University College, New York, the Professor of Health and Physical Education published[1] a work on modern coaching psychology. To some readers Professor Gaylord would seem to "out-English the English" in his recommended approach to sport. In his Dedication, there is this quotation:

> There are many things to worship in athletics such as championships, heroes, letters, awards or even the plaudits of the grandstand - but there is only one thing that is really worth being worshipped and that is <u>spirit.</u> Awards fade; championships are largely forgotten; tumultuous sounds from the stands echo for the last time; but the <u>spirit</u> lives on; it alone is worthy of regard.[2]
>
> Coleman R.Griffith.

Claiming that athletics treat with the spirit of man, Gaylord submits that "only a neurotic person would just be satisfied with winning."[3] He quotes in support of his submission, portion of a poem, "Alumnus Football", by the famous American sports writer Grantland Rice:

> When the One Great Scorer comes
> To mark against your name,
> He writes - not that you won or lost -
> But how you played the game.[4]

Gaylord quotes General Douglas MacArthur[5] as Englishmen

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1. Gaylord, <u>Coaching Psychology</u>

2. <u>ibid</u>, p.viii.

3. <u>ibid</u>, p.3.

4. ibid, p.5.

5. "on the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds which in other years and other fields will bear the fruits of victory."

have quoted the Duke of Wellington,[1] and underscores the "Englishness" of his principles of sport with the observation: "Through sports you feel the pulse of a nation,"[2] and answers the question "what is the aim of varsity sports competition," with the reply:

> To help a person develop his talents to the fullest, to become a better person physically, mentally, emotionally, socially and spiritually.[3]

The questionnaire used by Professor Gaylord to test, and to encourage, an athlete's gentlemanliness, is appended[4] to this thesis.

'Lest it be argued that these statements by Professor Gaylord reveal a romanticism peculiar to a handful of "academics", there is the substantial corroboration offered by the official Playform Statement of the Division of Men's Athletics, American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. In the section entitled "values in Athletics, Social Development" the platform statement declares:

> In athletics, the boy may learn to work cooperatively as a member of a group that is striving for a common goal. He may learn to abide by the rules and to play fairly... He may learn the meaning and the value of group loyalty and group morale and

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1. The claim that the Battle of Waterloo was won upon the playing fields of Eton.
2. Gaylord, Coaching Psychology, p.4.
3. ibid., pp.95-97.
4. Appendix A.

> may experience the emotional responses that is developed as the members of the team win and lose together.[1]

In the light of the many English precedents for both the philosophy and practice of American organised games it can be fairly claimed that,

> there is evidence that the English games exerted greater influence in the United States than any other elements of physical education from foreign countries.[2]

A further powerful and populous nation to whom Britain bequeathed organised games is that of Russia. In the U.S.S.R.,[3] as now indeed throughout the world, soccer is the most popular game;

> But it was only after 1910 that football assumed a modern form in Russia - . . . At this time British influence was strong: words such as "penalty," "corner," and "offside" have now been in use for half a century.[4]

Not only were English words incorporated into the Russian vocabulary, but, during soccer's early years in Russia, English players were highly prized and eagerly imported.[5]

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1. Athletics in Education. A Platform Statement of the Division of Men's Athletics, American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Washington, D.C., 1963.

2. H.Vanderzwagg, "Nationalism in American Physical Education (1880-1920)," Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the National College Physical Education for Men, December, 1965, p.39.

3. Victor and Jennifer Louis, Sport in the Soviet Union (London, 1964), p.17.

4. ibid., p.18.

5. ibid.

Tennis was introduced at the turn of the century but due to its aristocratic background it found little favour with the 1917 revolutionaries. Latterly, however, tennis has been accepted and revived.[1]

France[2] has been for some years an accomplished exponent of the British game of Rugby football, and in common with Germany and Italy has shown a skilful mastery of the English organised games of tennis and soccer. Not all nations, however, had a de Coubertin or a Balck.[3] Nevertheless, this spread of organised games went on, despite the absence of such local exponents. Through the "missionary" efforts of British diplomats, businessmen, and students, who were visiting or living abroad, the organised games which they liked to play were introduced into those areas in which they were temporarily residing.

As a result,

> by the turn of the century [19th] there was not a country in Europe which had not sampled British sport in one form or another.[4]

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1. Louis, Sport in the Soviet Union, p.27.

2. Following his conversion to the English Public School philosophy of sport, Baron de Coubertin sought to infuse sports into the schools and lycees of France. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.90.

3. In Sweden too, British organised games were fostered through the efforts of Col.V.C.Balck, who visited Britain (1880) and was greatly impressed with British games: ibid. p.84.

4. ibid., p.85.

But as the last decade of world badminton reveals, this sampling of British sport was not restricted to Europe. In south-east Asia badminton has become pre-eminently <u>the</u> game.[1] Malaysia and Indonesia have shared the badminton world championship over the past twenty years, a championship previously enjoyed by Denmark, and before Denmark, by Ireland and England. Taking its name from the Duke of Beaufort's estate in England, this game of badminton is a further English gift to the world.

Another method, whereby the cult of English or British organised games was helped to spread throughout the world, was that of the English public school itself - either as a place of schooling for foreign boys who later became monarchs and leaders of public life in their homelands, or the English public school as a model to be copied, e.g., throughout the British Empire and Commonwealth, and in the United States of America.

The twentieth century has seen a host of rulers of European, Asian and African nations schooled, if but briefly, in England. A typical example of this exposure, on the part of a foreign monarch to English public schooling, is recounted by Sir Harold Nicolson on the occasion of his visit with the King of the Belgians (Leopold 111) in March, 1936:

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1. J.Arlott, "Shuttle Service," <u>The Listener</u>, vol.79. No.2033 (March 14, 1968), p.358.

> He Leopold speaks English almost perfectly. It was all rather cercle at first. "You were born in Persia, were you not?" "Yes, your Majesty, at Tehran," "and then you were not at Eton, I think, but at Wellington" "That also is true, Sir." "Then you entered the diplomatic service," "Yes, your Majesty. I was there for twenty years." "Twenty years?" "Twenty-one to be exact, Sir." "But you look scarcely older than I am." Obviously I was pleased by that remark and determined from that moment to put the young man at his ease. So I asked him about Eton and he lost his shyness and even laughted in a pathetic little way like a faint dash of sunshine through a mist of rain. . . Then he discussed what they taught at Eton and why it was that nobody made anybody work there, and wasn't it better really than cramming boys as they do in Belgium and France, and how he had loved it all, and he sighed, poor lonely young man. "I made great friends there, but now it is so difficult," with a forlorn gesture of his hand.[1]

The English public school also served as the model for many schools throughout the British Commonwealth. In no one British nation of the New World was the model more copiously copied than that of Australia. However, for the purposes of this thesis, Canada, from amongst the Commonwealth nations, and the United States of America, will serve as examples of the dissemination of the English public school spirit with its emphasis on organised games.

The Canadian provinces reveal no similarity of percentage enrollment in the number of pupils in

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1. H.Nicolson, Diaries and Letters 1930-39, ed. Nigel Nicolson (London, 1966), pp.253-254.

private or independent[1] schools. The number of pupils educated in these schools are:

Province	Population	Number of Pupils in Private Schools.[2]
Newfoundland	501,000	444
P.E.I.	108,000	511
Nova Scotia	759,000	5,362
New Brunswick	626,000	1,654
Ontario	6,832,000	45,554
Manitoba	959,000	10,576
Saskatchewan	953,000	2,439
Alberta	1,456,000	6,570
British Columbia	1,838,000	25,853
Quebec	No comparable figures available.	

Historical reasons account for the small percentage of students in these Canadian independent

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1. The term "independent school" is thought to be more accurate than "private school" though the latter phase is a popular one. However the term "private school" usually connotes a school run for profit, whereas the schools here discussed are corporate schools, independent of the state, operated as public trusts by boards of Governors and, as such, are not for profit. In this thesis, whether the more loose phrase "private school" or the more accurate "Independent school" are used, both will imply a school modelled on the English Public School.

2. Brief presented by the Federation of Independent School Associations to Her Majesty's Council of the Province of British Columbia, 1967, Appendix A.2.

schools. Comparing the Canadian situation with that of Australia, it is concluded that,

> Independent schools [Canada], by and large, were in the nature of a late reaction against existing systems... On the other hand the opposite case applies in Australia where the independent schools pre-dated the high schools, were usually connected with a church, and have retained that connection, and are flourishing today in large numbers.[1]

Yet, currently, the independent schools in English-speaking Canada are booming.[2]

In no province of Canada has the percentage growth of the independent school been more marked than in British Columbia. In this west coast province 25,852 students attend 120 independent or private schools, the percentage increase in enrollment in these schools over the last fifteen years being approximately three times that of the Public Schools.[3] The first significant independent boys' school in British Columbia was the University School, Victoria, founded in 1906. By 1913,

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1. Wigney, Independent Boys' Schools, p.30.

2. Arnold Edinborough, "The Status of Canada's Private Schools", Saturday Night, May 28th, 1960, p.9.

3. Province of British Columbia.

	Pupils 1951	Pupils 1965	% increase 1951-65	Average Annual Increase.
Public Schools	185,000	420,700	130%	8%
Private Schools	6,170	25,853	318%	22%

excerpted from Independent School Associations brief, 1967, op.cit.

this school was flourishing, with 240 boys, the approximate level at which it has since remained. The three founders sought to educate the boys in the best traditions of the British public schools, an aim summed up for them in the motto, mens sana in corpore sano.[1]

Upper Canada College, Toronto, has been called the "Eton of Canada" and certainly its aim was to give education for leadership. Lord Seaton, who proposed and created the college in 1829, conceived the college as a public school in the English sense.[2] As reported in Ryerson's Journal of Education, Upper Canada College in the eighteen-sixties was an interesting example of contemporary English educational ideals. H.W.Auden, headmaster of the college at the turn of the century, and who wrote on the work of the great English public schools,[3] was fond of quoting three lines of Virgil to his students:

> Te regere imperio populos Romae memento
> Haec tibi erunt artes pacisque imperari morem
> Parcere subjectis et depellare superbos.[4]

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1. University School Prospectus, p.7.

2. Journal of Education (1865), pp.12708, cited Wigney, Independent Boys Schools, p.5.

3. Canada Educational Monthly (1904) cited Wigney, ibid, p.13.

4. Yours be the lesson to govern the people of Rome as their Lord; this is your destined culture: impose the settled rule of peace, to spare the humble and crush the proud.

To prepare boys for Huron College, London, Ontario, Hellmuth College was opened in 1864. At the laying of the foundation stone of the school building, a hymn specially composed for the occasion heralded forth this hoped for destiny of its students:

O Lord of Glory, from thy throne
Behold us lay this cornerstone,
Own thou our work and let it be
A sure foundation laid on Thee.

Upon it let a temple stand,
Where science clasps religion's hand
And humbly casts her jewels down,
To deck her heavenly sister's crown.

A temple where youth's plastic mind
Be fitly moulded and refined
Be schooled in wisdom and be taught
To shape and guide a nation's thought.[1]

Trinity College, another prominent Canadian independent boys' school, founded at Weston, Ontario, in 1864, was removed in 1868 to Port Hope where better facilities, including playing fields were available. The headmaster of Trinity declared, at the turn of the century:

> Anglo-Saxon superiority is not the product of book-learning alone but of many factors, qualities of heart and head and stout spirit, which have been cultivated in boarding school life, through which almost all English boys who lead in the political, civil service, military, naval and commercial worlds have passed.[2]

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1. Journal of Education (1864), p.174, cited Wigney, Independent Boys Schools, p.10.

2. H.Symons, "The boarding School system in Canada", Canada Educational Monthly (1903),p.22.

Rothesay Collegiate School, New Brunswick, founded in 1877, spelt out, from its very beginning, the seven point programme which the school would seek to foster. The first three such goals were:

> 1. A definite programme of religious training, this being essential to the development of a sound character.
>
> 2. A better standard of scholarship, possible only where classes are comparatively small and are taught by men of wide experience; also an earlier beginning in some subjects.
>
> 3. A comprehensive physical training and athletic programme, knowing that it is on the athletic field where many of the most important lessons of life are learned.[1]

The British prefect system also operated in the Canadian independent boys' schools. This system places a measure of responsibility for the discipline of the school upon the senior boys privileged to be prefects. A junior learns to obey so that, as a senior, he may better know how to command.[2] This prefect system, is, of course, part of the overall teamwork emphasis made popular by Arnold of Rugby. Games are the most obvious, and happily acceptable to boys, way to teach such teamwork:

> One interesting survival at many of the independent boys schools of Canada is cricket, the presence of which in spring and summer marks these schools off from the public (i.e. provincial government) schools . . . The important thing is that all

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1. Prospectus of Rothesay Collegiate School, p.1.

2. a maxim of traditional officer-training in the British Armed Services.

> boys play; no matter how bad he may be some team will be suitable for him, or an individual sport such as golf or sailing might be his forte. In an age blighted by the cult of the sports hero and the disease of spectatorites, it is important that boys should be encouraged to play the game for the game's sake.[1]

Within the United States of America one of every six schoolchildren attends a private or independent school,[2] and the advertisements for the independent boys' schools usually show the students at some form of athletic activity.[3] Of the independent boys' schools the leading eighteen are generally listed[4] as Phillips Exeter Academy, Phillips Academy Andover, Groton, St. Paul's, Thacher, Lawrenceville, Kent, Deerfield, St.Mark!s Avon Old Farms, Hill, Hotchkiss, Choate, Taft, Milton, Middlesex, St. George's and Loomis. These boys' schools are said to share two things in common:- (a) high tuition fees, and (b) a preoccupation with character building usually expressed in a devotion to sports:

> In the language of the students, a "big wheel," that is, an important figure on the campus, may sometimes be a brain, but is almost always an athlete.[5]

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1. Wigney, Independent Boys' Schools, p.29.

2. M.Smith, "The Playing Fields of Groton," The Times (London), March 16, 1960, p.13.

3. P.Sargeant, Handbook of Private Schools,(1963).

4. "Twelve of the Best American Schools," Fortune, vol.XIII, (No.1.1936), pp.48-51, 104-119.

5. Smith, Times (London), March 16, 1960, p.13.

Of these more famous American boys' schools, Groton is popularly thought of as the American Eton and St.Paul's as the American Harrow.[1] Groton is known for football; St. Paul's for its hockey. Writing[2] of his years at Groton, the artist, G.Biddle, reports that all boys had to play football whether they liked it or not, their only excuse from participation being on medical grounds. Nor were the boys allowed to substitute tennis or golf for the major sports;

> To succeed at Groton, as later at Harvard, three paths lay open: athletics, social success, and administrative ability.[3]

Subsequently, though small in stature and light of weight, the artist suffered at athletics as did his famous Groton contemporary, Franklin D.Roosevelt.[4] One of the most interesting accounts of this emphasis upon football at Groton is contained in Louis Auchincloss' biographical novel[5] treating with the life of Groton's famous rector,

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1. E.D.Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen (Glencoe, Illinois, 1958), p.307.

2. G.Biddle, "As I Remember Groton School", Harper's Magazine, vol.79 (August 1939), pp.292-300.

3. ibid., pp.295-296.

4. He [F.D.R.] battered himself in athletic competition for which he was unsuited. - F.Freidel, "The Education of Franklin D.Roosevelt", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. XXXI (1961), p.163.

5. L.Auchincloss, The Rector of Justin (Boston, 1964).

Dr. Endicott Peabody. In this novel, a new master meets the Rector for the first time and is greeted with these words:

> You are Aspinwall? We were happy to get you at such short notice. Have you been assigned a football team? [A conversation ensues and the new master subsequently reflects]:
> So this is the famous Rector of Justin! Not a word about the subject I am hired to teach: only a lecture on intramural sports. I had not realised that the god of football had conquered even the church schools.[1]

Football had conquered Groton, however, and the chief celebration[2] of the school year is still reserved for a football victory over St. Mark's, Groton's great rival.

Dr. Peabody was a co-founder of Groton and its rector (headmaster) for fifty years. Schooled in England at Cheltenham and Cambridge, this rector personified so much of the English emphasis upon organised games. In appearance "he looked the militant Christian, half warrior, half priest"[3] and brought with him on his return to America the doctrines of Professor Charles Kingsley of Cambridge.[4] His brand of "muscular Christianity" is said to have made a life-long impression on all Groton boys, including Franklin D. Roosevelt.

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1. Auchincloss, Rector of Justin, pp.5-6.
2. Fortune, vol.XLII, p.106.
3. Biddle, Harper's Magazine vol.79, p.300.
4. Smith, Times (London) March 16, 1960, p.13.

Unlike Dr. Peabody who encouraged rough games, Dr. Coit, the first rector of St. Paul's, was opposed to such sport. However,

> sports would not be downed. When at last the ascetic Rector joined his spiritual kin they became paramount, and today, even on Sunday afternoons, the Lower Grounds swarm with athletes. To the sports writer St. Paul's is "the cradle of American hockey"... the whole school turns out for hockey... Six to eight skating rinks are built on the school pond... The ice is no sooner gone from the pond than the school exchanges skates for rowing trunks and puts out in shells.[1]

Kent, another leading school is known for its emphasis upon, and subsequent success in, rowing.[2] Kent's first headmaster, Father F.H.Sill, was recognised as being devoted to developing high churchmanship and good crews.[3]

Of those English public school traditions which Peabody and others are said[4] to have grafted on to the American school system, none has been, and continues to be, more prominent than the tradition of organised games.

In all contemporary expressions of "muscular Christianity" the Boy Scout movement has probably achieved the most universal recognition. Organised in patrols of six to eight boys with a patrol leader appointed from amongst themselves, the basic system of the Boy Scout

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1. Fortune, vol.XIII, pp.115-116.
2. e.g., Henley Regatta 1933.
3. Smith, Times (London), March 16, 1960, p.13.
4. Biddle, Harper's Magazine, vol.79, p.292.

movement approximates the schoolboy philosophy of team-work and prefects. Accompanying this organisational system is a heavy emphasis on team games, sports, and manliness.

Slightly older than the Boy Scout movement is the Boys Brigade[1], strong in Scotland, the place of its origin. The Brigade, quasi-military in organisation, spread throughout the British Commonwealth and to the United States of America, and presently has a world strength of 254,000 boys and officers. The "muscular Christianity" emphasis of the Boys' Brigade philosophy may be observed from its official Object:

> The Object of the Brigade is the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness.[2]

Of course, in any consideration of the modern application of "muscular Christianity" due regard must be paid to the innumerable tennis clubs, soccer clubs, basket-ball, cricket and hockey competitions fostered by the various Christian denominations as part of their local congregational activities. One of the most intense of all such contemporary phenomena of the "muscular Christian-ity" movement is the Blue Helmet Corps of California.[3]

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1. Glasgow, Scotland, 1883.

2. Boys' Brigade Membership Card 1966-67.

3. S.E.W., "The Blue Helmets", Decision January, 1968, pp.4 & 12.

The Billy Graham evangelical magazine in commending this Corps, declares:

> The Blue Helmet Corps is a group of some twenty young men who believe that it is a sin for a human being to be anything less than God created him to be![1] Their headquarters is Forest House Christian Conference Center in the San Bernadine Mountains. Their coaches are tough ex-Marines and physical fitness experts. Each year a different group is selected from the scores of applications, on the basis of refer nce or personal interviews. The high school boys who comprise the corps are not extraordinary. They are young men of diverse backgrounds committed to the goal of true manhood in Christian maturity. They hold in common the conviction that body, mind and spirit are raw materials that must be invested, disciplined and developed before they can be of any use.[2]

The Boy Scout movement, however, is the most famous and universal of the youth movements wherein the principle of "muscular Christianity" has been employed. It is not only within the organisation and official policy statements of the movement that the principle is proclaimed, but even more so in the words of the Scout leaders and interested observers. In 1940 Lord Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scout Movement (the "game of scouting" as he called it) wrote:

> . . . The splendid courage of our seamen of all kinds and of our airmen and soldiers, without glorifying militarism, can inspire the boys on their part also to deeds of gallantry and sacrifice of self . . . the

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1. Compare Charles Kingsley's 1874 inaugural presidential address, Birmingham-Midland Institute,

2. Decision, January, 1968, p.4.

3. Scouting for Boys, and The Senior Scout Handbook.

> exhibition of brute force now being exercised ruthlessly against weaker people will rouse in them a yet stronger instinct for justice and fair play . . . we are all sons of the same Father, whose direction to us is 'Love your neighbour.'[1]

Lord Rowallan, a Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth and Empire, clearly demonstrated his high regard for the philosophy of "muscular Christianity" in his message to Senior Scouts, i.e. scouts over fifteen years of age:

> When the Parachute Battalions were being formed for service in the forefront of the battle, only those were chosen who had high intelligence and health and strength, but even then something was found to be lacking . . . So the best Padres in the Services were detailed to bring to those who had little knowledge of God an understanding of Him and of His power to give strength to the weary and courage to the faint-hearted. These men had felt the need of just such help and support, and only when they had found a faith in God and had added the Spirit to the Mind and the Body were they complete and invincible.[2]

In commending sport[3] to all Senior Scouts the scouting handbook submits three reasons for the playing of organised games:

> (a) The development of courage, a good temper and a sense of fair play.
>
> (b) The learning of teamwork.

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1. Rex Hazlewood, ed, The Scouter Digest (The Boy Scouts Association, London), p.15.

2. Lord Rowallan, "Prologue: on the Privilege of being a Senior Scout, The Senior Scout Handbook (The Boy Scout Association, London), p.9.

3. F.V.Cowie, "Sport," Senior Scout Handbook, pp.257-262.

(c) Keeping the body fit. - This reason is most important, it is declared, because "ouf bodies are made by God, and given to us to use in His service."[1]

Prominent statesmen have publicly recorded their sense of indebtedness to Lord Baden-Powell, to the Boy Scout Movement, and to its philosophies so widely espoused. Representative of this acknowledgment of a nation's indebtedness,is Sir Winston Churchill's appreciation of the Scouting game:

> [as] an institution and an inspiration, characteristic of the essence of British games, and uniting in a bond of comradeship the youth not only of the English speaking world, but of almost every land and people under the sun.[2]
>
> Boy Scouts' ranks will never be empty . . . while red blood courses in the veins of youth.[3]
>
> [4] <u>Scouting for Boys</u> appealed to all the sense of adventure and love of open-air life which is so strong in youth. But beyond this it stressed those sentiments of knightly chivalry, of playing the game - any game - earnest or fun - hard and fairly, which constitute the most important part of the British system of education.[5]

This chivalrous concept of "playing the game," reinforced by the principles of "muscular Christianity," is again a

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1. Cowie, <u>Senior Scout Handbook</u>, p.259.
2. Churchill, <u>Famous Contemporaries</u>, p.366.
3. <u>ibid</u>, p.367.
4. The handbook for Scouts.
5. Churchill, <u>Famous Contemporaries</u>, p.366.

British gift to the world through this largest[1] of all world organisations for boys - more than 8,000,000 cubs, scouts, and leaders in over 100 countries.

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1. "Boy Scouts" Britannica Junior (1962) vol.111, p.304.

Chapter VI. The Hand that Feeds is Sometimes Bitten:

Americans, foreigners, and colonials too, often play to win.

> "I do not think winning is the most important thing, I think winning is the only thing."
> Bill Veech, October 18, 1964.

Within the English speaking nations of the world the United States of America has long enjoyed the reputation of being a nation determined to win in sports. Despite the coaching principles, programmes and philosophies expounded by the Gaylords and Macarthurs there is that long pragmatic background of the importance of winning. John R.Tunis, writing out of a long experience observed:

> The champion, the record, the victory; that is the thing that interests the average citizen of the United States. Not how the game is played; but the result is what he cares most about. This demand for victory by the sporting public has been faster in the development of champions. It has also taken most of the fun out of competitive sport.[1]

For another famous American sportswriter, organised games have regretfully become non-recreational, more a way of releasing frustrations:

> the ordinary game of golf or tennis or the informal sailing race has become... less a path of recreation

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1. John R.Tunis, a veteran American sportswriter, author of The American Way in Sport, cited "The Spirit of Sport", New York Times Magazine, October 18, 1964, p.28.

> than an expressway for releasing frustrations in a display of superiority . . . friendly competition has given way to purposeful gamesmanship.[1]

Wind's condemnation of sport as a release of frustrations, is not just the cliche of an interested layman, but is substantially confirmed by Arnold R. Beisser's series of psychological observations on sports. Dr. Beisser, a one-time amateur tennis champion, is clinical professor of psychiatry and human behaviour at the University of California. As an index of his findings, he has entitled his studies: The Madness in Sports.[2] Beisser interprets American sport as an outlet for aggression, and also as a help for man's expression of his maleness; winning is important, for victory is the psychological approximation of destroying the loser. Although Beisser's "destruction of the loser" hypothesis is somewhat startling,[3] his conclusion is based on clinical studies.

One of the most popular reasons advanced for the great desire to win in American sports is that of financial reward. For example, if a baseball star has what it takes, including the help of a clever business agent, he can make a lot of money endorsing anything from

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1. H.W.Wind, a leading American sportswriter, contributor to Sports Illustrated,author of The Gilded Age of Sport, cited New York Times Book Review, October 29, 1961, p.14.

2. A.R.Beisser, The Madness in Sport (New York, 1967).

3. Beisser's hypothesis is corroborated by Philip Goodhart and Christopher Chataway, War Without Weapons (London, 1968).

trousers to peanut butter.[1] Describing the way in which a pitcher changed his financial status as a result of a World Series game, a business agent boasted:

> There's absolutely no limit to the amount of outside money big-name professional athletes can make, provided they're hot. When Don Larsen stepped on the mound to pitch that sixth game of the series in 1956, he was worth about $150 for an off-diamond appearance. By the time the sixth inning rolled around and he still hadn't given a hit or a walk his asking price had doubled. Heading into the ninth, the figure had gone up to $500. At the completion of his perfect game, I was asking no less than $1,500 per appearance for him, and getting it.[2]

So significant had the financial ramifications of professional sport become by 1958 that the United States Congress deliberated[3] on the applicability of antitrust laws to organised professional team sports.

Within professional soccer in the United States of America the incidence of "commercials" during telecasts of the game provides an interesting illustration of a financial hegemony overcoming the principles of sportsmanship. An inquiry demonstrated[4] that television induced

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1. F.Scott (business agent) estimated that the famous baseball players,Mickey Mantle and Roger Maris would each earn $500,000 in royalties for the three years 1962-65 - New York Times Magazine, October 1, 1961,p.59.

2. G.Talese, "Diamonds are a Boy's Best Friend",New York Times Magazine, October 1, 1961, p.39.

3. United States House of Representatives,Committee on the Judiciary, Applicability of Antitrust Laws to Organised Professional Team Sports, 85th. Congress,2nd.Session, Report No.1720.

4. Leonard Shecter, "Why It's Better to Watch the Game on T.V.", New York Times Magazine,March 3, 1968, p.32.
   ———— "Letters", New York Times Magazine, March 31, 1968, pp.88-90.

the faking of injuries in National Professional Soccer League games in order that commercials could be fitted into what was claimed to be a "no-time-out" sports telecast. The evidence revealed that in the Toronto-Pittsburgh match of May 14, 1967 the referee admitted that eleven out of twenty-one "time-outs" were for faked injuries. By way of further indictment, the coach of the Marquette team stated that, in the 1967 National Invitation Tournament, an interruption for a television commercial broke the comeback momentum of his team against Southern Illinois in the final minutes of play and contributed to his team's loss. The television promoters' final solution for the dilemma was to run commercials during the play.[1]

In the same year, 1967, an international warning was sounded in regard to the dangers of commercial sponsorship of any sporting tournament:

> Many tournaments are no longer golf, tennis, or athletic tournaments, they are sponsors' tournaments. Whoever pays the piper calls the tune and the grip of the sponsors on sport is gradually being tightened. The time could well come when actual control rests in the hands of the advertisers.[2]

However, not all American sports are professionalised! For example, what of college and high school

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1. Shecter, New York Times Magazine, March 31, 1968, p.90.
2. D.R.Wills, "The Subtle Revolution," Gymnasion, vol.IV. (issue 3/4, 1967) p.27.

sport? Here again, however, finances, and winning are major and interrelated factors. Not that students are direct recipients of financial rewards, but the local businessmen usually reap the benefit of spectator patronage, and winning teams customarily attract a greater number of spectators. In one of the most scathing and well argued attacks on "the important thing is to win" philosophy in American schools and colleges, a distinguished Amherst professor admonished:

> Thirty years ago a report of the Carnegie Foundation on College Athletics concluded as follows: "The paid coach . . . the demoralising publicity showered on players, the devotion of an undue proportion of time to training, the devices for putting a desirable athlete, but a weak scholar, across the hurdles of the examinations, these ought to stop . . ." "Stop!" Instead, they have become all but universally accepted and legalised . . . today's malpractices have percolated down to the high school and they have corrupted large segments of our society . . . the tremendous emphasis on winning the game has largely destroyed sportsmanship and has corrupted both players and spectators . . . Centering authority in paid coaches whose primary interest is winning games, has gone far to destroy initiative and independence on the part of players.[1]

Even as early as 1905 there had been an attempt on the part of President Theodore Roosevelt[2] to regularis the standards of conduct in inter-collegiate football matches. The deceitful and brutal football practices of Harvard, Yale and Princeton impelled the President to

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1. Henry Steele Commager, "Give the Games Back to the Students," New York Times Magazine, April 16, 1961, p.21.

2. G.Lewis, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Founding of the National College Athletic Association," Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the National College Physical Education Association for Men, December, 1965, p.32.

intervene, and as a result of a subsequent White House Conference the need of fair play gained increasing recognition and support.

The first of Commager's three suggested solutions for arresting the decadence of American college and high school sports, was that of giving the games back to the students.- "Let students manage their own games, as they do at English universities."[1] It has even been suggested[2] that this aspect of English university life helped prompt another American President, John F. Kennedy, to select several Rhodes scholars as part of his administration. Although such a suggestion begs many questions, it was that same president, who, soon after his election to the presidency, urged[3] his fellow Americans to cease from "spectatitus" and to play games.

Even the area of amateur tennis within the United States of America is marred by racial discrimmination, and marked by a ruthless drive to victory. For example, the fashionable Chevy Chase Club in Maryland withdrew from inter-club competition because it could involve its members playing against negroes.[4] Two of America's leading

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1. Commager, New York Times Magazine, April 16, 1961, p.120.
2. Massie, New York Times Magazine, April 16, 1961, p.54.
3. John F. Kennedy, "The Soft American", Sports Illustrated, vol. 13, No.6 (December 26, 1960).
4. New York Times, August 25, 1968, pp.1 & 78.

amateur players, Nancy and Cliff Dickey, have been likened to gladiators in ancient Rome:

> They go out in that arena just to survive for the next day. Defeat almost kills them... I have see him [Cliff] crying... after losing.[1]

Of the three great world powers - the United States of America, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China, - the last two nations openly acknowledge sport to be a political tool, fulfilling an ideological role. Reporting[2] on his experiences of sports activity in China, G.Lagorce observed the predominance of the emphasis upon the thoughts of Chairman Mao as governing the participants' approach to sport, an approach that would result in China "showing the world the way." Sport as a means of promoting an ideology is no new thing, of course, but widely publicised events such as Mao's swimming of the Yangste provide a somewhat spectacular emphasis to this ideological polemic. Moreover, as with much of American sport, so with China, the game is not played for the game's sake. However, for many Americans, the determination to win is a matter of public regret. In China, the refusal to play the game for the game's sake is endorsed by the State. W.Chung-Yuan, section head of the Department

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1. J.Bowers, "Defeat almost kills them", Saturday Evening Post, August 10, 1968, p.79.

2. G.Lagorce, "Sport in China", World Sports,
vol.33, no.4. (April 1967), pp.5 - 9.
vol.33. no.5. (May 1967), pp.26-29.

of Propaganda of the Committee on Physical Culture and Sports of the People's Republic of China declared:

> The Party and the Government are convinced of the usefulness of sport in training men. Sport, for us, is not an amusement, but an absolute necessity for the strengthening of our race. Chairman Mao told us, "Sport must be developed so that the people will become strong." Before the liberation we were very backward, and sport is useful to us in building up our country.[1]

If the information on sport in the People's Republic of China is not always readily available to Western readers in an easily assimilated form, material and information on sport in the Soviet Union are more plentifully available. Books, periodicals and newspapers, television, and above all, participation[2] with Western nations in international competition reveal much of Russia's attitude to sport.

In 1930 the Soviet Union[3] declared an official policy of producing a Soviet people with nerves of steel

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1. Lagorce, World Sports, vol.33, no.5, p.28.

2. China is a member of GANEFO whose games of the New Emerging Forces were last held in Cambodia, November, 1966, with limited Western press coverage and non-Western participation. The Soviet Union, however, competes in the Olympic Games and other international competitions covered by Western press reporting and telecasting. Imperial Russia was an original member of the 1894 Olympic Committee.

3. This brief review of sport in the Soviet Union is drawn chiefly from two sources: Jennifer and Victor Louis, Sport in the Soviet Union (London, 1964), and, R.Lipsyte, "The Sporting Life," The Fifty Years, ed. H.E.Salisbury (New York, 1967), pp.385-401.

and muscles of iron, a people ready for labour and defense. In achieving this goal, sports were to play a major role and more than $2.2 billion is spent annually in pursuing a maxim attributed to Lenin - that a nation cannot be strong unless it is strong in sports:

> "The games and the equipment are the same the world over," says Stanislav Yansnis, head of the department of Sports Theory and History at the Lesgaft Institute, in Leningrad, the first and most prestigous of the Soviet Union's sixteen physical culture institutes of higher education. "But there is a difference between sports here and in a bourgeois society," he adds, "Our system is directed by a socialist state and sports is not an end in itself. We are creating a new man, physically, mentally, morally."[1]

Victor and Jennifer Louis suggest that in the 1960 abolition of the all-Union Committee of the Council of Ministers on Physical Culture and Sports there was a shift from the Soviet Union's state organisation to a more social emphasis. The all-Union Committee had approximated a ministry of physical education and sport, but the new Union of Sports Societies (successor to the All-Union Committee) unites some 190,000 societies and clubs.[2] This Union of Sports Societies has five aims:

To encourage systematic training on a large scale;

To raise the standard of sport;

To prepare competitors for World Championships;

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1. Lipsyte, "Sporting Life," Fifty Years, p.387.

2. Victor and Jennifer Louis, Sport in the Soviet Union, p.11.

To promote physical culture;

To build sports installations.

It is the third of these aims that reveals the Russian determination to excel in the international sphere of sport. In 1962 the Sports Committee of the Ministry of Defence was formed to supervise and encourage sports in the armed forces. In addition, this committee also supervises sportsmen and sportswomen of the Soviet armed forces who intend to participate in international sporting events. The zeal with which the goal of international excellence is pursued is well illustrated in the nationwide contests that were held in the years immediately preceding the Olympics of 1960 and 1964. In 1959 40,000,000 persons participated in those contests, and in 1963 more than 60,000,000 took part.

"Sports diplomacy" forms an important part of the overall evaluation of the role of sport in the Soviet Union. More than 10,000 Soviet athletes go abroad each year, foreign athletes are welcomed to sports seminars at Soviet physical culture institutes, and Soviet advisers readily offer programming, equipment, help etc. to newly emerging nations. Western critics may understandably criticise this Soviet "sports diplomacy," the use of sports as a political tool, as propaganda, but the Soviet spokesmen report with the record book - progress measured in seconds, metres, and victories - as proof of their system.

France appears also to have nailed her sports colours to the diplomatic mast. There is a French Secretary of State for Youth and Sport, and the present French Government is very much sports minded, for sport is considered an important element of international prestige.[1] Accordingly the French Government has launched two five year plans whereby French achievements in sport might be increased. For the five years 1960-1965 the government spent approximately $450 million on the encouragement of sport, and has allocated $600 million for the five year period 1966-1971. France has also adopted a cavalier attitude to the conditions governing amateur status:

> The government planned far ahead to put France in the lead during the Olympics; the training given the French teams has been the envy of everyone. Freed from their jobs over eight months ago, the elite have had six full-time trainers, with attendant masseurs, and doctors on call; 50 alpine troops have taken care of their ski-runs; a military plane has been on hand to take them to the best slopes with the best snow.[2]

The Sports Ministry also encouraged[3] sports equipment manufacturers to share the cost of providing skis and other accoutrements. The recent controversy as to the status of Jean Claude Killy, the brilliant French Olympic skier,

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1. Meyer, World Sports vol.33. No.11, p.21.
2. Margot Lyon "Vive le sport!", New Statesman, February 16, 1968, p.203.
3. ibid.

illustrates the apparent French indifference to "amateurs" receiving "perks." But, it is argued:

> How could it be otherwise in a Western world which seeks to match, on equal terms, nations whose competitive sport is inseparable from a global political philosophy of examples at home and prestige abroad.[1]

Despite this large investment in sport on the part of foreign governments, their emphasis on sport as a political tool and as a vehicle of international prestige, Britain has resisted much of the pressure to see organised games as more than recreation, involving the playing of games for the games' sake. Aberrations do occur, but fundamentally the British approach to sport has remained, until quite recently, one of non-interference on the part of the government:

> In Great Britain annual direct aid to sport from the government in 1962 still amounted to no more than 670,000 and that sum was reached only after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced an increase of 200,000 on the original sum budgeted . . . Undoubtedly the parsimonious treatment of sport by the British Government has been largely the result of firmly held beliefs that financial aid would involve government interference and that interaction between politics and sport must stop well short of this point.[2]

This refusal, on the part of Britain, to propagate the drive to victory in sports, to see sport as an officially financed political tool, has been maintained at a price.

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1. Meyer, World Sports, vol.33. No.11, p.27.

2. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.194.

In international sports meetings Britain has been somewhat eclipsed - the hand that fed has been bitten. In tennis, non-British "shamateurs" have shared, for years, the international triumphs. In Olympic Games events, the government-supported Russians and financially-secure Americans have largely divided the field between them. Only in association football (soccer), the professional game, has Britain been able to achieve the world championship.

Within the British Empire and Commonwealth the "playing the game for the game's sake" is, at best, but fitfully observed. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the West Indies have provided instances of the compulsive desire to win.

One of the most controversial episodes in the twentieth century history of rugby union football, was the selection of the 1960 New Zealand team to tour South Africa. The New Zealand selectors declined to include Maori players,in deference to the apartheid policy of the South African government. As a result,

> the decision of the New Zealand Rugby Union to exclude Maori players from selection for the representative All Black rugby team which toured South Africa in 1960 plunged the Dominion into what was perhaps its most vigorous controversy since the prohibition issue at the end of the last century.[1]

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1. Thompson, Race and Sport, p.39.

This instance of the exclusion of players from a team on the grounds of "colour" has led to the question being asked: does sport unite or divide?[1] It is one thing for the famous South African opponent of apartheid, Mr. Alan Paton, to indignantly proclaim that "sportsmanship and the colour bar are incompatible,"[2] but such niceties of outlook are ruthlessly eschewed in the arena of international sport.[3] The New Zealand Rugby Union, in 1960, did not "play the game."

Leonard Constantine, the famous West Indian cricketer and first "coloured" member of the House of Lords, maintains[4] that everybody knows that colour problems enter into the realm of sport. The sham nature of it all is illustrated by the fact that even apartheid South Africa has been known to bend its interpretation of colour-bar strictures in sport for the sake of business

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1. Thompson, Race and Sport, pp.32-39.

2. "To my mind sportsmanship and the colour bar are incompatible. Sport is supposed to teach all those virtues that the colour bar destroys. Sport is supposed to teach people to know and respect one another, and to want to see fair play for all . . . Sport teaches self-respect, but the colour bar is contemptuous of self-respect - an address at the Inaugural Conference of the South African Sports Association," Thompson, Race and Sport, p.82.

3. As early as the Berlin Olympic Games 1936, the negro gold medalist, Owen James, was not recognised by the "Aryan" German head of state, Adolf Hitler.

4. Thompson, op. cit., p.1.

interests.[1]

Sport can also be condemned as divisive on grounds other than colour. In 1967, the New Zealand Rugby team's tour of Britain was not without rancour. What was called "hard, fast and chivalrous" football by the London Times reporter, was bitterly condemned as ungentlemanly within the same newspaper's "letters to the Editor," on the grounds of the New Zealanders' driving determination to win. The British Broadcasting Corporation's rugby football critic, John Morgan, acknowledged this New Zealand partiality to victory, but saw it as not necessarily a bad thing. Claiming that the New Zealanders appeared to relax when playing against England because of the latter team's inadequacy, Morgan mockingly contrasts the British and New Zealand approaches to the game:

> In the past it has been possible to maintain defensively, that the degree of training and enthusiasm necessary to produce a team of New Zealand's strength has also produced a tedious, cautious attitude. Britain may lose but how much much more exciting, gay, individualistic we are. That can't be said this time (because of) New Zealand's brilliant running . . . And it's no good this time complaining either that the All Blacks were dirty. They were not too rough. They were too strong. New Zealand will probably always be too strong. Who in Britain wants to take rugby seriously?[2]

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1. Thompson, Race and Sport. p.1. - rather than displease Japanese business interests, a Japanese swimming team was permitted the use of the Pretoria pool.

2. J.Morgan, "The Greatest," The Listener, vol.78, No.2020 (14 December, 1967), p.798.

In the field of Test Cricket, West Indian spectators recently rioted; an unacceptable happening in the playing of any organised game, but most unacceptable, and unusual, in cricket. The British Broadcasting Corporation cricket commentator lamented the deplorable incidents and their implications:

> It was clear even to a listener in Britain, that, from their field-setting and over-rate, West Indies strove furiously to win that Test and square the rubber. Yet by wider non-cricketing standards it would have been unfitting if they had: Englishmen would have felt aggrieved, and West Indian satisfaction would have been qualified, because there seems little doubt that, but for the riot which stopped play for 75 minutes, England would have won the second Test at Kingston, Jamaica.
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> A similar incident at Georgetown, Guyana, in 1954, was settled relatively amicably, but this time riot police used tear gas on the spectators. A hostile crowd created another disturbance outside the ground after the Georgetown match last week. West Indies cricket administrators must study seriously the problems of their crowds before the better - or better-off - players of other countries decide not to play there, as some, for quite different reasons, do not care to go to India. A greater proportion of a crowd in the West Indies understands the game to a near-professional level of profundity than anywhere else in the world. In appreciation they are extremely perceptive; their applause is worthwhile and their humour often genuinely funny. Perhaps they are too near the play. It would be a sadly simple problem in moral evaluation if the only two alternatives to bottle-throwing were tear gas and the abandonment of representative cricket.[1]

Within the sphere of tennis, at least, Britain has shown her determination to be no longer the "feeding hand that is badly bitten." Having sought to maintain

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1. J.Arlott, "Cowdrey wins," The Listener, vol.79, No.2037 (11 April, 1968), p.485.

the International Lawn Tennis Federation's jealous insistence upon "amateur status," the British Tennis authorities[1] grew tired of the hypocritical wrangle between amateurism and professionalism. For years the so called "amateur" players had received travelling and other expenses, and had been employed by sports firms.[2] The British decided to be open and frank. As a result the first "open" Wimbledon was held on June 24th, 1968. Sir John Smyth hailed the British move as "a breath of fresh air blowing through the lawn tennis world which will do the game a power of good."[3] The reasons for Britain's bold move of an open Wimbledon underscore her traditional "games" philosophy:

> As Wimbledon has always been regarded as the home and centre of lawn tennis, the All-England Club felt it to be their duty to take a lead in bringing the affair to a head on a matter of principle.[4]

The "shamateurism" which an open Wimbledon clearly mitigates has long been practised by Australian and American tennis players especially in the ranks of those who were

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1. The All-England Lawn Tennis Club and the British Lawn Tennis Association.

2. e.g., Slazenger, Spalding, Dunlop, etc.

3. J.Smyth, "Brave New Wimbledon," The Listener, vol.80, No.2049 (4 July, 1968), p.36.

4. ibid.

actual or potential players in the Davis Cup matches. Overall, an American's simple observation seems eminently fair:

> [There is] not in Britain the urgent drive to develop playing of international ability which exists in the United States and Australia.[1]

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1. Middleton, <u>These are the British</u>, p.253.

Chapter Vll. Warts and All! The British sporting portrait.

"Our aim - the will to win!" [1]
Britain's 1968 Olympic Games Philosophy.

The early attacks[2] of Sidney Smith, Sir James Stephen, and Matthew Arnold, upon the cult of athleticism, were but the forerunners of a long sustained struggle against the less promising aspects of the playing of organised games in Britain. This twentieth century has witnessed the growing influence of finance and politics upon British sport.

In December, 1925, the following advertisement appeared in the London Times:

> Boy Cricketers, or few others keen games accepted first-class school reduced fees; ages 12 - 16 - write Box R.655, The Times, E.C.4.[3]

Whilst the motives behind such an advertisement may be condemned or praised, on several grounds, there is an unmistakable implication of patent professionalism. Six years later, because of financial encroachments upon

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1. K.S.Duncan, World Sports, vol.33, No.5 (May, 1967),p.15. Mr. Duncan was responsible for the administration of Britain's team in the 1968 Olympic Games.

2. As early as 1810, the cult of athleticism was under attack in the Edinburgh Review.

3. Savage, Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of Teaching, Bulletin No.18, p.45.

sport, the Saturday Review, in a leading article, posed the question: Is King Willow dethroned?":

> England now boasts openly that she is not what she was, and cricket shares her eclipse . . . cricket was more than a national game. It was the epitome of the nation's ethics.[1]

The author of this revealing article offered an arresting reason[2] for this decline of cricket in England. He claimed that due to the length of the matches (two or three days) and the uncertainity of the weather, the game of cricket was not attractive to wagers. Thus, the inability of cricket to lend itself to gambling affected the popularity of that game. The game of football, however, short in duration and played in all weathers, wet or fine, was very popular as a result of gambling associated with the outcome of the matches, the players responsible for scoring, and other matters dependent on chance or skill. In the sixties of this century, with the phenomenal growth of the football pools in Britain, the process of gambling discerned by the Saturday Review writer as necessary for success, has come full circle.

England's cricket image was further tarnished, and on this occasion justifiably so, by her introduction of bodyline bowling in several of the matches played against Australia during the nineteen-thirties. Bodyline

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1. "Is King Willow dethroned?" Saturday Review, vol.151, (30 May, 1931), p.781.

2. ibid., p.782.

bowling, as the name implies, was a bowling of the ball so as to cause it to rise suddenly towards the body of the batsman, forcing the latter to bat defensively, even unnaturally. This ungentlemanly method of bowling was introduced by the English bowler, Harold Larwood, with the approval of his team captain, Douglas Jardine, as a means of checking the prolific scoring rate of the Australian batsman, Donald Bradman. Happily this method of bowling has since disappeared from the game, but England on this occasion clearly showed that she was quite capable of playing to win at all costs, paying little attention to any "playing the game for the game's sake."

Nor has British sport been free of politics. As early as 1927 the British government intervened in an international sporting event, thereby setting the very precedent which she has professedly eschewed:

> In 1927 the Air Ministry entered an official team for the Schneider Trophy Air Race. It did so again in 1929 and 1931. The race was at this time an international sporting contest, nothing more, and the intervention of the British government in a sporting event preceded similar intervention by any other government of whatever political complexion.[1]

The public schools, too, reveal some evidence of decline from earlier traditions. The research sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has interpreted,[2] as traditional cant, "muscular Christianity's"

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1. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.195.

2. Savage, Games and Sports, p.44.

bequest of a relation between moral goodness and prowess at games, declaring the maxim that "games teach courage" to be a psychological fallacy disproved by the 1914-18 War. In that part of the study related to sport in English public schools, it is argued:

> that the reason for the emphasis upon games . . . is tradition, fostered by the masters who . . . gradually diminish the recreative element in games for the sake of efficiency, organisation, victory, self-pride.[1]

This same research study, in a chapter[2] devoted to the older English universities of Oxford and Cambridge, concludes that because a "blue" is some assurance that a young graduate can handle men, the "blue" is of value in the subsequent securing of managerial or executive employment.[3] The 1892 dictum of a former Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University is quoted in summary of this 1927 Carnegie Foundation study and finding:

> There is no doubt that the fame of a great football team like Vassall's, of a cricketer like Rashleigh, of a runner like Pollock-Hill, or of a jumper like Fry, extends far more widely than the fame of any other Oxford men. It is no doubt irrational that it should be so; but Oxford is nothing if it is not a reflection of English life . . . it is not unnatural that an Oxford man should pride himself on the fact that his University's "blue" is a certificate of merit, which is recognised all over the English-speaking world.[4]

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1. Savage, Games and Sports, p.44.

2. ibid, p.44.

3. ibid, p.129. Three callings - civil service, business, and teaching - are examined as illustrations of the "blue" and employment, pp.129-131.

4. ibid, p.121.

However, the evidence offered thus far is, at the most, but a gentle marring of the traditional British sporting portrait. In the case of soccer, the blemish is more pronounced. Soccer, association football, is probably the most popular and universal of all Britain's gifts of organised games to the world, yet in the playing of this game, the English representative players presently suffer the world-wide reputation of being a "dirty" team.[1] Even English refereeing has been condemned. The famous Brazilian player, Pele, recalling his 1966 World Cup injuries sustained on English soccer fields, insisted that the next World Cup would have to be played without him. Although Pele did not play against the English team, he attributed his injuries, in part, to the poor standard of English refereeing, as well as to the increasing violence in international competition. The president of the Brazilian Sports Federation has reported that "Pele will never again be exposed to the massacre he received in England,"[2] and the Brazilian soccer team's manager showed his understanding of the team's 1966 World Cup experiences by declaring: "In Mexico in 1970. there will be no small boys in my team."[3]

Reporting a recent match between England and Germany, Hans Keller (British Broadcasting Corporation's

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1. H.Keller, "Ramsey's Future," The Listener, vol.79, No.2046 (13 June 19680, p.786.

2. Keller, "Chances? Chance?," The Listener, vol.79, No.2043 (May 23, 19680, p.682.

3. ibid.

football critic) remarked:

> England's display in their defeat . . . bristled with pseudo-masculine modesty: we out-fouled the Germans with ease.[1]

One week later, the same sports writer could maintain:

> And now, our performance last week, as ten fit men from Yugoslavia put an end to Ramsey's championship dreams, was a disgrace. We out-fouled this talented side even more generously than we'd out-fouled the Germans a few days before: Osim, the master distributor was hacked out of the game within minutes . . . whatever happens, don't let's retain the world reputation, however exaggerated, of a dirty side.[2]

What a far cry is contemporary English soccer from the nineteenth century view[3] that a referee was unnecessary in soccer matches because the code of conduct was generally understood and accepted by Englishmen. Such is the concern over the present state of soccer in Britain that a Birmingham research group has prepared a Preliminary Report on Soccer Hooliganism for the Minister of Mental Health.[4] Hooliganism in British sport, and of such serious proportion as to warrant the attention of the government!

The recent attempts to create a Ministry of Sport has been interpreted by some as a British betrayal of the

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1. H.Keller, "Sport - Grandpa's Babes," The Listener, vol.79, No.2045 (June 6, 1968), p.753.

2. Keller, The Listener. vol.79, p.786.

3. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.77.

4. Keller, "Violence," The Listener, vol.79, No.2031 (Feb. 29, 1968), p.285.

very spirit of her organised games. An exchange, during the 1961 sitting of the House of Commons, revealed the nature of the dilemma:

> Mr. Hector Hughes asked the Prime Minister if he he will now appoint a Minister of Sport; and if he will make a statement.
> The Prime Minister: No Sir, But the Government are considering as effective but less spectacular ways and means of helping sport.
> Mr. Hughes: In view of welcome novelties such as Russian horses in the Grand National, does not the Prime Minister agree that every effort should be made to keep up Britain's score in sport, as in politics and economics, as other nations are doing?
> The Prime Minister: Yes.[1]

During the debate[2] upon the recommendations of the Wolfenden Committee, as they related to sport, the British Parliament took note of the prestige element in international sport, and approved a resolution whereby British sport would officially receive Government support.

The House resolved:

> That this House takes note of the recommendations of the Wolfenden Committee on Sport and the community, and urges Her Majesty's Government to give effect to those proposals which require Government aid for support; and in particular, recommends that the provision of adequate playing fields, sports arenas, swimming pools and similar facilities should be undertaken by local authorities of all kinds and voluntary organisations working in partnership; together and with the Government, to expand opportunities for healthy physical recreation, both indoors and outdoors.[3]

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1. Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), 5th. series, vol.637, House of Commons, 1960-61, March 20 - March 30, 1961, (London), pp.578-9.

2. ibid, vol.639, pp.828-863.

3. ibid, vol.639, p.863.

As early as 1936[1] the British Government sought to improve the health of the people through some form of aid to local authorities in the providing of playing fields and other facilities for sport and recreation. However, in the debates upon the proposals, during the thirties, international sport did not seem to be a chief consideration. On the contrary, the chief consideration appeared to be that "of turning C3 people into A1 people."[2] The then current newspaper campaign for the appointment of a Minister of Sport was strenuously resisted on the grounds that sport would thereby be too closely connected with the government of the day. Even in November 1967 the Government could still claim[3] that it was not directly concerned with the organisation or promotion of sport, although it had assumed responsibility for providing encouragement, guidance and help. This somewhat delicate relationship was controlled by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Education and Science, who was the Minister with special responsibility for sport. However, even this ministerial responsibility for sport shows that the

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1. Parliamentary Debates, vol.317, Debate on the Address.
2. ibid., p.177.
3. Reference Division, Central Office of Information, London, Sport in Britain (Bournemouth, 1968), p.1.

playing of organised games, is also the business of the nation.

Undoubtedly the chief factor effecting this change in the thinking of parliament was, of course, the rapid rise of the importance of sport, especially in the sphere of international competition. Even in 1961 those members of parliament who lamented the primacy of the prestige element in international sporting competitions acknowledged that,

> whether one likes it or not, Olympic Games gold medals become international status symbols very often acquired after years of dedicated effort by the successful competitor, but unfortunately, after years of dedicated effort in circumstances which differ very much between countries.[1]

Some members of parliament were, however, prepared to welcome large scale intervention[2] in sport by the government. The member for Greenwich argued:

> The Wolfenden Report contains a reference to national prestige . . . we are in danger of underestimating the effect on international prestige of perpetual defeats in some fields and of growing victories by other nations. One does not want to turn sport into a political issue, but we must face the fact that to some extent sport has become internationally an instrument of political propaganda. The nation has a job to do to ensure that, at least in the eyes of the world, it is able to compete on equal terms with sports teams from other countries.[3]

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1. Parliamentary Debates, vol.639, p.830.
2. Ibid, pp.843-845.
3. Ibid, p.843.

The British parliament has obviously succumbed to the prestige philosophy.

Whilst these aberrations in the British pattern of "playing the game for the game's sake," do somewhat mar the national sporting portrait, they are but "warts." The substantive portrait remains attractive, gallant, almost debonair.

Although Britain did introduce body-line bowling into test cricket during the nineteen-thirties, it was the subsequent dismal fate of that "unfair" style of bowling that revealed the true, enduring "fair play" calibre of the British sportsman:

> England won the series 4 - 1 1932-33 in Australia , but for once the Ashes tasted like ashes. The team had backed Jardine loyally throughout, though by no means all its members had favoured his policy. . . . Hammond and Allen dislike it . . . and Plum Warner, the manager, later declared against it. . . . Two great cricketers Jardine and Larwood, the two responsible for bodyline bowling at the height of their careers were . . . lost to Test cricket.[1]

A further index of cricket's ability to overcome such a temporary display of bad-sportsmanship[2] was the warm way in which Larwood was greeted in Australia upon his emigrating to that country some twenty years after his stormy touring season. Indeed, so indelibly imprinted is the spectre of this body-line bowling aberration,

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1. Ronald Mason, Sing All a Green Willow (London,1967),p.74.

2. ibid. Larwood was greeted "not as a murderer, but as a friend and honoured opponent.#

that when in January 1969, an Australian bowler tentatively employed a bodyline style of bowling against a touring West Indies' team, the umpire's stern warning was "headlined" in Sydney's leading newspaper.[1]

Even the current use of violence in British soccer is so lamented as to make suspect any allegations that force will prove a lasting characteristic of this most universally played of all organised games. Amongst the many recent books on soccer, one eminent British sportswriter, seeking to explain why soccer has somewhat failed to take popular hold in the United States of America, acknowledges the use of force, but puts it in perspective:

> It has something to do with the American concept of masculinity, the attitude of violence. "Hitting" people, as Mr. George Wilson, a former coach of the Detroit Lions, once admitted to Mr. George Plimpton, is what the game of American football is about. By contrast, although force plays a large part in soccer, it is not what the game is about.[2]

Whilst Sir Neville Cardus' ecstatic, poetic descriptions of cricket are now part of cricket lore, soccer, too, has its exponents of the grace and beauty of the football game. The dance and drama critic of the New York Times has described the veteran English soccer player,

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1. Phil Wilkins, "Umpire warns Freeman, Bumpers worry Indies batsman," The Sydney Morning Herald, January 4, 1969, p.1.

2. Brian Glanville, Soccer, A History of the Game, Its Players and its Strategy (New York, 1968), cited in The New York Times Book Review, January 26, 1969, p.22.

Sir Stanley Matthews, as:

> a soccer virtuoso . . . a supreme performing artist, elegant and magisterial.[1]

And a current English soccer star George Best, can evoke an erstwhile opponent to write:

> When George Best plays soccer than it's no longer just a sport . . . its ballet, pop culture, and emotion all wrapped up together. All wrapped up in one tiny, rag-doll figure, hair flopping, weaving and twisting across the green grass.[2]

This positive, appreciative, interpretation of soccer's aesthetic values is a timely antidote to any harmful emphasis upon force.

It has been well argued,[3] that Britain's attack on "shamateurism," her bold and gallant gesture of an "open Wimbledon," gave a lead, not just to the tennis world, but to all sports. Similarly, her leadership in condemning as undesirable aberrations, examples of poor sportsmanship in cricket, football, tennis and other organised games underscores her continuing allegiance to the principle of "fair play."

How satisfying it would be to leave, on this happy note of "fair play," Britain's role in contemporary

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1. Clive Barnes, "When nations all but come to war," New York Times Book Review, January 26, 1969, p. 22.

2. Michael Wale, "Footballers good, better . . . and Best," The Sydney Morning Herald, September 28, 1968, p.19.

3. David Miller, "The Youngest Profession," New Statesman, December 22, 1967, p.884.

sport. Unfortunately, there is something of a nostalgic, if gallant, sadness about it all. Perhaps as good an index as any of Britain's status in the sphere of international competition, was signified by Sir Harold Nicolson in the course of his 1937 Rede Lecture.[1] Maintaining that, because of the emphasis placed on character and conduct, British prestige was power based upon reputation[2] rather than reputation based upon power,[3] Nicolson posed and answered three questions. His third and final question was:

> Is it possible to-day for power based upon reputation to maintain itself against reputation based on power?[4]

To this question Nicolsom simply answered:[5]

> It is not possible.

The sphere of international sport would appear, at first sight, to corroborate Nicolson's dictum. However, despite such apparent despondency, one great and glorious hope remains; it is the unique relationship between the British Empire and the Olympic ideal. That relationship is generally acknowledged to be the British sense of "fair play."

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1. H. Nicolson, The Meaning of Prestige, (Cambridge, 1937).

2. a reputation for justice, (i.e. fair play), a dislike of bullying.

3. For example, French reputation based upon military capacity and cultural achievements (p.16) and German prestige based upon questions of status (p.19¾.

4. ibid, p.9.

5. ibid.

Chapter VIII. Conclusion.

"all I want is fair play!"[1]
Chairman, Wisconsin Delegation, National Democratic Convention, 1968.

Ensor's claim, like Caesar's Gaul, is divided into three parts. Having discerned that the development of organised games was a distinctive characteristic of England in the period 1870-1886, it is then asserted that those organised games rank among England's leading contributions to world culture. Finally, Ensor concludes that this gift of organised games to world culture is far more recent than is often realised.

In the evidence already presented, two matters compel recognition;firstly, that the playing of organised games did constitute a major characteristic of English social life during the period 1870-1886, and secondly that English organised games have spread throughout the world. The first part, then, of Ensor's claim commands a ready endorsement, and tentative assent should be given his second premise as to organised games ranking among England's leading contributions to world culture. Tentative assent because, whereas the spread of British organised games has been verified, the matter of their world-wide cultural significance has been but glimpsed.

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1. C.B.S. Telecast of the 1968 National Democratic Convention, Chicago, August 28th, 1968.

There remain then, two questions to be answered: has this development of organised games been one of Britain's leading contributions to world culture? and, has this British contribution been more recent than is often realised?

Professor Huizinga, the distinguished Dutch historian and philosopher, is under no illusion as to the cultural value of sport and the nature of Britain's contribution:

> Without competition there can be no culture. That our time has found in sport and sporting events a new, international form of gratifying the ancient agnostic impulse is perhaps one of the factors which may contribute most towards the preservation of our culture. Modern sport is in no small measure a gift to the world from England, a gift of which this world has learned to make better use than is the case with the other things that England gave, such as parliamentary government and trial by jury. The new cult of physical strength, of skill and courage, for both sexes, is in itself a positive cultural factor of the greatest value. Sport gives vitality, zest for life, balance and harmony, all of inestimable worth for culture.[1]

Despite such an impressive statement as to the cultural value of sport in general, and the British gift of organised games in particular, many sports authorities[2] appear unduly sensitive when any consideration of the

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1. Huizinga, Shadow of Tomorrow, p.174.

2. P.C.McIntosh, Sport in Society, pp.95-115.
   ———— "Means and Ends in a State of Leisure," Quest, Monograph IV (Spring Issue, April 1965), pp.33036.
   E.Jokl, "Sport as Leisure," Quest, ibid., pp.37047.
   G.M.Lewis, "The Cultural Approach to Writing Sports History," Proceedings of 68th Annual Meeting of National College of Physical Education Association for Men, January, 1965, pp.46-50.

cultural role of sport is raised. It is argued[1] that this uneasiness or uncertainity, in regard to sport's contribution to culture, may be traced to the influence of the "barbaric athlete" school of criticism as popularised by Matthew Arnold. T.S.Eliot provides a contemporary example of this reticence by his disregard of sport in seeking a definition of culture.[2]

Precisely at this juncture, the popular young Russian poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, comes to the rescue. Himself a soccer player of no mean ability, Yevtushenko, in a spirited defence[3] of the cultural role of sport, maintains:

> A comparison of art with sport will seem somewhat crude to literary snobs, but, after all, art, like sport, is a combat, and above all, a combat with oneself.[4]

In a brief review of sport in 1967, a prominent sports-writer of the New York Times, underscored Yevtushenko's observation:

> The faces of sport are victory and defeat . . . Once in a great while, the face of victory is impassive and the joy is deep in the eyes. Twice, Jim Ryan broke world records and, as Cervantes

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1. McIntosh, Sport in Society, pp.96-97.

2. T.S.Eliot, Notes Towards the Definition of Culture, (London, 1948), p.31.

3. Y.Yevtushenko, "A Poet against the Destroyers," Sports Illustrated, vol.25, No.25 (Dec.19, 1966), pp.104-123.

4. ibid, p.114.

> wrote, ". . . got the better of himself, and that's the best kind of victory one can wish for."[1]

Perhaps the most satisfactory stratagem for an analysis of sport as a contributory factor to culture, and at the same time a means of illustrating the recent nature of the contribution, is to examine, briefly, the present role of international sport.

The various international sporting fixtures constitute one of the fastest growing and most important social phenomena of the twentieth century. This is especially true of the years since the termination of the 1939-45 war. Prior to that war the British Commonwealth Games, and the Olympic Games, were the two major areas of international competition, but the past twenty years have seen the emergence of the Asian Games,[2] the African Games,[3] and the Games of the New Emerging Forces.[4]

At the 1964 Olympic Games, held in Tokyo, ninety-eight nations were represented, making the Olympic organisation the most representative international body with the exception of the United Nations Organisation.

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1. Robert Lipsyte, New York Times, Section 5, December 24, 1967, p.3.

2. The Fifth Asian Games were held in Bangkok, Thailand, December, 1966. Seventeen nations participated.

3. The first African Games were held at Brazzaville, Congo, 1965. Twenty-nine nations participated.

4. The Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) were held in Cambodia, November, 1966.

When it is remembered that prior to 1890 there was little international sport of any consequence, we should, in review, remind ourselves of those factors contributing to the revival of the ancient concept of the Olympic Games:

> The most important man in the re-creation of the Olympic Games, Pierre de Coubertin, viewed himself as an educator whose life purpose was to accelerate and elevate physical education and athletics, first in his native France and eventually throughout the world. His lifelong devotion to the Hellenic trinity of body, mind and spirit, coupled with a compelling faith in the character-building qualities of English sports education in Dr. Thomas Arnold's Rugby School, formed the rationale for his dream of universal amateur athletics. The guiding principle of the Olympic movement, called Olympian, was viewed by its creator as a pervasive religion, a cult of beauty and an instrument for world peace.[1]

Looking then to British sport as a modern interpretation of the ancient Olympic ideals, and also looking chiefly to Britain for its organisational structure, the modern Olympic Games were first held at Athens, Greece, in 1896, with fourteen nations participating. At the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games ninety-eight nations participated and afforded an extraordinarily striking demonstration of the vast and continually expanding role of sport in the modern world.[3] Also meeting in Tokyo, at the conclusion of the

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1. Lucas, "Historical Research and the Formative Years of the Modern Olympic Movement," Proceedings, N.C.P.E.A.M. January, 1965,

2. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.92.

3. R.Maheu, (Director-General of UNESCO) "Draft of a Declaration on Sport," Gymnasion, vol.11, (issue 4, 1965), p.19.

Games, was the General Assembly of the International Council of Sport and Physical Education. This General Assembly, in recognition of the cultural role of sport and especially the value of the concept of "fair play," produced a draft of a "Declaration on Sport." Of this document the Director-General of Unesco said:

> A world-wide social phenomenon, whose roots ramify deeply into the young and adult lives of men and women - exercise and spectacle, asceticism and recreation, occupation and education, hygiene and culture - sport is no longer the whim of individual escapism. Henceforth it is closely linked - sometimes cause, sometimes effect or mere symptom, but always noteworthy - with the great problems upon whose solution the future of our civilisation depends: the rejuvenation of populations, urbanisation, community organisation in rapidly developing societies, the building up of structures in States that have suddenly become independent, the use of leisure provided by the mechanisation of work or by under-employment . . . in all countries, the trade unions, political parties and even the churches are taking an increasingly active interest in sport - to serve it, naturally, but also to use for their own purposes.[1]

The Director-General's message suggests four areas of enquiry as a means of studying the contribution of organised games to culture. The rejuvenation of populations, the urbanisation and community organisation, the social structure of newly emerging nations, and the use of leisure, will serve as indices of acculturation. To those four indices, a fifth is now added, namely, sportsmanship as a substitute for religion, or more accurately, as a substitute for the dynamic of religious activism.

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1. Maheu, Gymnasion, vol.11, (issue 4, 1965), p.19.

The process of rejuvenating a nation by means of a large scale playing of sport has received such universal approbation as to be almost axiomatic. President John Kennedy made such an appeal to youth an integral part of his "New Frontier" politics, as has the People's Republic of China in its drive to build up the country and make its people strong. This aetiological relationship between sport and national rejuvenation had been enthusiastically presented to the British House of Commons, in 1936, by the then President of the Amateur Athletic Association, Lord Burghley:

> . . . let us awaken among the youth of the country a spirit which I believe is only dormant, a spirit of pride in the development of a fine, clean, healthy body and a sense of the responsibilities of citizenship. I feel strongly that it is the young people themselves who must kindle the spark which will set alight a great fire of enthusiasm for higher physical development . . . the crusade . .. will spread like wildfire throughout the country and will result in a better, a more manly, and above all, a happier people.[1]

As Yevgeny Yevtushenko reminds us however, the process of rejuvenation may have its dangers:

> The well known formula, "in a healthy body a healthy mind," is a highly dubious one if applied universally. In the normal, a healthy mind is, above all, a kind one. But Hitler, for example, spared no expense on the physical education of young people, with aims quite other than the development of kindness in them . . . Cruelty was reckoned as the sign of a healthy

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1. Parliamentary Debates, 5th. series, vol.317, pp.179-180.

> mind, and kindness as a sign of spiritual weakness. "Healthy cruelty in a healthy body" was the way the formula was written for those young wolves.[1]

Lord Burghley is at pains, of course, to point out that it is not just exercise that is necessary to the process of rejuvenation but a sense of the responsibilities of citizenship. It is this vital element of responsibility which organised games supply. As an instrument of education, sportsmanship on the playing fields is seen as a prologue to subsequent desirable civic behaviour:

> an analysis of a nation at play reveals the stuff of its social fabric and value system, and tells us much about other facets of political and economic life, particularly, in modern industrial society.[2]

"Fair play" is the essence of British sportsmanship and some of this idealism has passed into people's language and become a part of a way of life. Accordingly, when at the 1968 Chicago Convention meeting of the American National Democratic Party[3] a speaker appealed for "fair play" from the convention chairman, he was illustrating the impact of the British games morality outside the sphere of the tennis court and the playing field.

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1. Yevtushenko, Sports Illustrated, vol.25, p.106.

2. Wills, Gymnasion, vol.IV, p.26.

3. Columbia Broadcasting System television coverage of the American Democratic Party Presidential Nominating Convention, August 28, 1968.

As indices of the pervasive role of sport in social organisation, it is pointed out[1] that the first man to run a mile within four minutes was subsequently called upon to broadcast as the spokesman for his generation; that distinguished British cricketers and footballers receive knighthoods; and that sport is now being used as an ideological weapon of the first magnitude:

> Today sport is a social institution permeating education, economics, art, politics, law, mass communications, big business and international diplomacy and relations.[2]

In an age of increasing urbanisation, with its concomitants of dehumanisation and loss of freedom, sport plays an important part in man's struggle to be free, in the struggle against alienation. To this end, the provision of sports facilities, especially the multi-sports centres for cities of large population, is being zealously pursued.[3] Because sport is a great "leveller," the process of alienation can be fought by means of membership in a team. Loyalties[4] result from team

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1. C.M.White, "Towards a Sociology of Physical Education and Sport, some Theoretical Considerations," Gymnasion, vol.IV,(issue 3/4, 1967), pp.13-16.

2. ibid, p.13.

3. viz. debate on Wolfenden Committee Report on Sport, Parliamentary Debates, vol.639,1960-61, pp.828-863; Britannica Book of the Year, 1967, p.609; Britannica Book of the Year, 1968, pp.16-38.

4. "The adolescent development of team loyalties among men is a lasting affair and may have positive consequences for their continued conception of self": White, op.cit. p.15.

participation, and the social togetherness[1] after a competition can have a reinforcing effect on this loyalty relationship.

One of the few studies in the field of man's freedom being helped by sport is Professor H.S. Slusher's existential analysis[2] of sport. An athlete and professor of philosophy, Slusher sees sport as representing a specific and externalised value system:

> I like to think of the sportsman as one who maintains the absorbing values of the culture within his organism and emerges with a totality of being that both reflects and reveals life[3] . . . sport is more than play. It includes devotion, care, respect, concern and responsiveness toward the desired outcomes . . . Sport is woven into man's existence . . . Therefore the concept of sport as recreation is no more than artificially assinging function to existence, when indeed such function is not innate . . . It is as if to say, man first works and then he plays. NO! Man is his being! All his spheres have meaning in their own domain, but all are also integrally connected in something we call life.[4]

Sport is also interpreted as a prime contender against the dehumanisation of man:

> Man's world, although filled with "doing," is often a bit less than he would wish it to be. Sport affords man the opportunity to go beyond the

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1. "It is no coincidence that the members of two teams, after a hard game, get together for a cheerful evening. The last thing they want to do is to go out and cosh somebody": - Captain W.Elliot, M.P. Parliamentary Debates vol.639, p.847.

2. H.S.Slusher, MAN, Sport and Existence (Philadelphia, 1967).

3. ibid, p.3.

4. ibid, p.6.

> everyday. In any sport event, there is always the real chance to become. In a way, life is restored to man. The individual is important and even error brings its reward. Simply, a man is important.[1]

Sport is hailed, then, a means of freedom! To the 1964 General Assembly of the International Council of Sport and Physical Education this freedom was essentially physical:

> It sport gives man an opportunity to know, to express, to surpass himself. It enables him to discipline his action and increase his efficiency. It frees him of certain physical limitations and, in doing so, reveals to him a freedom - "physical freedom" - otherwise seldom to be experienced.[2]

For Slusher, however, freedom in sport is more than physical, i.e., freedom is used in sport, it is not a goal in itself:

> Sport, to be sport, must afford man free will and in so doing not only allows, but encourages, freedom of choice . . . Freedom in sport is a necessity, not because of the ability to achieve desired ends, in terms of victory and defeat, but because of the for-itself autonomy. Man, and his sport, cannot be what he is unless man is free to choose the alternatives. In this choice, man's freedom, through self-revelation, opens and does not negate the freedom of others. It is interesting to note that sport generally does not free man by itself. Rather, man is left alone. The guide lines are present, the rules are established, but he is there in the vaccum of his existence to inquire and discover his own truth.[3]

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1. Slusher, Man, Sport and Existence, p.17.

2. "Draft of a Declaration on Sport," Gymnasion, vol.11. (issue 4, 1965), p.21.

3. Slusher, op.cit., p.187.

Thomas Arnold's concept of sport as "a passion for freedom" is corroborated in Slusher's existential analysis.

The fourth category, in interpreting sport as a factor in culture, is that of the role played by sport in the structure of newly independent, or emerging, nations. Not only with Hitler, Lenin, and Chairman Mao, has sport been utilised as a means of reinforcing and strengthening new structures within nations. In an address[1] to the closing session of the eighth International Congress of the International Council on Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, the President of the International Olympic Committee, Avery Brundage, described his impressions of the First African Games held in Brazzaville, Congo. As a result of his experience he was persuaded that physical education had a special place in the development of Africa. Certainly, as recent issues of Sports Illustrated show, sport is being fostered in the newly independent nations of Africa.

From Lagos, Nigeria, has come a report[2] of how sport is being used in a most critical phase of the building up of social structures. The report concerns the mid-Western state of Nigeria once known as the Ibo republic of Benin. In October 1967, the Nigerians re-occupied the

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1. Gymnasion, vol.11, issue 4, 1965, p.18.

2. P.Stewart, "Braggonia," The Listener, vol.80, No.2050, (11 July 1968), pp.37-38.

area and executed a bitter revenge upon the Ibos. Realising that, if the new Nigeria is to succeed, the scattered Ibos must be reintroduced into the multi-tribal society, the Nigerian military governor is using a reconstruction policy called "Braggonia."

> He learned it at an American military course for subduing civil insurrection at Fort Bragg in North Carolina. "The winning hand," he was taught, "is security, self-help and sport" . . . To this end, the area once known as Benin is witnessing the building of swimming pools. Team games are sweeping the state schools and teachers colleges.
> "To win at Braggonia," says the Governor, "the people must be worked hard, interested in sport and social development, and encouraged to earn and spend money." "Then," he says, "they get so interested in life the killing stops.[1]

Amongst the most ardent exponents of the cultural role of sport as leisure, are R.Maheu, E.Jokl and P.C. McIntosh. For McIntosh the use of leisure should lead to,

> the involvement of men and women through prowess and exertion in sport and dance and play.[2]

For Jokl the popularity of sport as leisure is of recent occurrence, and because of this he contends that the cultural significance of sport has not had the long-standing universality of recognition accorded to the arts. Yet,

> One of the great cultural attributes of sport is that it creates beauty. The esthetic value of

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1. Stewart, "Brazzonia," The Listener, vol.80, No.2050, pp.37-38.

2. P.C.McIntosh, Quest, Monograph 1V, (Spril,1965),p.36.

> human movements engendered in sport is synonymous with that which emanates from art at its best[1] . . . Sport renders accessible to us mobilisation of elements of which other cultural manifestations do not partake. Sport as leisure enables man to discover and develop cultural sources which are within himself.[2]

Maheu sees sport as having an important role in the formation and full development of the human personality. He further maintains that,

> the roots of sport and culture are identical in that both spring from leisure, from the availability of spare time and unspent energy.[3]

It would appear, then, that sport has a two-fold contribution to make to culture, namely, aesthetic values, and a particular relationship between the physical happenings of our bodies and their repercusions in our minds. Yevtushenko, artist and sportsman, testifies to this relationship of mind and body:

> Only a harmony of the two elements (physical and mental) leads to kindness, and kindness is the fullest expression of one's humanity.[4]

The relationship of sport to kindness and humanity inevitably invites religious considerations, for sport has a religious dimension. It is argued[5]

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1. E.Jokl, Quest, Monograph lV,(Spring,April,1965), p.43.
2. ibid, p.47.
3. ibid, p.39.
4. Yevtushenko, Sports Illustrated, vol.25,no.25, p.107.
5. Editorial, Journal of Health and Physical Education, vol.19, No.9 (November, 1948), p.596.

that as brotherhood is too exacting an ideal, and the doctrine of love too hard a doctrine by which to live, the next best thing is the rule of sportsmanship. Sport has indeed been called a cult,[1] a creator of myths and imagery,[2] and various organised games possess their particular rituals e.g., the tossing of a coin before the commencement of a cricket match, the "All Blacks" (New Zealand Rugby Team) haaka, the playing of national anthems. When Roger Bannister confessed[3] that running gave him the greatest freedom a man could ever know, he spoke of something beyond himself, a mystical experience. He described it as the simultaneous liberation of both body and mind:

> The spirit of man, in sport and religion, is an exercise of personal venture into the scientifically unknown. The arenas and coliseums are little more than shrines for spiritual activity. They allow man to escape the boredom of everyday life and reach out to be a larger existence.[4]

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1. Slusher, Man, Sport and Existence, p.3.

2. Jokl, Quest, Monograph lV,(Spring,April,1965),p.44.

3. Roger Bannister, First Four Minutes, (New York,1955) p.265.

4. Slusher, op.cit., p.127. Professor Slusher quotes the philosopher Karl Jaspers in support of his [Slusher's] contention: "through bodily activities subjected to the control of the will, energy and courage are sustained, and the individual seeking contact with nature draws nearer to the elemental forces of the universe."
K.Jaspers, Man in the Modern Age, Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1957, p.68.

It is, of course, within the context of morality that sport most readily reveals its religious character.[1] Thirty years before Altizer, Hamilton[2] and van Buren burst upon the religious stage with their cry: "God is dead!," Huizinga had argued[3] that morality had lost its bases of conviction. In support of his argument, he pointed to the fact that, for many people, Christianity had lost its absolute and binding validity, i.e., people had lost their awareness of a transcendent and absolute God. As a compensatory morality man sought to behave decently. This desirable, decent behaviour was directly related, of course, to the participant's system of values. Sportsmanship provided such a system of values.

For Huizinga, however, decent behaviour, i.e., sportsmanship, could be spoiled by puerilism,[4] i.e., by being a bad loser. Passions could impede the observance of "fair play," and athletic rivalry could assume proportions tending to push intellectual interests into the background. Puerilism would lead to degeneracy, in

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1. J.J.Altizer and W.Hamilton, Radical Theology and the Death of God, (New York, 1966).

2. P.M.Van Buren, "The Dissolution of the Absolute," Religion in Life, vol.XXXIV (No.3, 1965), pp.334-342.

3. Huizinga, Shadow of Tomorrow, p. 170

4. ibid. pp.170-182, especially pp.174-175.

pitiable contrast to those graces which sport can bestow:

> vitality, zest for life, balance and harmony, all of inestimable worth for culture.[1]

Huizinga's sportsmanship and puerilism analysis offers a striking analogy to Paul Tillich's treatment of the glory and shame of religion.

In any consideration of the religious nature of sport, it is significant to recall that the initial Olympic Games of ancient times were part of a religious festival in honour of the god Zeus. Contemporary religion, too, through its endorsation, and sponsorship, of sporting persons and sporting events, has shown its recognition of the role of organised games in the life and work of institutionalised religion. Indeed, the statement popularly attributed to de Coubertin, namely, "the important thing in the Olympic Games is not so much winning as taking part in them" was not of de Coubertin's invention, but was made popular by a bishop.[2] How beningly Charles Kingsley would have regarded that episcopal protagonist of "muscular Christianity." As Kingsley had preached in his day, the characteristics

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1. Huizinga, Shadow of Tomorrow, p.174.

2. An American bishop preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on the occasion of the holding of the 1908 Olympic Games. McIntosh, Sport in Society, p.91.

of a good man would yet constitute what Huizinga called the morality of decent behaviour:

> For the moral discipline which goes to make a successful competitor on this ground - the self restraint, the obedience, the diligence, the punctuality, the patience, the courtesy, the forbearance, the justice, the temperance - all these go equally toward the making of a good man. [1]

It is, then, with no idle pretension, that cricket can be described as the epitome of a nation's ethics,[2] or Rugby football as the game that became a religion.[3]

Ensor has claimed much in regard to England's development of organised games in the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century. However, his claims have been, not only supported, but amplified, by historians, sociologists, educators, sportsmen and sports-writers from around the world. Even those who have lamented the popularity of the cult of organised games implicitly acknowledge the potency of the cult as a cultural phenomenon. Accordingly, this world wide acceptance of the role of organised games clearly indicates the prominence of this British gift to world culture. The further fact, that for most countries of the world the playing of Britain's organised games has been a twentieth century phenomenon, and for the nations of Africa and Asia very

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1. Kingsley, Discipline and Other Sermons, pp.7-8.
2. Leading Article, Saturday Review, 30 May 1931, p.781.
3. Thurston, World Sports, vol.33 No.11 (November 1967), pp.14-19.

much an innovation of the second half of this century, confirms and continues the accuracy of Ensor's observation that Britain's contribution of organised games to world culture has been more recent than is often realised. An European tribute succinctly testifies to the catholicity, the modern nature, and the culture content, of this British gift:

> Modern sport is in no small measure a gift to the world from England, a gift of which this world has learned to make better use than is the case with other things that England gave, such as parliamentary government and trial by jury. The new cult of physical strength, of skill and courage, for both sexes, is in itself a positive cultural factor of the greatest value. Sport gives vitality, zest for life, balance and harmony, all of inestimable worth for culture.[1]

Despite the substantial confirmation of the role of sport in this twentieth century, it is argued, in some quarters, that "fair play" is now but a cry in the wilderness, an echo from a vanquished imperial past. Some of that argument has been presented in this thesis. Moreover, it is demonstrably true that something of the moral value of late nineteenth century British organised games has been vitiated in various parts of the world and even in Britain itself. But this vitiating process does not destroy, either the original magnificence of the gift given in the apogee of the donor's imperial splendour, nor the universality of its acceptance. Indeed, so

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1. Huizinga, In the Shadow of Tomorrow, p.174.

powerful was the influence of English organised games upon world culture during the heyday of the British Empire that the Pax Britannica, by its very nature, gave birth to, and nurtured, its ultimate successor, the Pax Olympica. It is this work that constitutes British games' finest hour.

Six years before the 1896 revival of the ancient Olympic Games, an Englishman, the Reverend Astley Cooper, had publicly advocated[1] a Pax-Britannic : Pan-Anglican Contest and Festival to be held every four years as a means of increasing the goodwill and good understanding of the Empire. Cricket matches between England and Australia had already begun to serve such a purpose on a limited scale. Although an intra-empire contest did not take place until 1911, de Coubertin's advocacy of a modern Olympiad stressed, as Cooper had, the increase of goodwill and understanding that would flow from such competition. In a recent study of the British Empire, the author persuasively argues[2] that, despite the many benefits derived by the British dominions and colonies as a result of their membership in the Empire, a benevolent

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1. British Empire and Commonwealth Games Association of Canada, "History of the Games," Canada at the VIIth. British Empire and Commonwealth Games, 1962 (Montreal, 1962), p.10.

2. Morris, Pax Britannica, pp.499-517.

despotism was fundamentally alien to the British sense of "fair play."

> The theorists of Empire were tortured by the contradictions of it all, and their principal difficulty was the dual standard of the Empire: one standard for Britons, one for the rest. The glory of England lay in her free institutions, now extended so successfully to her white colonies: but the whole coloured Empire was governed as a benevolent despotism. This was an unsolved ambiguity . . . Their government was in nearly every case more just and more efficient than any conceivable substitute: but it was undeniably government by force - a situation repugnant to the deepest historical traditions of England, which no self-respecting Briton would ever tolerate for himself. . . . This was the saving flaw of British imperialism, for this Empire did have an ideology after all: the High Victorian concept of "fair play," which animated the petitioning sympathizers of the Eureka Stockade as it did the pukka sahibs of the Punjab, and appealed to agnostics as directly as to bishops.[1]

De Coubertin, enthusiastically acclaiming this relationship between British organised games and Britain's imperial power, succeeded in inaugurating the first modern Olympiad in 1896. The Olympic Games Movement has adopted his philosophy[2] as the Olympic ideal. The ideal is of course, de Coubertin's rephrasing of the British games' philosophy of "fair play" and "playing the game for the game's sake." A most rewarding feature of this accelerated fostering of the British games <u>ethos</u> may be seen again in the development of new nations. For example,

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1. Morris, <u>Pax Britannica</u>, pp.515-516.

2. "The important thing in life is not the triumph, but the struggle. The essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well.

WALL OF
RESPECT

a former British colony, Kenya, finds, in its programme of preparation for participation in Olympic Games, a helpfully cohesive force in the crucial years of early nationhood. Jomo Kenyatta's cry of harambee ("let us pull together") has been identified with the desired goals of sport:

> Now there is beginning to be a genuine harambee in Kenya, and it is being advanced by something the politicians never considered. The Kenyans are finding a source of unity in their dazzling sports figures and are taking a pride in their athletes' feats that is truly national.[1]

As distinct from the not always welcome "redcoat" of Pax Britannica, Pax Olympica's John Velzian, the red-coated British coach to the Kenyan Olympic team, is hailed as a very welcome, and highly valued, person indeed.

Even the militant negro movement in the United States of America can find in Olympic sport a peaceful means of expressing its goal of freedom. The negroes' "wall of respect" in Chicago has as its dominant centre, not the motif of violent demonstration, but a series of portraits of famous negro participants in international and national sporting competitions.

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1. Martin Kane, "A Very Welcome Redcoat," Sports Illustrated vol.25, No.25 (December 1966), p.79.

2. ibid., pp.79-82.

When the president of the International Olympic Committee declared[1] as fact, and not mere self-indulging appraisal, that "the Olympic Movement is perhaps the greatest social force in the world today," he could marshal an impressive array of evidence to support his declaration. Whether it is the National Film Board of Canada[2] portraying the passions once released in battle now being relieved through competitive sport, or whether a renowned Greek author writes[3] that civilisation begins at the moment sport begins, sport is heralded as an international vehicle of peace and good-will. It is this appreciation, and adoption, of Britain's gift of organised games to the world that ennabled a prominent American authority[4] to address the first International Seminar on the History of Physical Education and Sport upon the subject Pax Olympica. A new empire, that of sport, has arrived!

This new empire, this Pax Olympica, is truly catholic, embracing not only the New World but also the Old. For example, Spain, an old nation rich in

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1. Avery Brundage, "The Olympic Movement: Objectives and Achievements," Gymnasion, vol.111 (issue 1, Spring Edition,1966), p.3.

2. Appendix B.

3. "Civilisation begins at the moment sport begins. As long as life struggles for preservation - to protect itself from its enemies . . . civilisation cannot be born." Nikos Kazantzakis, cited "Africa" Sports Illustrated, vol.25, No.25, p.56.

culture, has undertaken an imaginative missionary programme of sports education and development.[1] Throughout the world, the British gift of organised games continues to be zealously appropriated.

When Ensor declared that organised games distinguished late nineteenth century English social life, he wrote as an historian interpreting the data of an age now past. When, however, he further declared that those games were amongst England's leading contributions to world culture, and more recently so than is often realised, he wrote both as historian and prophet. Ensor's remarkable disernment as historian, and as prophet, is confirmed by the evolution of Pax Britannica into Pax Olympica. It is by this appropriation of Britain's great gift of organised games that a new cultural imperialism is established in a world increasingly given to the cult of sport.

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1. José M.Cagigal, "Social Education through Sport: a Trial," Gymnasion, vol.V issue 3 (Autumn Edition, 1968), pp.22-26.

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Appendix A.

THE GENTLEMAN ATHLETE

Directions: If statement is essentially yes, encircle 1
If statement is partly true, encircle 2
If statement is essentially no, encircle 3

Yes	?	No	
1	2	3	1. Do you cultivate a friendly attitude toward teammates and opponents?
1	2	3	2. Do you pull harder for your teammates than they do for you?
1	2	3	3. Do you commend the good play of others?
1	2	3	4. Do you encourage your teammate who is missing shots, fumbling, and who is having a poor game?
1	2	3	5. Do you congratulate your opponent when he wins?
1	2	3	6. Are you both keenly competitive and very friendly?
1	2	3	7. Do you avoid being too self-satisfied, too contented, or overly confident, and big-headed?
1	2	3	8. Do you know what your coach expects of you?
1	2	3	9. Do you know where you stand with your coach?
1	2	3	10. Do you avoid unsportsmanlike conduct?
1	2	3	11. Are you really happy in the success of your teammates?
1	2	3	12. Do you understand that self-competition is the healthiest competition?

1 2 3 13. Do you have the habit of giving credit where credit is due?

1 2 3 14. Do you thoroughly understand how free from colds, flu, tonsilitis, and sore throat you can be if your health habits are excellent?

1 2 3 15. Do you like to see others succeed?

1 2 3 16. Are you proud of your condition?

1 2 3 17. Do you take pride in practicing as well as playing at your best?

1 2 3 18. Do you accept responsibility for your own failures?

1 2 3 19. Do you deal honestly with your teammates and coach?

1 2 3 20. Do you take at least as much pride in defense as you do in offense?

1 2 3 21. Are you gracious in defeat?

1 2 3 22. Do you see victory in its proper proportion?

1 2 3 23. Do you help put old bandages, tape, orange peels etc. in wastebaskets?

1 2 3 24. Do you contribute clippings to the bulletin board?

1 2 3 25. Do you take pride in personal appearance with neat appearing haircuts, and keeping uniforms off floor when dressing?

1 2 3 26. Do you value an assist as much as a score?

1 2 3 27. Do you realize that defense, ball-handling, and rebounding are more important than shooting?

1 2 3 28. Do you really prefer a closely well-fought game to easy victory?

1 2 3 29. Do you get fun out of playing and really enjoy it?

1 2 3 30. Do you cultivate the traits of kindness, friendliness, and unselfishness?

1 2 3 31. Do you avoid thinking of failure and other negative thoughts?

1 2 3 32. Are you loyal to teammates, coach, school as well as to yourself?

1 2 3 33. Do you really concentrate on the task you are doing?

1 2 3 34. Do you understand what it means to make a "head over heart" decision?

1 2 3 35. Do you understand the difference in the "new brain" and "old brain" concepts?

1 2 3 36. Do you understand what is meant by being emotionally honest but intellectually a liar and vice versa?

1 2 3 37. Are you an unselfish player?

1 2 3 38. Do you understand what is meant by "many kinds of victories"?

1 2 3 39. Do you understand that many times some defeats are much more praiseworthy than some victories?

1 2 3 40. Do you understand that with good coaching everyone may be a winner regardless of losing?

1 2 3 41. Do you take real pride in consistently high performance?

1 2 3 42. Do you work at other tasks with the same enthusiasm and industry as sports?

1 2 3 43. Do you realize there are many other values in sports, thereby avoiding top heaviness toward victory?

1 2 3 44. Do you understand that greatness can be achieved by anyone to the extent he achieves his inborn potentials?

1 2 3 45. Do you regularly experience the thrill of fighting the good fight with all your might?

1 2 3 46. Do you like to play defense at least as much as offense?

1 2 3 47. Do you understand the concept of the "spectrum analysis of love?"

1 2 3 48. Are you really striving to become all you are capable of being?

1 2 3 49. Do you understand the concept of holism in health?

1 2 3 50. Do you understand the concept there is only one thing that is really worth being worshipped and that is the spirit of man?

1 2 3 51. Do you hang in there as well with your principles of living as you do in sports?

1 2 3 52. Do you believe in the principles of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes?

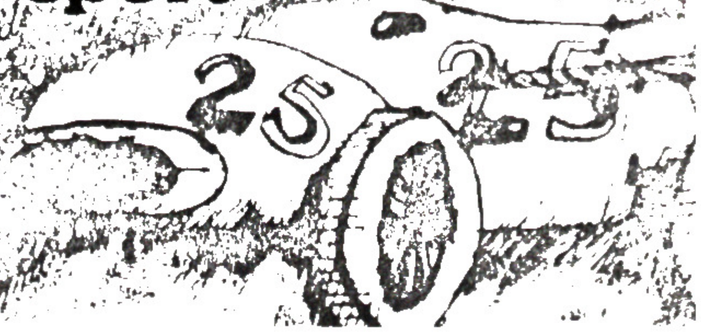
1 2 3 53. Do you consider yourself a gentleman in and out of sports?

This questionnaire is excerpted from C.Gaylord, Modern Coaching Psychology, pp.95-97.

Appendix B.

OF SPORT AND MEN

. film essay on modern man and his passion for sport



This film shows the importance of professional sports events in the life of the constricted city dweller.

You see how the passions once released in battle are now relieved through competitive sport. Vast audiences throw their support behind a popular team or contender, involving themselves almost as though they were actually participating.

Through the bullfight the film recalls the ritual derivation of some national games. Here you see the importance of ceremony, the stylized observance of traditional rules and play.

The film then asks, what is it that attracts such vast crowds to sports events? Is it to admire the finesse of the player? To witness the victory of men over an opposing team or animal? Or is it simply to find relief for their own tensions?

The film shows that it is more than any of these. It sees in sport a lesson in courage, in discipline, and a peculiar form of beauty. This is illustrated by five great sporting events: the month-long Tour de France bicycle race; the twelve-hour endurance sports car race at Sebring, Florida; the Spanish bull-fight; British soccer; and Canadian hockey.

Through all, the camera roving over the faces of the crowds in these various countries finds expressions reflecting all the moral values provoked by sport—fear, courage, daring, endurance, anger, restraint.

16mm Black & White
Running Time: 60 minutes

lucer: Hubert Aquin. Writer: Roland Barthes. Translation: Robert Russel. Music: Al Bachulus. Executive Producer: Guy Glover.

roduced by **The National Film Board of Canada**

1961

VITA.

Surname: MOLLOY. Given Names: Bruce John.

Place of Birth: SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA.

Date of Birth: DECEMBER 19, 1925.

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA. (Faculty of Law, Faculty of Arts).	1946 to 1953.
ST. ANDREW'S THEOLOGICAL HALL, SYDNEY.	1953 to 1955.
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