

THE CONTRIBUTION
OF
SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES
TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED
SPORT UP TO 1900
(with special reference to Athletics and Swimming).
by

T.M.JAMES M.A.

A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in
the University of Leicester
1977.

T. M. James

The Contribution of Schools and Universities to the
Development of Organized Sport up to 1900.

Sport is a sphere which has been rarely scrutinised by historians. This thesis, utilising various local sources, attempts to discuss the contribution of the educational world to the development of organized sport in the period up to 1900.

As early as Tudor times school authorities were encouraging physical exercise by means of 'play day' clauses in school statutes. The encouragement was continued and expanded until the nineteenth century. In that century evidence of official encouragement of sport was visible in both the construction of various sports amenities and in the introduction of the Athletics Sports Day. Headmasters were important in this encouragement: their contribution being more implicit than explicit. Headmagisterial interest had a considerable range of causation. The effect of changes in that century is illustrated by reference to three categories of school: the Clarendon Schools, girls' schools and the boys' schools of Surrey.

The situation in the school sector was similar to that of the university sphere. Universities had permitted physical exercise in Tudor times and this had grown into positive encouragement in the nineteenth century. This emphasis was less on buildings and more on competition.

There was considerable interaction between these two branches of education, and between the educational and wider worlds. This is illustrated by reference to the development of the amateur rule; the creation of Association Football; the development of the modern athletics framework; and the impact of universities on school athletics. Evidence is quoted to demonstrate that the educational world had a substantial influence on the rules and organization of various activities.

Finally the developments in sport are considered in the context of trends prevalent in nineteenth-century England. The purpose is to demonstrate that the educational world was responsive to developments in the wider world whilst, at the same time, making its unique and creative contribution.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

Having spent over six years researching for this thesis, it is no small wonder that I am indebted to a large number of people and institutions for their assistance in various ways.

I must acknowledge the financial assistance which I have received from the Inner London Education Authority (1971-73) and Warwickshire County Council (1973-77) and which has consequently helped me with the payment of my University fees.

The co-operation and assistance of the staffs of the Croydon Public Library and the Leicester University School of Education Library have been invaluable. Works for which I have had the minimum of information have been traced and obtained with great alacrity and unfailing good nature. I have also used extensively the facilities of the Leicester University Main Library, the Birmingham University Main Library and the Exeter College Library.

Many people have assisted me on specific points of detail and their contributions are gratefully acknowledged in the appropriate footnotes. In particular I should like to express my appreciation to Mr A.Davies-Jones (formerly of Caterham School); Mr L.C.Spaul (Archivist of Westminster School); Mrs B.Freake (Librarian of Charterhouse School); and Mr F.H.G.Percy (formerly of Whitgift School).

Mr R.M.Wight has been my Supervisor and has been a source of continuing well-judged advice and encouragement.

Mrs Hilary Smith has typed this thesis with considerable good humour, despite all the problems posed by the nature of this work.

Lastly I must express my appreciation to Alison, my wife, who has assisted me in two particular ways. She has read and checked most of the text of this thesis but, more important than that, she has given me the necessary inspiration, when progress seemed slow or non-existent, to continue and has coped quite remarkably with living alongside this topic for so long.

Trevor James

December 1977.

CONTENTS

Abbreviations

Chapter I	:	Introduction.	1
Chapter II	:	School Play Days.	5
Chapter III	:	Schools' Structural Sports Amenities.	18
Chapter IV	:	School Athletics Sports Days.	35
Chapter V	:	Headmasters and Sport.	50
Chapter VI	:	Outside Pressure on Headmasters to Promote Physical Exercise.	61
Chapter VII	:	The Clarendon Schools.	84
Chapter VIII	:	Sport in Girls' Schools.	92
Chapter IX	:	Surrey Schools in the Nineteenth Century.	101
Chapter X	:	Universities and Sport.	107
Chapter XI	:	Interaction in Sport.	125
Chapter XII	:	Conclusion.	143
Appendices	:		165
Bibliography	:		204

Abbreviations

A.A.A.	Amateur Athletic Association.
A.A.C.	Amateur Athletic Club.
<u>Bell's Life</u>	<u>Bell's Life in London</u>
N. Carlisle	Nicholas Carlisle, <u>A Concise Description of the Endowed Schools of England and Wales,</u> 2 volumes, 1818.
<u>G.P.D.S.T.</u>	<u>Girls' Public Day School Trust, 1872-1972: A Centenary Review, 1972.</u>
N.C.A.L.	National Centre for Athletics Literature, Birmingham University.
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria County History of England.</u>

Note on School Names

To avoid complications the school name applicable
at the time of any reference has been used.

Chapter I

Introduction

Sport is an aspect of human activity which has not attracted the detailed attention of historians. Much has, however, been written, mostly in the form of chronicles, about individual sports. The authors of such works tend to be devotees of particular activities rather than historians. The consequence of this situation has been that the vast proportion of the literature has tended to be descriptive rather than analytical: there is, in other words, an absence of a desire to explain the various developments. This tendency is usually reflected in a very scant interest in the historical antecedents of any sport before the mid-nineteenth century and in a concentration on achievements, rather than on formative features, in the later periods. ^{1.}

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that the development of organized sport in England was not a haphazard or accidental process. The intention is, firstly, to prove that, alongside the natural sporting inclination which existed amongst English people, ^{2.} the educational world had since Tudor times encouraged sport. The manner of the encouragement may be seen to have evolved from licence to active intervention and the motives may have been different at different periods of history but the involvement would seem to be indisputable. This will inevitably tend to modify the traditional view that headmagisterial interest was merely a nineteenth-century phenomenon. ^{3.} Having

-
1. A work which illustrates this tendency is M. Watman, A History of British Athletics, 1968. This study is 225 pages in length but devotes only 4 pages to the situation prior to the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club in 1866.
 2. See P. H. Ditchfield, Old English Sports, Pastimes and Customs, 1891.
 3. T. W. Bamford, Rise of the Public School, 1967, pp 75-85, illustrates the tendency towards this viewpoint.

demonstrated that a continuing link did exist between the educational world and sport, this work will then proceed to examine, and seek to confirm, the former's contribution to the development of organized sport in nineteenth-century England.

A definition of the term 'sport' will be essential. For the purposes of this thesis 'sport' has been taken to include all games and forms of competitive physical exercise to be found in schools and universities before 1900. Such a definition would not be universally acceptable but it does enable a very clear vision of the area of interest of this work. The year 1900 is not intended to have any more significance than the possibility of being a useful terminal date.

The method to be used in this research is to begin by establishing that a continuing correlation between the educational world and sport can be demonstrated. This will be achieved by applying various forms of analysis to the evidence available. Consideration of the contribution of the Tudor educationalists; the existence of structural sports amenities; the institution of the annual Athletics Sports Day; and the role of nineteenth-century headmasters in promoting sport will, from differing viewpoints, confirm this connexion. The evidence which exists will then be explored by reference to three particular categories of school--the Clarendon Schools, Girls' schools and the schools of nineteenth-century Surrey. These three different types of school will provide some further insight into the provision which existed in general and within these three different examples in particular. A further section will then explore the activity and interest within the University sphere. Once these surveys have been completed, it should then be reasonable to consider the inter-relationship which existed between the two branches of the education world and that which existed between the educational world and the wider society. Ultimately it is hoped that,

by reference to various prevailing trends in nineteenth-century society, an assessment will be possible of the relative roles that educational institutions and the wider world played in the development of the modern sporting framework.

Having identified the objectives of this research and the method to be used, a comment about the sources available will be appropriate. It is not possible to distinguish precisely, as in some forms of historical research, between primary and secondary sources because much primary material exists only in the printed, secondary, form. The prime sources in the educational sphere are individual college and school histories, and these can be supplemented by reference to the volumes of the Victoria County History of England, to Nicholas Carlisle's Schools of England and Wales, and to the reports of various official enquiries, such as those of the Clarendon Commission and Schools Inquiry Commission of the 1860s. An unconventional and yet fruitful additional source has been the local gazetteer or trade directory. For information about sporting activity in society newspaper sources, such as Bell's Life in London, and the Badminton library of books on individual sports have been the most helpful. The principal weakness of the majority of the literary sources available is that the references to sport are frequently fragmentary rather than complete. This is because the authors of such works did not see sport as a major ingredient in the life of the school or college and, therefore, concentrated on the biographical details of famous headmasters or the institution's achievements in the academic sphere. The role which sport occupied in education in the past has only been identified as formative and extensive in retrospect. Archive material does exist, and will be used, but this is predominantly factual and statistical, and does not

necessarily assist in the search for opinion and attitude. In effect, research in this sphere has been dependant on the vagaries of the historians of individual schools and colleges and their predilection to discuss the recreational life of their respective institutions.

The nature of the sources of information available has meant that only a partial picture of the circumstances prevalent in the educational establishments or, indeed, in society will be possible. To this extent this thesis may seem to be imperfect and its conclusions may seem inconclusive. The historian is, however, constantly faced with the problem of inadequate or incomplete sources and it is his function to interpret the evidence which does exist and not to bemoan its shortcomings.

Chapter II

School Play Days.

'Imprimis, they shall resort to the School every working day by seven of the clock in the Morning, and remain there till eleven; likewise after Dinner they shall come by one of the Clock, and continue until five, except the Schoolmaster shall at any time grant them leave to play, which shall not be above once in a week, except it be in Christmas, and in Easter and Whitsun weeks.'

(St Bees Grammar School Statutes, 1583).¹

The Tudor period was undoubtedly important for the foundation of schools. These were of a secular nature in that they were usually founded as a result of an initiative originating outside the church. Naturally religion had played a large part in the motivation of the founders and in the nature of their schools, but the Renaissance would seem to have had some effect on the curricula of these schools. This would certainly be true in the context that many schools began to recognize that they had something of a responsibility towards the body as well as the mind.

A common feature amongst the schools founded in the sixteenth century was the inclusion either in the statutes or the school Orders of a 'play day' clause, as illustrated by the document quoted above. The earliest known example, however, would seem to have been rather earlier in 1441 at the Wells Song School² where the schoolmaster was permitted

1. N.Carlisle, I, p.161.

2. T.Scott-Holmes, 'Schools', V.C.H.Somerset,II, ed. W.Page, 1911, p.441.

to grant up to an hour of play. This was most exceptional and seems to have been isolated as a fifteenth-century example, although the provision of Eton College's playing fields in the late fifteenth century may be evidence of the same inclination.¹ By 1599 over 40 'play day' clauses had certainly appeared.² Usually these merely took the form of a declaration that the schoolmaster either should or could grant time for 'play'. This would invariably be in the afternoon. The degree of discretion varied enormously. Witton Grammar School, Northwich, (1558) is the earliest example of a school where two weekly play days were permitted, on Thursdays and Saturdays.³ ^{Free} Grantham Grammar School (1571)⁴ and Harrow School (1592)⁵ followed this example. The two foundations of Archdeacon Johnson at Oakham and Uppingham (1587) permitted Tuesday and Thursday afternoon,⁶ as did Winchester College (1590)⁷

-
1. L.Gush, A History of Eton College, 1899, p.235.
 2. See Appendix I for comprehensive list of 'Extant Tudor Play Day' clauses.
 3. N.Carlisle, I, p.132.
 4. N.Carlisle, I, p.809.
 5. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.239.
 6. F.Fletcher, 'Schools', V.C.H.Rutland,I, ed. W.Page, 1908, p.266.
 7. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H. Hants, II, ed. H.A. Doubleday and W.Page, 1903, p.333.

Ten schools were permitted one specified day per week:

Botelier Grammar School, Warrington (1520)	- Thursday	1.
King Edward VI School, Bury St.Edmunds (1550)	- Thursday	2
Merchant Taylors' School, London (1561)	- Thursday	3
Ipswich School (1571)	- Thursday	4.
Ashby- de-la-Zouch Grammar School (1575)	- Thursday	5.
Wyggeston's School , Leicester (1576)	- Thursday	6
Shrewsbury School (1578)	- Thursday	7.
Houghton-le-Spring Grammar School (1583)	- Tuesday or Thursday	8.
Bungay Grammar School (1592)	- Thursday	9.
Aldenham Grammar School (1599)	- Thursday	10.

-
1. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lancs,II, ed. W.Farrer and J.Brownhill, 1908. p.602.
 2. R.W.Elliot, Story of King Edward VI School, Bury St.Edmunds, 1963, pp 149-50.
 3. N.Carlisle, II, p.56.
 4. I.E.Gray and W.E.Potter, Ipswich School, 1400-1950, 1950, p.40.
 5. W.Scott, The Story of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 1907, p.358.
 6. The Wyggeston Grammar School for Boys: Jubilee, 1927, p.12.
 7. Clarendon Commission, II, 1864, p.595.
 8. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Durham,I, ed.W.Page, 1905, p.395.
 9. R.R.Houghton, Bungay Grammar School, 1565-1965, 1965, p.21.
 10. E.Beevor (ed.), History and Register of Aldenham School, 1938, p.xxiii.

Five more schools were permitted an unspecified day:

- Cuckfield Grammar School (1521) ¹
- Eton College (1525) ^{2.}
- King's School, Peterborough (1587) ^{3.}
- Newport Grammar School, Essex (1588) ⁴
- Adderbury Grammar School (1589) ⁵

In a further thirteen schools the schoolmaster could grant a play day once in a week if he so desired:

- Abingdon School (1563) ^{6.}
- Alleyne's Grammar School, Uttoxeter (1558) ⁷
- East Retford Grammar School (1552) ⁸

-
- 1. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Sussex,II, ed. W.Page, 1907, p.419.
 - 2. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Bucks,II, ed. W.Page, 1908, p.177.
 - 3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Northants,II, ed. R.M.Serjeantson and W.R.D.Atkins, 1906, p.208.
 - 4. C.Fell-Smith, 'Schools', V.C.H.Essex,II, ed. W.Page and J.H.Round 1907, p.542.
 - 5. M.D.Lobel and M. Midgeley, 'Schools', V.C.H.Oxon,I, ed. L.F. Salzman, 1937, p.458-9.
 - 6. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H. Berks,II, ed. P.Ditchfield and W.Page, 1907, p.265.
 - 7. W.G.Torrance, History of Alleyne's Grammar School, Uttoxeter, 1558-1958, 1958, p.18.
 - 8. N.Carlisle, II, p.285.

Manchester Grammar School (1515) ¹
Oundle School (1556) ²
Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Blackburn (1597) ³
Sandwich Grammar School (1580) ⁴
Sevenoaks Grammar School (1574) ⁵
St Bees Grammar School, Whitehaven (1583) ⁶
Thame School (1575) ⁷
Tideswell Grammar School (1560) ⁸
Tonbridge School (1564) ⁹
Westminster School (1560) ¹⁰

1. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lancs,II, ed. W.Farrer and J. Brownbill, 1908, p.584.
2. N.Carlisle,II, p.216.
3. C.F.Eastwood, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Blackburn, 1970,p.28.
4. N.Carlisle, I, p.603.
5. N.Carlisle, I, p.621.
6. N.Carlisle, I, p.161.
7. J.H.Brown, History of Thame School, 1927, p.62.
8. T.Middleton, History of Tideswell Grammar School, 1933, p.26.
9. S.Rivington, History of Tonbridge School, 1898, p.54.
10. A.F.Leach, Educational Charters, 1911, pp 518-9.

Usually discretion seems to have been left in the schoolmaster's hands but at Abingdon School he was restricted to four days per year. In ~~three~~ more schools a 'play day' was permitted only upon the request of a local dignitary. These were:

Manchester Grammar School (1515)

Sevenoaks Grammar School (1574)

St.Paul's School, London (1512) ^{1.}

At Sevenoaks the document stated:

'Item, the said Schoolmaster in no wise shall give licence or remedy to his schollars in the week days, except it be at the special instance of some Honourable or Worshipful person; or any of the honest persons of the aforesaid Parish of Sevenoaks, or other cause reasonable;..' ²

and at Manchester Grammar School the local dignatories were restricted by Bishop Oldham's statutes to twenty days per year. ^{3.}

The continuing influence of religion might well be observed by the fact that Friday, a day of some religious significance to Roman Catholics and the newly independent Church of England, was never designated a 'play day'.

The evidence indicates that, whilst encouragement to promote exercise did exist, the grant of a play day was strictly limited, as one might expect with an innovation in the curricula of English education. Such limitation was sometimes supported by a financial penalty as at Abingdon School:

1. Elarendon Commission, II, 1864, p.583.

2. N.Carlisle,I, p.621.

3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lancs,II, ed. W.Farrer and J.Brownhill, 1908, p.602.

'The Schoolmaster shall not lycence his schollars to playe
above 4 dayes in the yere, and that at the request and
desire of the maior and his bretherine, otherwise to forfeit
3s 4d of his wages..' ¹

That there was supervision to ensure the implementation of such a
clause is revealed at Oundle School in 1604 when a visitation by the
Governors revealed that the schoolmaster had permitted two 'play days'
in one week when only one was allowed in the statutes. ²

It was less common for a statute to regulate the nature of the 'play'.
Manchester Grammar School (1512) prohibited cockfighting and riding ³.
and Merchant Taylors' School, London (1561) added tennis to these two. ⁴
They did not, however, indicate exactly what was permitted. King
Edward VI School, Bury St Edmunds (1550) is unusual in that it specified
both the prohibited, namely dice, nucklestones and discs, and the
permitted, running, darts and archery. ⁵ Of the remaining
institutions, Botesdale School (1566), ⁶ St Albans Grammar School (1570) ⁷,
Houghton-le-Spring Grammar School (1583) ⁸ and Aldenham Grammar School
(1599) merely mention archery. ⁹ Inclusion of archery is not so

-
1. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Berks,II, ed. P.Ditchfield and W.Page,
1907, p.265.
 2. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Northants,II, ed. R.M.Serjeantson and
W.R.D.Atkins, 1906, p.247.
 3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lancs,II, ed.W.Farrer and J.Brownhill,
1908, p.602.
 4. H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' Grammar School, 1814, p.17.
 5. R.W.Elliot, op.cit., p.149.
 6. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Suffolk,II, ed. W.Page, 1907, p.342.
 7. N.Carlisle, I. p.515.
 8. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Durham,I, ed.W.Page, 1905, p.395.
 9. E.Beevor et al, op.cit., p.xxiii.

surprising in that the legal obligation to practise at the butts persisted into Henry VIII's reign.¹ Newport Grammar School in Essex (1588)² had identical specifications to Bury St Edmunds. Winchester College (1590) had a wide specification³ -- quoits, handball, batball, tennis and football--and Harrow School (1592) mentioned tops, handball, running and archery.⁴

Although Adderbury Grammar School (1589) had a clause in its statutes where the schoolmaster was enjoined that '...whatsoever he doth teach them he shall take speciall care to inure them to a comely and graceful carriage of their body and to an audible and distinct pronunciation',⁵ there is no evidence of a systematic philosophy of physical education amongst the schools of the Tudor period. Nonetheless the activities which we can discern as being permitted and prohibited give a fairly clear indication of the thinking of the time. Gambling was not considered beneficial but physical exercise ranging from a variety of ball games to running and archery was considered productive. There may have been an element of the concept that well-directed leisure, and the anticipation thereof, might encourage greater devotion amongst the pupils for their academic studies. This was certainly expressed at Bury St Edmunds (1550) which admitted that 'some remission should take

-
1. An act passed in 1510 stated that 'the fathers, governors and rulers of such as be of tender age do teach and bring them up in the knowledge of shooting in long bows and that everyman having a man-child... in his house shall provide, retain and have in his house for every man child being of the age of 7 years and above till he shall come to the age of 17 years, a bow and two shafts to induce and learn them to bring them up in shooting and shall deliver all the said bow and arrows to the same young men, to use and occupy, each boy a bow and two arrows.' Quoted in D.H.Allport, Camberwell Grammar School, 1964, p.73.
 2. C.Fell-Smith, 'Schools', V.C.H.Essex, II, ed.W.Page and J.H.Round, 1907, p.542.
 3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Hants, II, ed.H.A.Doubleday and W.Page, 1903, p.333.
 4. E.D.Labarde, op.cit., p.239.
 5. M.D.Lobel and M.Midgley, 'Schools', V.C.H.Oxon, I, ed. L.F.Salzman, 1937, p.458.

place from the tensions of study'and that 'moderate leisure should be granted, which will sometime be necessary for the sake of relaxing the mind and sharpening the wit'. ¹ The coupling of physical exercise with the intellectual was, however, an essential part of the Platonic educational programme. It could be argued that the appearance of such clauses in the statutes of Tudor schools is a consequence of the rediscovery of the relevance of the philosophy of Plato in the Renaissance. When Richard Mulcaster inquired, 'Why is it not good to have every part of the body and every power of the soul to be fined to his best?', ² he was merely echoing the Platonic idea. That a writer of the time was inspired to make such an observation is probably evidence that the idea that the body and mind both needed exercise already had some currency. The evidence of such a currency is to be found in the school statutes.

It has been established that a large number of schools either regularly or occasionally granted their pupils time for 'play'. Some documents hint at what was permitted and some at what was prohibited but it is necessary to prove that 'play' did exist in practice and that it can be equated with 'sport' in the nineteenth-century sense of the expression. Various rather isolated pieces of evidence can be cited in support of this correlation. At King's School, Canterbury, for example, in 1626 there is evidence that the Dean and Chapter gave 13/4 for prizes in sports. ³

1. R.W.Elliot, op.cit., p.149 .

2. Quoted in R.M.Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers, 1923, p.93.

3. C.E.Woodruffe and H.J.Cape, A History of Canterbury School, 1908, p.118.

The award of prizes would seem to be an indication that some competitive activity was taking place. There is also the evidence of facilities. Sherborne School is recorded as having had a fives court as early as 1675 ¹ and, of course, Eton College's playing fields were first so named in 1507 ² although, as stated above, they did exist rather earlier. A body of negative evidence can also be utilised. As early as 1499 three boys were suspended from the school at Lincoln for playing tennis instead of attending school ³, thus giving some insight into what might be played. In February 1566 a group of boys were punished for playing football 'within the Cathedrall Churche of Yorke', wherein the offence was the location not the game. ⁴ Lastly there was the controversy which culminated in litigation against Repton School where in 1651 a neighbour, Gilbert Thacker, complained about the boys persistently kicking their football into his garden. ⁵ Fleeting documentary references of this kind abound and collectively they suggest that 'play' was not merely 'free time' but was often a time of vigorous activity.

Whilst this physical exercise was restricted in its provision and frequency, it is possible to see this as evidence of a concept which was to have a greater impact in the nineteenth century. The granting of 'play days' is not, however, a phenomenon only to be associated with the Tudor period but it is one which continued until the nineteenth

1. A.B.Gourlay, History of Sherborne School, 1951, p.209.

2. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Bucks,II, ed. W.Page, 1908, p.174.

3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lincolnshire,II, ed. W.Page, 1906, p430.

4. A. Raine, History of St.Peter's School, York, 1925, p.83.

5. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Derbyshire,II, ed. W.Page, 1907, p.238.

century. For example, in 1800 the 'orders' of the Kingston Grammar School in Surrey stated:

'That no liberty of Play shall be granted, at the request of any person, oftener than once in a week, and for no longer time than an Afternoon, and that only when there is no Holiday in that week'. ¹

This suggests that in effect the period from the early Tudor age until the early nineteenth century can be treated as one as far as its attitude to recreation was concerned.

The sentiments were not necessarily expressed in the same manner. In fact there is evidence of a modification of practice, from licence to custom. What had begun as a privilege had evolved into a regular provision. St. Paul's School in London can provide an illustration of this. The statutes of Dean Colet in 1512 stated:

'I will also they shall have no remedies; if the maister graunte any remedie he shall forfeit xl s tociens quociens, except the Kynge, or an Archbishop, or a Bishop, present in his own person in the Schole desyre it'. ²

By 1818 Nicholas Carlisle reported:

'that Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday in every week be considered as Half-Holidays and on these days that the School remain open 'till Twelve o'clock'. ³

-
1. Kingston Grammar School, Handbook of Pageant, 1909, p.51.
 2. Clarendon Commission, II, 1864, p.583.
 3. N.Carlisle, II, p.86.

In this period the school authorities were content to permit physical exercise to take place, influenced perhaps by the Platonic commendation of such activity, but they did not seek to control or organize such exercise. Various factors were to emerge in the nineteenth century which transformed this situation.

The widespread nature of the 'play day' element in school statutes or associated documents and the clear evidence that 'play' was taking place contradicts the assertion by the Dutch historian, John Huizinga. He stated that:

'The Christian ideal left but little room for the organized practise of sport and the cultivation of bodily exercise, except in so far as the latter contributed to gentle education. Similarly, the Renaissance affords fairly numerous examples of body-training cultivated for the sake of perfection, but only on the part of individuals, never groups or classes. If anything, the emphasis laid by the humanists on learning and erudition tended to perpetuate the older under-estimation of the body, likewise the moral zeal and severe intellectuality of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The recognition of games and bodily exercises as important cultural values was withheld right up to the end of the eighteenth century'.¹

This statement may have been applicable to the European schooling system of the period 1500-1800 but it does not reveal a complete appreciation of the trend of 'play' provision which had permeated English schools of that era.

1. This quotation has been derived from (ed) E.Dunning, The Sociology of Sport, 1971, p.12. It was originally published in J.Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Elements in Culture, 1949, chapter 12, (translated by R.F.C.Hull).

Although it is not possible to quantify the extent to which 'play' took place, or, indeed, in many instances to describe its nature, the schools were mostly set up with a deliberate Christian motivation and did recognize the place of sport in education. That 'play' was not merely permitted by default but was, in many instances, legally sanctioned is evidence that school sport, of an embryonic kind, was encouraged four centuries ago.

Chapter III

Schools' Structural Sports Amenities

'The gymnasium was one of the best in the country....

Both equipment and curriculum of physical training were thoroughly thought out in accordance with the views held by leading authorities of that time (1880). The gymnasium was able to accommodate 500 members of the school at one time for mass physical training.'

(A.A.Mumford, The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915. 1919,p.365.)

The provision of structural sports amenities at schools in the nineteenth century can be used to illustrate the commitment of specific schools to the view that physical exercise was an important feature in the school's life. This commitment could not merely be illustrated by the existence of a school playing field, which needed little or no capital expenditure and which may merely have been an adjacent field which had belonged to the school since Tudor times. By comparison the provision of sports buildings and facilities may be an indication of a positive decision, and of a more sophisticated approach by the Headmaster and Governors. The construction of such sports amenities is, almost without exception, a phenomenon which began to appear in the nineteenth century. Various types of sports facility have been chosen to illustrate the provision.

Gymnasiums. The gymnasium came to be recognized as the means by which a general level of fitness was to be achieved. Such fitness would, therefore, enable vigorous participation in games. This is reflected by the attitude of the Schools Inquiry Commission which produced its Reports

into the provision and nature of secondary education in 1868 and 1869 and asked in its questionnaire for Head Teachers, 'Is there a gymnasium?'¹ From these Reports it has been possible to discover 76 gymnasiums in existence by 1869. This in itself would give an imperfect figure. It is necessary to include the nine most famous 'public schools' surveyed by the Clarendon Commission in 1864 to obtain a more accurate result. Only one, in fact, is known to have had a gymnasium before 1869. That the Schools Inquiry Commission Reports do not provide a complete return is indicated by the fact that a further eight schools can provide evidence of having possessed a gymnasium before 1869. Therefore, it may be assumed that in 1869 there were at least 85 schools with a purposefully-constructed gymnasium.²

The earliest known example of a purpose-built gymnasium in the educational sphere, however, was constructed in 1851 at the East India Company's College at Addiscombe on the outskirts of Croydon.³ The College was closed down in 1861 after the post-Indian Mutiny dismemberment of the East India Company but its gymnasium still stands, although substantially modified inside. The dimensions of this building are 100' by 35', 20' to the eaves and 30' to the gables. When it was erected, it had a 'boarded floor' and when this was replaced after the Second World War a 3' cavity was revealed below. This was, therefore, a spacious building, using a most sophisticated design in flooring. The East India Company's College was not, however, strictly speaking a school.

-
1. For Boys' Schools it was Question 76 and for Girls' Schools Question 74.
 2. See Appendix II for comprehensive list of gymnasiums known to have existed in 1869.
 3. H.M. Vibart, Addiscombe: Its Heroes and Men of Note, 1894, p.34. The location of the gymnasium is shown in a map at the end of the text.

Eight years later the first public schools began to construct gymnasiums. Uppingham School was the first in November 1859.¹ This gymnasium was converted from a stable by Edward Thring, who was a Headmaster who believed that physical exercise was a necessary part of the school curriculum. This gymnasium had an earthen floor but was nonetheless considered a valuable enough commodity that in 1869 the Schools Inquiry Commission reported that use of the gymnasium was only permitted on payment of an extra two shillings on the fees.² Radley College had a gymnasium under construction in late 1859 but it was not opened until 1860.³ This was constructed of corrugated iron. A gymnasium is claimed for Bristol Grammar School in 1859⁴ but no details about this survive. Cheltenham College had a 'gymnasium' as early as 1855 but this was, in fact, an open-air arrangement.⁵ It can, therefore, be concluded that the East India Company's College gymnasium was exceptional by the standards of the time.

The provision of gymnasiums increased throughout the later nineteenth century and with this increase came an elaboration of facilities. Several of the earliest gymnasiums were conversions, as was the case at Uppingham School, or were rather temporary, as at Radley College. Of course, the East India Company's example was purpose-built in 1851 but this was rather exceptional in that that was a military establishment and therefore had different influences exerted upon its provisions. It is possible to observe a gradual evolution towards purpose-built facilities and, as time went on, increasingly sophisticated provision was made.

1. F.Fletcher, 'Schools', V.C.H.Rutland,I, ed. W.Page, 1908, p.292.

2. Schools Inquiry Commission, XVI, 1869, p.337.

3. M.V.J.Seaborne, The English School: its Architecture and Organization, 1570-1870, 1971, p.276.

4. C.P.Hill, History of Bristol Grammar School, 1950, p.92.

5. E.S.Skirving, Cheltenham College Register, 1841-1927, 1928, p.xii.

The types of school possessing a gymnasium by 1869 ranged from famous public schools such as Westminster School and newly created proprietary schools such as Haileybury College to small provincial town grammar schools such as the Ripon Free Grammar School and the Whalley Grammar School. There were great variations in size and in the ability to afford such facilities, as indicated by some examples below.

FIGURE I

Gymnasium size and cost: Some Examples.

Size.

Forest School, Walthamstow	(1869) ¹	108' x 40'	(4,320 sq. feet).
Manchester Grammar School	(1880) ²	120' x 135'	(16,200 sq. feet).
Weymouth College	(1889) ³	50' x 25'	(1,250 sq. feet).
St.Peter's School, York	(1895) ⁴	60' x 30'	(1,800 sq. feet).

1. Kelly's Post Office Directory of Essex, 1878, p.256.

2. A.A.Mumford, The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915, 1919, p.365.

3. G.Faulkner, History of Weymouth College to 1901, 1937, p.94.

4. A.Raine, History of St.Peter's School, York, 1926, p.163.

Cost.

St Peter's College, Radley	(1859)	¹	£1800
Cheltenham College	(1865)	²	£4190
Cranbrook School	(1871)	³	£105
Eastbourne College	(1873)	⁴	£120
Cranleigh School	(1874)	⁵	£1000
Ipswich School	(1884)	⁶	£300
Royal Grammar School, Lancaster	(1885)	⁷	£750
Wellington College	(1887)	⁸	£1500
Leeds Grammar School	(1894)	⁹	£1649
Queen Elizabeth Grammar School Blackburn	(1896)	¹⁰	£800
Hastings Grammar School	(1896)	¹¹	£900
Paston Grammar School, North Walsham	(1898)	¹²	£250

-
1. E.Bryans, St Peter's College, Radley, 1897, p.90.
 2. M.C.Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years, 1968, p.48.
 3. D.H.Robinson, 'Cranbrook School', Cranbrook Notes and Records, 1971, p.11.
 4. V.M.Allom, A Centenary History of Eastbourne College, 1967, p.15.
 5. Cranleigh School, 1865-1906, 1906, p.10.
 6. Kelly's Directory of Suffolk, 1896, 1896, p.185.
 7. A.L.Murray, Royal Grammar School, Lancaster, 1952, p.170.
 8. D.Newsome, History of Wellington College, 1859-1959, 1959, p.212.
 9. A.C.Price, History of Leeds Grammar School, 1911, p.249.
 10. C.F.Eastwood, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Blackburn, 1900, p.85.
 11. T.Mainwaring-Baines, The History of Hastings Grammar School, 1967, p.70.
 12. C.R.Fordner, The Paston Grammar School, 1934, p.144.

Since the East India Company College example, cited earlier, ceased to be used by 1862 and was part of a rather specialised institution, the example constructed at the Manchester Grammar School can be shown to represent a later era.¹ This gymnasium was the largest recorded for the nineteenth century, measuring 120' by 135' and was 30' high, and it was designed to accommodate 500 members of the school at any one time for mass physical training. It was also exceptionally well equipped, having 100 pairs of dumb bells, 100 bar bells, a ladder, prepared walls for climbing, horizontal and parallel bars and horses. The most expensive gymnasium, by contrast, was to be found at Cheltenham College which had plenty of funds to invest in facilities. The gymnasium constructed at the latter in 1865, which incorporated a fives court, cost £4,190.²

The evidence indicates that there was a universal recognition of the need to possess a gymnasium, that it was not merely a fashion likely to be imitated but that it had been consciously adopted throughout England. The desire to possess a gymnasium may be best reflected by a school which did not possess one. At Colfe's School in Lewisham the Governors in 1896 erected a 'movable gymnasium', in other words they provided apparatus, 'there being no space available for a separate building'.³ By this point in time the gymnasium was clearly seen to be an essential feature in school building. This was a point of view fostered by architects and social reformers alike.

1. A.A.Mumford, op.cit., p.365. This may have been a replacement of an earlier gymnasium because the Schools Inquiry Commission, XVII, 1869, p.467 refers to 'in preparation, a covered gymnasium'.

2. M.C.Morgan, op.cit., p.48.

3. L.E.Duncan, History of Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham, 1910, p.204.

Swimming Baths.

Possession of a swimming bath by schools was restricted by comparison with that of gymnasiums. When the Schools Inquiry Commission had completed its Report in 1869, nine schools seem to have already acquired a swimming bath. By 1880 the number of baths had more than doubled¹ but clearly the rate of acquisition of such was much slower than that of gymnasiums. There were various reasons for this. The sheer expense of constructing a swimming bath was prohibitive as far as most institutions were concerned. The most expensive swimming bath discovered at a nineteenth-century school was the 200' x 40' example at Tonbridge School which cost £3,500 in 1897.² Although exceptional, it is illustrative of the possible level of expenditure involved. In many areas constant running water had, in fact, only just become an accepted feature of life and its potential in the sphere of supplying the needs of purpose-built swimming baths only gradually was acknowledged. With these two factors in mind, it is not so surprising that many boys' schools continued to persevere with river and sea bathing until late in the nineteenth century.

One particular reason for schools not setting out to obtain swimming baths was that there was already by the 1870s a trend towards provision of municipal facilities. This trend was a direct result of the Baths and Wash-houses Act of 1846. Naturally this legislation was intended to improve the hygiene of the nation but the swimming baths which were constructed in consequence of this quite evidently had a physical dimension which could be utilised. Perhaps the most famous

1. See Appendix III for 'Possession of School Swimming Baths (up to 1883)'.
2. S.Rivington, History of Tonbridge School, 1898, p.357.

school in the nineteenth century to utilise municipal facilities was Westminster School which used the nearby Marshall Street Baths.¹

This example is complemented in the sphere of girls' schools where the North London Collegiate School, perhaps the most successful of its kind at the time, used the St.Pancras Baths.² This practice was not just restricted to London and its heavily developed suburbs. Both Bedford and Bedford Modern Schools³ are recorded as having used the Corporation Baths in that town and at King's Lynn Grammar School the fact that the town possessed 'excellent sea-water Swimming Baths to which the pupils resort in charge of a Master' was seen as a recommendation for the local grammar school.⁴ Cheltenham College is different from these examples because a swimming bath was planned at that establishment but, until it was completed in 1880, the boys used bathing facilities in the town.⁵ This may indicate the degree of importance, or perhaps urgency, that could be given to such an activity.

-
1. Letter from L.C.Spaul, Westminster School Archivist, dated 3rd October, 1972.
 2. J.D.Mellor, 'Schools', V.C.H.Middx,I, ed. J.S.Cockburn, 1969, p.309.
 3. J.Sargeant, History of Bedford School, 1925, p.139; The Town of Bedford and its Schools, 1896, p.81.
 4. White's Clothing District Directory, 1870, p.113a.
 5. M.C.Morgan, op.cit., p.78.

The provision of municipal facilities was quite extensive, the earliest recorded examples being:-

FIGURE II

Municipal Swimming Facilities (up to 1869)

1846	Bolton
1850	Hull
1852	Coventry
1855	Durham
1856	King's Lynn
1860	Lewes
1863	Lancaster
1866	Bradford
	Croydon
1868	Blackburn
1869	Sheffield

1

Certainly in excess of forty authorities had taken advantage of the act by the end of the century. If the public school sector could consider using municipal facilities, as illustrated by the example of Westminster School, it was less unexpected that the elementary sector might do so. This situation is well illustrated by the behaviour of the Sheffield School Board in 1881. ² Having begun to explore the possibility of providing swimming baths at some of their schools, they appear to have abandoned their attempts because

1. Kelly's Directory of Hull, 1899, p.10; Kelly's Directory of Lancashire, 1924, p.117, p.249, p.598; Kelly's Directory of Norfolk, 1904, p.227; Kelly's Directory of Sussex, 1903, p.497; Kelly's Directory of Surrey, 1938, p.108; F.Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of Durham, 1894, p.197; White's General and Commercial Directory of Bradford, 1881, p.9; White's Sheffield Directory, 1905, p.27; B.Poole, Coventry: Its History and Antiquities, 1870, p.339.

2. J.H.Bingham, Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903, 1949, p.42, p.46, p.47, pp.128-129.

they were informed by the Education Department that they had no power to spend money for such purposes. Perhaps as a consequence of this the School Board came to an arrangement with the Sheffield Corporation whereby their schools were permitted to use the public baths at a reduced rate. The London School Board provided some swimming baths but also utilised some municipal baths as well.¹ In such a large area both types of provision may have been necessary. There were, however, school boards in some smaller towns which provided some of their own schools with swimming baths, even though municipal facilities existed nearby. Initially this might be seen as evidence of enterprise and local prosperity. This might be a correct assumption but this duplication of facilities was a manifestation of another factor in local life. Nottingham had at least two municipal swimming baths but five elementary schools were definitely provided with swimming baths before the demise of the School Board in 1903.² The same situation occurred in Bradford. In this case the Board was permitted to use the Corporation facilities at special rates from 1882 but this privilege was suddenly withdrawn in 1893.³ In consequence of this, the School Board built three swimming baths before the era of the School Board ended in 1903. Rivalry between the local authority and the School Board must be the explanation. To provide individual schools with their own separate swimming bath was to give such schools a particular advantage but a circumstance where municipal facilities were either denied or ignored for political reasons would have been obviously against the interests of the majority of children.

1. F.Clay, Modern School Buildings, 1906, p.462.

2. D.Wardle, Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham, 1971, p.108.

3. F.J.Adams, (ed), Education in Bradford since 1870, 1970, p.8,p.16.

In Bradford, for example, the provision of three swimming baths hardly compensated for the 15,000 visits made each year up to 1893.¹ The provision of such facilities in circumstances such as these seems to have been rather exceptional.

The earliest school swimming bath was opened in 1849 at Ackworth School. It was open-air and measured 100' x 35'.² This swimming bath, and all other nineteenth-century constructions, was completely overshadowed by the example which was formed at Harrow School in 1850.³ There had previously been a bathing pond at the school, dating from 1811, but in 1850 this pond underwent a total transformation. The Headmaster, Dr Vaughan, had the sides and base paved, the tops of the banks were slated over, dressing rooms were erected and water was now supplied from an artesian well. This bath was 230' long and averaged 49' in width, and had an area of 11,360 square feet. This bath was replaced by a new one in 1881 and this was even larger, having an area of 31,000 square feet. The earliest covered swimming bath was possibly to be found at Rugby School where it was the gift of the Headmaster, Dr Jex-Blake, in 1876.⁴ The evidence for Rugby School certainly supersedes the claim made by Malcolm Tozer that the indoor swimming bath at Uppingham School, constructed in 1883, 'was probably the first such pool at an English school'.⁵

1. Ibid, p.16.

2. E.Vipont, Ackworth School, 1959, p.86.

3. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, Swimming, 1893, pp.338-9.

4. Rugby School Register, III, 1874-1889, 1891, p.xii.

5. M.Tozer, Physical Education at Thring's Uppingham, 1976, p.183.
This is a revised version of a 1974 Leicester M.Ed. thesis 'The Development and Role of Physical Education at Uppingham School: 1850-1914', p.199.

6. R.C.Laing, Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial, 1895, p.199, p.216.

The bath at Rugby was quite large in that it was 70' by 25', being 6' 6" at the deep end and 3' 6" at the shallow.

There was, in effect, an evolutionary aspect to the provision of swimming facilities in schools in the second half of the nineteenth century. The general trend was that there was a development from open-air swimming baths at the beginning to covered baths at a later state. That this was a matter of increasing sophistication rather than mere choice may perhaps be illustrated by St Cuthbert's College at Ushaw.¹ In 1859 an open-air bath was provided but this was superseded by a covered bath in 1893. This trend towards covered baths can be explained by the fact that there was a desire to provide heating of the water, not to make bathing more attractive but so that the provision could be available throughout the year. The need for all-year availability was stressed by A.S.Barnes as the explanation for the new provision at Ushaw.² Heating would not have been an economic proposition unless heat-loss could be minimised, therefore leading inexorably to the covering of baths.

Behind the general trend an evolution of facilities can be discerned. The swimming bath had tended to appear as a substitute for river or sea bathing, or for the use of natural pools. For example until the provision of a bath at Eastbourne College in 1874 the boys had bathed in the sea.³ There were early problems such as that experienced at Sidcot School in 1849 where they faced a problem of stagnant water or even a lack of water.⁴ In other words this bath represented a transitional stage where a bath had been built but was still

1. R.C.Laing, Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial, 1895, p.199, p.216.

2. A.S.Barnes, The Catholic Schools of England, 1926, p.40.

3. V.M.Allom, op.cit., p.28.

4. F.A.Knight, A History of Sidcot School, 1808-1908, 1908, p.151.

naturally supplied with water. Harrow School had overcome this problem when their huge bath opened in 1851 because it was supplied by an artesian well. This was not a solution open to every school but gradually the supply of water generally became more sophisticated. Ackworth School, for example, in 1863 was able to improve the replacement rate of water from every fifty hours to every eight hours.¹ In the 1880s a number of schools were using the piped water supply of the local waterworks. This is true of Harrow in 1881 and of Uppingham in 1883.² Once the concept of a regular water-supply had been established the desire to make the provision available constantly became a possibility, and with this came the idea of water-heating. This was first recorded at Uppingham School in 1883 when the water was supposed to be maintained at 60 degrees.³

There was also an evolution in the quality of the provision. By 1893 the Ushaw bath was described as having thirty one dressing rooms, two slipper baths, a shower bath, and a diving stage,⁴ although possibly the most palatial facilities were to be found at Charterhouse School. Here the bath, opened in 1883, was built of marble and also, incidentally, had the greatest depth, being 7' 6" at the deep end.⁵

1. M.Thompson, History of Ackworth School, 1879, p.272.

2. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, op.cit., p.339 and p.345.

3. Ibid., p.345.

4. R.C.Laing, op.cit., p.216.

5. A.H.Tod, Charterhouse, 1900, p.194.

Whilst the degree of sophistication of the provision was determined by a fashion and advances in water supply technology, size was also influenced by an external factor, cost. There were, therefore, considerable variations in size, as is illustrated below:-

FIGURE III

Swimming Baths Size: Some Examples.

Open-Air Baths.

Ackworth School	(1849)	3,500 sq.feet	1
Sidcot School	(1849)	600 sq.feet	2
Harrow School	(1851)	11,360 sq.feet	3
St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw	(1859)	2,700 sq.feet	4
Brentwood School	(1869)	600 sq.feet	5
Taunton School	(1870)	3,000 sq.feet	6
Grocers' School, Hackney	(1894)	2,400 sq.feet	7
Tonbridge School	(1897)	8,000 sq.feet	8

Covered Baths

Rugby School	(1876)	1,750 sq.feet	9
Cheltenham College	(1880)	3,200 sq.feet	10
Uppingham School	(1883)	2,250 sq.feet	11
Charterhouse School	(1883)	2,700 sq.feet	12
St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw	(1893)	4,032 sq.feet	13

-
1. E.Vipont, op.cit., p.80.
 2. F.A.Knight, op.cit., p.151.
 3. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, op.cit., p.340.
 4. R.C.Laing, op.cit., p.199.
 5. Schools Inquiry Commission, XIII, 1869, p.99.
 6. S.P.Record, Proud Century, 1948, p.258.
 7. City of London Directory, 1894, 1894, p.42.
 8. S.Rivington, op.cit., 1898, p.357.
 9. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, op.cit., p.346.
 10. E.S.Skirving (ed), Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927, 1928, p xiv.
 11. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, op.cit., p.345.
 12. A.H.Tod, op.cit., p.194.
 13. R.C.Laing, op.cit., p.216.

Of the open-air baths, the largest was that to be found at Harrow School, and the smallest would seem to have been that at Sidcot School which was only 600 square feet. Of the covered baths, for which dimensions have been discovered, the largest was that at Ushaw in 1893 and the smallest at Uppingham in 1883. The former measured 4032 square feet and the latter was 2250 square feet.

The general impression of the provision of school swimming baths is that they were closely associated with the public school sector and even then were rather an exclusive commodity. Having discussed the school swimming bath in considerable detail, it should also be stressed in conclusion that, whilst the construction of such facilities was advocated by social reformers and legislators in order to promote hygiene, there is plenty of evidence that the prime purpose of many of the earliest swimming baths was not just to promote exercise but specifically competitive. At Caterham School in Surrey, for example, swimming races were held immediately its bath was completed in July 1889.¹ This interest in competitive swimming reflected a wide public enthusiasm. A brief perusal of the newspaper columns of the 1850s and 1860s will reveal extensive coverage of 'Aquatic Sports'. It is, therefore, evident that the progress towards provision of school swimming baths was partly in response to the advice and pressure of social reformers but in large measure also due to the natural English desire for sporting activity.

Cinder Running Track.

Only one cinder running track located at a school has been recorded for the nineteenth century. This was at Bishop's Stortford College.²

1. Caterhamian, II (iii), p.64.

2. S.Marby and N.Mark-Jones, Bishop's Stortford College, 1868-1968, 1968, p.11.

It is said to have been completed in 1888, having taken several years to complete 'owing chiefly to a shortage of cinders'. Its precise dimensions are not known. Other schools in London, such as St. Pauls' and Westminster Schools, used the cinder tracks at Lillie Bridge and Stamford Bridge. This demonstrates that a desire to use cinders was in evidence. If the cost of a swimming bath was virtually prohibitive, then the opportunity of acquiring a cinder running track was really out of the question.

Fives Courts.

By comparison with the preceding facilities, it was relatively inexpensive to construct and equip a fives court. Indeed at several schools the early fives playing area was a chapel wall or a cloister. Provision of fives courts would seem to have had a much longer history since the earliest reference to such a court appears to exist for Sherborne School in 1675.¹ In a sense it was a game associated with the public school sector but its pursuit was quite widespread because by 1869 there were at least 19 schools with at least one court.² Eton College came to have by far the greatest concentration of courts, possessing 50 by 1900.³

Rackets Courts.

The number of schools with 'rackets' facilities was small by comparison even with the provision of fives courts. By 1869 only seven schools are known to have had facilities for rackets, four of these were Clarendon Schools, together with Marlborough College,

1. A.B.Gourlay, History of Sherborne School, 1951, p.202. A document survives from 1675 which refers to 'ye fives place'.

2. See Appendix IV for 'Possession of a Fives Court (up to 1874)'

3. H.C.Maxwell-Lyle, History of Eton College, 1911, p.559.

College and the Forest School at Walthamstow.¹ This is an indication that this was an activity with a restricted area of appeal, which may almost certainly have been determined by the cost of equipment.

The desire to have an educational provision with suitable buildings and facilities was a phenomenon which began to appear during the nineteenth century. Mr D.R.Fearon, when reporting on the school at Farnham in Surrey in 1868, illustrated this point of view when he commented:

'The great drawback in the school is the want of proper buildings. I was told of more than one gentleman who had intended to place his sons at the school, but had abandoned the idea on seeing the buildings.'²

By this comment he both drew attention to what appeared to be a parental requirement and, by implication, also revealed that it was a matter of concern to him. The late nineteenth century became a great age of school building and rebuilding and, within the general provision, the acquisition of various specialist sporting facilities became a fairly widespread feature. Possession of such facilities should be seen, therefore, as a reflection of this wider trend. It does not mark the beginning of a commitment to sport because, as has already been indicated, schools had fostered sport from Tudor times. Rather it should be asserted that the acquisition of facilities from the mid-Victorian period onwards demonstrates a further stage in this commitment.

1. See Appendix V for 'Acquisition of Racquets Courts (up to 1900)'. .

2. Schools Inquiry Commission: South Eastern Division, 1868, pp.164-5.

Chapter IV.

School Athletics Sports Days.

'The Sports, once an annual event, have been for some time discontinued, chiefly for the reason that at Lewisham during the last years we had no available ground. This year (on moving to Caterham), however, it was resolved to make an effort and once more hold them'.

(Caterhamian, I (iv), 1888, p.117.)

A common feature of public schools and grammar schools in the second half of the nineteenth century was the Athletics Sports Day.¹ The term 'Athletics Sports' is potentially misleading since a great deal of licence has been used, by school chroniclers in particular, in the application of this expression. For the purposes of the remarks which follow, it is assumed that an 'Athletics Sports Day' would include both track and field events. This distinction is important because Eton College, for example, held a series of running events--100 yards, 350 yards, one mile hurdles and steeplechase--as early as 1856 but did not commence competition in field events until 1865 when the Long Jump, High Jump, Throwing the Hammer, Throwing the Cricket Ball and Putting the Weight were added to their programme.² The decision to define an 'Athletics Sports Day' in this way is necessary because the earliest organized sports in other spheres included both categories and it quickly became the norm for both types of event to be included in the schools' Athletics Sports Days. Therefore, for the purposes of comparison a definition is needed. Furthermore, almost certainly the inclusion of the field events would mean that the occasion was

1. See Appendix VI for details of 'The Adoption of the Athletics Sports Day by Schools (up to 1874)'.

2. G.Parry, Annals of an Eton House, 1908, p.139.

conducted in one place for the benefit of spectators. This had not necessarily been the case where only running events were concerned.

The earliest recorded Athletics Sports in a school in the context of the definition would seem to have been held at Cheltenham College in October 1853. The occasion included some races, for which the distances are not known, and also

Throwing the Cricket Ball

100 yards

Running High Jump

Running Wide Jump

Standing High Jump

Pole Vault

Wheelbarrow Race

Hop, Skip and Jump

Consolation Race.

The correspondent to Bell's Life, who reported this event, described them as 'exciting and highly successful'. ¹

When these first Athletics Sports began to be organized in the 1850s and early 1860s the initiators did not have a clear concept of an 'Athletics Sports'. At the Addiscombe Military Academy in 1855, for example, they were described as the 'gymnastic sports'. ² It would safely be accurate to state that the founders did not intend to initiate a separate sporting activity. The role which, in many people's minds, athletics in general, and the Athletics Sports Day in particular, was

1. Bell's Life, 30th October, 1853, p.7.

2. Croydon Chronicle, 8th September, 1855, p.6.

supposed to occupy is depicted by a comment in the Bradfield College magazine in 1865. It related to the establishment of an Athletics Sports.

'Considering all things such an institution appears to be not only practicable, but in our case highly necessary. That we are deficient in good runners and throwers became apparent during the cricket season; and I know of no better remedy for this than giving prizes for running, throwing the cricket ball, leaping, and other feats of skill and strength. I feel certain that the plan will answer; it will excite emulation and lead to the more frequent practice of those exercises in which we are deficient.' ¹

It was evidently supposed to be a secondary activity, fulfilling a supportive function to other sports. The secondary nature of athletics might also be well illustrated by the fact that at Eton College the Athletic Sports were under the control of the Captain of Boats. ²

-
1. A.F. Leach, History of Bradfield College, 1900, p.90.
 2. A. Clutton-Buck, Eton, 1900, p.237.

Only gradually did the Athletic Sports Day assume a clear identity of its own. Until that happened the events followed a noticeably experimental pattern. This is demonstrated by the examples of Harrow School and Charterhouse School.

FIGURE IV

Harrow School Athletics Sports Events 1861-67.

	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
100 yards	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓
200 yards	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-
440 yards	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
880 yards	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
1 mile	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hurdles	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓
200 yards Hurdles	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-
Sloped Hurdles	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-
3 miles Walk	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
Long Jump	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	✓
High Jump	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓
Throwing the Cricket Ball	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-
Consolation Race	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-
Strangers' Race	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-

(Source: R.H.Lyttleton, A.Page and E.B.Noel, Fifty Years of Sport: Eton, Harrow and Winchester, III, 1922, p.257.)

FIGURE V
The Evolution of Events at the
Charterhouse School Athletics Sports (1861-73).

	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1873
100 yards	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
440 yards	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
$\frac{3}{4}$ mile	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1 mile	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Short Hurdles	120 yds	100 yds	-	100 yds	Short Hurdles	120 yds	120 yds	140 yds	120 yds	120 yds
Long Hurdles	400 yds	250 yds	250 yds	-	250 yds	250 yds	Long Hurdles	-	-	-
880 Handicap	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
Throwing the Hammer (16 lbs)	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
Putting the Stone (16 lbs)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Throwing the Cricket Ball	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
High Jump	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Long Jump	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pole Jump	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Standing Jump	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Consolation Race	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	100 yds	✓	✓
Consolation Hurdles	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sack Race	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Old Carthusians Race	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	200 handicap
Servants Race	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200 yds

N.B. Charterhouse School was located in London until 1872 and then moved to Godalming in Surrey.
(Derived from Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.)

These two examples were selected because they yielded continuous information in the formative era and not because they were especially unique. In the wider sphere in this period of experiment it was quite possible, as will be shown subsequently, to find a vast range of events, frequently including some quite eccentric by twentieth-century standards.

On the track the 100 yards and one mile seem to have had a place in most school functions but the intermediary events varied from place to place:

Cheltenham College	(1858) 250, 400, 550 and 1,000 yds ¹
Rossall School	(1859) 150 yards ²
Eton College	(1860) 350 yards ³
Harrow School	(1862) 200 yards ⁴
Charterhouse School	(1861) 440 yards and $\frac{3}{4}$ mile ⁵
Westminster School	(1862) 150, 300 and 500 yards ⁶
St. Peter's School, York	(1863) 250 yards. ⁷

This variation began to be rationalised out of existence in the 1860s when, for example, in 1866 Eton College substituted a 440 yards race for the 350 yards. ⁸ Two years previously Harrow School had commenced a 440 yards event ⁹ and City of London School, which began

-
1. M.C.Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years, 1968, p.19.
 2. J.F.Rowbotham, History of Rossall School, 1901, p.352.
 3. R.H.Lyttleton, A.Page and E.B.Noel, Fifty Years of Sport, III: Eton, Harrow and Winchester, 1922, p.99.
 4. Ibid., p.257.
 5. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
 6. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports programme, 22/23 Oct., 1862.
 7. A. Raine, History of St. Peter's School, York, 1926, p.133.
 8. R.H.Lyttleton et al, op.cit., p.100.
 9. Ibid., p.257.

its Athletics Sports in 1865, had a 440 yards race from its inception.¹ Gradually schools generally abandoned other shorter distances and adopted the 440 yards. The longer variations seem to have been merged into an 880 yards event soon afterwards. Once again the City of London School had an 880 yards event from the outset² and Repton School (1866),³ Harrow School (1867)⁴ and Clifton College (1867)⁵ adopted the event in the two years which followed. The general pattern by the 1870s was that schools had 100, 440, 880 and one mile events for senior pupils, although some retained other intermediary distances for junior pupils. Naturally there were exceptions -- Westminster School was still holding a 300 yards Open race in 1894⁶ and Eton College did not adopt the 880 yards until 1896.⁷

The eccentricity of distance selected for flat races pales in comparison with the distances and variations evident in Hurdles events. One can only assume that the issue of an athlete's stride pattern was not viewed seriously at that time. By 1880 at least nine schools admitted to having a 120 yards Hurdles event, the earliest having been at Charterhouse School in 1861. Only four schools have revealed

1. A.E.Douglas-Smith, The City of London School, 1965, p.183.

2. Idem.

3. B.Thomas, Repton, 1555-1955, 1957, p.178.

4. R.H.Lyttleton et al, op.cit., p.257.

5. O.F.Christie, History of Clifton College, 1860-1934, 1935, p.286.

6. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports programme,
6/7 March, 1894.

7. R.H.Lyttleton et al, op.cit., p.110.

the number of flights of hurdles used:-

Charterhouse School	(1861)	-	10	1
Epsom College	(1871)	-	10	2
Westminster School	(1862)	-	8	3
Uppingham School	(1875)	-	10	4

Thus three of these four at a fairly early stage used both the now conventional distance and the appropriate number of flights, although Uppingham School revealed that it used hurdles set at 3' 9", which is 3" higher than the current twentieth-century specification for adult athletics. In addition to these, there were a host of events which seem to have been unique to particular establishments:-

Royal Grammar School, Lancaster	(1866)	150 yds with 10 flights	5
Uppingham School	(1875)	300 yds with 20 flights and 880 yds with 15 flights	6
Charterhouse School	(1861)	400 yds with 10 flights.	7

Possibly the most unusual in a school was an event held at Westminster School in 1862. This was an 880 yards 'with hurdles at the end', an event which was still included in the programme as late as 1894. ⁸

-
1. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
 2. Epsom College Magazine, Summer 1871.
 3. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports programme, 22/23 Oct, 1862.
 4. Uppingham School Magazine, XIII, 1875, pp. 77-8.
 5. A.L.Murray, Royal Grammar School, Lancaster, 1952, p.154.
 6. Uppingham School Magazine, XIII, 1875, pp.77-8.
 7. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
 8. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports Day programmes, 22/23 October, 1862; 6/7 March, 1894.

Amongst the earliest Athletics Sports the three most common field events were the High Jump, the Long Jump and Throwing the Cricket Ball. Even with the Long Jump a variation in names occurred, sometimes it was labelled the 'Broad' or 'Wide' Jump. This latter description was used at Cheltenham College in 1853.¹ This underlines the problem which faced meeting organizers because there was neither a recognized set of events nor even an accepted nomenclature for events which appeared with any degree of regularity. Even the conventional long jump event was still under scrutiny in the early 1860s because St.Peter's School, York (1860),² Charterhouse School (1862)³ and Westminster School (1864)⁴ all held a standing long jump competition but then abandoned the experiment quite quickly. At Cheltenham College in the earliest Athletics Sports of 1853 a standing High Jump was held⁵ but this would seem to have been an isolated example.

The indefinite nature of events was evident in the instance of Putting the Weight. At least twelve schools had definitely adopted the event by the mid-1880s but only Charterhouse School (1861),⁶ Epsom College (1871),⁷ and St.Peter's School, York (1885)⁸ revealed that the weight

1. Bell's Life, 30th October, 1853, p.7.

2. A.Raine, op.cit., p.133.

3. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.

4. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports Day programme,
27/28 October, 1864.

5. Bell's Life, 30th October, 1853, p.7.

6. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.

7. Epsom College Magazine, Summer 1871.

8. F.J.Wiseman, Recent History of St.Peter's York, 1967, p.26.

used was 16 lbs, the now customary weight for adults. The only known variation in a school was at Caterham School (1888) where it was 14 lbs.¹ The experimental nature of the event is evident from the variations in nomenclature: Charterhouse School (1861) - 'Putting the Stone';² Cheltenham College (1858) - 'Throwing the Cannon Ball';³ and at the Addiscombe Military College (1855) - 'Hurling the Shell'.⁴ That the rules for the competition were still in a state of flux is perhaps revealed by an example drawn from Ireland where the Royal Belfast Academical Institution had 'a shot without follow',⁵ which at least implies that, unlike the modern situation, it may have been quite usual to leave from the front of the throwing area.

Only six schools have been traced as having had the Throwing the Hammer in the nineteenth century: Rossall School (1859),⁶ Charterhouse School (1861),⁷ Westminster School (1862),⁸ Bradfield College (1865)⁹ Eton College (1865),¹⁰ and Taunton School (1882).¹¹ Only two, Rossall

-
1. Caterhamian I,(iv), 1888, p.117.
 2. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
 3. M.C.Morgan, op.cit., p.19.
 4. Croydon Chronicle, 3 September, 1855, p.6.
 5. J.Jamieson, The History of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, 1810-1960, 1959, p.106.
 6. J.F.Rowbotham, op.cit., p.352.
 7. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
 8. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports Day programme, 22/23 October, 1862.
 9. A.F.Leach, op.cit., p.126.
 10. R.H.Lyttleton et al, op.cit., p.100.
 11. S.P.Record, Proud Century, 1948, p.271.

and Charterhouse, give details of the weight, both were 16 lbs, which is still the customary adult weight today.

In the jumping events the Pole Vault made an early appearance. At least nine schools had adopted this event by 1874. The difficulty of nomenclature arises here also. The earliest school involved was Cheltenham College (1858) ¹ which had 'vaulting with a pole'. Charterhouse School (1863), ² Westminster School (1862) ³ and St Peter's School, York (1863) had 'jumping with a pole', ⁴ and City of London School (1865), ⁵ Carre's Grammar School, Sleaford (1871) ⁶ and Dulwich College (1874) ⁷ had a 'pole jump'. Rossall School introduced a variation in the event because, in 1859 in addition to their 'High Pole Jump', they also had a 'Long Pole Jump'. ⁸ Only Repton School (1866) used the title 'Pole Vault'. ⁹

-
1. M.C.Morgan, op.cit., p.19.
 2. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
 3. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports Day programme, 22/23 October, 1862.
 4. A.Raine, op.cit., p.133.
 5. A.E.Douglas-Smith, op.cit., p.183.
 6. C.Ellis, Carre's Grammar School, Sleaford, 1954, p.48.
 7. T.L.Ormiston, Dulwich College Register, no date, p.702.
 8. J.F.Rowbotham, op.cit., p.352.
 9. B.Thomas, op.cit., p.178.

These early Athletics Sports Days were not merely straight forward athletics competitions. A.L.Murray says of Royal Grammar School, Lancaster's first sports meeting in 1866 that it was 'more of the nature of a social occasion than of a serious athletics contest'.¹ This was typical, in varying degrees, of many schools. Athletics was not seen as a separate sporting activity and, therefore, its inclusions in any school's calendar of events was earned by its ability to entertain. In this context the Athletics Sports Day included activities which either drew their inspiration directly from other sports, such as cricket, or were entertaining spectacles. The inclusion of Throwing the Cricket Ball in school athletics programmes was one of the most regular features to be discerned. It was an attractive event. In addition the City of London School (1865)² and Merchant Taylor's School, London (1879)³ had 'Kicking the Football'; Dulwich College (1877-1881) had 'Place Kick' and 'Drop Kick' competitions;⁴ Clifton College (1863) had 'Throwing at Wicket',⁵ and Caterham School (1888) had 'Bowling at Wicket',⁶ St.Peter's School, York (1862) had the rather unique 'Pitching the Quoit'. More humorous events were an essential feature of the occasion: the 'hopping race' at Westminster School (1862),⁷ '60 yards backwards' at City of London School (1865);⁸ 'Wheelbarrow' at Cheltenham College (1862);⁹

1. A.L.Murray, op.cit., p.154.

2. A.E.Douglas-Smith, op.cit., p.183.

3. W.Baker (ed.), Merchant Taylors' School Register, 1871-1900, 1907.

4. T.L.Ormiston, op.cit., p.702.

5. O.F.Christie, op.cit., p.286.

6. Caterhamian I (iv), 1888, p.117.

7. Westminster School Archives, Athletics Sports Day programme, 22/23 October, 1862.

8. A.E.Douglas-Smith, op.cit., p.183.

9. M.C.Morgan, op.cit., p.49.

the 'Trouser Race' at Epsom College (1871); ¹ and 'two miles bicycle handicap' at St Paul's School (1882) ² are all examples of this provision. Northampton Grammar School (1879), ³ however, had the largest measure of entertainment -- egg and spoon race, manx race, donkey race, bicycle race, wheelbarrow race, sack race and 100 yards leapfrog, plus a tennis match, fives match and a swimming handicap. The most complicated activity to be found may well have been the 'Open Match' at Cheltenham College where competitors had 'to take up and deposit in a bucket 50 stones, the first stone to be place 10 yards from the bucket, one yard between each stone'. ⁴

The final aspect of these Athletics Sports Days to which it is important to refer are the consolation races and handicap events. Almost invariably a school would have at least one or the other, and frequently both. Such was the desire to see people win, and to give them the opportunity of winning, and also the desire to win, that these types of events evolved. For example, Whitgift School, Croydon (1880) had both a senior consolation race over 200 yards and a junior event over 100 yards. ⁵ Charterhouse School (1861) had a consolation flat race and a consolation hurdles event, together with an 880 yards handicap. ⁶

1. Epsom College Magazine, Summer 1871.

2. The Pauline, I (i), July 1882, p.18.

3. T.C.Lees, A Short History of Northampton Grammar School, 1541-1941, 1947, p.62.

4. M.C.Morgan, op.cit., p.49.

5. The Whitgift Magazine, I (vi), 1880, p.45.

6. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.

The concept of a consolation race was taken most seriously because the Uppingham School Games Committee resolved, after due deliberation, in 1874 to extend the consolation race to 300 yards from 220 yards.¹ This was a serious event. Indeed, they were universally seen as essential events. It was not a high-hearted affair and yet it was sometimes taken to ridiculous proportions. At Bradfield College, for example, a 'choir handicap 440' was held in 1875² and at Epsom College in 1871 a 'choir handicap for altos and trebles' was held.³

The Athletics Sports Day was not, therefore, simply a spectacle of athleticism. It was an occasion when the school was on public display and it tried consequently to be entertaining. In the context of the mid-nineteenth century it also encompassed a number of educational objectives. In particular, it sought to encourage healthful competition amongst the young and to reward athletic excellence. This latter objective is, perhaps, exemplified most distinctively by the institution of the Victor Ludorum competitions which began to be held. Aldenham School, for example, adopted a Victor Ludorum contest in 1887.⁴ Even a quite inconspicuous establishment such as King Edward VI School at Nuneaton had such a competition as early as 1888.⁵ The athletic side of the Sports Day was, to an extent, a

1. Uppingham School Magazine, XIII, 1875, p.17.

2. The Bradfield College Register, 1876, p.78.

3. Epsom College Magazine, Summer 1871.

4. R.J.Evans et al, History and Register of Aldenham School, 1969, p.512.

5. King Edward VI College Archives, Athletics Records.

secondary feature of the occasion in the early days but gradually the spectacular non-athletic characteristics were either minimised or abandoned altogether. This was a result of the increasing recognition of athletics as a sport in its own right amongst society at large and this trend was accelerated by the establishment of the Amateur Athletic Association in 1880 and the commencement of the Olympic Games in 1896.

Chapter V.

Headmasters and Sport.

'No one can be more decidedly opposed than I am to that inordinate exaltation of athletic pursuits which would change work into play and play into work. But it is self-evident that evils of the gravest kind must arise in a school where a large proportion of the boys have no opportunity of healthful recreation.'

(Statement of the Rev. H.W.Moss on the proposed removal of Shrewsbury School in 1873. Quoted in Moss of Shrewsbury: A Memoir, 1841-1917, 1932, p.74.)

Naturally on an issue such as the place of sport within a school's routine, there would have been a vast range of responses varying from positive enthusiasm to active deprecation from Headmasters. These attitudes can easily be discerned as early as the Tudor period. The hostile element can be reflected by John Brinsley who was appointed to be schoolmaster of Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School in 1599. He wrote in 1612:

'...very great care is to be had, in the moderating of their recreation. For Schooles, generally doe not take more hinderance by any one thing, than by over-often leave to play. Experience teacheth, that this draweth their mindes utterly away from their bookes, that they cannot take paines for longing after play, and talking of it; as also devising meanes to procure others to get leave to play; so that ordinarily when they are but in hope thereof, they will doe things very negligently; and

after the most play, they are evermore farre the worst.' ¹

As far as Brinsley was concerned games were unhelpful and to be avoided at all costs. He believed, in effect, that schools existed solely for academic training.

There were other Headmasters, however, who took a contrasting view. Christopher Johnson, the Headmaster of Winchester College in the 1590s, took such a benevolent view because as a boy 'he cared much more for balls, quoits and tops than he did for books and school' and this gave him a much more sympathetic viewpoint in adulthood. ² A much more systematic and thoughtful argument was available from Richard Mulcaster, the Schoolmaster of Merchant Taylors' School in London. ³ His basic theory was that:

'The exercise of the body should always accompany and assist the exercise of the mind, to make a dry, strong, hard and therefore a long-lasting body, and by this means to have an active, sharp, wise, and well-learned soul.... If it were not that we make them keep absolutely still when they are learning in school, and thus restrain their natural stirring, then we might leave it to their own inclinations to serve their turn without more ado. But a more than ordinary stillness requires more than ordinary exercise, and the one must be regulated as much as the other'.

-
1. John Brinsley, Ludus Literarius, 1612, (ed.), E.T.Campagnac, 1917, p.301.
 2. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Hants,II, ed. H.A.Doubleday and W.Page, 1903, p.313.
 3. J.Oliphant, The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster, 1903, p.15.

In effect Mulcaster believed that games were a necessary concomitant of the exigencies of classroom learning. He, therefore, commended football even though he recognised that it had its undesirable features. He believed that football could not have achieved its contemporaneous popularity if it had not been beneficial to health and strength. To eliminate abuse he advocated 'the training master'.¹

'By such regulation, the players being put into smaller numbers, sorted into sides and given their special positions, so that they do not meet with their bodies so boisterously to try their strength, nor shoulder and shove one another so barbarously, football may strengthen the muscles of the whole body'.

Mulcaster put forward the medical advantages which emanated from playing games but, at the same time, recognized that 'too much violence' might lead to damage.

To judge by the evidence available it would seem that Mulcaster's view was more symptomatic of the time than Brinsley's. The evidence, which has been quoted above,² to support this assertion is to be seen in the playing of games in Tudor schools. By the mid-nineteenth century, when schools were much larger and were becoming, in many instances, institutions with highly sophisticated buildings, such responses were still to be found.

Traditionally associated with the beginnings of organized sport in the public schools of the mid-nineteenth century was Thomas Arnold of

1. Ibid., p.17.

2. See Chapter II.

Rugby School. According to his recent biographer, T.W.Bamford, this association is partly a by-product of the legend which surrounds the memory of the man and was only partly a product of conscious effort on his part.¹ Certainly it does seem that Arnold's reputation in this sphere grew posthumously rather than contemporaneously and that it was due to the popularity of rugby football and the writings of people like Thomas Hughes in Tom Brown's Schooldays. Bamford believes that Arnold principally permitted organized games to flourish at Rugby School to overcome a discipline problem which he had inherited:

'Above all, to cure the disciplinary troubles which Arnold had never conquered or even attempted to conquer, they organized games to give the boys a legitimate outlet for energy within sight of the law... The energies of the boys were drained on the playing fields, and their passion for hero-worship, and gang-construction caged within the concept of the House'.

This view is, perhaps, supported by the fact that Arnold did not publish any thoughts on the subject of 'sport' or 'games'.

This is not, however, the whole picture. Although he did not express his views on physical exercise in pamphlets or letters after he became Headmaster at Rugby, Thomas Arnold did have clear ideas on the subject.² In 1827 he wrote to George Cornish and revealed that he had applied for the post at Rugby. He looked forward, he admitted, to the

1. T.W.Bamford, Thomas Arnold, 1960, p.188.

2. See A.P.Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, 1890, p.49, p.55, p.100.

opportunity to put 'Christian education' into practice but wondered how much the post would alter his life. For example he said he feared 'the greater form and publicity of the life which we should there lead, when I could no more bathe daily in the clear Thames, ...nor hang on a gallows, nor climb a pole, I grieve to think of the possibility of a change.' Dean Stanley, his biographer, revealed that the 'gallows' referred to a form of gymnastic exercise in which Arnold indulged. Arnold referred again to this desire for exercise in August 1828 in a letter to John Tucker and he went on to say that, 'It is this entire relaxation..that gives me so keen an appetite for my work at other times and has enabled me to go through it not only with no fatigue, but with a sense of absolute pleasure'. A man with such firm ideas, and who had practised them, as a younger man tutoring at Laleham on the Thames, is not likely to have abandoned them in later life. Arnold was a man of affairs -- politics, classical studies, history, religious matters -- and this dominated his later years but his tacit encouragement of physical recreation can be derived from Dean Stanley's description that the boys'observed with pleasure the unaffected interest with which, in the long autumn afternoons, he would often stand in the school-field and watch the issue of their favourite games of football'. Bamford may be right in his estimation that there was a discipline problem but Arnold's belief in the need for physical exercise came with him to Rugby School and was nurtured there. It was not, therefore, the negative response of defeat but a very positive one, based on sincere belief.

By comparison with Arnold, Edward Thring of Uppingham School made a more positive contribution. His term as Headmaster, commencing in 1853, had

has been noted for the construction of the first public school gymnasium in 1859 and the associated gymnastics master whose appointment commenced then.¹ Thring did not, it must be emphasised, initiate Headmagisterial encouragement of games playing at Uppingham School: a recent thesis by Malcolm Tozer² has amply demonstrated that various games were permitted under the previous Headmaster, Henry Holden who showed his patronage of sport in practical form by arranging for the cricket ground to be enlarged. Thring, however, encouraged games in a systematic and interventionist manner, very different from that of his predecessor. The consequence of Thring's regime was that Uppingham school became closely associated with the cult of games. Thring also placed his ideas on record. These ideas were different from Arnold's expression of his ideas on exercise. Arnold's ideas were concerned with his own personal belief in fitness whereas Thring's ideas were directly concentrated on educational objectives. In 1880 Thring asserted:

'...if I wanted to train a soldier, I should not take a child and drill him every day and put him through the regimental movements; I should teach him to race, to climb, to swim, to be a gymnast, to play games, to make his body as strong, as active, as enduring as possible'.³

He believed that it was essential to give 'variety of interest or useful training in leisure hours' indicated Parkin, his memorialist, whilst Thring revealed his Christian motivation when he said that

1. G.R.Parkin, Life, Diary and Letters of Edward Thring, I, 1898, p.76.

2. M.Tozer, Physical Education at Thring's Uppingham, 1976. p.15.

3. G.R.Parkin, op.cit., II, p.201.

'the most religious work of our day is the finding good amusements for the people'.¹ In a sense Thring did not value sport and games for themselves but more as a means to a social and religious objective, the achievement of manliness.

Edward Thring's attitude and objectives are well described by Malcolm Tozer:

'In Thring's Uppingham physical education played a vital role in the balanced, total education of each individual boy. It had a distinct aim, bound within the concept of manliness. It was planned, so that each different activity could play its part in the overall programme. It was well provided with facilities, and it was expertly taught.... Importantly, it served as a medium through which the social intercourse between boys and masters could be strengthened. Though the role played by physical education was strong, it was not out of proportion when compared with the other aspects of the curriculum.'²

For twenty-four years Thring encouraged, by patronage and example, sporting activity within his school whilst actively combatting the danger of 'athleticism' -- the practice of sport as an end in itself. That Thring's standards and objectives were overthrown at Uppingham School after his death should not distract attention from being focused on his contribution to the incorporation of physical exercise and games into the school curriculum. Thring had many disciples who strove to follow

1. Ibid., pp.252-53. A letter to the Rev.H.Mitchell, 16th November 1881.

2. M.Tozer, op.cit., p.247.

his example by the development of facilities and the encouragement of sport.

There were other Headmasters, mostly silent but who still form an identifiable body of opinion on this issue, who saw sport as an essential ingredient in the curriculum merely as a means of relaxation and pleasure. In effect this was inclusion for sport's own sake. A Headmaster who actively encouraged sport without making any comment on the subject was Henry Holden of Durham Grammar School ¹ who, on his appointment in 1853, altered the morning hours for school from 9-12 to 8-11 so that the boys could have two hours of games before lunch. Holden was merely continuing his patronage and encouragement of games playing which had already become apparent in his previous post, referred to earlier, as Headmaster at Uppingham School. Another Headmaster who would be included in this category was the Rev. H.W.Moss of Shrewsbury School. In 1873 there were plans to move his school to a new site. Moss submitted a paper to the Governors in which he argued for adequate provision, in any new site, for sporting activity. ² He made it clear that he was not in favour of 'that inordinate exaltation of athletic pursuits which would change work into play and play into work', but, he concluded, 'it is self-evident that evils of the gravest kind must arise in a school where a large proportion of boys have no opportunity of healthful recreation'. This view was reflected and utilised for reasons of advertisement by the Isle of Wight Diocesan School in 1865 which emphasised in its prospectus that:

1. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Durham,I, ed. W.Page, 1905, p.383.

2. Moss of Shrewsbury: A Memoir, 1841-1917, 1932, p.74.

...The close proximity of river and down (especially the latter of which liberal use is made) ensures to the youth of the establishment that muscular development and that strengthened constitution which are scarcely less desirable for active life than sound mental training'.¹

Public expressions of this kind were, nonetheless the exception, particularly so early in the nineteenth century.

One secondary source of similar headmagisterial attitudes was F.D.How in his Six Great Headmasters (1904). He has shown, for example, that Dr Moss' predecessor at Shrewsbury, Dr Benjamin Kennedy, the famous classicist, also valued games.² This was especially remarkable as he had come to Shrewsbury in 1836 from Harrow School, where he considered that games were carried to excess. F.D.How stated that Kennedy 'was wise enough to see that, properly regulated, they were of great service. For hard-working boys they were useful to keep them in health, for non-reading boys to keep them out of mischief, and to provide a legitimate vent for their energies'. Of Dr Edward Hawtrey, Kennedy's contemporary at Eton College, F.D.How revealed that he laid the foundation of the first proper fives court, and by placing them within bounds gave them a position of legitimacy, thereby giving tacit encouragement to physical exercise.³ The Headmaster of Rugby School between 1858 and 1869 was Dr Frederick Temple, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and, of F.D.How's 'Six Great Headmasters', he seems to have been the greatest advocate and supporter of physical exercise.⁴

1. J.G.Harrodd, Postal and Commercial Directory of Hampshire, 1865.

2. F.D.How, Six Great Headmasters, 1904, p.97, p.106.

3. Ibid., pp.24-25

4. Ibid., p.205

He was by repute a regular spectator at football matches, which made him immensely popular with the boys, and in his time at Rugby a gymnasium and a rackets court were erected.

The Headmasters discussed by F.D.How saw games as a means to an end. They were the instruments by which a greater goal was achieved. Such objectives included a desire to achieve an outlet for the mischievous and a distraction for the excessively bookish or a means of achieving control or popularity. This encouragement of games for a greater purpose was taken to its greatest extent, perhaps, by a man like Frederic Farrar, the Headmaster of Marlborough College from 1871-76. One of his former pupils, Canon Henry Bell, wrote of him:

'Farrar was never what you might call a game lover, but he knew that he could get hold of fellows best by joining with them in their games; so when he came he took to fives and was soon no mean hand, and to football, in which he could perhaps never have excelled, but which he played with an energy which many of us that day well remember.'

Farrar had identified, like many of his contemporaries, that there was a way to capture the loyalty of his pupils and that this was through attempting to appreciate and share their pastimes.²

1. Quoted in R.Farrar, The Life of Frederic William Farrar, 1904, p.58.

2. Farrar did not establish the strong sporting commitment of Marlborough College. This was the work of G.E.L.Cotton whose Headship began in 1852. See J.A.Mangan, 'Athleticism' in (ed), B.Simon and I.Bradley, The Victorian Public School, 1975, pp 151-155.

Reference has been made to the existence of a silent body of opinion which, paradoxically, was still identifiable. This viewpoint can be discovered by consideration of the ever-increasing numbers of schools which, in the late nineteenth century, adopted competitive games and acquired structural sports amenities. Headmasters such as H.A.James of Cheltenham College who, in 1889, made games compulsory ¹ or the Rev. H.W.Moss who paid for the construction of a swimming bath at Shrewsbury School in 1886 ² are exceptional, amongst a body of inconspicuous figures, only because subsequent writers happen to have made fleeting reference to their contribution. It must be assumed that, where organized games or sport occurred or where sports facilities were constructed, the Headmaster was at least tacitly in favour of physical exercise or not so strongly against it to obstruct its pursuit. Headmasters were, therefore, key figures in the development of sporting organization in the nineteenth century. It was necessary to have at least their tacit consent for sports to flourish. Various factors can be identified as having conditioned Headmasters into an acceptance of games playing within the school.

-
1. M.C.Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years, 1968, p.107.
 2. Moss of Shrewsbury: A Memoir, 1841-1917, 1932, p.93.

Chapter VI

Outside Pressure on Headmasters to Promote Physical Exercise

'It would be absurd to suggest that we know precisely when this change (commitment to supervised games) occurred, and it is in any case certain that the timing was different in different schools if only from the obvious fact that the headmaster was responsible for any change of emphasis, and change could only occur, in practice, after prolonged pressure or with a change of headmaster'.

(T.W.Bamford, Rise of the Public Schools, 1967, p.76.)

Outside pressure was exerted on headmasters to encourage them to promote physical exercise. This theme has been identified by T.W. Bamford in its nineteenth-century form but it can be observed as a continuing factor in the behaviour of headmasters: from Tudor times. Prior to the nineteenth century the pressure was principally that of the philosophers and it can often be discerned in their writings. By the mid-nineteenth century the attempts to influence headmagisterial behaviour can be seen to have been emanating from an immense variety of sources, ranging from an architectural lobby to the example set by the organizers of military education.

(1) The Influence of Philosophers

The advocacy of physical exercise or training by philosophers at any period of history will naturally reflect the political objective of the writer and the circumstances of his lifetime. Preparation for

war was a constant concern of politicians, as is demonstrated by the medieval requirement for adult proficiency with the longbow. Thus John Milton, writing his Tractate on Education (1) in 1644, amidst the turmoil of the Great Rebellion, was anxious to encourage physical training as a means to seeing the formation of an effective citizen army. He advocated that the youth should learn 'the exact use of their weapons, to guard and to strike safely with edge or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in health, is also the likliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage...'. This is similar in motive to the objective of Plato in the Republic where he advocated physical training as a preparation for citizenship. Schoolmasters of the time would have tended to be influenced by the attitude which Milton expressed, and all schoolmasters since Renaissance times, as students of the classics, are likely to have been familiar with the ideas of Plato. Therefore schoolmasters would have encouraged physical exercise with preparation for citizenship in their mind.

In contrast to Milton there were writers and philosophers who favoured physical exercise for its own sake, either for its possible contribution to the human character and frame, or as a means to a greater educational goal. Richard Mulcaster in the sixteenth century stated that:

'The exercise of the body should always accompany and assist the exercise of the mind, to make a dry, strong, hard and therefore, a long-lasting body, and by this means to have an active, sharp, wise, and well learned soul.' ²

1. J.Milton, Tractate on Education, ed. O.Browning, 1890,p.18.

2. J.Oliphant, The Education Writings of Richard Mulcaster, 1903, p.15 .

John Locke's Thoughts Concerning Education in the late seventeenth century amplified this view.¹ He indicated that the educator could prepare children for the age of reason in two ways, by caring first for their physical health and secondly for the formation of good habits. He also put forward the argument that 'a child will learn three times as much when he is in tune, as he will in double the time and pains when he goes awkwardly or is dragged unwillingly to it.' What must happen, he urged, was that 'children might be permitted to weary themselves with play and yet have time enough to learn what is suited to the capacity of each age'. Such a view would also have had an influence over educational practice.

Thus a traditional, and substantial, association between physical activity and the theory of education had been well established before the nineteenth century. This association still persisted in the nineteenth century and headmasters, educated in the classical tradition, were likely to have been conscious of the ideas of Plato at the very least. The nineteenth century was, however, also a very devout age and produced new theories which linked physical exercise very closely with educational theory. Concepts such as 'muscular Christianity' and 'Athleticism' were amongst those to emerge. They were new varieties of response to circumstances, equivalent to the ideas of Locke in his time. Much scorn has been directed at the validity of the concept of 'muscular Christianity', mostly on the grounds that it had little to do with religion, but it is certainly the case that it was believed by many that vigorous pursuits and commitment to the Christian faith would be complementary as well as character-forming. J.A.Mangan writes of

1. J.Locke, Thoughts Concerning Education, ed. F.W.Garforth, 1964.

'value-system games' becoming a vehicle for the creation and reflection of Christian excellence and he quotes G.E.L.Cotton who was a pioneer in this sphere:

'Of one thing there is no doubt: that both intellectual and bodily excellence are only really blessed when they are a reflection of moral and religious goodness, when they teach us unselfishness, right principles, and justice'.¹

Such a philosophical view, in such a devout age, would have been very attractive to the frequently clerical Headmasters of the age.

(ii) The Effect of Government Inquiries.

The compilers of the Report of the Clarendon Commission in 1864 made great emphasis on the impact of physical exercise in the schools which they investigated.² Their interest would seem to have been two-fold. On the one hand they paid tribute to the 'bodily training which gives health and activity to the frame' and they stressed the value of the means by which this had been achieved. Such praise could almost have been Darwinian in its sympathies, a hint that further evolution might be possible through exercise of the body. The officials were not, however, only interested in games as a means to a physical objective. They recognised the value of gymnastic exercise, which was

1. Quoted by J.A.Mangan in 'Athleticism' in B.Simon and I.Bradley (ed.), The Victorian Public School, 1975, p.151.

2. Clarendon Commission Report, I, 1864, pp 40-41, See Chapter VII for details about the Clarendon Schools.

popular at that time in Europe, but preferred to recommend sporting exercise and stressed that 'athletic games serve other purposes besides'. It was believed that physical exercise, enjoyed as a voluntary recreation was potentially character forming, both in the sense that the desire to participate in exercise would continue into adulthood and also in that participation in team games inculcated social qualities. The last were unstated but were presumably those of co-operation and leadership. Whilst admitting that the climate in such schools could lead to 'vacant lounging' by those not able or willing to participate, the writers concluded that 'it is the best corrective of the temptation to over-study which acts upon a clever and ambitious boy, and of the temptation to saunter away time which besets an indolent one'. As they paid tribute to the 'encouragement' that games had received in the nine 'Clarendon Schools', it may be assumed that games flourished in all of them but official recognition of the value of their games playing would also have tended to ensure that these 'Clarendon Schools' would continue to follow such a policy. It would also have meant that lesser schools, and new schools appearing at that time, would have felt the need to ape the 'Clarendon Schools' in this respect.

Very shortly after this Report was published, the Schools Inquiry Commission, whose Reports began to be published in 1868, were sufficiently imbued with the recognition of the value of physical exercise that they saw fit to include in the series of questions posed to all headmasters of boys' schools, twelve questions about physical exercise. ¹

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, I, 1868. Headmistresses of girls' schools were asked similar questions.

67. Is there a playground attached to the school?
68. If so, is it open to all the boys to use?
69. How large is it?
70. How far is it from the school?
71. Have the boys any, and what, covered place for play in wet weather?
72. How many hours a week are allowed for play?
73. What are the usual games or bodily exercise?
74. Is there any rule that a master should be always present?
75. Do any of the masters join in the games?
76. Is there a gymnasium?
77. Is drilling, or any other athletic exercise, taught as a part of the school system?
78. Are there any school bounds beyond the school precincts, or are the boys allowed to walk in the country at their own discretion?

Questions such as these would have tended to encourage headmasters and boards of governors to consider their provision and facilities if their reply was negative. Probing questions such as these may well have had a substantial effect on the administration of many schools. It is certainly clear, by cross-reference to the Clarendon Commission Report, that physical exercise had official approval.

The official attitude can be demonstrated by reference to one of the reports of Mr D.R.Fearon on the Metropolitan District.¹

'Physical education is .. less dwelt upon by the founders of these schools than moral and intellectual education. The reason for this comparative neglect of this important branch seems to be

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, VII, 1869, p.261.

that these schools were intended for day schools, and that the scholars were, therefore, not considered to be under the care of the teachers, during any but the actual school hours. These founders seem to have desired to give the best kind of instruction then known to the children of the several localities which they endowed without the necessity of removing them from the care and control of their parents. They would therefore naturally leave the training of their bodies to those parents, and it is somewhat singular, and the mark of the liberality of their views that any of them should have framed any regulations for physical education at their schools ... however, we do occasionally find, especially at schools founded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ordinances which show that these founders were aware of the importance of this branch of education.'

By implication and with a reference to the authority of the past, Mr Fearon was urging a change in attitude and provision. This may well have been equally evident to headmasters of the time, especially after the visitation by a Schools Inquiry Commission official. Therefore, schools may have responded to the tone of the questionnaire and the sentiments of the Reports by reviewing their provision for physical exercise.

That the Commissioners did have some effect is demonstrated by the situation at Manchester Grammar School. In his report of 1865 Mr J. Bryce criticised the school's authorities for having no facilities for play.¹ He stated:

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, XVII, 1869, p.315.

'...the boys must at play hours be turned right out into the street. There is no gymnasium nor other place for play in wet weather, and no land now belonging to the school on which one could be constructed, nor any funds available for fitting it up. These are great drawbacks to the success of the school...'

By 1869 when the final stages of the report were being drawn up Manchester Grammar School had a 'covered gymnasium'. This certainly would seem to have been brought about by the force of Mr Bryce's critical remarks. This might explain the movement of a number of famous schools, such as Merchant Taylors' and Charterhouse, away from the centre of London in the period after the various Reports had been published.

(iii) The Development of an Architectural Lobby in Education.

By the late nineteenth century headmasters were being subjected to another type of pressure. This was from a new lobby of propagandists of physical education. These were the professional architects. Indeed their influence may have affected the behaviour of the civil servants who were involved in the various educational surveys of the 1860s.

One of the advocates was E.R. Robson who published his School Architecture in 1874.¹ In a chapter on sporting facilities he reviewed all the essential dimensions and equipment required for a gymnasium. As a prelude to this he stressed the 'national love of field sports' and stated that 'there is no single example among us of a school possessing a hall specially set apart for gymnastics. Still less is the subject taught as

1. E.R. Robson, School Architecture, 1874. pp 244-245, pp. 249-262.

as part of a school course'. This statement was clearly inaccurate but revealed his determination to argue the case for the provision of gymnasia on a wide scale. To do this he also pointed to the European emphasis on gymnastic training, most notable in Germany, which had not yet had much appeal in England. He argued that, whilst many boys might play rugby football, not all joined in the 'rough play'. Various reasons existed for this and Robson suggested that, for example, 'half-an-hour on the trapeze' would be beneficial for them. To ensure that he had made the best possible case, he also stressed the benefits to be gained from the fact that inclement weather could not interrupt this activity. Robson went on to develop his argument by stating that:

'The practice of gymnastics in properly fitted buildings would not in any way lessen the zeal for outdoor games and athletics of the national sort. And it might be the means of preparing many youths for joining in the latter who would, otherwise, never be able to do so.'

The subtle note on which that extract ends was likely to be very persuasive because, if heeded, it would mean further participation in sports.

It should be added that Robson was not just an architect of the time: he was an architect to the London School Board, 1871-1889, and subsequently consultant architect to the Education Department in Whitehall.¹

M.V.J.Seaborne suggests that he was not merely an architect but also an educational reformer. Robson was certainly in a position to influence developments at first hand.

1. M.V.J.Seaborne's introduction to Victorian Library edition of E.R.Robson, School Architecture, 1972.

A later writer on this subject was Felix Clay who first produced his book, Modern School Buildings, in 1902.¹ In a chapter on 'Provision for Games' he made some interesting points. Whilst discussing the provision of fives within the schools, he stated 'Fives Courts now form a fairly common feature in Girls' Schools ... courts have been added to several belonging to the Girls' Public Day School Company and have proved popular'. This would seem to be an instance of generalising from the particular because even if the number of schools from within that body were high, the total number would still have been small. In another chapter entitled 'Sanitation' Clay portrayed the swimming bath as having a functional value which was more significant than its sporting value, in fact complementary to the other washing facilities. He attempted to imply that England was behind the times when he said 'while we have not got yet in this country to the point of systematically washing all the children in the elementary schools once a week, as is becoming more and more the custom in Germany and America...'. At another point it might be asserted that he extended his argument by attempting to imply that schools in the London School Board area with neighbouring baths were using them for the wrong reason when he commented that the use 'seems to be done more in order to teach swimming than for the purposes of health and cleansing.' For those persuaded by his argument Clay was able to refer to a colleague, T.J.Bailey, who had read a paper to the R.I.B.A. in 1899 where he cited what he believed to be the most suitable dimensions for an elementary school swimming bath.²

1. F.Clays, Modern School Buildings, 1902, chapter XII, pp.259-266.

2. F.Clays, op.cit., p.462. The swimming bath suitable for an elementary school would be 50' by 20', 5'6" at the deep end and 2'9" at the shallow. It would be lined with white glazed bricks, and would have steps, diving board and handrail.

The effect that such propagandists might have on a headmaster or a board of governors would naturally have been varied and associated with the economic situation. The intention was that these books would be the nineteenth-century equivalent of the modern glossy catalogue. The headmaster was supposed to feel that he was failing in some degree if he did not provide gymnasium facilities for those disinterested by outdoor games or provide a swimming bath for the promotion of hygiene. To what extent this pressure was successful it is not possible to quantify. We may merely assume that it was a contributory factor in the evident growth of such facilities.

(iv) The Influence of Major Public Figures.

The support for physical exercise from an individual of public standing might be sufficient to influence a headmaster to consider its inclusion in his curriculum. An example of such advocacy came from Richard E. Webster in the introduction to the Badminton book on Athletics and Football in 1887. Webster referred to intellectual successes at University who suffered ill-health in later life.

'I attribute this in no small degree to the fact that for many boys and men there was scarcely any inducement to develop or use their physical strength, nothing which led them to those pursuits which, without engrossing the mind too much, develop the body gradually and contemporaneously with mental growth... I maintain that one great good which has arisen from the stimulus given from the years 1860 to 1870 to athletic sports is the facility which those pursuits afford for the development of physical strength, and the inducement to active exercise offered to men who, either from want of inclination or want of means, would otherwise never have taken any. I have known intimately a great many reading men,

who have told me how deeply they regretted that there was nothing of the kind in their time, and many others have assured me of the advantages which they have derived from the interest which these pursuits have given to them, and the inducement to take exercise which otherwise they would have wholly neglected.' ¹

Webster was a famous lawyer of the time, so eminent in fact that as Lord Alvestone, he became Lord Chief Justice. There must have been a strong chance that headmasters would have noted the advice and comment of a man of his prestige.

(v) The Effects of Unfavourable Comparisons.

The pressures applied to headmasters so far described are concerned with persuasion. Headmasters were also faced with a rather more subtle form of pressure presented by example. This could be provided by the collective influence of the Clarendon Schools or it could be exerted by the influence of another form of education.

An example of this latter instance can be provided in the example set by the various specialist military colleges, namely the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich and the East India Company's College at Addiscombe. The military community were gradually becoming more committed to the idea that there was a need for physical fitness amongst officers and by the 1850s all three Colleges showed considerable evidence of involvement in the pursuit of fitness. The holding of an Athletics Sports Day is evidence of this

1. M. Shearman, Athletics and Football, 1887.

desire. In October 1849 the Royal Military Academy held its first sports and this has a strong claim to be the first ever organized non-professional athletic sports. It had a full range of events:-

100 yards
880 yards
1 mile
880 yards hurdles (6 flights at 3'6")
Shot (32 lbs)
Standing High Jump
Running High Jump
Standing Wide Jump
Running Wide Jump
Pole Leap
Running Hop, Step and Jump
Cutting the lead with a Sword . ¹

Only the last event seems totally unfamiliar by modern standards, although the Hop, Step and Jump was not contested very much in amateur circles. This sports day continued until the Crimean War. ² In the Autumn of 1851 the Colleges at Sandhurst (6 and 7 October) and Addiscombe (22 October) commenced their Athletics Sports. ³ These also contained both track and field events and were truly athletics sports in the modern sense. The events at Sandhurst show that uniformity had not yet occurred and that the events were still of an experimental nature:-

1. Bell's Life, 14th October, 1849, p.6.

2. H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.5.

3. Bell's Life, 12th October, 1851, p.6; 2nd November, 1851, p.6.

170 yards
600 yards
800 yards (for Junior Cadets)
1,100 yards
 $\frac{3}{4}$ mile
120 yards Hurdles (8 flights)
130 yards Hurdles (10 flights)
140 yards Hurdles (9 flights)
170 yards Hurdles (12 flights)
Running High Jump
Wide Leap
Shot (18 lbs)
Shot (24 lbs) .

The events at Addiscombe were different again:-

150 yards
200 yards
300 yards
1 mile
Hurdles (15 flights, 15 yards apart)
Running High Jump
Running Wide Jump
Vaulting
Hurling the Shell
Throwing the Cricket Ball .

There was a substantial variety amongst the events but the common factor was that the results were published in newspapers. Various school sports activities were already covered by newspaper reports by this time, most

notably cricket and football, and it is therefore most likely that headmasters would have perused such reports in the press. They could not have failed to notice this new development of athletic competition. Whilst they may not themselves have necessarily instigated Sports Days, their knowledge of such developments would possibly have made them more receptive to proposals for the holding of a Sports Day within their schools. The earliest School Athletics Sports Day came in 1853 at Cheltenham College and H.H.Griffin commented that this 'was the first formal sports, with all the paraphernalia of roped course, printed programme, with list of officials, competitors, etc.'¹ This event was reported in Bell's Life as were the Marlborough College 'Foot Races' in the autumn of 1854.² Although seemingly a speculative assertion, the military establishments did have an impact on the wider educational world because their example was revealed through the medium of the newspaper. Possibly this example had a limited impact but it helped to precipitate a trend whereby schools adopted the Athletics Sports as a customary feature of their calendars.

If, however, the headmasters of long-established schools ignored the developments at institutions such as Woolwich, they could not be so complacent about developments at Cheltenham and Marlborough because it was with such new schools that they had increasingly to compete for pupils or reputations. An additional attraction which may have appealed to the headmasters of the time was that these were obviously prestigious social occasions. They learned in Bell's Life, for example, that at the first Sports at Woolwich: 'The grounds were well attended by the

1. H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.6.

2. Bell's Life, 3 November, 1854, p.6.

officers of the garrison and the surrounding gentry'.

This would be an occasion for the school to be placed on public display. This might well promote recruitment of pupils. This hope can be confirmed by reference to the Field of 1864 ¹ where it was asserted that:

'When the Universities took up athletics and inaugurated a contest, footracing became a matter of real interest, and it became possible for gentlemen of refined taste and ladies to look on with pleasure'.

It would have been this atmosphere that the headmaster would have sought to imitate and capture.

(vi) The Impact of a Medical Lobby.

A medical lobby also would seem to have existed and this will have exerted some pressure on headmasters. A noted advocate of physical exercise was Dr Clement Dukes who was the Senior Physician at the Hospital of St Cross in Rugby, was an eminent writer on health, and was also employed at Rugby School.

Dr Dukes' ideas on health and the schoolchild first appeared in 1882 ² as part of another work but were expanded and published separately in 1887 in Health at School. ³ His view was that 'reforms are still imperative in order that the young may derive the amplest benefit from their years of school education'. ⁴ His ideas are well summarised by the following comment:

1. Field, 12th March, 1864, p.174.

2. Dr Dukes' original publication was part of M.Morris, The Book of Health 1882.

3. The references which follow are from Dr C.Dukes' revised and enlarged Health at School, 1894.

4. Ibid., p.vii.

' 'The physical education of the young tends to training in perception and judgment, as well as in adroitness and courage. Even yet, however, the influence of physical education on mental and moral growth is not sufficiently regarded; and the law is not yet practically recognised that bodily and mental culture must be concurrent if the highest development is to be attained.

Our world-wide reputation, as well as our universal presence, is mainly owing to the vigorous habits of our sons. The sportsman continually precedes the trader in new countries... These qualities can be developed in our school playing-fields. Let them, therefore, be encouraged in every possible way'. ¹

Amongst a vast array of advice, he argued in favour of games for the inmates of the sick bay, on the basis that their need was at least as great as any other pupil. He warned of the disadvantages of the day school because many such schools did not cater for games in their 9-5 day.

'Boys allowed to grow up without having the benign influence of boys' games as part of their education almost invariably manifest an undesirable precocity.... It is most unreasonable to expect a healthy vigorous brain without a well-constituted body; and the converse is also true.' ²

His advice was, therefore, to allocate 2-4 for games every day and abolish the whole holiday on Saturdays.

1. Ibid.,p.285.

2. Ibid.,p.458.

The advocacy of games for girls was another platform. He indicated a vast range of activities:

Walking
Running
Skipping
Swinging and jumping
Gymnastics
Drilling
Swimming
Skating
Rowing
Cricket
Lawn Tennis
Racquets
Fives
Lacrosse
Golf
Hockey
Ringball
Croquet
Base-Ball
Badminton
Cycling.

He argued that:

'Were such exercises faithfully carried out, girls would not require special 'lessons in deportment'; for, the muscles being rendered strong and elastic, grace and ease in their carriage would naturally result. By such means the female figure would be improved, and its strength in staying power increased, together with larger

mental vigour, increased power of application and quickness, greater brightness in disposition, and strength of character.' ¹

No potential obstacle was allowed to remain undiscussed. Dukes had identified the fact that small boys might not gain any benefit from playing games with older boys. He, therefore, advocated separation so that the young could learn the rules of the game in readiness for maturity.

Dukes was also concerned that the compulsory games and exercise which he had advocated should take place under the best circumstances. He, therefore, stressed the need for room to play and also, in stating the case for swimming as a school activity, argued that this was best practised in a swimming bath.

'I lay special stress also upon the value of the swimming bath and bathing. Every school that can possibly manage it should have a place in which the boys can learn and practise swimming. If there be a river, it may be utilised with advantage for summer bathing; but it is not as good as a swimming bath under cover, the water of which can be warmed, and thus used all the year round.

Swimming should be taught, if necessary, though as a general rule nearly every boy will learn by himself or from his school fellows.' ²

Such advocacy was likely to have influenced headmasters and may explain the construction of swimming baths at that time at schools such as Rugby.

With his medical reputation as a member of the Royal College of Physicians and his skill as a writer Dr Dukes was bound to be a figure of some influence in the developments of the late nineteenth century. Naturally

1. Ibid., pp.467-71.

2. Ibid., p.332.

he may have reflected the pioneering trends of the time but nevertheless his contribution was symptomatic of the views of the medical world at that time.

It is therefore possible to argue that the concerted campaign of philosophers, architects and civil servants together with the example of the Clarendon Schools and military establishments had a very significant effect on the provision of recreational facilities and the encouragement of healthful exercise in the educational world. This can be demonstrated by the fact that by 1900 it was very necessary for schools to make reference in their advertisements to the healthful nature of their establishments. This necessity was as evident in girls' schools as in boys'. The paying public had been persuaded of the benefits of physical recreation and schools responded to the demand in various ways. An insight into this response can be gleaned from The Court Guide and County Blue Book of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire published by C.W.Deacon in 1901. There were a substantial number of examples of schools which referred in their advertisements to their facilities or to their beneficial location. At Polam Hall, near Darlington, the school stated that:

'Special attention is given to the health of the pupils and to their physical culture. In the summer term arrangements are made for regular visits to the swimming bath, and swimming lessons take the place of some gymnastic classes.'

St Bede's College at Hornsea announced that:

'...special attention is given to Physical and Moral Culture. Each boy, unless physically unfit, is expected to go through a course of gymnastics. The games are organized and carried out under the supervision of the Masters.'

The Towers School at Saltburn revealed that:

'Great Attention is given to physical health out-door recreation. The girls derive great benefit from the excellent sea water Swimming Bath, as well as from Tennis, Cricket, Cycling, Riding etc. A pony-carriage is kept for the use of the Pupils. Access to woods, Gardens and Pier.'

Bridlington Grammar School does not seem to have had any facilities by 1901, although a gymnasium was under construction, but it exploited its locational advantages instead.

'The School stands in its own grounds of 30 acres, on elevated ground in an unrivalled position and within view of the sea. Bridlington is noted for its bracing climate, the sea bathing is excellent and safe, and the boating is unequalled on the coast. Consequently the health of the boys is remarkably good.'

The situation which is revealed by the example in the North East of England is typical of a situation prevailing throughout the country. There was now a feeling that the possession of such facilities was essential and this was substantially correct because the schools which took fee-paying pupils were engaged in competition for pupils. Parents gave enthusiastic support to schools which had a strong emphasis on sport and excellent facilities. This can be proved by reference to the proliferation of advertisements at the end of the nineteenth century and the contents of these advertisements reveal that parents were likely to be interested by what facilities a school possessed.

The cumulative effect of the various elements of pressure on head teachers had transformed not just the provision that was available at the

schools but the attitude to physical education as well. The impact of the various pressures exerted in the later nineteenth century was to result in the transformation of sporting recreation at English schools into an organized pastime. Traditionally games had been controlled by the pupils. Control of the administration of games in the mid- nineteenth century is amply illustrated by the situation which prevailed at Rugby School. Staunton recorded that the management of the playing area 'and the regulation of the sports are ... committed to an Assembly ... consisting of all the boys in the Upper School, led by the Sixth'.¹ Headmasters ceased merely to permit such pursuits and made them compulsory. Instead of being extra-curricular, they became part of the curriculum. Naturally not all headmasters made this decision at the same time. The Headmaster of Cheltenham College, H.A.James, made this decision in 1889 whereas at Leeds Grammar School the decision did not come until 1904.² In some schools the conversion of physical exercise into an aspect of the curriculum was more surreptitious. At Eastbourne College, for example, games had been known as 'voluntaries' but the staff gradually took over.³ This element of staff involvement which is an obvious concomitant of compulsion would seem to have been, in part, a result of two questions in the School Inquiry Commission's questionnaire which asked about staff presence at, and staff participation in, games.

1. H.Staunton, The Great Schools of England, 1865, p.588.

2. A.C.Price, History of Leeds Grammar School, 1919, p.297.

3. V.M.Allom, A Centenary History of Eastbourne College, 1967, p.26.

By the end of the nineteenth century physical exercise in schools had quite generally evolved from licensed 'play' to compulsory involvement. This was a direct consequence of the multitude of pressures to which headmasters had been exposed. With their extensive commitment to the playing of games, it is not surprising that schools made a significant contribution to the development of organization in such activities.

Chapter VII

The Clarendon Schools.

'The cricket and football fields..are not merely places of exercise and amusement; they help to form some of the most valuable social qualities and manly virtues, and they hold, like the class-room and the boarding-house, a distinct and important place in public school education. Their importance is fully recognized. Ample time is given for them, and they have ample encouragement in general from the authorities of the schools.'

(Clarendon Commission Report, I, 1864, pp.40-41)

The Clarendon Commission, which reported in 1864, was established to investigate nine schools: the seven most famous boarding schools and the two most prominent day schools of the time.¹ 'Famous' and 'prominent' may be assumed to refer to their general standard of excellence and organization, at a time when many ancient educational foundations had not yet been re-organized and were frequently quite moribund. Perhaps the worst example of any school in decline was the Whitgift School at Croydon which, in this period, had a schoolmaster who was paid for thirty years without teaching any pupils.² By comparison the Clarendon schools were at the pinnacle of educational provision. The Report on these schools was to prove to be the prelude to a widespread campaign to revive the quality of educational provision in England.

1. Charterhouse School, Eton College, Harrow School; Merchant Taylors' School, London; Rugby School; St.Paul's School, London; Shrewsbury School; Westminster School; and Winchester College.

2. F.H.G.Percy, History of Whitgift School, 1976, Chapter V.

Sport had already begun to play a prominent part in the life of these schools and the Commissioners commented most favourably on this provision.

'The bodily training which gives health and activity to the frame is imparted at English schools, not by the gymnastic exercises which are employed for that end on the continent--exercises which are undoubtedly very valuable, and which we should be glad to see introduced more widely in England--but by athletic games, which whilst they serve this purpose well, serve other purposes besides.' ¹

They stated quite clearly that the pursuit of physical recreation was to be encouraged because it would lead to a life-long desire for physical fitness. They also saw that sport could offer other less conspicuous benefits: it developed qualities of co-operation and leadership, and also that participation in sport could prevent the success of the twin evils of over-studying and indolence.

This view was repeated in 1865 by H.S.Staunton when writing about Eton College. ² He quoted a master at that school who had indicated to him that he believed that there were both physical and moral benefits to be derived from keen participation in athletic exercises. His informant asserted, for example, that it was a means by which 'idlers and loiterers' might be distracted from the various temptations which existed in Eton village. This, therefore, reveals that the Commissioners' view was not merely one held by outsiders but also held by people actually involved within the institutions. It was not merely an impression but a reality.

1. Clarendon Commission, I, 1864, pp.40-41.

2. H.S.Staunton, The Great Schools of England, 1865, pp.36-37.

Individually these schools were not outstanding but they were probably unique as a group. It is their collective example which had a great influence on educational provision in the later nineteenth century. Such was the stature of the Clarendon Schools that, as schools were revitalised and re-organized in the late nineteenth century, their example was imitated when the opportunity of expansion or relocation occurred. Naturally it is possible to refer to other establishments which had an early gymnasium ¹ or an early swimming bath ² but these were usually only of localised importance and certainly the schools concerned had no general educational reputation which could thus enable them to establish themselves as 'pace-setters'. What is true also is that these were a particular type of school which appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. These new foundations, such as Cheltenham or Epsom Colleges, had all the advantages of site and of new buildings but their collective educational stature could not compare with that of the Clarendon Schools which had evolved over a much longer period.

Any comments made by the Clarendon Commissioners were based undoubtedly on the general level of 'athletic' activity. For the most part this would have been reference to the football and cricket which took place at these schools. It can also be shown, however, that seven of these schools already had an Athletics Sports Day in 1864, using the precise definition established earlier, and in addition Eton College had an occasion which consisted solely of running events and commenced a full track and field events programme in 1865. Merchant Taylors' School did

1. Uppingham School in 1859.

2. Sidcot School in 1849.

not have any athletic activity and this was because it was constricted by its urban location. Directly it moved, as it did in 1872, an Athletic Sports Day was arranged.

St. Paul's School suffered all the deprivations of a school on a restricted urban site until 1890 but the Governors of the school counter-acted the effects of this by arranging for the boys to play cricket at the Oval on their free afternoons in summer.¹

1. H.S.Staunton, op.cit., p.191.

additional notes referring to Figure VI, page 88.

6. C.M.Picciotto, St.Paul's, 1939, p.59; A.N.G.Richards, St.Paul's in West Kensington, 1968, p.6; Letter from H.Mead, Librarian at St. Paul's School, dated 4 September, 1972.
7. W.J.Pendlebury and J.M.West, Shrewsbury School, 1934, p.76; J.B. Oldham, History of Shrewsbury School, 1552-1952, 1952, p.245; H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.4; Moss of Shrewsbury: A Memoir, 1841-1917, 1932, p.93.
8. L.Tanner, Westminster School, 1923, p.14, p.63; Westminster School Archives: Athletics Sports Day programme 22/23 October, 1862.
9. W.C.A.S., Winchester College, 1926, p.32; A.K.Cook, About Winchester College, 1926, p.503; A.F.Leach, Winchester College, 1899, p.510; Bell's Life, 31 March, 1866, p.9.

FIGURE VI

Provision of Structural Sports Amenities and Athletics

Sports Days at Clarendon Schools

	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Days
Charterhouse ¹ School	-	1883	1874	1872	1861
Harrow School ²	1874	1850	1863	1850	1861
Eton College ³	-	-	1840	1866	1865
Merchant Taylors' School ⁴	1875	-	1875	1875	1872
Rugby School ⁵	1872	1876	1863	1859	1856
St.Paul's School ⁶	1890	1899	1883	-	1861
Shrewsbury School ⁷	1883	1886	1798	-	1858
Westminster ⁸ School	1861	-	1886	1847	1861
Winchester ⁹ College	1878	-	1862	1872	1866

-
1. A.H.Tod, Charterhouse, 1900, p.186, p.194; E.M.Jameson, Charterhouse, 1937, p.114, p.124; Charterhouse School Library: Athletics Sports Register.
 2. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.145, p.201, p.205; R.H.Lyttleton, A.Page and E.B.Noel, Fifty Years of Sport: Eton, Harrow and Winchester, III, 1922, p.257.
 3. A.Clutton-Buck, Eton, 1900, p.235; W.Sterry, Annals of Eton College, 1898, p.327; R.H.Lyttleton et al, op.cit., p.100
 4. Merchant Taylors' School, 1929, p.72; F.A.M.Webster, Our Great Public Schools, 1937, p.196.
 5. W.H.D.Rowse, History of Rugby School, 1898, p.305; J.B.H.Simpson, Rugby since Arnold, 1967, p.227; H.C.Bradby, Rugby, 1900, p.138; Rugby School Register, III, 1874-1889, 1891, p.xii; F.A.M.Webster, op.cit., p.10.

Using the criterion of structural amenities, as established earlier, it is possible to assess the role of the Clarendon Schools in the more sophisticated sphere of structural provision. By the 1880s these schools were as fully equipped as they were to be well into the twentieth century. In general it is also true to state that the preponderance of this provision follows the Clarendon Commission Report. This provision, therefore, is a continuation of a tradition of encouraging physical recreation, which the Commissioners had recognised in 1864, but the tradition was conditioned by the circumstances and philosophy of the time. The prosperity of the age permitted the expenditure and the prevailing Germanic emphasis on callisthenics was the influence behind the construction of gymnasiums and current theories on hygiene behind the construction of swimming baths.

Seven of these schools are known to have had gymnasiums in the nineteenth century. The earliest was at Westminster School in 1861 whilst the two latest were at Shrewsbury School (1883) and St. Paul's School (1890). The last two acquired such provision after the schools had moved to new and more extensive premises. Previously such facilities were impossible due to their restricted sites. Charterhouse School definitely did not have a gymnasium: apparently it was considered unnecessary.¹ It has proved impossible so far to establish whether or not Eton College had a gymnasium.

Swimming baths were another expensive provision possessed by five Clarendon Schools. The earliest was at Harrow where outdoor bathing in a pond was transformed into bathing in a paved swimming bath in 1850. Rugby School received its bath as a gift of the Headmaster in 1876; and

1. A.H.Tod, op.cit., p.211.

Charterhouse, Shrewsbury and St. Paul's Schools acquired their baths on moving to better sites. Eton College has proved illusive on this point but evidence from elsewhere may suggest a possible solution. Charterhouse School, before the construction of its bath in 1883, had a purpose-built 'bathing place' on the River Way.¹ This was a platform adjacent to the river and was accompanied by dressing facilities. Winchester College records also refer to a 'bathing place' but the nature of this is unknown. Thus Eton College, with its proximity to the River Thames, may well have utilised the river in the same way. Westminster School did not have a swimming bath because the boys used the nearby Marshall Street Baths.² Consideration of separate provision at that school was abandoned because these facilities were already available.

The provision of gymnasiums and swimming baths reveals a determination to provide facilities for physical recreation and exercise. Reference has already been made to the Headmaster of Shrewsbury School who insisted that expansion of the school would require more provision. Whilst any structural amenity may represent this prevailing mood, the provision of fives courts may be especially revealing. Every Clarendon School had some of these courts: the most expansive being Eton College. It had all the benefits of a vast site and between the 1840s and 1900 it extended its provision from one court to fifty. In the same time span the number of boys rose from 700 to 1000, so the ratio of boys to courts declined in a period of school growth. Maxwell-Lyfe, the historian

1. Photograph available in Charterhouse School Library.

2. Letter from L.C.Spaul, Westminster School Archives, dated 3 October, 1972.

of Eton College, in 1911 commented that this provision was still 'hardly sufficient.'¹ This indicates the extent of demand for this type of activity. Whilst the provision at Eton College may have been extraordinary, there is evidence of a growth of provision for this type of game at most of the other Clarendon Schools, along with provision for rackets and squash.

The Clarendon Schools are of particular interest because they were 'pathfinders' at the point when physical recreation was beginning to attract the attention of educational authorities. Yet this is not all because in the later nineteenth century, they proved themselves receptive both to the philosophy of the time and also to the basic demand for regular physical recreation which they, to a degree, had stimulated. This response can be identified in the extensive acquisition of sporting facilities in the period after the Clarendon Commissioners had reported. Thus by 1900 the sporting contribution of the Clarendon Schools was as great as it had been thirty-five years earlier and this group of schools continued to provide an example to the wider educational world.

1. H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, History of Eton College, 1911, p.559.

Chapter VIII

Sport in Girls' Schools.

'It is much to be desired that girls should have an opportunity when at school of attending and being trained at a regularly furnished gymnasium under the careful superintendence of a professional and well-educated trainer.'

(Mr D.R.Fearon in Schools Inquiry Commission Report, VII, 1868, p.389).

It is impossible to investigate the provision of sport in girls' schools of the late nineteenth century on such an extensive basis as is possible in the instance of boys' schools. The main reason is an absence of information, together with the fact that girls' education was only just beginning to develop properly in the last phase of the nineteenth century. By contrast with the long tradition of boys' education, the provision of a secondary education for girls was a phenomenon which occurred from the 1850s onwards. Thus by the end of the century there were still relatively few girls' schools, and many of these were such small establishments that sport and its associated facilities did not feature in their curricula. Where schools did flourish and school histories have chronicled their existence, the recording of the early days tends to concentrate on the personality and qualities of the early headmistresses, teachers and benefactors and not on the facilities available at such schools.

Whatever the problem of quantity or quality of evidence available, there was official governmental interest in girls' physical education. The Schools Inquiry Commission in 1868 asked headmistresses questions

which were virtually identical to those posed to headmasters of boys' schools.¹ Implicit in the questions was the suggestion that physical exercise should be taking place. An illustration of this implication can be seen in the questions: 'How many hours a week are allowed for exercise?' or 'What are the usual games or bodily exercise?' This implication was amplified by a Report by Mr D.R.Fearson² in which he referred specifically to the needs of girls' education. He believed that exercise was not sufficiently recognised for its importance to health:

'...a belief in the necessity of some system of physical education is no doubt increasing among principals and teachers of girls' schools. At present, however, there is not much appreciation of this necessity among parents of the upper middle classes, and as many systems of callisthenics are expensive, parents often object to pay the necessary extra fees. In some schools too, which prefer to use callisthenics, the exercise consists of little more than the ordinary lessons in dancing and deportment, and in very few schools is there to be found a regular system of physical training based upon a study of physiology, and adapted to the exigencies of girls' schools. It is much to be desired that girls should have an opportunity when at school of attending and being trained at a regularly furnished gymnasium under the careful superintendence of a professional and well-educated trainer.'

The response to the Commission's questions was negligible³ in terms of the replies received, but the questionnaire, together with the 'encouragement' of people like Mr Fearon, may well have had an influence

-
1. Schools Inquiry Commission,I, 1868. Questions 65-76.
 2. Schools Inquiry Commission,VII, 1868, p.389.
 3. In fact there was some evidence of parental hostility to exercise for girls. Mr Gifford in Schools Inquiry Commission,VII, p.206 reported that 'The absence of a playground is thought by some parents to be a merit rather than a fault.'

over school planning in the longer term.

When such planning occurred headmistresses and school governors could also draw upon Mr Fearon's advice on the form which their provision of physical exercise should take.

'The weak point of all, even the best callisthenic exercises, in girls' schools is that they are conducted indoors.... Boys have in their schools this great advantage over girls, that when they come out from class they can generally fall to some game in which they take the keenest interest, and become so absorbed that they forget their lessons for the time.... In the great majority of schools there is no out-door exercise except walking, a most inadequate provision both for exercise of the body and diversion of the mind. To some schools situated in the suburbs of London there are grounds attached, in which pupils can obtain outdoor exercise; but even in these the only games would seem to be such as croquet.... Most of these games are too desultory and require too little organization to afford any real diversion to the players' minds; while croquet, which is no doubt a game of some skill and much interest, is not a healthy game; because it necessitates much lounging and standing still, and a good deal of stooping.... I think it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the proprietors of girls' schools in the country which have some spare ground round them, that they ought to provide their pupils with games which shall be sufficiently violent to exercise thoroughly their bodies, and sufficiently difficult to thoroughly divert their minds.'

¹

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, VII, 1868, p.390.

There was a gradual response to the guidelines which he had laid down. To a small degree this was evident by 1900, as will be demonstrated, but mostly it was to be a twentieth-century development.

It has proved to be possible to trace the existence of gymnasiums in at least sixteen schools by 1890.¹ The earliest firm reference to such a construction was at Bedford High School in 1878² but an earlier reference to Queen's College in Harley Street, London, in 1868, refers to 'one room set aside for gymnastic exercise.'³ Thus a proto-type existed somewhat earlier. It is also necessary to stress that the North London Collegiate School was reported in February 1880 to have acquired a 'new gymnasium.'⁴ In the Victoria County History, J.D.Mellor has referred to this school as having had the first ever girls' school gymnasium and this claim could well be quite valid.⁵

A gymnasium was clearly seen as an important possession. Several schools acquired a gymnasium within a few years of their foundation. An example of this was the Sheffield High School which opened in 1878 and had a gymnasium by 1884.⁶ The possession of a gymnasium seemed to be a matter of prestige and this was used for publicity. An advertisement in the History, Topography and Directory of Durham in 1894 described the Gateshead High School for Girls as being 'provided with an

-
1. See Appendix VII for 'Girls Schools' Gymnasiums in the 19th Century'.
 2. K.M.Westaway, History of Bedford High School, 1932, p.15.
 3. Schools Inquiry Commission, X, 1868, p.294.
 4. R.M.Scrimgeour, The North London Collegiate School, 1850-1950, 1950, p.46.
 5. J.D.Mellor, 'Schools', V.C.H.Middlesex, I, 1969, ed. J.S.Cockburn, p.309.
 6. G.P.D.S.T., 1972, p.82.

excellent gymnasium, laboratory and playground.¹ Possession of a gymnasium was equated with other more academic provision. This feeling of pride is well recorded in the instance of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Church High School in 1890.² The anonymous writer of the school anniversary booklet in 1935 recalled that the Bishop at its opening had given his qualified approval to the provision of the gymnasium. The Bishop's remarks were, it must be added, only 'qualified' because he saw the danger of too much exercise.

The provision of a gymnasium was of greater importance in a girls' school because, unlike in boys' schools, there was a considerable emphasis on callisthenics. They had tended to imitate the European pattern of organized exercise whereas the boys' schools, with their long outdoor tradition from the era of archery, mostly saw the gymnasium as a mere adjunct to their provision of outdoor facilities. Also there would have been social pressure against girls indulging in vigorous outdoor pursuits. A photograph of 1882 shows the 'new gymnasium' at the North London Collegiate School to have contained parallel bars, horizontal bars, giant stride and dumb bells.³ The emphasis on regulated exercise in the gymnasium was so great that it may be a reason for Cheltenham Ladies College, having a 'callisthenics room' rather than a 'gymnasium'.⁴

Evidence of team games was to be found at most establishments but, as with the boys, this has no especial significance. The provision of other amenities or the institution of an annual sports day were taken as potentially useful indicators. The Exmouth Ladies Collegiate School

-
1. F.Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of Durham, 1894, p.3.
(Advertisements)
 2. The Newcastle-upon-Tyne Church High School, 1885-1935, 1935, p.18.
 3. R.M.Scrimgeour, op.cit., p.46.
 4. Kelly's Directory of Gloucestershire and Bristol, 1894, 1894, p.67.

in 1889 in Kelly's Directory of Devon and Cornwall was described as having a 'tennis lawn and every facility for healthful exercise'.¹

In the schools managed by the Girls' Public Day School Trust tennis was played as early as in 1880. In that year Wimbledon High School and Croydon High School played a match at the latter's court.²

Enthusiasm for this particular recreation revealed itself in the first Headmistress of Sutton High School, Miss Whyte, who had a tennis court marked out as soon as the school opened in 1884.³ Other facilities were rare but in his Modern School Buildings,⁴ Felix Clay made reference to the Girls' Public Day School Trust and claimed that 'fives courts have been added to several schools...and have proved popular'. There may have been an element of exaggeration in this assertion, motivated by the desire to encourage school extensions, but Clapham High School certainly did possess a fives court in the late nineteenth century.⁵

The information about Athletics Sports Days is sparse. The provision of such was recorded for Shrewsbury High School in May 1888.⁶ The events in this Sports Day were:

-
1. Kelly's Directory of Devon and Cornwall, 1889, 1889, p.76.
 2. G.P.D.S.T., 1972, p.104.
 3. Ibid., p.99.
 4. F.Clay, Modern School Buildings, 1902, p.260.
 5. G.P.D.S.T., 1972, p.27.
 6. H.Bates and A.A.M.Wells, History of Shrewsbury High School, 1962, p.40.

High Jump

Long Jump

Throwing the Cricket Ball

Tug of War

'Handicap'

Potato Race

Hopping Race

3-Legged Race

Egg and Spoon Race .

This occasion was a mixture of the athletic and the spectacular, a feature evident also in boys' schools. In the same year Christ's Hospital at Hertford included two girls 'events' in the annual boys' sports--one event was athletic and the other more spectacular.¹ These events were 100 yards skipping and a display of musical dumb bells.

There does seem to have been general encouragement, from within the ranks of headmistresses, for physical exercise of varying kinds. The Sutton tennis courts are an illustration of this but are not an isolated instance. Lack of amenities was certainly not an obstacle to following the trend. At the Brighton and Hove High School arrangements were made for the girls to have lessons in callisthenics at a neighbouring gymnasium.² A similar situation prevailed at the Putney High School where an army sergeant was employed to take pupils for drill and gymnastics in a hall in nearby Wandsworth.³ No girls' school is recorded as having a swimming bath in the nineteenth century but even in this sphere there is an example of initiative in seeking facilities so as to

1. F.M.Page, Christ's Hospital Hertford, 1953, p.115.

2. G.P.D.S.T., 1972, p.40.

3. Ibid., p.79.

promote exercise. The North London Collegiate School made arrangements for their girls to use the St Pancras Baths.¹ Headmistresses were even more reluctant than headmasters about expressing their opinions publicly but Dorothea Beale, Headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College, did make the oblique but helpful remark: 'It is to be wished that croquet could be abolished. It gives no proper exercise'.² Rather less famous than Miss Beale was Miss Sparrow, the Headmistress of the girls' school of Christ's Hospital at Hertford. As early as 1817 she complained to the governors that 'the girls have not sufficient recreation for play and exercises.'³ The result was that the girls, thereafter, were granted the possibility of two afternoon's holidays each week at the headmistress's discretion. Miss Sparrow must have been rather exceptional by the standards of her time but is nonetheless illustrative of an enlightened nineteenth-century mind. The desire for exercise was strong because headmistresses believed, like headmasters, that a healthy body was an essential concomitant of a healthy mind. As was stated in the Sheffield High School magazine in 1884, 'we find that enthusiasm...for active exercises is shown by the intellectually vigorous'.⁴ Again Felix Clay may have been guilty of over-statement when he commented in 1902 that it is necessary now to supply hardly less room for play in Girls' Schools than is the case of these for boys',⁵ but he had identified the trend towards widespread provision for sport and exercise in girls' education.

1. J.D.Mellor, loc.cit., p.309.

2. J.Dover Wilson, The Schools of England, 1928, p.144.

3. W.Lempriere, History of the Girls' School of Christ's Hospital, 1924, p.39.

4. G.P.D.S.T., 1972, p.82.

5. F.Clay, op.cit., p.260.

A multitude of dispersed, and often fleeting, references indicate that there was a growth in the provision for the physical exercise of girls in late nineteenth-century schools. The appearance of girls' Athletics Sports Days and the playing of hockey and tennis are the evidence that the encouragement of exercise had, as in the sphere of boys' education, led to the development of sport in girls' schools. Quite evidently this was only in the embryonic stage by 1900 but it is a further demonstration of the tide of educational change.

Chapter IX

Surrey Schools in the Nineteenth Century.

Consideration has so far been given to schools in general terms, with the exception of the reference made to the 'Clarendon Schools' and to girls' education. It may be helpful, therefore, if a specific area is examined as an example. This would show the extent to which the various trends which existed may have permeated the schools of England. The area chosen for this survey is Surrey, being the district so defined by the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1868 which excluded the metropolitan area which was already administered separately by the Metropolitan Board of Works.

At least twelve boys' schools should attract attention for their role in the promotion of physical exercise. They range from the Clarendon School, Charterhouse at Godalming, to a proprietary school, Epsom College, and a Roman Catholic public school, St. George's College at Weybridge. Of these at least eight had Athletics Sports Days before the end of the century. The earliest of these 'Sports' was held at Cranleigh School, itself founded in 1863, in 1866¹ but no information about this survives. The next were held at St. George's College in 1869,² and Epsom College in the same year.³ Detailed information is available for the 1871 Epsom College occasion.⁴ The events held were:

-
1. Cranleigh School, 1865-1906, 1906, p.22.
 2. Letter from the Headmaster, St. George's College, dated 4 May, 1973.
 3. Letter from M.A. Nash, Librarian, Epsom College, dated 11 February, 1973.
 4. Epsom College Magazine, Summer 1871.

100 yards - open and Junior

440 yards - open and Junior (under 4'9")

880 yards - Junior (under 16)

250 yards Handicap (under 13)

1 mile walking

Hurdles - Senior and Junior (10 flights,
10 yards apart)

Putting the Weight (16 lbs)

High Jump

Long Jump

Throwing the Cricket Ball

Choir Handicap (for altos and trebles)

600 yards Handicap (for non-runners)

The Trouser Race (100 yards)

Consolation Race

Strangers Race (440 yards - for Old Epsomian and
inhabitants of Epsom).

In view of the date the events are quite typical. The distances contested have settled down and the 'spectacular' events are in the minority. Epsom College was exceptional in that it was one of the first schools to commit itself to a standardised weight for Putting the Weight.

In the sphere of facilities twelve boys' schools made a contribution (see Figure VII). Eight schools had gymnasiums. The earliest was at Cranleigh School whose possession of such was recorded in the Schools Inquiry Commission report. Caterham School which moved to its present site from Lewisham in 1881 acquired a gymnasium very soon after this removal in 1886, presumably benefitting from the advantages of site. The same is probably true of King's College School which moved from its restricted site in the Strand to Wimbledon in 1897 and acquired a gymnasium almost at once.

FIGURE VII

Surrey Boys' Schools : Sports Amenities and
First Athletics Sports Days.¹

		Gym- nasium	Fives Court	Racquets Court	Swimming Bath	First Athletics Sports Day.
Caterham School	2	1888	1892	-	1889	1888
Charterhouse School	3	-	1874	1872	1883	1861
Cranleigh School	4	1868	1875	-	-	1866
Epsom College	5	1870	1877	1891	1862	1869
Kings' College School Wimbledon	6	1899	1899	-	-	-
Kingston Grammar School	7	-	-	-	-	-
Reeds' School, Cobham	8	1899	-	-	1899	-
Reigate Grammar School	9	1899	-	-	-	-
Royal Grammar School, Guildford	10	-	1888	-	-	1870
Rutlish School	11	-	-	-	-	1899
St. George's College, Weybridge	12	1869	-	-	1879	1869
St. John's School, Leatherhead	13	-	1881	-	-	1885
Whitgift School, Croydon	14	-	1871	-	-	1872

1. This Figure does not include the East India Company's College at Addiscombe which, although catering for teenage boys, had closed by 1861. It had possessed a gymnasium (1851) and had held an Athletics Sports Day as early as 1851.

2. H. Stafford, Caterham School, 1945, p.74; Caterhamian II (iii), p.64, I (iii) p.92; V (i) p.16.

3. See Chapter VII.

4. Schools Inquiry Commission, XI, 1868, p.209; Cranleigh School, 1865-1906, p.10, p.22.

5. F.A.M. Webster, Our Great Public Schools, 1937, p.112; letter quoted above dated 11 February, 1873.

Footnotes referring to Figure VII, page 103.

6. Letter from F.H.Shaw, Headmaster, King's College School, Wimbledon, dated 17 May, 1973.
7. No information obtained.
8. Letter from P.Horton, dated 20 April, 1973.
9. Letter from H.M.Ballance, Headmaster, Reigate Grammar School, dated 16 April, 1973.
10. Letters from D.M.Sturley, Royal Grammar School, Guildford, dated 11 January, 1973 and 29 January, 1973.
11. Letter from Headmaster, dated 14 May, 1973.
12. Letter quoted above dated 4 May, 1973.
13. Letter from E.J.Hartwell, Headmaster, St.John's School, Leatherhead, dated 8 February, 1973.
14. W.D.Hayward, History of Whitgift Grammar School, 1892, p.234; letter from F.H.G.Percy, Whitgift School, dated 1 January, 1973.

There were five swimming baths, the earliest being at Epsom College in 1862. The swimming bath at Caterham School, built in 1889, still survives. Eight schools had fives courts and two had racquets courts, these being Charterhouse School and Epsom College. Epsom College was the most well-equipped school in Surrey in the context of physical exercise, as well as having had one of the earliest Athletics Sports Days. This status derives from the fact that Charterhouse School did not acquire a gymnasium until well into the present century. The provision at Epsom College is typical of that found at proprietary schools which, because of their later foundation and advantages of site and funds, tended to acquire such facilities quickly rather than gradually, benefitting from the pioneering work and example of other schools.

The provision for physical exercise in girls' schools in nineteenth century Surrey is also rather typical of the national pattern. Capital expenditure on secondary education came much later in the girls' sector and so sports amenities tend not to have appeared by the end of the century. The three Girls' Public Day School Trust schools at Croydon, Sutton and Wimbledon did, however, have tennis courts, and inter-school matches were played.¹ The only structural amenities were the gymnasiums provided in 1887 at the Church Schools Company's establishment, Guildford High School,² and in 1897 at the Warehousemen's Clerks' and Drapers' School at Purley.³

1. See Chapter VII.

2. Letter from Miss M.J. Harley-Mason, Headmistress, Guildford High School, dated 14 February, 1973.

3. This is now St. Thomas More's School.

Surrey contained a considerable variety of types of school by the end of the nineteenth century and within that perspective various degrees of enthusiasm for promoting sport can be discerned.

Headmasters of many schools must have at least tacitly supported the movement towards the promotion of organized sport and provision of facilities, otherwise nothing would have been provided. The alacrity with which facilities were acquired at Charterhouse School, after its removal from London in 1872, or Caterham and King's College Schools after their respective removals are indications of the support that was forthcoming. In the girls' sphere Surrey saw the notable Miss Whyte of Sutton High School, one of whose first actions at the opening of that school in 1884 was to order the preparation of a makeshift tennis court. These examples of enthusiasm must be balanced by the fact that at other establishments, such as Kingston Grammar School, no evidence of particular interest in physical exercise has been discovered.

Although the county does have the distinction of having a school, the Royal Grammar School at Guildford, where cricket is known to have been played as early as Henry VIII's reign,¹ Surrey was not selected because it was expected to yield an exceptional quantity of information but because of the writer's familiarity with that area. It has shown itself to be a microcosm, reflecting the trends of the age, and is consequently representative of the situation likely to be found elsewhere in England at that time.

1. A.F. Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H. Surrey, II, 1905, (ed.) H.E. Malden, p. 166.

Chapter X.

Universities and Sport.

'...the Athletic Movement has had as wide and perhaps physiologically as deep an influence on the life of Oxford as either of the two other movements of the nineteenth century.'

(W.K.Stride, Exeter College, 1900, p.224.)

A 'play day' clause in the statutes of a Tudor grammar school will reveal an interest in physical exercise on the part of the founders but there does not seem to be any positive evidence of a parallel kind in the University sphere. Professor H.A.Harris would seem nonetheless to have been mistaken when he asserted that 'At the Universities football and other games were still prohibited throughout the eighteenth century'.¹ The evidence is that considerable control was exerted both in the students' interests, physical and moral, and in the interests of the Universities' reputations but that exercise did, in fact, continue uninterrupted.

A cursory survey of the Cambridge University records would tend to yield the impression that the authorities were against physical exercise. In 1571, for example, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Whitgift, prohibited swimming in the river and imposed the severe penalty of a double public whipping for undergraduate offenders.² The reason for this attitude can readily be explained. In about 1567 a student had been drowned in the Cam 'while washing himself in a place... called Paradise',³

1. H.A.Harris, Sport in Britain, 1975, p.218-9.

2. H.P.Stokes, Corpus Christi, 1898, p.237.

3. R.Austen-Leigh, King's College, 1899, p.63.

and the authorities, therefore, wished to avoid a repetition of this incident. Their concern about the hazards of river bathing were not unjustified because in 1574 three Corpus Christi College students were also drowned, thus precipitating a re-statement of the penalties.¹ The discouragement of football may, therefore, also be seen in a different light. As early as 1349 there had been an edict against football and J.R.Wardle has suggested that this was a result of fears that archery was being neglected.² This was not a move against football as a form of exercise but as an alternative to archery which was considered to have a national importance. Later the restrictions on football which were imposed by the Vice-Chancellor in 1580 were motivated by a desire to avoid conflict with the local youth after a football match between some students and some young men from Chesterton had ended in fighting.³ This same feeling can be observed in a government statute of 1584 which referred to the playing of football.⁴ In this instance it was motivated by royal concern about possible disorder and not by hostility to exercise. The fear of disorder was common. Another form of discouragement can be discovered as late as 1750 when Dr John Green, the Master of Corpus Christi College, ruled that:

1. H.P.Stokes, op.cit., p.237.

2. J.R.Wardle, Clare College, 1899, p.191.

3. J.R.Wardle, op.cit., p.191.

4. Quoted in D.W.Sylvester, Educational Documents, 800-1816, 1970, p.152.

'Every person in statu pupillari who shall be found at any coffee house, tennis court, cricket ground or other place of public diversion and entertainment, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the morning, shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings for every offence.' ¹

In other words the prohibition was for academic reasons. The situation in Cambridge would, therefore, seem to have been that the prohibitions, where they existed, were imposed for quite understandable reasons. That there was not a complete ban on physical activity is clear because, at the same time as forbidding football against the youth of the town in 1580, the Vice-Chancellor did specifically permit football within the Colleges, provided that no strangers were involved. This situation was confirmed by Vice-Chancellor Goad's 'Prohibitions' in 1595 where the 'hurtful and unscholarly exercise' of football was forbidden except within each College and between members of the same College. ²

The situation in Oxford was very similar. As early as 1341 a statute concerning Queen's College had forbidden the

'haunting of taverns, the keeping of hawks and hounds, dangerous games like dice and chess which led to gambling, and musical instruments which provoked levity and interfered with work.' ³

Later, in the Tudor and Stuart periods, a considerable number of prohibitions were to appear amongst the statutes of various colleges.

-
1. H.P.Stokes, op.cit., p.238.
 2. R.Austen-Leigh, op.cit., p.63.
 3. C.E.Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford,I, 1924, p.271.

For example, the foundress of Wadham College, Dorothy Wadham, banned all 'shooting machines'; ¹ at Exeter College the keeping of hounds was not permitted; ² and at New College games of dice, chess, hazard or ball and every other 'noxious, inordinate, unlawful and dishonest' game was banned. ³ There were colleges which positively encouraged exercise, such as Trinity College where it was known as 'deambulation'. ⁴ In the College grove the students were permitted to play fives and handball. They were not, however, permitted to play within the buildings. The fear of damage may well have been the explanation as seems to have been the case in the prohibition of playing ball at New College. That there was not a general prohibition on physical exercise and that it was, in fact, positively encouraged is revealed by a clause in the University Statutes of c1490: ⁵

'All members of a Hall on being directed by the Principal to go off to the fields or other places whatsoever on account of proper recreation and the honour of the Hall shall repair there together and return in like manner, and none of them shall stay at home, except for some reasonable cause, and with the leave of the Principal, under penalty of a fine of two pence'.

-
1. J.Wells, Wadham College, 1898, pp.26-27.
 2. W.K.Stride, Exeter College, 1900, p.44.
 3. H.Rashdall and R.S.Rait, New College, 1901, pp.60-1.
 4. H.E.D.Blakiston, Trinity College, 1898, p.63.
 5. A.E.Emden, An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times, 1927, pp.204-5.

This permissive statement must be seen, however, in conjunction with the prohibition of the 'game of dice, handball, the art of the two-handed swords, buckler play or ...any other unseemly game disturbing to the peace and distractive from study'.

It would seem, therefore, that physical exercise was quite an acceptable pursuit in the pre-nineteenth-century university. Any prohibitions which existed had been promulgated in the interests of the students. Both Universities sought to maintain their academic reputations, to fulfill their role 'in loco parentis' and to protect their buildings from damage. These would seem, in retrospect, to be quite logical restraints.

2. Universities and Sport in the Nineteenth Century.

Universities also played their part in the development of sport in the nineteenth century. The same criteria that were used for schools, namely the *Athletics Sports Day* and the *provision of structural amenities*, have been utilised so as to provide the substance of comparison with the school sector. The contribution of the universities in the last century seems to have been most conspicuous in the context of the *Athletics Sports Day* and rather less so in the sphere of structural amenities associated with sport.

In the nineteenth-century English University life was principally focused upon the towns of Oxford and Cambridge and by the end of the century they were regularly competing in at least twenty sports.¹

1. See Appendix VIII for 'Chronological Development of Sporting Competition between Oxford and Cambridge Universities (up to 1900)'.¹

Outside those two centres, university education could also be found in London and Durham. In the second half of the century university standard education began to become available in towns such as Manchester but this had hardly developed before the century closed. Thus the vast proportion of evidence in this sphere will relate to Oxford and Cambridge Universities but reference will be made to other institutions whenever possible.

One of the earliest Athletics Sports Days in England was held at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1850,¹ and before 1860 a further eleven Oxford and Cambridge colleges² had followed this example. Athletics at these two universities was, therefore, based initially on individual colleges. By 1866, the year of the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club, this provision was quite extensive and well-developed. Figure VIII will illustrate this with evidence derived from sixteen Oxford and Cambridge colleges.

-
1. F.A.M.Webster, Athletics of Today, 1929, p.9. The Sports of 1851 included field events but there had been an athletic occasion in 1850 consisting solely of track events.
 2. F.A.M.Webster, op.cit., p.9. At Cambridge -- St John's and Emmanuel Colleges; at Oxford -- Balliol, Pembroke, Wadham, Worcester, Oriel, Merton and Christ Church Colleges.

<div> <div>FIGURE</div> <div>VIII</div> <div>The Events contested at Athletic Sports in</div> <div>Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. February and March 1866.</div> <div>(Compiled from Bell's Life</div> <div>in London, Spring 1866.)</div> </div>																		
100 yards	440 yards	1 mile	2 miles	Walk- ing	Steeple- chase	120 yds Hurdles	Other Hurdles	Handi- cap	Stranger's Race	High Jump	Long Jump	Pole Jump	Throwing the Cricket Ball	Hammer Throw	Putting the Weight/ Shot	Sack Race	Unusual Race	Consolation Race
<u>CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY</u>																		
Corpus Christi College	✓	✓	✓	-	2 miles	-	✓	-	440 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	440 yds
Christ's College	✓	✓	✓	-	2 miles	-	✓	-	440 yds	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
Trinity College	✓	✓	✓	-	2 miles	-	✓	-	440 yds	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓
Emmanuel College	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	Hurdles	-	440 yds	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
St Catharines' College	✓	✓	✓	-	2 miles	-	✓	-	440 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
St Peter's College	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	440 yds H'cap 600 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-
St John's College	✓	✓	✓	-	2 miles	-	✓	-	440 yds	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	Hopping Graduates 200 yds	-
Queen's College.	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	200 yds	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
<u>OXFORD UNIVERSITY</u>																		
University College	✓	✓	✓	-	-	2 miles	✓	250 yds	880 yds	600 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	Trousers	✓
Jesus College	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	-		✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	200 yds for Freshmen	✓
New College	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	1 mile	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	Servants	✓
Magdalen College	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	880 yds	440 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	400 yds H'cap for Servants	300 yds
Lincoln College	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	200 yds	880 yds	200 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	✓
Christ Church College	✓	✓	✓	✓	3 miles	-	✓	250 yds	880 yds	880 yds	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Donkey	200 yds
Braesnose College	✓	✓	✓	-	-	2 miles	✓	-	880 yds	250 yds	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
Trinity College.	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	880 yds	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	Donkey	✓

In 1857, however, an important advance was made because in that year Cambridge University held its first Athletics Sports. The events contested were;

100 yards
440 yards
880 yards
1 mile
250 yards Hurdles
High Jump
Long Jump
Shot. 1

With the exception of the Hurdles event, the contest has a very modern appearance. This is probably evidence that it was amongst the college and inter-college athletic meetings that the uniformity of distances contested was decided. The choice of date may also be significant. These Sports were held on 21 March² and this may have been a factor in the marked preference amongst educational establishments for a Lent Term Sports Day. Oxford University soon followed the Cambridge example and its inter-college sports were held first in 1860. Durham University held its first Athletics Sports in 1857 and, for comparison with the Cambridge example, its events were:

100 yards
1 mile Steeplechase
Throwing the Hammer
'Height' Jump
'Length' Jump
and unspecified 'Hurdles' races.³

By 1864 Oxford and Cambridge Universities had advanced sufficiently to hold the first of what became the prestigious 'Oxford-Cambridge' fixtures.

1. N.C.A.L., Joe Binks Collection, Box 20/7.
2. H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.7.
3. C.E.Whiting, The University of Durham, 1832-1932, 1932, p.324.

Perusal of the programme of events for 1864,¹ with the exception of the 200 yards Hurdles and 2 miles Steeplechase, reveals a conventional enough appearance:

100 yards
440 yards
1 mile
120 yards Hurdles (10 flights)
200 yards Hurdles (10 flights)
2 miles Steeplechase
Long Jump
High Jump

By 1868 the programme also included the 3 miles, and the Throwing the Hammer and Putting the Weight, both using the 16 lbs implement.²

This inter-university competition had a contemporary parallel in the United Hospital Athletics Championships which commenced in 1867.³

This began with:

100 yards
250 yards
440 yards
880 yards
1 mile
2 miles
120 yards Hurdles
440 yards Hurdles⁴
Long Jump
High Jump
Weight (16 lbs)
Hammer (16 lbs)
Throwing the Cricket Ball⁵

1. M.Shearman, Athletics, 1898, pp. 322-8.

2. M.Shearman, op.cit., pp. 322-8. The Weight was introduced in 1865 and the Hammer in 1866. The 3 miles replaced the 2 miles, held in 1865-67. Throwing the Cricket Ball was included in 1865 only.

3. J.I.Lupton and J.M.K.Lupton, The Pedestrian's Road, 1890, p.145.

4. Idem. The 440 yards Hurdles were held in 1867-71.

5. Idem. Throwing the Cricket Ball took place from 1867 until 1874.

In 1877 the 2 miles was replaced by the 3 miles and in 1879 the 250 yards was replaced by the 220 yards. This last was possibly the most conspicuous contribution that the United Hospital Athletics Championships made to the development of athletic competition. They were the first organization to contest this event in a championship and they were to that extent pathfinders. Also they included the 880 yards which the Oxford-Cambridge match did not.

Universities seem to have been slower to acquire structural amenities. This was probably because, as with the schools, physical recreation did not necessarily require such amenities. Open space was the first priority. Only in one institution was there a reference to compulsory physical exercise and that was at the women's Queen's College in London where first year students had to participate in callisthenics. ¹

The earliest gymnasium recorded in the University sector was constructed at Oxford in 1858. ² It was purpose-built and, although converted for other purposes in modern times, it still stands in Alfred Street. It was said to be 'admirably fitted with modern appliances for the practise of athletics' and it was certainly a most sophisticated structure. Its exterior dimensions were 70' by 40' and it rose to 37' at the eaves. The roof was flat, except for a substantial cupola effect in the centre. Inside at each end the height was restricted by the presence of galleries for spectators but in the central portion the building was open to the roof-line. The galleries were supported on four iron tubular pillars which rose to the roof. The galleries in turn supported the gymnastic ropes and the hooks to which these were attached are still to be observed in the building.

1. Schools Inquiry Commission, X, 1868, p.294.

2. Kelly's Directory of Oxfordshire, 1903, p.169.

The first college to acquire a gymnasium was Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1877.¹ This college had been founded in 1875 and until 1877 the women students had been permitted to use a gymnasium in the town and apparently had done so with considerable enthusiasm. Alice Gardner commented, however, that the interest in indoor gymnastics waned with the greater possibilities of outdoor exercise for women which presented themselves later in the century. It may be significant that the first college at Oxford to obtain a gymnasium of its own was Somerville in 1887.² Both of these gymnasiums were prominent enough features of the Colleges for them to earn a reference in the local edition of Kelly's Directory. Possibly it was easier for a new institution, as both Newnham and Somerville Colleges were, to acquire such facilities. Advantages of site and enthusiastic benefactors anxious to innovate may have been the explanation. Certainly no evidence of other colleges with a gymnasium in Oxford or Cambridge has been discovered. Outside Oxford and Cambridge, the first institution to acquire such a facility was Owen's College, now the University, at Manchester in 1879.³ Kelly's Directory can be utilised to reveal the existence of the Guy's Hospital gymnasium in 1892.⁴ This gymnasium could have been older but the first description was found for that year. By 1894 two London colleges, Bedford and King's,⁵ had both acquired gymnasiums.

1. A.Gardner, A Short History of Newnham College, Cambridge, 1921, p.31.

2. Kelly's Directory of Oxfordshire, 1902, p.202.

3. E.Fiddes, Chapters in the History of Owen's College, 1937, p.121.

4. Kelly's Directory of Warwickshire, 1892, p.23. (Advertisement Supplement).

5. M.J.Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women, 1849-1937, 1939, p.276.

F.J.C.Hearnshaw, The Centenary History of King's College, London 1828-1928, 1929, p.518.

Apart from gymnasiums, information on other facilities is very sparse. Three university colleges had swimming baths in the nineteenth century. Queen Mary College, London, had its swimming bath in 1888¹ but Christ's College, Cambridge, already had its bath in 1880 when it was mentioned in the Railway Traveller's Walk Through Cambridge.²

In a later publication a photograph of the latter is shown and this reveals that it was equipped with dressing facilities. The other swimming bath was located at St.Catharine's College, Cambridge,³ but a precise date of construction has not been discovered. The University of Cambridge did possess a bathing shed and specialised facilities on the Granta. These were constructed in 1855.⁴ The shed was parallel to the river and could accommodate over one hundred bathers. A large diving board, about 15 feet high, and a spring-board were provided. At this point on the Granta it was possible to hold races up to about 120 yards on a straight course. This is a similar facility to what came to appear at some public schools and perhaps the idea originated in Cambridge.

Fives courts are definitely known to have existed at University College, London, in 1864 and Christ's College, Cambridge, by about 1890.⁵ University College, London, is also credited with the possession of rackets courts in 1864. Tennis, which did not necessarily, require quite the capital outlay of the other facilities and may therefore escape mention in records for that reason, had certainly been recognised by the provision of grass courts at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1890,⁶ as well as

1. G.Godwin, Queen Mary College, 1939, p.52.

2. Railway Traveller's Walk Through Cambridge, 1880, p.112.
J.Peile, Christ's College, 1900, p.288.

3. G.F.Browne, St.Catharine's College, 1902, p.205.

4. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, Swimming, 1893, pp.333-4.

5. H.H.Bellot, University College, London, 1826-1926, 1929, p.362.
J.Peile, op.cit., p.291.

6. J.Peile, op.cit., p.291.

at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, where both lawn and gravel courts were provided.¹ Newnham College, Cambridge, had acquired its own ash courts by the end of the century,² although this was probably merely one of many colleges to do so.

It would seem that the long-established institutions were not acquiring such facilities and that innovation in this sphere was to be found, obviously with exceptions like Christ's College, Cambridge, in the newly-established institutions. Such an assertion does, however, require qualification. Oxford and Cambridge had many colleges of historical origins which were nonetheless flourishing athletic centres. Team activities did prosper and amongst such pursuits may be included rowing. Three Cambridge colleges had acquired boathouses by 1895 -- Gonville and Caius College (1875), Jesus College (1883) and Downing College (1895).³ At Oxford amongst the men's colleges the boating barges were a substitute for the boathouse and two early examples were Wadham College (1886) and Magdalen College (1887).⁴ Thus these older colleges were prepared to invest capital in support of traditional sporting activities even when they did not seem to incline towards the new activities such as gymnastic exercise or the use of a swimming bath.

As with headmasters and headmistresses, university college principals did not normally comment on the growth of participation in sport.

1. G.Bailey, Lady Margaret Hall, 1923, p.61.

2. A.Gardner, op.cit., p.31.

3. J.Venn, Caius College, 1901, p.214; A.Gray, Jesus College, 1902, p.231; H.W.Pettit Stevens, Downing College, 1899, p.241.

4. J.Wells, Wadham College, 1898, p.201; H.A.Wilson, Magdalen College, 1899, p.278.

Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth, the first Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, however, in the late nineteenth century is recorded as having exhorted the College Committee 'to promote the athletic spirit as an antidote to headache and lassitude'.¹ If this was true of a women's college, which acquired its own boathouse in Oxford in 1885, it must equally be true of other institutions which were visibly pursuing the same objective, albeit perhaps unconsciously. An example in this context might be Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, whom H.W.C.Davis described as having planned the purchase of a cricket ground as early as 1852, although he did not become Master until 1870 and it was not obtained until 1890.² Such determination, or insistence, is very similar to headmagisterial encouragement. In fact it was said of Jowett that 'the adventures of the Eight were watched by him with hardly less anxiety than the class-lists of the schools.' The sense of the prevailing attitude was reflected by D.W.Rannie in his Oriel College (1900) when he remarked: 'For better or for worse, eminence in muscle has come to stand at the English Universities on something very like an equality with eminence in intellect'.³ Many of the contributors to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge⁴ series, published between 1898 and 1906, at least in part, echo this attitude.

R.H.Hodgkins has commented, 'The new athleticism was constantly strengthened by the flow of men from the reformed public schools'.⁵

1. G.Bailey, op.cit., p.48.

2. H.W.C.Davis, Balliol College, 1899, p.221.

3. D.W.Rannie, Oriel College, 1900, p.238.

4. Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, series published by F.E.Robinson.

5. R.H.Hodgkins, Six Centuries of an Oxford College, 1949, p.192-3.

This passage of personnel was not merely in the form of students but also to a degree in staff. Thus the motivating force was present even when it was not expressed in words. The universities had given an early example in the sphere of athletic exercise. Before the nineteenth century came to an end, Oxford and Cambridge had inter-university competition at twenty one activities.¹ To contest events at this level meant a degree of sophistication and organization within each individual university. It was this example which had been instilled into the famous schools of the time and the desire for competition and recreation came back, with the alumni of such institutions, a strengthened force.

3. Exeter College Athletics Sports Days.

The Exeter College Athletics Sports has such an important position in the evolution of English athletics that it deserves individual attention. Although a recognisable Athletics Sports had been held at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich in 1849, Exeter College, Oxford, is frequently credited with being the cradle of athletics in England. The first sports at a purely educational institution were held at that college in 1850 and may almost certainly have served as an example both to other educational establishments and to the outside world. Our knowledge of that event is only second-hand in that it derives from Montague Shearman who quoted its printed programme in his Badminton series volume on athletics.² Since Shearman was a contemporary, or nearly so, of this momentous event we must accept his evidence but it is important to stress that the College records only commenced in 1854.³ The significant

1. H.M.Abrahams and J.Bruce-Kerr, Oxford versus Cambridge, 1827-1930, 1931, p.xv.

2. M.Shearman, Athletics and Football, 1887, p.45.

3. Exeter College Records. A bound volume labelled 'Footraces 1854'.

transition from 'foot races', which was the contemporary epithet, to track and field athletics on a regular basis came in 1855 when the long jump and high jump were added to the programme. Further expansion of the provision came in 1856 with the addition of 'Putting the Stone' and 'Throwing the Hammer'.

The programme of the Exeter College Athletics Sports passed through a formative period of about twenty years before it finally stabilised in the 1870s. The relevant diagram (Figure IX) does not reveal this evolution to its entirety. For example, before the shortest hurdles distance was stabilised at 120 yards in 1855, it had been extended from the original 140 yards of 1850 to 150 yards in 1854. The 440 yards Hurdles race of 1857 was not the event of modern times but had only six flights of hurdles, placed 50 yards apart. Hurdling was very much in its experimental stages at this time and this will explain why there was so much variation of distance and condition within the school sector as well. This sense of experiment was also evident in the context of walking races. A 1 mile walking race was instituted in 1856 and the College Athletics Committee book states that 'the stewards recommend not having this race in future. It is relevant to record that there was another attempt at promoting a walking event in 1873. This time it was over 2 miles.

Experiment was also evident in the sphere of the field events. Whilst the Hammer was 16 lbs in weight throughout, in Putting the Weight the implement was, at least in 1863, 21 lbs but it had stabilised to the now conventional 16 lbs by 1873. From 1866 until 1870 a 'Pole leap'

Figure IX

The Evolution of the Exeter College Athletics Sports.

<u>1850</u> ¹	<u>1857</u> ²	<u>1873</u> ³
100 yards	100 yards	100 yards
	150 yards	
300 yards		
440 yards		440 yards
	880 yards	880 yards
1 mile		1 mile
		2 miles
		440 yards Handicap
		1 mile Handicap
140 yards Hurdles	120 yards Hurdles	120 yards Hurdles
	440 yards Hurdles	
Cross-country Race	2 miles Cross-country Race	
	100 yards for Freshmen	200 yards for Freshmen
	High Jump	High Jump
	Long Jump	Long Jump
	Putting the Weight	Putting the Weight
	Throwing the Hammer	Throwing the Hammer
	Throwing the Cricket Ball	Throwing the Cricket Ball
	Sack Race	
	Wheelbarrow Race	
	1 mile Walking Race	2 miles Walking Race
Consolation Race		Consolation Race
		Servants Race
		Strangers Race

1. M.Shearman, op.cit., p.45.

2. Exeter College Records. The bound volume mentioned above deals with the period from 1854 until 1872.

3. Exeter College Records. A volume labelled 'Exeter College Athletic Sports 1873' deals with period up to 1881.

was held but it vanished in 1871, almost certainly due to dwindling interest. The College Committee book certainly records that there had been only two entries in 1870.

It is possible to sense a change in atmosphere by observing the programme at various dates. In 1854-56 various Donkey races had been held in conjunction with the Sports. These were replaced by a Sack race and a Wheelbarrow race in 1857. The latter seems to have been superseded in turn by a 'trouser race' in the 1860s. There is a Committee minute of 1869 where it was decided to abandon the sack and trouser races. The spectacular nature of the Sports ended at that date and they now became purely competitive. This evolution in style may be associated with the general change which came over athletics with the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club. Professor Harris has emphasised the development, in the Exeter College instance, from horse-racing to athletic competition.¹ This can be demonstrated by the descriptions given to the flat races in 1850:

'60 yards Aristocratic Stakes'
'100 yards Jonathan Sweepstake'
'150 yards Scurry Stakes'
'300 yards Bancalari Sweepstakes'
'440 yards Welcome Sweepstakes'.²

Such an impression is further created by the fact that in 1850, apparently, weight penalties were used as in horse-racing.³ With this link came a financial connotation. As Professor Harris has indicated, at the outset

1. H.A.Harris, op.cit., pp 137-38.

2. M.Shearman, op.cit., p.45.

3. Ibid., p.43.

there was gambling on the results. No details survive but the probable situation can be illustrated by reference to the Addiscombe Military College. There in 1852 a handicap 1 mile race was held and Bell's Life records the betting details:

'The betting at starting was 4 to 1 agst Marshall; 8 to 1 agst Spiers; 8 to 1 agst Lane; 6 to 1 agst Grey; 6 to 1 agst Hills; 6 to 1 agst Champion; 10 to 1 agst Barnes; 10 to 1 agst Oakes'.¹

The financial dimension, however, went much further: there were also cash prizes.² For example, the winner of the 150 yards Hurdles in 1854 received £3 and the winner of the Long Jump received £1. These practices disappeared with the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club and the formulation of the 'amateur' rule and the official disapproval of gambling at athletics meetings.

1. Bell's Life, 31 October, 1852, p.6.

2. Exeter College Records, 'Footraces 1854'.

Chapter XI

Interaction in Sport

In the later nineteenth century the circumstances of various elements of the educational world caused an interaction which produced results which are still evident in modern times. This is, perhaps, best illustrated in the widest sense by the voluntary provision of education in the nineteenth century and its survival in the 'voluntary' status of many schools in modern times. A parallel, and possibly more pronounced, situation existed in the relationship of the educational world to the wider sporting world. Four themes have been selected to illustrate this situation.

A. The 'Amateur' Rule in Athletics and Rowing.

Athletics at the two ancient English universities and at the public schools in the era prior to the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club in 1866 was essentially a socially exclusive matter. That is to say that the public schoolboy would only have competed against his fellow pupils and the university students would only have competed against each other. The athletics with which they were familiar, therefore, was very much a class-based activity. It was not, therefore, surprising that when people who had experienced their athletics in this class-orientated fashion came to create the original national body for athletics, the Amateur Athletic Club, there would have been a desire to keep the athletic world as much as possible like the one with which they were familiar. They tended, in fact, not to approve of working-class athletes. Possibly with this prejudice in their minds, they framed the 'amateur' rule as a means by which they could exclude the working class whom they believed would only compete for payment or whom would

at least compete more for the prize than for the pleasure of participation.¹ The prospectus of the Amateur Athletic Club stated that it existed

'to supply the want of an established ground upon which competition in amateur athletics sports might take place, and to afford as completely as possible to all classes of gentleman amateurs the means of practising and competing against one another, without being compelled to mix with professional runners'.²

They defined 'amateur status' in this way:

'No person shall be considered an amateur who has ever competed with or against a professional for any prize, who has ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises of any kind as a means of obtaining a livelihood, or who is by trade or employment a mechanic, artisan or labourer'.³

In other words they wanted to continue to compete against only the types of person that they had hitherto faced in competition but this had had to be expressed in quasi-logical form. The nineteenth-century writer

1. This attitude is reflected by M. Shearman in Athletics and Football, 1887, p.227.

'Nor...is it to be expected that the 'mechanic, artisan and labourer' ranks will always have, when a valuable prize is at stake, as much sportsmanlike feeling and nice sense of fair play as one could rely upon finding in the much-ridiculed 'gentleman amateurs' of past days. As soon as any sport has become so popular that money is to be made out of it, and men engage in it upon whom the loss of reputation has little effect, it may be prophesied with certainty that abuses will arise. Such abuses have arisen in athletics.'

2. Ibidem, pp 52-53.

3. A.A.A., Fifty Years of Progress, 1880-1930, 1930, pp 19-20.

H.H.Griffin can contribute to our knowledge with his description of what he saw as the philosophy behind the formulation of the amateur rule. This comment appeared in his Athletics, published in 1893:

'At first it was difficult to define an amateur, and the rough and ready demarcatal division was body versus brains, wages versus salary; it being considered that a man who earned his wages by the physical labour of his body was, by reason of his employment, better fitted for athletics than one who secured his salary by his mental powers'. ¹

The amateur rule was, therefore, a product of class consciousness in Griffin's eyes but not necessarily of the conventional variety -- it was an awareness by the middle class that the working class might be better at physical competition than they were.

The amateur rule was itself a form of self-sacrifice on the part of the middle class because, as the Exeter College evidence so amply demonstrates, they had been quite prepared hitherto to compete for cash prizes. They obviously did not see this as running for payment but it nonetheless was prohibited under the new rule. A contemporary comment from Sir Richard Webster, quoted by Montague Shearman, revealed the transition from cash prizes to medals at this time. ² What these early pioneers did not appreciate was that there was a growing demand for sporting opportunity and that such a rule would not discourage the working classes. Although the Amateur Athletic Club did organize the national championships and did provide a cinder running track at Lillie Bridge

1. H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.9.

2. M.Shearman, op.cit., p.49.

many of the active athletes associated themselves with the London Athletic Club which had been founded in 1863. Within a couple of years of its inception the Amateur Athletic Club was organizing only the championships. Thus some athletes at least seem to have condemned the prejudice which persisted amongst the older generation of former athletes and which made Shearman fear that the working-class victor would immediately be tempted to sell his medal.¹ As the London Athletic Club accepted wage-earning members, that is to say the working-class, and continued to thrive, it may be taken to have been more representative of the athletics world at that time and, of course, it was they who in 1879-80 posed a threat to, and played a leading part in the replacement of, the Amateur Athletic Club.

The situation which existed by 1880 was, therefore, that the explicit prejudice against the working-class competition was removed by the substitution of the Amateur Athletic Association for the Amateur Athletic Club. At the inaugural meeting of the Amateur Athletic Association at the Randolph Hotel in Oxford in 1880 the amateur rule was amended.² It was done at the behest of representatives of the Cambridge University Athletics Club and the London Athletic Club, and the amendment involved the deletion of 'or who is by trade or employment a mechanic, artisan or labourer'. This was a deliberate attempt to reduce the social exclusiveness of athletics and represented an assault on the ideas of the architects of the 1866 rule but the important aspect of the rule still remained and continued to dominate the pursuit of athletics into modern times. Other writers, most notably Frank Bonnett, a contributor to the

1. Ibid., p.56.

2. A.A.A., op.cit., pp 19-20.

Victoria County History,¹ have shown that implicit prejudice still persisted but this prejudice was a product of cost and not of class-consciousness, although lack of means in the nineteenth century was obviously a mark of class divergence. The essential fact, however, is that, although the people who wished to re-create the exclusive athletic atmosphere of the educational sphere within the athletic outside world had been defeated and the prejudices which they therefore harboured had been removed, the athletic community was still left with a legacy of the educational world's dominance over athletics and this was in the form of the 'amateur' rule.

The circumstances concerning the existence and effect of an amateur rule were wholly different in the instance of the sport of rowing. This was very much an activity associated with the universities, to the extent perhaps of being their major sporting pastime. The degree of sophistication to which it had developed therein may be revealed by the fact that it was at rowing that the two ancient English universities first met in competition in 1829. It was also an activity to be found amongst the public schools. To this extent there was a parallel with athletics. The privileged class also wished to continue their competitive rowing after university and the peak of their season was the Henley Regatta. Unlike the Amateur Athletic Club the Amateur Rowing Association did not initially have its own definition of amateur status and used the phraseology of the Amateur Athletic Club and this was a matter of concern to the patrons and participants of 'Henley'. This concern arose because there was a class of people who actually earned their livelihood from rowing, most notably the Thames watermen. These people were in a sense professional rowers and were seen as having an

1. F. Bonnett, 'Athletics', V.C.H. Kent, I, 1908, (ed.) W. Page, pp 516-518.

advantage in competition. In April 1878 a meeting was held at Putney and a rule was proposed:

'An amateur oarsman or sculler must be an officer of Her Majesty's Army or Navy or Civil Service, a member of the Liberal Professions, or of the universities or public schools, or of any established boat or rowing club not containing mechanics or professions; and must not have competed in any competition for either a stake, money, or entrance fee, or with or against a professional for any prize; nor have ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises of any kind as a means of livelihood; nor have ever been employed in or about boats in manual labour, nor be a mechanic, artisan, or labourer.'¹

This rule was adopted by the organizers of Henley in 1879 with the exception of the portion relating to the membership of a club containing mechanics and professionals. It can be seen, therefore, that the sport of rowing 'succeeded', as with athletics, in accepting a rule which was derived from the philosophy of a particular class whose values were conditioned by their experience at university, where participation in the activity for its own sake was the vital factor. This rule was believed to have had the desired effect because, as Rowe and Pitman asserted in 1898,

'It must be remembered that, unlike other sports, rowing in England has so far preserved intact its amateur character'.²

A realistic paraphrase of this would be to observe that they had succeeded in preserving the socially exclusive nature of the activity. The main

1. R.P.P.Rowe and C.M.Pitman, Rowing, 1898, pp 149-50.

2. Ibid., p.149.

reason that they succeeded, where athletics had 'failed', was because of the potential expense, which would have been a discouraging feature and would have been much more formidable than that of athletics. A secondary reason for their success was that their amateur rule achieved its purpose because it was directed at a particular group of people, the watermen, of whom there was not a nineteenth-century equivalent in the athletic world. The athletic rule did not achieve its purpose and this may have been because, by contrast, it had no particular target. Notwithstanding this hypothesis, there is clear evidence that rowing, like athletics, was considerably influenced by an ethos of competition which had its origins in the educational sphere.

B. The Creation of Association Football.

There were historically a multitude of different games which came within the general description of 'football'. In general terms by the late 1850s there were two distinct modes, one game which involved handling the ball and one which did not. Dunning has argued that the differences between the two modes were the products of two particular schools which sought pre-eminence in that era.¹ As early as 1845 a set of rules appeared for the game which involved handling the ball -- 'Laws of Football as Played at Rugby School'. Four years later Eton College produced its rules. They were diametrically opposed to those of Rugby School in that they forbade the handling of the ball. Some attempts at reconciliation between the two modes were made but failed, to a degree, because of the inter-school rivalry. It may be, therefore, that the existence of two separate games of 'football' may be a product of a mid-nineteenth-century struggle for dominance by two schools.

1. E. Dunning, 'The Origins of Modern Football and the Public School Ethos', in The Victorian Public School, (ed.), B. Simon and I. Bradley, 1975, p.173, p.176.

The influence of such a rivalry was not the only contribution that the educational world had to make. There was a tendency to describe those who played their football in the Eton College fashion as 'dribbling clubs'. In 1863 a number of dribbling clubs in London were attempting to solve their differences with other modes of play when it became known that a group of dribbling players at Cambridge had elected a committee and had drawn up a set of rules.¹ These people were from the university. Their rules excluded 'hacking', 'tripping' and 'tackling'. A joint conference of the London and Cambridge exponents of this game was convened and the consequence was the formation of the Football Association in that same year. There was, therefore, a considerable element of influence from the educational world on the establishment of the Football Association. This was compounded in 1867 when the Football Association agreed to accept 'passing' into its rules. That decision enabled both Charterhouse and Westminster Schools, two foremost exponents of the 'dribbling' game, to join the Football Association. They had previously been excluded because of their acceptance of 'passing'. In a sense their decision to join was conditional on the rule change. It is, therefore, reasonable to assert that the world of Association Football owes much to the activities of people from the nineteenth-century educational sphere. This is particularly so since several of the Cambridge 'dribblers' were former pupils of Charterhouse and Westminster Schools.

C. The Development of the Modern Athletics Framework.

The English athletics championships were first organized by the A.A.C. between 1866 and 1879. They were always held in the early spring. The choice of date was not merely a random selection. It would seem to

1. M. Shearman, Athletics and Football, 1887, p.276.

have been influenced by the educational world.

The earliest Oxford-Cambridge athletics contests were held either in Oxford or Cambridge in 1864-1866 but in 1867 the contest moved to London.¹ Although at the outset these sports were obviously already a spring activity, once the fixture moved to London it seems to have been tied to the date of the University Boat Race. In the years between 1867 and 1900 the correlation between the two events is as follows:

Same day	-	1
Previous day	-	23
Following day	-	7 ²
Postponements	-	2 ³
Friday before Monday	-	1

The evidence, therefore, tends to confirm that there was a very strong correlation between the two occasions and it certainly would seem to be the case that from 1867 the Sports were arranged to coincide with the Boat Race. A further point of interest is that the early championships of the A.A.C. would seem to have been planned to complement these two occasions. Initially the A.A.C. arranged its championship to occur the day before the Boat Race⁴ but this can only have been so in 1866. Subsequently the A.A.C. arranged its meeting to follow the Inter-Varsity match which has been shown to have tended to occupy the day before the Boat Race. It is quite clear from the evidence that an Oxbridge sporting tradition dating back to 1829 was the principal determinant in the choice of date for the annual athletics championship. Effectively the later Varsity Athletics fixture and the A.A.C's

-
1. See Appendix IX for 'Relationship of the Oxford-Cambridge Athletics Sports and Boat Races'.
 2. This includes two instances of Monday fixtures after a Saturday Boat Race.
 3. Both the postponements were from March and one was specifically from the day before the Boat Race of 1898.
 4. Bell's Life, 17 February, 1866, p.6.

Championship were drawn to the approximate occasion of the Boat Race because it was an established sporting festival. In terms of the interaction between the educational world and the wider community the placing of the A.A.C. Championship is more significant and indicates the degree to which the former influenced the latter. The reason that this could happen is to be explained by the presence of large numbers of university men in the athletics fraternity which established and managed the A.A.C.

This tendency to organize Athletics in the early spring was also evident amongst schools. It was a secondary activity in schools, not to rowing but to cricket, and there was a determination that athletics should not be a competitor to cricket. This was an additional influence over the choice of the spring as the season for the national championship.

This situation did not last, however, because in 1879 the London Athletic Club, the oldest club in Britain, organized a championship in the summer in what, in modern times, would be seen as a more athletically suitable time of year. This gesture was confirmed as having wide support because in 1880 the Amateur Athletic Club was superseded by the Amateur Athletic Association which has held summer championships ever since.¹ The A.A.A.'s decision to hold summer championships was not merely concerned with a desire to be different. Rather it was based on the argument, propounded by Mr J.Waddell of the London Athletic Club, that athletes were mostly young men engaged in trades and occupations which

1. W.Birkett, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Middx, II, 1911, (ed.), W.Page, p.301.

prevented them from training until the days became longer.¹ The majority of people present at the meeting were either members of, or graduates of, the ancient universities and so it might be said that in voting for change the representatives of the educational world were still influencing the very nature of athletics. This was certainly the view held by the reporter of The Midland Athlete. His praise was considerable.

'The athletic world is greatly indebted to the Oxford and Cambridge University Athletic Clubs for taking the initiative in the formation of a national athletic association, and also for carrying the work of establishing it to a successful issue. Every Midland athlete who reads the brief report given in our columns will feel that their claims have met with just recognition at the hands of the conference, held on Saturday. The definition of an amateur athlete adopted is conceived in a broad and liberal spirit, and no one, save the professional and the miserable hybrid that occasionally sneaks into amateur competitions, can utter a murmur as to its exclusiveness'.

This contemporary writer certainly had no doubt as to the contribution made by the educational world.²

It must, however, also be observed that the commitment to spring athletics did not vanish suddenly because, after 1880 and well into the mid-twentieth century, university and public school athletics was focused on that season. They had lost the battle for the choice of season but

1. A.A.A., op. cit., pp 19-20.

2. N.C.A.L.- The Midland Athlete, II, No.17, 28th April, 1880, p.275.

remained consistent in their commitment. This may have been because athletics was never considered a major sport in either sphere.

If the educational world's influence over the timing of the annual championships was only temporary, it is nonetheless clear that athletics as an organized activity did owe much to the educational sphere. The earliest Athletics Sports were to be found at schools and university colleges. They, therefore, had a considerable influence over how the sport was organized, simply because they were involved first. Most of the earliest administrators were people who had learned their athletics in the educational sphere and they had, therefore, imposed their values and methods on to the athletic world.

One illustration of this is over the concept of 'amateur' status, mentioned earlier, which had its roots in the educational world. It was considered the norm, and certainly not meritorious in any way, to compete for the love of the activity and not for pecuniary gain. In economic terms the early practitioners of this ideal could afford to make such a self-sacrifice. It was also directly contradictory to a much earlier tradition of professionalism. There is certainly some evidence that the Amateur Athletic Club and its successor, the Amateur Athletic Association, did not succeed instantaneously in imposing their philosophy of 'amateurism' and that there was some resistance to that ideal. Frank Bonnett, writing in the Victoria County History of Yorkshire, revealed that 'the professional who at one time had things all his own way, has now been almost entirely supplanted by the amateur'.¹ Gradual persuasion or conversion is implied here and this theme was also that of J.Fowler Dixon

1. F.Bonnett, 'Athletics' in V.C.H.Yorkshire,II, 1902, (ed.) W.Page, p.549.

in the Lincolnshire volume of the same series.¹ In the context of Kent, however, Bonnett portrayed a situation of resistance.² In Kent he claimed that unregistered meetings were on the increase. This was because the organizers had found that 'the cost of the undertaking, including the cost of permit fees and the employment of official handicappers, far greater than they could bear, and they have long since reverted to the old order of things'. Unregistered meetings were seen as the prelude to the re-appearance of professionalism which was to them the direct antithesis of amateurism. In other words this could be seen as a reaction against the standards set by the educational world. Nonetheless the amateur rule still prevailed, thus demonstrating the strength of the tradition emanating from the schools and universities.

The university sphere would seem to have made a contribution to the standardisation of distances over which competitions are held. There was a variation in the size of tracks historically but it is quite certain that Cambridge University was using a 440 yards track at Fenners by the mid-1860s. This can be proved by reference to newspaper reports of 1 mile events which record the four lap duration of such races. The preparation of such a track at this distance almost certainly led to the standardisation of events on the basis of multiples of a quarter of a mile.³

The influence of the educational world can be observed in the development of certain rules concerned with athletic competition. The Inter-Varsity match of 1866 would seem to have had a formative influence over both the

1. J.Fowler Dixon, 'Athletics', V.C.H. Lincolnshire,II, 1908, (ed.), W.Page, p.528.

2. F.Bonnett, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Kent,I, 1908, (ed.), W.Page, pp 516-8.

3. Bell's Life, 17 February, 1866, p.6.

120 yards Hurdles and the Long Jump.¹ It was decided that the Hurdles on this occasion should be set at 3' 6" and this has become the standard height. In the long jump it was agreed that the trial should 'be from the surface of the ground to a proper receptacle' rather than from the spring board which apparently was in vogue at that time. These two decisions would seem to be the earliest references to these two matters and it does appear that the Oxford-Cambridge organizing committee established the pattern which the athletic world adopted and has subsequently maintained.

Another area where university athletics had a lasting impact on the sport was in the development of the Putting the Weight event. At the Oxford University Sports of 1866 it was reported that the competitors were premitted 'a run of seven feet'.² This distance is the diameter of the modern day circle for this event, although it is not, therefore, intended to suggest that a circle was used in 1866. Nonetheless the administrators of this occasion had decided, in advance of the Sports, that 7 feet was a sufficient distance and that has remained unchanged ever since. The rules for the same competition also made it quite clear that it was not permitted to cross the throwing line. In addition to rules about the throwing area, they also insisted that 'the stone must be 'put' with one hand from the shoulder' and this is effectively the modern day requirement. The general impression of the newspaper publicity about this forthcoming event is that decisions had been made about how this event was to be contested and that those conditions have been sustained by the athletic world.

1. Bell's Life, 5 February, 1866, p.10.

2. Bell's Life, 17 February, 1866, p.6.

Whilst the rules for Putting the Weight can be traced back to Oxford University, the terminology was a Cambridge University contribution. At Oxford the event was universally described in February and March of 1866 as 'Putting the Stone' but at Cambridge it was universally described as 'Putting the Weight'.¹ This Cambridge label is still used today. This fact does tend to undermine the theory that the event was, in origin, a military one, 'Putting the Shot'. Perhaps the modern event is the product of three separate geneses -- the military 'Shot', the Oxford 'Stone' and the Cambridge 'Weight'. Whether or not such a theory can be sustained, the Cambridge label rather than either of the other two has become the official standard label today.

The influence of Cambridge and Oxford colleges can also be found in events which have now been altered by metrication. A popular event amongst the Cambridge College in 1866 was the 2 miles walk. Five colleges out of the eight reported in Bell's Life held a walk and each was over that distance. At the same time only one Oxford college, out of eight reported, held a walking race and this was over 3 miles. The two miles became the standard distance for track racing until it was superseded by the metric 3,000 metres quite recently. The Cambridge races were undoubtedly track events because the press reports record the lap progress of the various events and this may be presumed to be the origin of that event. A similar origin, although by no means as conclusive, can be seen in the 2 miles Steeple Chase held at two Oxford colleges in 1866. No other college is known to have held a steeplechase as part of the occasion. 2 miles became the standard distance for the steeplechase until after World War Two when the 3,000 metres event took its place.

1. See Figure VIII in Chapter X for data relating to the remainder of this sub-section.

Even the late appearance of the 880 yards event as a standard distance may be connected with the prevailing situation in the university sphere. There is no conclusive proof for this assertion but it is a fact that it was a distance used for handicap races. In spring 1866, for example, six of the eight recorded colleges held an 880 yards Handicap event and, by contrast, no college held a flat race at this distance. It had, perhaps, become associated with handicaps in the athletic world's collective mind as a result of what was happening at Oxford and, therefore, was not considered appropriate for flat races.

D. The Impact of Universities on School Athletics.

The nineteenth-century educational world also contained some evidence of interaction between the universities and the schools. This interaction was a result of the fact that the public schools were the sole recruiting ground of the two ancient universities and were also staffed to a very large extent by graduates of those two universities.¹

One sphere where a link can be identified is in the context of the season chosen by the public schools for the athletics. The Public Schools annual athletics meeting which commenced in 1897 was held in the early spring.² The events contested in this fixture were:

1. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.203 indicates that the Athletics Sports at Harrow School began at the instigation of an Oxford 'Blue' as early as 1861.

2. W.Birkett, loc.cit., p.302.

100 yards
440 yards
880 yards
 $\frac{3}{4}$ mile Steeplechase
120 yards Hurdles
High Jump
Long Jump . 1

The occasion was, therefore, at about the same time of the year as the Inter-Varsity match. The purpose of the founders of the Public Schools fixture, the London Athletic Club, in establishing their meeting in the early spring was to provide the culmination to the public schools' 'season'. These schools had presumably imitated the Oxford-Cambridge tradition of having an athletic season in the February-March portion of the year because of the earlier experience of their staff when they had been undergraduates.

Despite all the advantages of a summer Athletics Sports Day, the convention of the spring occasion was very powerful. This assertion can be illustrated by reference to the particular example of Dulwich College during the Headmastership of Arthur Gilkes. In 1899 he actually transferred the school's Athletics Sports from the summer to the Easter Term. His biographer has commented that the change 'caused much fluttering of hearts and condemnation, but received the blessing of every cricketer'.² What is more significant, however, is that Dulwich College was responding to the 'inertia' in the educational world which maintained the spring term as the athletics term well into the twentieth-century. Any school wishing to aspire to the highest status had to conform.

1. N.C.A.L. Joe Binks Collection, Box 20/5. The London Athletic Club had experimented with some of these events previously as separate contests -- 100 yards (1869), 440 yards (1869, 1890-6) 120 yards Hurdles (1869, 1896).

2. W.R.M. Leake, Gilkes and Dulwich, 1885-1914, no date, p.19.

The commitment to the spring term was part of that conformity and meant that decisions made in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1850s were determining the place in the calendar of a major school occasion.

The influence of the universities can be seen in the choice of events, rules and in nomenclature. The universities set the pattern in each sphere. An illustration of this tendency to follow may well be provided by the holding of 'consolation' races in the school sector. This could have been a result of imitation of the university sphere. Amongst the Oxford and Cambridge colleges in spring 1866 12 out of 16 held a consolation race.¹ This would have provided a very strong body of encouragement for schools to do the same.

This portion of the research has concentrated on the sports of athletics, football and rowing because it is in those spheres that an inter-relationship or interaction can be best observed. Other sports, such as swimming, have not been considered because, however popular they may have been, they do not form a bridge between the educational world and the wider society. To observe the contribution of the school and university to the development of organized sport it has obviously been necessary to concentrate on activities where there was a common experience throughout society. For this reason, for example, swimming and rackets as activities are unhelpful because the former was not practised to any significant extent within the schools and universities whilst rackets was not practised outside to any helpful degree. The three sports mentioned earlier have much greater potential, therefore, because they attracted participants from all classes in society. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to assert, on the basis of the evidence quoted throughout this chapter, that there was a marked inter-relationship between the two elements of the educational world, the school and the university, and between the educational and sporting worlds.

1. See Figure VIII in Chapter X.

Chapter XII.

Conclusion.

'...physical culture is part and parcel of general culture....'

(P.C.McIntosh, Land marks in the History of Physical Education, 1957,p.1.)

Various forms of evidence have been cited and explored in an attempt to demonstrate that physical exercise was encouraged in the nineteenth-century educational world; that the provision of sport was expanding in that same chronological period; and that there was some interaction both between the various branches of education and between the educational world and the wider sporting community. An assessment of the role that the educational world played in these circumstances is a necessary conclusion to this survey and this will require a wider assessment of the various factors that were present in English society in the nineteenth century. In effect there is a need to establish the degree to which the educational world shaped events and the degree to which it merely responded to existing trends.

It should, however, be stated that there is a body of opinion which has not identified the existence of any interaction between society and the educational world in the sporting sphere. This needs to be stated and considered in order to create a balanced viewpoint. The Dutch historian John Huizinga, for example, has propounded an explanation for the development of sport in England which does not really mention the educational world's role:

'Local self-government encouraged the spirit of association and solidarity. The absence of obligatory military training favoured

the occasion for, and the need of, physical exercise. The peculiar form of education tended to work in the same direction, and finally the geography of the country and the nature of the terrain, on the whole flat and, in the ubiquitous commons, offering the most perfect playing-fields that could be desired, were of the greatest importance. Thus England became the cradle and focus of modern sporting life'. ¹

That England was the cradle and focus of modern sports life must be accepted. The causes which Huizinga has suggested are less plausible. Local self-government cannot be considered a factor because it really did not exist on a general basis until the late nineteenth century. Assuming, instead, that Huizinga was merely reflecting on the example set by local government, the reality is that the development of sporting organization was within the rarified and closed society of the school and university, and that when national sporting authorities first began to appear they were dominated by the alumni of such educational establishments. The implicit correlation between the absence of military training and the emergence of a movement for physical education cannot be substantiated because the growth of organization and encouragement in England occurred too early. When the growth of sport became apparent, people were not yet war-minded. It is, however, true that later governments may have encouraged the trend as a substitute for military training. The fact is that there was, as has been demonstrated above, a long tradition of sporting activity in English schools which can be traced back to Tudor times. In the nineteenth century increased

1. Quotation from J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Elements in Culture, 1949. Derived from (ed) E. Dunning, The Sociology of Sport, 1971, p.12-13.

expenditure in a prosperous era, coupled with the leadership of certain headmasters, transformed this tradition, but it still remained a tradition. The fact that certain headmasters began to take an active interest in sport, whether inspired by classical learning or motivated by what has been described as a belief in 'muscular Christianity', must not be mistaken as the emergence of something completely novel. They were merely assuming control of that which already had existed. Naturally locational advantages helped in many cases, but the desire to indulge in sport can be seen equally in many other examples which did not have the benefits of good sites. It will, therefore, be obvious that Huizinga's assessment would seem to be inadequate rather than completely inaccurate. In consequence alternative avenues of possibility must be explored.

(a) Population Growth and the Development of Organization.

The nineteenth century was an era of rapid and overwhelming change. A major cause of this was population growth. During the century the population of England and Wales grew at an astounding rate from 10½ million in 1801 to 33 million in 1901. The huge population that was developing caused problems of management in a multitude of spheres and this pointed the way towards organization. It can be seen in the development of trades unionism as well as in the establishment of effective forms of local government and public health administration, as demonstrated in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and the Public Health Act of 1848 respectively.

In the midst of the changes that were taking place, it was not surprising that the sphere of sport was also affected. The changes which occurred in terms of organization, institutionalisation and rationalization were,

in effect, symptomatic of the age. The organization and institutionalisation manifested themselves in the development of authorities such as the Amateur Athletic Association, and the Football Association and the rationalization in the form of the rules which they made. A by-product of the population growth had one particular influence on sport. The rapid growth of towns and suburbs, necessitated by such growth, placed severe restraints on the amount of land available for games. This was a factor in the movement of famous schools such as Charterhouse and Christ's Hospital from the centre of London in the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century respectively.¹ Many schools, however, could not move and the restricted nature of the land available to them meant that restraints had to be placed upon the numbers playing in teams. An example of such an establishment was Westminster School. This type of restriction is partly the origin of the '11' and '15' of the Association and Rugby Football teams of modern times. There was simply insufficient space for the mass participatory games of earlier times.²

It can, therefore, be asserted that organization was imposed on the sporting world as a result of a prevailing tendency within society but the nature of that organization was determined to a large extent from within the educational world. Indeed the organization of a framework for

-
1. Charterhouse in 1871 (to Godalming) and Christ's Hospital in 1902 (to Horsham).
 2. E.Dunning in 'The Origins of Modern Football and the Public School Ethos' in The Victorian Public School, ed. B.Simon and I.Bradley, 1975, p. 172, stated that restriction of games to school premises, an Arnoldian tactic, meant that 'games had to be played within circumscribed spatial limits and could benefit from more explicit rules'. This tendency would also have pointed to restricted numbers and may well represent an additional contribution made by schools to the standardisation of team size.

competition in a number of sports may well be traced originally to the schools and, more particularly, the universities. Evidence of this has been quoted in Chapter 11. The historian H.E.Malden identified this situation in 1902:

'A curious feature of the history of English Universities during the nineteenth century is the growth of an organized system of games. Whatever may be the cause, the outdoor amusements of England have been as notably and beneficially influenced from Oxford and Cambridge as ever the intellectual life has been'.¹

The particular example which illustrates this is that much of the athletic framework of modern times, both in respect of *rules and practices*, can be traced to the *schools or universities*.

To estimate the impact of the educational world on the development of organized sport it may be useful to examine an example of a sport where the influence of the educational world was absent. The sport of swimming is a suitable example. The forerunner of the Amateur Swimming Association was formed in 1869. The Swimming Association of Great Britain, unlike the contemporaneous Amateur Athletic Club or Football Association, did not involve the educational world. This lack of involvement can be illustrated by reference to the rules for competition because they did not wholly prohibit competition between the amateur and the professional.

'The fact of having competed with a professional for honour or for money (if an intention is announced before starting to hand the amount of the prize, if successful, to the objects of the

1. H.E.Malden, Trinity Hall, 1902, p.257.

association) shall not disqualify in competitions confined to amateurs'.¹

The consequence of this was that there were constant arguments within the Swimming Association of Great Britain about the nature of this mixed competition and Sinclair and Henry asserted that 'the better-class clubs held aloof from the association'.² The class of people who were prepared to compete under the auspices of the Amateur Athletic Club were not prepared to lend support to the Swimming Association of Great Britain because it did not exclude all professional links. Eventually in 1880 the Swimming Association of Great Britain adopted the amateur rule, as formulated by the athletic community. The debate on this issue was not, however, finally extirpated until 1886 when the Amateur Swimming Association was formed. After that date unity began to appear and the organization attracted national support. The swimming world had responded to the organizing trend in the same era as several other major sporting activities but, exceptionally, was deprived of the assistance in the early stage of what Sinclair and Henry described as 'University men'.³ The principal reason for this absence was the timing of the swimming season: river bathing was not really practicable until late in May and term ended in mid-June. This activity did not really have the chance to prosper and the Inter-Varsity swimming match did not come about until 1892. The effect of this late development is that when attempts to organize this sport were taking place, committed university interest did not really exist. The situation prevalent in the swimming world should, therefore, be seen in stark contrast to the athletic and football worlds

1. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, Swimming, 1903, p.312.

2. Ibid., pp 313-4.

3. Ibid., p.331.

where the influence of the educational sphere shaped the nature of the activity from the earliest attempts at organization. It is evident, therefore, that the impetus for organization came from society and that, in certain sphere, the educational world made a positive contribution in providing the organizational framework. Where they did not, success was considerably delayed.

(b) The Growth of Leisure.

The growing tendency amongst schools and universities to encourage physical exercise was, in a sense, also a reflection of the outside world. The nineteenth century was also a time of important social change. The effect of legislation on working hours, most notably the '10 Hours Act' of the 1850s, was that more people began to have leisure time as the century progressed. This is the explanation for the increasing popularity of the railway excursion but equally many wished to spend their time engaged in, or with, sport. In so doing they had to enter a world which had previously been dominated by the 'privileged' classes. The traditional participants could not avoid these newcomers but tried to control the terms on which they competed. Regular physical exercise had been practised by the 'privileged' class almost as a monopoly and their progeny had indulged in physical exercise in schools and universities where organization had already begun to appear. When the new aspirants became involved in the mid-nineteenth century the traditional class of competitor succeeded in dominating the development of the sports. They did so because they had a social and educational advantage and also because they had a greater experience of such activities. Although they were responding to the tide of change, the conventions developed in the educational world were imposed on the wider world. Whereas the organization and rules of cricket may have been nurtured in the outside world in Hambledon village

and at Lords', the organization and rules of several other sports were fashioned within the educational world. A particular example of this is in respect of the 'amateur rule', especially insofar as it concerned athletics. It was relatively easy for the rowers to maintain a social exclusiveness by discriminating against the Thames watermen but it was less easy for the athletic world to be exclusive because no one earned their living as an athlete. There was, however, a professional athletic tradition which took the epithet 'pedestrianism'. The educational and privileged world virtually pretended that it did not exist. H.H. Griffin, writing of the 1850s, stated:

'The athletic calendar was still a blank; at this time it was almost social ostracism to be mixed up with sport, as sport then existed'. ¹

He continued by quoting the Field in which it was stated that:

'When the Universities took up athletics and inaugurated a contest, footracing became a matter of real interest, and it became possible for gentlemen of refined taste and ladies to look on with pleasure'. ²

This 'pedestrian' tradition, however, was very extensive and evidently popular as only a brief perusal of any edition of Bell's Life in London in the 1850s or 1860s will readily reveal.

To discourage the 'undesirable' element, the early pioneers of the Amateur Athletic Association prepared a definition which was designed to

1. H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.7.

2. H.H.Griffin, op.cit., pp 9-10.

disqualify the participants in the old tradition of pedestrianism which had thrived on wagers and prizes. This type of ruling did not discourage as intended but, although it has proved to be a difficult rule to apply, the amateur rule as it was developed in the nineteenth-century athletic world has survived into modern times.

'No person shall be considered an amateur who has ever competed with or against a professional for any prize, who has ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises of any kind as a means of obtaining a livelihood'. ¹

The rule was based on the notion, which undoubtedly did prevail in the educational world, that competition was an end in itself and that no further reward was necessary. It is, therefore, evident that whilst the outside world created the demand for a greater provision of sport, the educational world, to a considerable degree, influenced its development in a very obvious fashion.

(c) The Abandonment of 'Laissez-faire' Attitudes.

The gradual entry of the state into education after 1833 marked the abandonment of 'laissez-faire' in that sphere and the recognition that schools might be possible vehicles of further change was a natural consequence. The major public schools provided evidence for the nineteenth century educational experts. From the point of view of this research, the latter had seen the major role which physical exercise had come to assume in the private sector and they now tried to ensure that it had the same potential within the wider educational world of endowed schools and

1. A.A.A., Fifty Years of Progress, 1880-1930, 1930, p.19.

elementary schools. The architects of the Schools Inquiry Commission questionnaire of 1868 posed various questions about physical exercise in schools and they did so because they were seeking to change the face of society through the educational system. With 'evangelical' zeal they sensed that the health and hygiene of the nation, for example, could be changed through the gymnasium and the swimming bath. This is a direct parallel with the similar process by which reformers sought to change the lives of ordinary people by factory and public health legislation.

Gradually a whole generation grew up that had participated in some form of physical exercise at schools, even if it was merely in drill. Ordinary folk had had a long tradition of participation in sport, even without the intrusion of the state. What was different in the late nineteenth century was the regularity of such participation. No longer were the Shrove Tuesday football matches or the isolated athletic events sufficient from either the spectator's or the competitor's point of view. This ever-increasing demand undoubtedly can be traced back to the fact that various educational officials had realized, in an era of interventionism, that there were important social benefits to be derived from encouraging sport.

(d) The Competitive Nature of Society.

Association Football flourished because it was a spectator sport suitable for the workforce to enjoy on a free Saturday afternoon. They gradually ceased to be participants as the twin concepts of the limited pitch and limited teams, both contributions of the educational world, became standard and they became, instead, passive spectators. A very

different development, in contrast, can be discerned behind the increasing popularity of athletics in the nineteenth century. Athletics was peculiarly an individualistic sport, far more so than swimming, because of the vast range of activities which came beneath its umbrella. Direct competition was the essence of the sport: it depended on individual competition for its attractions and was very different from the corporate or even co-operative qualities developed by the various forms of football. This was an age of competition and merit. Other spheres of life were gradually responding to this trend. For example in the 1870s the upper echelons of the civil service and the army officer ranks were opened up to competition. The cause of the competitive side to life can easily be discerned. Internationally Britain was in competition with other nations for territory and trade. Within the country businessmen were in competition with each other. Everywhere, in fact, there was competition. It was not surprising, therefore, that a sport which encouraged competition and merit should be on the ascendant. In adopting the Athletics Sports Day as a school institution the schools may well have been responding to a prevalent trend in society but it could also be argued that schools were also fostering and maintaining this attitude of mind.

In the earliest days the Athletics Sports Days were prestigious public occasions for schools and universities but they were still secondary to cricket and rowing respectively. This explains the relegation of the event to the Lent or Michaelmas Terms. Very quickly, however, the situation developed wherein no school of repute wished to be without an Athletics Sports Day. The Athletics Sports Day became an institution of great status, although still tending to be held in the Lent Term because of the original choice of season. The nature of the occasion with the increasing accent on competition, both by the introduction of the

Victor Ludorum competitions and by the holding of consolation races, demonstrates that it did reflect the prevalent trend towards competition in society. It must, however, also be stated that the sheer extent of Athletics Sports Days as a phenomenon must also have contributed to the perpetuation of the competitive ethos in society.

It must be added that the same competitive tendency can be seen to have been reflected in the context of swimming in the later nineteenth century. Many schools did, of course, organize swimming competitions but the accent with the school sector in general was rather noticeably on survival, and the university term did not really encourage competition in that sphere. The popularity of swimming as a competitive pursuit in the wider society is to be seen in the prevalence of the 'Aquatic Sports' as reported in the newspapers. The difference between athletics and swimming, however, is that, as has been demonstrated, the former was nurtured within the educational world while the latter was not. This, therefore, explains the emphasis on athletics rather than on swimming within the schools of the later nineteenth century.

To stress the educational world's response to the competitive strain in society is to reveal an apparent contradiction which existed within the philosophy of headmasters in the nineteenth century, especially within the public schools. The explanation would seem to be that, in fact, within the educational world two separate philosophies existed side-by-side. On the one hand there was the philosophy which encouraged the pre-eminent cult of games. This saw social advantages to be derived from participation in such group activities as games -- qualities such as co-operation and leadership. Alongside this viewpoint, however, the educational world also encouraged excellence. This can be seen, quite evidently, in an academic sense but it also manifested itself in

the promotion of the Athletics Sports Day and, to a lesser extent, in swimming sports. The rivalry between social education and the pursuit of excellence placed headmasters in a difficult position for, to a certain extent, they supported both philosophies and so they can often be seen supporting the cult of games and encouraging excellence. In the latter instance they would have been reflecting the prevailing competitive tendency within English society.

(e) Religious Revival.

The early nineteenth century in England was an era of religious revival, symbolised by the Evangelical tradition and this was most particularly to be discerned in the Church of England. The Evangelicals became involved in various issues of human concern, such as prison reform and factory legislation. Their attentions also extended to education and this was perhaps to be personified in the widest sense by Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale. Notwithstanding their role, a substantial proportion of schoolmasters in the public school sector were still Anglican clergymen and they will have been influenced by the trend. Many of them would have been affected in their undergraduate days by such influences as the Oxford Movement. This influence was partly converted into a desire to model character on Christian virtues. Such a mood pervaded every aspect of the school curriculum. The logical extension of this process was the application of the concept of 'muscular Christianity'. To suggest that it was an extension is not to claim that 'muscular Christianity' was exactly what its name suggested but merely to indicate that its origin, in part at least, lay in religion.

It may be imagined that the concept was concerned with team games that naturally would develop qualities of co-operation and leadership. It almost

certainly went further than this. The editorial of Bell's Life which heralded the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club in 1866 established a link between that event and the idea of 'muscular Christianity'.

'In these days of muscular Christianity our space can by no means permit us to give more than a passing notice to the various athletic clubs daily springing into existence. Their name is legion and their success manifold, inasmuch as amateur pedestrianism is beginning to take its proper place amongst our national sports. It is, however, of a club whose efforts are to be no means limited to pedestrian contests that we would now speak. It is an institution that proposes to support all other branches of athletics. Gymnastics, rackets and swimming find a place in their programme, while at an annual meeting to be held the day before the University Boat Race prizes are to be given, open to the gentlemen amateurs of the world'.¹

Athletics, like the other activities which Bell's Life associated with the formation of the Amateur Athletic Club, is a *highly competitive*, individualistic activity. Therefore, by implication, it would seem that by 1866 'muscular Christianity' had a very wide application as a feature of common assumption.

When, therefore, headmasters in the 1860s and 1870s adopted Athletics and Swimming Sports as regular functions and provided various sporting amenities, they may have been reacting in response to the logical conclusion of their own religious ideas. Alternatively it is equally possible that their commitment to physical exercise may have been

1. Bell's Life, 17 February, 1866, p.6.

conditioned by the prevalence of the wider belief in 'muscular Christianity' as propagated by newspapers such as Bell's Life. The immediate origin of their ideas notwithstanding, the source can be traced back to the religious movements of the time. The informed public came to consider that physical excellence was synonymous with Christian beliefs and this, therefore, constituted an external influence which was reflected in the educational world. This is not the complete picture, however, because this association was fostered and developed almost out of recognition within the schools, becoming a cult whose religious affiliations were very tenuous.

(f) The Advent of 'Pressure Groups'.

Although the term 'pressure group' is an American expression of the twentieth century, it is possible in retrospect to identify the mid-nineteenth century as a notable age for pressure group activity. Famous bodies such as the Anti-Corn Law league, the Chartists, and the National Education league all exerted their influence in favour of their particular interest group. The educational world was also the object of pressure from various groups within the wider society.

The Swimming Association of Great Britain behaved as a pressure group in 1884. The organization approached the Education Department of the Privy Council with a view to persuading this body that swimming should be included in the teaching Code, along with drill.¹ This approach was not immediately successful but eventually in 1891 the Amateur Swimming Association made a successful bid for such inclusion. From that point onwards there was official recognition of swimming as a subject of

1. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, op.cit., p.322.

instruction in the elementary Board schools of England. The Board schools which took advantage of this opportunity, especially those which were given a bath of their own, would have been more than conscious that competitive swimming was the logical step forward. They would have seen this competition taking place under the auspices of the Amateur Swimming Association itself and also in the public schools and so, in consequence, they would have gravitated towards competition. The significance of the behaviour of both the Swimming Association of Great Britain and the Amateur Swimming Association in these circumstances is that it reflected the mood of the time. These bodies both sensed that change could be effected by the exertion of pressure, and such change did eventually occur. It is interesting to note that the Amateur Athletic Association never had to argue a case for inclusion: this was for the simple reason that the Amateur Athletic Association had its origins within the educational sphere whereas the Amateur Swimming Association did not. This demonstrates the substantial difference which existed between the two sports and their contribution to nineteenth-century education, in that the one emanated from within the educational world whilst the other was the product of the wider society.

Amongst the various pressures which were focused upon headmasters, two possible pressure groups can be identified. In a sense they both wanted the same response. The architects lobby and the direct advocates of exercise for health's sake both wanted to improve the general fitness of the nation. Architects such as Edward Robson and Felix Clay both saw hygiene as a prime reason for proposing the inclusion of various amenities within the new school buildings and believed that this would lead to the greater health of the nation. They were effectively social reformers trying to use the school for the purposes of social engineering

of a most creditable kind. It was, in their terms, an unexpected by-product to see such facilities being used for competition. The medical lobby, as represented by Dr Clement Dukes, were similarly motivated. They saw healthful exercise as beneficial in itself and again the competitive element was a coincidental adjunct. Once again outside groupings, anxious in this instance to see improvements in health, were instrumental in bringing about change within the educational sphere. To establish a full perspective, however, it is necessary to stress that swimming bath construction and, indeed, competitive swimming did not commence with the impact of these individuals but they gave an existing educational trend substantial additional momentum.

A final pressure group which can easily be identified are the parents. It is possible to discern the effects of this pressure by reference to the advertisement material of the various establishments of the late nineteenth century. The fact that headmasters and headmistresses in such large numbers considered it necessary to refer to the sporting amenities and healthful atmosphere of their schools may be considered an indication of the pressure of the public scrutiny under which they operated. The parental pressure has been identified by Norman Vance when he stated that:

'Parents often encouraged the schools to concentrate more on games: the sons of the newly rich manufacturers might well be sent to the public schools in the hope that they would rise into the ranks of the gentry and if they could^{not} distinguish themselves academically they could be put under considerable pressure to achieve eminence on the sports field'.¹

1. N.Vance, The Ideal of Manliness, Times Educational Supplement, 28 September, 1973, p.24.

Such a strong influence may explain the electric enthusiasm with which the wholly new public schools of the late nineteenth century adopted the whole range of sporting amenities. The parental pressure was economic because there was plenty of choice as to which school to patronise. This was an external influence which helped to propel the provision within schools in an increasingly sporting direction.

The characteristics that have been identified in nineteenth-century English society and which have been described above quite evidently influenced both schools and universities. Their influence can be seen to have had an effect, and to have produced a response, within the sporting activities of the educational sphere, thus confirming Mr McIntosh's assertion that '...physical culture is part and parcel of general culture...'.¹

This is not, however, the whole picture because the educational world had had, as has also been demonstrated, a long tradition of sporting involvement which can be traced back into the fifteenth century. This assertion can be supported by reference to the evidence of 'play days' amongst many of the schools of Tudor England and also to the acceptance of football playing by the authorities at Oxford and Cambridge universities in approximately the same period. So extensive is the evidence that it is reasonable to refer to the prevalence of a sporting tradition within the educational world. The 'play day' tradition did not wholly lapse in the eighteenth century when educational institutions are generally believed to have been in decline because school statutes continued to be introduced making reference to such activity.¹

1. J.H.Priestley, The History of Rishworth School, no date, p.29; N.Carlisle, I, p.826.

Rishworth School in Yorkshire in 1725 and Louth Grammar School in Lincolnshire in 1797 are both examples of schools where this occurred. Alongside this situation it is possible to identify a wider sporting tradition which produced such developments as the notorious town football games, as at Kingston-upon-Thames,¹ and the genesis of cricket at Hambledon. As the nineteenth century unfolded various new influences, as identified above, emerged and these seem to have interacted with the already existing sporting traditions.

The educational world responded to these new influences and trends and consequently helped to shape certain features of the modern sporting world. Their long-standing association with sport gave them some authority in making this contribution. Added to this was the fact that, in certain spheres, they controlled the most extensive practice of the sport. Cricket was widely played outside the schools and the universities and they exerted little influence over its rules and government. Athletics, as opposed to Pedestrianism, was representative of the other extreme. The schools and universities were the principal exponents of this activity until the end of the nineteenth century and their role in shaping its format has been shown to have been substantial.² Swimming was a late inclusion in the school curriculum, partly because of the twin problems of the expense and availability of facilities and partly also because it did not attract the enthusiasm of the headmasterial and university classes, steeped as they were in classicism. The educational world consequently exerted virtually no influence in that sphere. Rowing was different again because it, like

1. See N.Wymer, Sport in England: A History of Two Thousand Years of Games and Pastimes, 1949, for a contemporary account of this game.

2. See Chapter XI.

Athletics, was an activity practised primarily within the educational world and its amateur rule reflects that domination. Football was exceptional in that it was a sport popular both within and without the educational world. The influence which the schools and universities exerted here stemmed from the fact that society was increasingly concerned and alarmed by the disorder which arose from the town football games, which were increasingly being prohibited, and from the fact that the whole of the educational world had been experimenting with different modes of play.¹ The latter stemmed from both the physically restricted sites of some city schools and the desire to restrict play to specified bounds elsewhere. This had forced them to consider the concept of regulated teams and rules for play. The educational world, therefore, shared their considerable expertise in this sphere with the outside world and, as stated earlier, this was backed by an 'authority' which arose from traditional involvement and their esteem in society.

English society of the late nineteenth century found that in certain spheres its leisure-time pursuits were, in effect, dominated by the influence which emanated from the schools and universities. Both headmasters and college heads, in their patronage and encouragement of the various sports dealt with in this work and in their contribution through the provision of various facilities, fostered sport in general to the extent that their world was an example to the wider world. That these figures were themselves motivated, to varying degrees, by the multitude of pressures which have been identified as being directed towards them is

1. The struggle for pre-eminence in the organization of 'football' between Rugby School and Eton College should not distract us from the fact that there were many variants of football.

evidence enough that there was interaction and interdependence between the educational sphere and the outside world. There was, therefore, a cross-fertilization between these two distinct traditions and it has been the purpose of this research to identify and analyse the contribution made by the educational sphere.

Evidence has been cited from every region of England to demonstrate that the changes and developments which have been described were national rather than parochial. Special attention has been given to three particular case-studies ¹ but these are supposed to be representative rather than unique in the evidence which they provide. ²

The contribution of schools and universities to the development of organized sport should not be devalued or under-estimated because the impact of the nineteenth-century educational world, which itself was merely an elaboration of an earlier trend, circumscribes modern sporting practice. The influence extends from important fixtures such as the Amateur Athletic Association Championships and the Henley Regatta to the organizational details and rules of such powerful bodies as the

1. See chapters VII, VIII and IX.

2. See Appendix X 'A Digest of the Positive Evidence from 250 Boys' Schools'.

Amateur Athletic Association, the Football Association, the Rugby Union and the Amateur Rowing Association. It was a very forceful contribution and the continuance of most of the detail is a testament to the creative influence that was revealed in the late nineteenth century in England. It may not have been a universal contribution, in that not all sports were affected, and the degree of impact may have been varied, but the educational world has had a profound impact on the practice of sport today. It was a unique contribution arising out of a very remarkable educational provision.

APPENDIX I

Extant Tudor 'Play Day' Clauses.

1512	St Paul's School, London.	¹
1515	Manchester Grammar School.	²
1520	Botelier Grammar School, Warrington.	³
1521	Cuckfield Grammar School.	⁴
1525	Eton College.	⁵
1550	King Edward VI Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds.	⁶
1552	East Retford Grammar School.	⁷
1556	Oundle School.	⁸
1558	Alleyne's Grammar School, Uttoxeter.	⁹
1558	Stevenage School.	¹⁰
1558	Witton Grammar School, Northwich.	¹¹
1560	Tideswell Grammar School.	¹²
1560	Westminster School.	¹³
1561	King's School, Canterbury.	¹⁴
1561	King's School, Peterborough.	¹⁵
1561	Merchant Taylors' School, London.	¹⁶
1562	St. Saviour's School, Southwark.	¹⁷
1563	Abingdon School.	¹⁸
1564	Tonbridge School.	¹⁹
1566	Botesdale School, Suffolk.	²⁰
1570	St Albans Grammar School.	²¹
1571	Grantham Free Grammar School.	²²
1571	Ipswich School.	²³
1574	Sevenoaks Grammar School.	²⁴
1575	Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School.	²⁵
1575	Lord William's School, Thame.	²⁶

1576	Wyggeston's School, Leicester.	27
1578	Shrewsbury School.	28
1580	Sandwich Grammar School.	29
1583	Kepier Free Grammar School, Houghton-le-Spring.	30
1583	St Bees Grammar School, Whitehaven.	31
1587	Oakham School.	32
1587	Uppingham School.	33
1588	Newport Grammar School, Essex.	34
1589	Adderbury Grammar School.	35
1590	Winchester College.	36
1591	Harrow School.	37
1592	Bungay Grammar School.	38
1597	Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Blackburn.	39
1599	Aldenham Grammar School.	40

-
1. Clarendon Commission, II, 1864, p.583.
 2. Schools Inquiry Commission, XVII, 1869, p.314.
 3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools' V.C.H.Lancashire, II, 1908, ed. W.Farrer and J.Brownhill, p.602.
 4. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Sussex, II, 1907, ed. W.Page, p.419.
 5. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H. Buckinghamshire, II, 1908, ed. P.Ditchfield and W.Page, p.177.
 6. R.W.Elliot, Story of King Edward VI School, Bury St.Edmunds, 1963, p.149.
 7. N.Carlisle, II, p.285.
 8. Ibid., p.216.
 9. W.G.Torrance, History of Alleyne's Grammar School, Utttoxeter, 1558-1958, 1958, p.18.
 10. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Hertfordshire, II, ed. W.Page, p.70.
 11. N.Carlisle, I, p.132.
 12. T.Middleton, History of Tideswell Grammar School, 1933, p.26.

13. A.F.Leach, Educational Charters, 1911, p.518.
14. Ibid., p.469.
15. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Northamptonshire,II, 1906, ed. R.M.Serjeantson and W.R.D.Adkins, p.208.
16. N.Carlisle, II, p.56.,
17. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Surrey,II, 1905, ed. H.E.Malden, p.176.
18. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Buckinghamshire,II, 1907, ed. P.Ditchfield and W.Page, p.265.
19. S.Rivington, History of Tonbridge School, 1898, p.54.
20. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H. Suffolk,II, 1907, ed. W.Page, p.342.
21. N.Carlisle, I, p.515.
22. Ibid., p.809.
23. I.E.Gray and W.E.Potter, Ipswich School, 1400-1950, 1950, p.40.
24. N.Carlisle, I. p.621.
25. W.Scott, The Story of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 1907, p.358.
26. J.H.Brown, History of Thame School, 1927, p.62.
27. The Wyggeston Grammar School for Boys: Jubilee, 1927, p.93.
28. Clarendon Commission, II, 1864, p.595.
29. N.Carlisle, I, p.603.
30. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Durham,I, 1905, ed. W.Page, p.395.
31. N.Carlisle, I, p.161.
32. F.Fletcher 'Schools', V.C.H.Rutland,I, 1908, ed. W.Page, p.266.
33. Idem.
34. C.Fell-Smith, 'Schools', V.C.H.Essex,II, 1907, ed. W.Page and J.H.Round, p.542.
35. M.D.Lobel and M.Midgeley, V.C.H.Oxfordshire,I, 1937, ed. L.F.Salzman, p.458.
36. A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Hampshire,II, 1903, ed. H.A.Doubleday, and W.Page, p.383.
37. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.239.
38. R.R.Houghton, Bungay Grammar School,1565-1965, 1965, p.21.
39. C.F.Eastwood, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School,Blackburn,1970, p.28.
40. E. Beevor (ed.), History and Register of Aldenham School,1938, p.xxiii.

Appendix II

Gymnasiums known to have existed by 1869.

A Information Derived from Schools Inquiry Commission Reports.

Cheshire. Acton Free Grammar School.

 Sandbach Free Grammar School.

Cornwall. Launceston Grammar School.

Derbyshire. Derby Free Grammar School.

 Repton Free Grammar School.

Devon. Exeter Grammar School.

 North Taunton School.

 Ottery St Mary School.

Dorset. Dorchester Free School.

Durham. Darlington School.

 Kepier Free Grammar School, Houghton-le-Spring.

Essex. Brentwood Grammar School.

 Chelmsford Grammar School.

 Colchester Grammar School.

 Dedham Grammar School.

 Forest School, Walthamstow.

Gloucestershire.

 Chipping Campden Grammar School.

 Crypt Grammar School, Gloucester.

- Hampshire. Basingstoke Free Grammar School.
 Bishop's Waltham School.
- Hertfordshire. Christ's Hospital, Hertford.
 Haileybury College.
- Kent. Ashford Free Grammar School.
 Tonbridge School.
- Lancashire. Cartmel Free Grammar School.
 Clitheroe Free Grammar School.
 Great Marton Free School.
 Lancaster Free Grammar School.
 Liverpool, Royal Institute School.
 Manchester Free Grammar School.
 Manchester, Mechanics Institute Commercial Day School
 for Boys.
 Middleton Grammar School.
 Preston Grammar School.
 Whalley Grammar School.
 Wigan Free Grammar School.
 Winwick Free Grammar School.
- Lincolnshire. Lincoln Grammar School.
- London. Christ's Hospital.
 Hammersmith, Godolphin School.
 Streatham, Royal Asylum of St Anne's Society Boys School.
 Queen's College School.
 University College School.
 New Cross, Royal Naval School.

Norfolk. Norwich, King Edward VI Grammar School.
 Hingham Elementary School.

Northamptonshire.
 King's School, Peterborough.

Northumberland.
 Hexham Proprietary School.

Nottinghamshire.
 East Retford, King Edward VI Free Grammar School.
 Newark, Magnus Free School.
 Tuxford, Read's Free Grammar School.

Oxfordshire. Oxford, Magdalen College School.

Rutland. Uppingham School.

Shropshire. Bitterley Free Grammar School.

Somerset. Bridgewater, King James' Free School.
 Crewkerne Free Grammar School.
 Ilminster School.
 Taunton School.
 Shepton Mallet School.

Staffordshire.
 Alleyne's Free Grammar School, Uttoxeter.

Suffolk. King Edward VI Grammar School, Bury St Edmunds.

Surrey. Cranleigh School.

Warwickshire. Birmingham Classical School.

Westmorland. Heversham Grammar School.

Wiltshire. Marlborough Grammar School.

Worcestershire. Hartlebury Free Grammar School.
 Kidderminster Free Grammar School.
 Stourbridge Free Grammar School.

Yorkshire. Ackworth, Flounders' Institute.
 Giggleswick Free Grammar School.
 Knaresborough Grammar School.
 Leeds Grammar School.
 Pocklington Grammar School.
 Ripon Free Grammar School.
 Rotherham Grammar School.
 Saddleworth, Wharmton School.
 Wakefield Free Grammar School.

B. Information from Other Sources. ¹

Ackworth School.

Bristol Grammar School.

Bristol, Clifton College,

Cheltenham College.

London, Westminster School.

Radley, St. Peter's College.

Tettenhall College.

Weybridge, St George's College.

1. E.Vipont, Ackworth School, 1959, p.104-5; C.P.Hill, History of Bristol Grammar School, 1950, p.92; O.F.Chrstie, History of Clifton College, 1860-1834, 1935, p.286; M.C.Morgan, Cheltenham College: the First Hundred Years, 1968, p.27; L.Tanner, Westminster School, 1923, p.63; E.Bryans, St Peter's College, Radley, 1897, p.90; G.V.Hancock, History of Tettenhall College, 1963, p.15; Letter from St George's College, Weybridge, dated 4.5.1973.

APPENDIX III

Possession of School Swimming Baths (up to 1883)

1849	Ackworth School.	1
1849	Sidcot School.	2
1850	Harrow School.	3
1859	St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.	4
1862	Epsom College.	5
1863	Haileybury College.	6
1864	Brentwood Grammar School.	7
1868	Boys' School of the Royal Asylum of St Anne, London.	8
1868	Royal Naval School, New Cross, London.	9
1869	Forest School, Walthamstow.	10
1869	Pocklington Grammar School.	11
1870	Making Place Hall, Ripponden.	12
1870	Taunton School.	13
1873	Sherborne School.	14
1874	Eastbourne College.	15
1875	Clifton College.	16
1876	Rugby School.	17
1877	Giggleswick Free Grammar School.	18
1878	Aldenham School.	19
1879	Reading School.	20
1879	St George's College, Weybridge.	21
1879	Wellington College.	22
1880	Cheltenham College.	23
1881	Beaumont School, Windsor.	24
1881	Cranbrook School.	25
1881	Royal Wolverhampton School.	26
1881	Stonyhurst College.	27
1881	Wesley College, Sheffield.	28
1883	Charterhouse School.	29

1883 Uppingham School. 30

-
1. E.Vipont, Ackworth School, 1959, p.86.
 2. F.A.Knight, Sidcot School, 1908, p.151.
 3. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.205.
 4. R.C.Laing, Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial, 1895, p.199.
 5. F.A.M.Webster, Our Great Public Schools, 1937, p.112.
 6. L.S.Milford, Haileybury College, 1909, p.201.
 7. C.Fell-Smith, 'Schools', V.C.H.Essex, II, 1907, ed.W.Page and J.H.Round, p.531.
 8. Schools Inquiry Commission,X, 1868, p.198.
 9. Ibid., p.171.
 10. Schools Inquiry Commission, XIII, 1869, p.430.
 11. Schools Inquiry Commission, XVIII, 1869, p.481.
 12. White's Clothing Directory, 1870, p28 (Adverts).
 13. S.P.Record, Proud Century, 1948, p.258.
 14. F.A.M.Webster, op.cit., p.291.
 15. V.M. Allom, A Centenary History of Eastbourne College, 1967, p.28.
 16. F.A.M.Webster, op.cit., p.79.
 17. Rugby School Register,III, 1874-1889, 1891, p.xxii.
 18. E.A.Bell, A History of Giggleswick School, 1912, p.190.
 19. E.A.Beevor (ed), History and Register of Aldenham School, 1938, p.lv.
 20. Kelly's Directory of Berkshire,1903, 1903, p.135.
 21. Letter from School dated 4.5.1973.
 22. D.Newsome, History of Wellington College, 1859-1959, 1959, p.206.
 23. M.C.Morgan, Clatlenham College: the First Hundred Years, 1968, p.78.
 24. F.A.M.Webster, op.cit., p.17.
 25. D.H.Robinson, 'Cranbrook School', Cranbrook Notes and Records, September 1971, No.9, p.11.
 26. F.L.Steward, History of Royal Wolverhampton School, 1850-1950, 1950, p.28.
 27. G.Gruggen and J.Keating, Stonyhurst College, 1901, p.170.
 28. Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1881, 1881, p.41 (Adverts).
 29. A.H.Tod, Charterhouse, 1900, p.194.
 30. A.Sinclair and W.Henry, Swimming, 1893, p.345.

APPENDIX IV

Possession of a Fives Court (up to 1874).

1675	Sherborne School.	1
1798	Shrewsbury School.	2
1810	King's School, Gloucester.	3
1840	Eton College.	4
1840	University College School, London.	5
1849	Marlborough College.	6
1852	Sidcot School.	7
1854	Repton Free Grammar School.	8
1855	St Peter's College, Radley.	9
1862	Cheltenham College.	10
1862	Winchester College.	11
1863	Harrow School.	12
1863	Rugby School.	13
1863	Wellington College.	14
1864	Tettenhall College.	15
1867	Malvern College.	16
1868	Crewkerne Grammar School.	17
1868	Godolphin School, London.	18
1868	King Edward VI School, Bruton.	19
1868	King's School, Canterbury.	20
1869	Chesterfield Grammar School.	21
1869	Magnus Grammar School, Newark.	22
1871	Magdalen College School, Oxford.	23
1872	Whitgift School, Croydon.	24
1873	Abingdon School.	25
1873	Bradfield College.	26
1873	Taunton School.	27
1873	Tonbridge School.	28
1874	Charterhouse School.	29
1874	Eastbourne College.	30

1. A.B.Gourlay, History of Sherborne School, 1951, p.209.
2. J.B.Oldham, History of Shrewsbury School, 1552-1952, 1952, p.245.
3. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Gloucestershire, II, ed.W.Page, 1970, p.333.
4. A.Clutton-Buck, Eton, 1900, p.235.
5. F.W.Felkin, Short History of University College School, 1909, p.12.
6. A.G.Bradley et al, Marlborough College, 1893, p.285.
7. F.A.Knight, Sidcot School, 1908, p.260.
8. B.Thomas, Repton, 1555-1955, 1955, p.65.
9. E.Bryans, St Peter's College, Radley, 1897, p.100.
10. E.S.Skirving (ed), Cheltenham College Register, 1841-1927, 1928, p.xiii.
11. A.K.Cook, About Winchester College, 1917, p.503.
12. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.201.
13. J.B.H.Simpson, Rugby since Arnold, 1967, p.227.
14. D.Newsome, History of Wellington College, 1859-1959, 1959, p.133.
15. G.V.Hancock, History of Tettenhall College, 1963, p.15.
16. R.Blumeneau, A History of Malvern College, 1865-1965, 1965, p.25.
17. Schools Inquiry Commission, XIV, 1868, p.259.
18. Schools Inquiry Commission, X, 1868, p.65.
19. Schools Inquiry Commission, XIV, 1868, p.259.
20. Schools Inquiry Commission, XI, 1868, p.26.
21. Schools Inquiry Commission, XVI, 1869, p.547.
22. N.G.Jackson, Newark Magnus, 1964, p.160.
23. R.Stainer, Magdalen School, 1958, p.160.
24. Letter from F.H.G. Percy, dated 1.1.1973.
25. J.Townsend, A History of Abingdon, 1910, p.105.
26. The Bradfield College Register, 1963, 1964, p.8.
27. S.P.Record, Proud Century, 1948, p.257.
28. S.Rivington, History of Tonbridge School, 1898, p.206.
29. E.M.Jameson, Charterhouse, 1937, p.114.
30. V.M.Allom, A Centenary History of Eastbourne College, 1967, p.79.

APPENDIX V

Acquisition of Racquets Courts (up to 1900).

1847	Westminster School.	1
1850	Harrow School.	2
1853	Cheltenham College.	3
1859	Rugby School.	4
1863	Marlborough College.	5
1865	Haileybury College.	6
1866	Eton College.	7
1869	Forest School, Walthamstow.	8
1872	Charterhouse School.	9
1872	Winchester College.	10.
1875	Bishop's Stortford College.	11
1875	Merchant Taylors' School, Northwood.	12
1881	Malvern College.	13
1882	Monkton Combe School.	14
1885	St Peter's College, Radley.	15
1886	Wellington College.	16
1891	Epsom College.	17
1895	St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.	18
1897	The Leys School, Cambridge.	19
1897	Tonbridge School.	20

1. L.Tanner, Westminster School, 1923, p.14.
2. E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948, p.201.
3. E.S.Skirving (ed), Cheltenham College Register, 1841-1927, 1928, p.xiii.
4. H.C.Bradby, Rugby, 1900, p.138.
5. A.G.Bradley et al, Marlborough College, 1893, p.290.
6. L.S.Milford, Haileybury College, 1909, p.183.
7. W.Sterry, Annals of Eton College, 1898, p.327.
8. Schools Inquiry Commission, XIII, 1869, p.430.
9. A.H.Tod, Charterhouse, 1900, p.186.
10. A.F.Leach, Winchester College, 1899, p.510.
11. S.Marby and N.Mark-Jones, Bishop's Stortford College, 1868-1968, 1968, p.11.
12. Merchant Taylors' School, 1929, p.72.
13. R.Blumeneau, History of Malvern College, 1865-1965, 1965, p.24.
14. A.F.Lace, A Goodly Heritage, 1968, p.43.
15. A.K.Boyd, History of Radley College, 1847-1947, 1948, p.119.
16. D.Newsome, History of Wellington College, 1859-1959, 1959, p.212.
17. Letter from M.A.Nash dated 11.2.1973.
18. R.C.Laing (ed), Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial, 1895, p.183.
19. T.D.Atkinson, Cambridge Described and Illustrated, 1897, p.218.
20. S.Rivington, History of Tonbridge School, 1898, p.355.

APPENDIX VI

The Adoption of the Athletics Sports Day by Schools (up to 1874).¹

1853	Cheltenham College.	2
1858	Shrewsbury School.	3
1859	Rossall School.	4
1860	Ipswich School.	5
1860	Leeds Grammar School.	6
1860	St Peter's School, York.	7
1861	Charterhouse School.	8
1861	Harrow School.	9
1861	Magdalen College School, Oxford.	10
1861	St Peter's College, Radley.	11
1861	St Paul's School, London.	12
1861	Westminster School.	13
1863	Clifton College.	14
1863	Haileybury College.	15
1864	Sherborne School.	16
1865	Beaumont School, Windsor.	17
1865	Bradfield College.	18
1865	City of London School.	19
1865	Eton College.	20
1865	Lancing College.	21
1866	Cranleigh School.	22
1866	Oakham School.	23
1866	Repton School.	24
1866	Royal Grammar School, Lancaster.	25
1866	Royal Grammar School, Worcester.	26
1866	Winchester College.	27

1867	Rugby School.	28
1868	Bedford Modern School.	29
1868	King Edward VI School, Southampton.	30
1869	Aldenham School.	31
1869	Epsom College.	32
1869	St George's College, Weybridge.	33
1870	Chigwell School.	34
1870	Liverpool College.	35
1870	Royal Grammar School, Guildford.	36
1870	Weymouth College.	37
1871	Abingdon School.	38
1871	Carre's Grammar School, Sleaford.	39
1871	Eastbourne College.	40
1872	Merchant Taylors' School, Northwood.	41
1872	Whitgift School, Croydon.	42
1873	Mill Hill School.	43
1874	Dulwich College.	44
1874	Handsworth Grammar School.	45
1874	Malvern College.	46
1874	Monkton Combe School.	47

-
1. Kensington Grammar School was reported in H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893, p.6. to have had an Athletics Sports Day as early as 1852 but no evidence has been discovered to substantiate this claim.
 2. Bell's Life, 30 October, 1853, p.7.
 3. Shrewsbury School Register, 1798-1898, 1898, p.248.
 4. J.F.Rowbotham, History of Rossall School, 1901, p.352.
 5. I.E.Gray and W.E.Potter, Ipswich School, 1400-1950, 1950, p.111.
 6. A.C.Price, History of Leeds Grammar School, 1919, p.292.

7. A.Raine, History of St Peter's School, York, 1926, p.133.
8. Charterhouse School Library, Athletics Sports Register.
9. R.H.Lyttleton et al, Fifty Years of Sport, III, 1927, p.257.
10. R.S.Stanier, Magdalen School, 1958, p.220.
11. A.K.Boyd, History of Radley College, 1847-1947, 1948, p.211.
12. Letter from H.Mead, dated 4.9.1972.
13. Westminster School Archives, Sports Committee Minutes.
14. O.F.Christie, History of Clifton College, 1860-1934, 1935, p.286.
15. L.S.Milford, Haileybury College, 1909, p.175.
16. H.H.Horne, Sherborne Register, 1823-1892, 1893, p.269.
17. The History of St Stanislaus College, Beaumont, 1861-1911, 1911, p.125.
18. A.F.Leach, History of Bradfield College, 1900, p.126.
19. A.E.Douglas-Smith, The City of London School, 1965, p.183.
20. G.Parry, Annals of an Eton House, 1908, p.139.
21. The Lancing Register, 1848-1900, 1900.
22. Cranleigh School, 1865-1906, 1906, p.22.
23. Bell's Life, 24 March, 1866, p.11.
24. B.Thomas, Repton, 1555-1955, 1955, p.178.
25. A.L.Murray, Royal Grammar School, Lancaster, 1952, p.154.
26. F.V.Follet, A History of the Worcester Royal Grammar School, 1951, p.203.
27. Bell's Life, 31 March, 1966, p.9.
28. J.B.H.Simpson, Rugby since Arnold, 1967, p.275.
29. L.R.Conisbee, Bedford Modern School, 1964, p.30.
30. C.F.Russell, A History of King Edward VI School, Southampton, 1940, p.312.
31. Schools Inquiry Commission, XII, 1869, p.522.
32. Letter from M.A.Nash, dated 11.2.1973.
33. Letter from School, dated 4.5.1973.

34. G.Stott, A History of Chigwell School, 1960, p.78.
35. D.Wainwright, Liverpool Gentlemen, 1960, p.281.
36. Letter from D.M.Shurley, dated 29.1.1973.
37. L.G.Faulkner, History of Weymouth College to 1901, 1937, p.86.
38. The Griffin, 1963, p.11.
39. C.Ellis, Carre's Grammar School, Sleaford, 1954, p.48.
40. V.M.Allom, A Centenary History of Eastbourne College, 1967, p.28.
41. F.A.M.Webster, Our Great Public Schools, 1937, p.196.
42. W.D.Hayward, History of Whitgift Grammar School, 1892, p.234.
43. N.G.Brett-James, Mill Hill, 1938, p.108.
44. T.L.Ormiston, Dulwich College Register, no date, p.702.
45. J.J.Walton and D.L.Gregory, Handsworth Grammar School, 1862-1962, 1962, p.64.
46. R.T.C.Cookson (ed), The Malvern Register, 1865-1904, 1905, p.574.
47. A.F.Lace, A Goodly Heritage, 1968, p.15.

APPENDIX VII

Girls Schools' Gymnasiums in the Nineteenth Century.

1868	Queen's College School, London.	1
1878	Bedford High School.	2
1878	North London Collegiate School.	3
1882	Wyggeston Girls' School, Leicester.	4
1884	Leeds High School.	5
1884	Sheffield High School.	6
1885	Collegiate School, Leicester.	7
1885	Roedean School.	8
1887	Guildford High School.	9
1888	Leamington High School.	10
1890	Newcastle-upon-Tyne Church High School.	11
1891	Mount School, York.	12
1894	Cheltenham Ladies' College.	13
1894	Gateshead High School.	14
1897	Newton Abbot High School.	15
1898	Wycombe Abbey School.	16
1899	Clapham High School.	17

1. Schools Inquiry Commission,X, 1868, p.294.
2. K.M.Westaway, History of Bedford High School, 1932, p.15.
3. J.D.Mellor, 'Schools', V.C.H.Middlesex,I, 1969, ed. R.B.Pugh, p.309.
4. Wright's Directory of Leicester, 1882, 1882, p.275.
5. K.E.Proctor, Leeds Girls' High School,I, 1926, p.18.
6. G.P.D.S.T., p.82.
7. N.K.Freebody, History of Collegiate Girls' School, Leicester, 1867-1967, 1968, p.28.
8. D.E. de Zouche, Roedean School, 1855-1955, 1955, p.31.
9. Letter from Miss M.J.Harley-Mason, dated 21.2.1973.
10. Leamington High School for Girls, 1934, p.1.
11. The Newcastle-upon-Tyne Church High School, 1885-1935, 1935, p.18.
12. H.W.Strange and T.Clark, The Mount School, York, 1931, p.269.
13. Kelly's Directory of Gloucestershire and Bristol, 1894, 1894, p.67.
14. F.Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of Durham, 1894, p.3 (Adverts).
15. Kelly's Directory of Devon and Cornwall,1897, 1897, p.64 (Adverts).
16. A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Buckinghamshire,II, 1908, ed. W.Page,p.217.
17. G.P.D.S.T., p.27.

APPENDIX VIII

Chronological Development of Sporting Competition
between Oxford and Cambridge Universities (up to 1900). ¹

1827	Cricket
1829	Boat Race
1855	Rackets
1859	Tennis
1860	Billiards
1863	Steeplechasing
1864	Athletics
1872	Rugby
1873	Chess
1874	Soccer
1874	Bicycling
1878	Polo
1878	Golf
1880	Cross-Country Running
1881	Lawn Tennis
1890	Hockey
1891	Water Polo
1892	Swimming
1895	Skating
1897	Fencing
1897	Boxing

1. Derived from: H.M.Abrahams and J.Bruce-Kerr, Oxford versus Cambridge, 1827-1930, 1931, p.xv.

APPENDIX IX

The Relationship of the Oxford-Cambridge Athletics Sports and Boat Races. ¹

	<u>Athletics Sports</u> ²	<u>Boat Race</u>
1864	5th March (Oxford)	19th March
1865	25th March (Cambridge)	8th April
1866	10th March (Oxford)	24th March
1867	12th April	13th April
1868	3rd April	4th April
1869	18th March	17th March
1870	7th April	6th April
1871	31st March	1st April
1872	25th March (Monday)	23rd March
1873	31st March (Monday)	29th March
1874	27th March	28th March
1875	19th March	20th March
1876	7th April	8th April
1877	23rd March	24th March
1878	12th April	13th April
1879	4th April	5th April
1880	19th March (Friday)	22nd March
1881	7th April	8th April
1882	31st March	1st April
1883	16th March	15th March
1884	8th April	7th April
1885	27th March	28th March
1886	2nd April	3rd April
1887	25th March	26th March
1888	23rd March	24th March
1889	29th March	30th March

	<u>Athletics Sports</u>	<u>Boat Race</u>
1890	25th March	26th March
1891	20th March	21st March
1892	8th April	9th April
1893	23rd March	22nd March
1894	17th March	17th March
1895	3rd July (postponed from March)	30th March
1896	27th March	28th March
1897	2nd April	3rd April
1898	29th June (postponed from 25th March)	26th March
1899	24th March	25th March
1900	30th March	31st March

-
1. Derived from H.M.Abrahams and J.Bruce-Kerr, Oxford versus Cambridge, 1827-1930, 1931, pp 2-24, 93-105.
 2. All matches were held in London unless otherwise indicated.

APPENDIX X

A Digest of the Positive Evidence from 250 Boys' Schools (up to 1900).

* Earliest known date - Conclusive negative	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Abingdon School.	1563	-		1873		1871
Acton Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Ackworth School.		1864	1849			1897
Ackworth: Flounders' Institute.		1869*				
Adderbury Grammar School.	1589					
Aldenham School.	1599	1895	1878	1876		1869
Alford: Queen Elizabeth I's Grammar School.						1881
Almondbury: King James' Grammar School.	1609					1884
Andover School.						1878*
Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School.	1575	1898				
Ashford Free Grammar School.		1868*				
Barnard Castle School.						1883
Barnet: Queen Elizabeth Grammar School.	1634					1885
Basingstoke Free Grammar School.		1868*				
Bedford Modern School.	-	1890		1896*		1868*

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Bedford School.	1811	1878		1878		
Birkenhead School.		1900*		1900*		
Birmingham Classical School.		1869*				
Birmingham: Handsworth Grammar School.						1874
Bishop's Stortford College.	-		1895		1875	1895
Bishop's Waltham School.		1868*				
Bitterley Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Blackburn: Queen Elizabeth Grammar School.	1597	1896				
Botesdale School.	1566					
Brackley: Magdalen College School.		-				1894*
Bradfield College.		1882	1898	1873		1865
Bradford: Woodhouse Grove School.			1892	1883		
Brentwood Grammar School.	1622	1869*	1864			
Bridgewater: King James' Free School.		1868*				
Bristol Grammar School.	1666	1859				
Bristol: Clifton College.	-	1867	1875*	1894		1863

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Bromsgrove School.		1876		1878		
Bruton:King Edward VI Free Grammar School.		1868				
Bungay Grammar School.	1592					
Bury St Edmunds: King Edward VI Grammar School.	1550	1869*		1896*		
Buxton College.		1899*	1899*			
Caistor Grammar School.	1630					
Cambridge: The Leys School.	-	1897*			1897*	
Cambridge: Perse School.						1887
Canterbury: King's School.	1561	-		1868*		1892*
Carlisle Grammar School.						1886
Cartmel Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Caterham School	-	1886*	1889			1888*
Chelmsford Grammar School.		1869*				
Cheltenham College.	-	1865	1880	1862	1853	1853
Cheltenham: Dean Close School.		1889	1889			
Chesterfield Free Grammar School.		1869*				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Chigwell School.		1889	1885	1889		1870
Chigwell: Harsnett's School.	1629	1886	1885			
Chipping Campden Grammar School.		1869*				
Clitheroe Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Cobham: Reed's School.	-	1899*	1899*			
Colchester Grammar School.		1869*				
Coventry: Allesley Park College.	-	1880*				
Coventry: King Henry VIII School.	1628					
Cranbrook School.		1871	1881			
Cranleigh School.	-	1874		1875		1866
Crewkerne Free Grammar School.		1868*	1888	1868*		
Crosby: Merchant Taylors' School.						1880
Croydon: Whitgift School.		1871				1872
Cuckfield Grammar School.	1521					
Darlington: Queen Elizabeth Grammar School.	1749	1869*				
Dedham Grammar School.		1869*				
Denstone College.	-	1898*				1898*

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Derby Free Grammar School		1869				
Dorchester (Dorset) Free School.		1868*				
Dorchester (Oxon) Free Grammar School.	1652					
Dronfield Grammar School.	1638					
Eastbourne College.	-	1873	1874	1874		1871*
East Retford:King Edward VI Free Grammar School.	1552	1869*				
Elmham: Norfolk County School.	-	1890*	1890*	1890*		
Enfield Grammar School.						1896*
Epsom College.	-	1870	1862	1877	1891	1869*
Eton College.	1525	-		1840	1866	1865
Exeter Grammar School.	1633	1868*				
Felsted School.		1883	1896			
Fleetwood: Rossall School.	-	1883	1893*			1859
Folkestone:Harvey Grammar School.						1891
Giggleswick Free Grammar School.		1869	1877	1878		
Gloucester:King's School.				1810		

	Play Day Statute.	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Gloucester:Crypt Grammar School.		1869*				
Godalming: Charterhouse School.		-	1883	1874	1872	1861
Grantham Free Grammar School.	1571					
Great Eccleston: Copp Free School.		1869*				
Great Marton Free School.		1869*				
Great Yarmouth Grammar School.	1614					
Grimsby: St James' College.		1892*				
Guildford:Royal Grammar School.	1608	-		1888*		1870
Haileybury College.	-	1868	1863		1865	1863
Harrow School.	1591	1874	1850	1863	1850	1861
Hartlebury Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Hastings Grammar School.		1896				1894
Hertford: Christ's Hospital.		1868*				1888*
Hertford Free Grammar School.	1616					
Heversham Grammar School.		1869*				
Hexham Proprietary School.	-	1869*				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
High Ercaal Grammar School.	1829					
Hingham Elementary School.	-	1869*				
Houghton-le-Spring:Kepier Free Grammar School.	1583	1869*				
Hull Grammar School.						1898
Ilminster School.		1868*	1896			
Ipswich School.	1571	1884*	1884	1884*		1860
Kendal Grammar School.				1894*		
Kettering Free School.		1868*				
Kidderminster Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Kingston Grammar School.	1800					
Knaresborough Grammar School.		1869*				
Lancaster:Royal Grammar School.		1885	1884			1866
Lancing College.	-	1877				1865*
Launceston: Dunheved College.		1877				
Launceston Grammar School.		1869*				
Leatherhead: St John's School.	-	-	-	1881*	-	1885*

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Leeds Grammar School.		1869*		1876		
Leeds Modern School.	-					1893*
Leicester: Wyggeston School.	1576	1895				1887
Lincoln Grammar School.		1869*				
Liverpool College.						1870*
Liverpool: Royal Institute School.		1869*				
Liverpool Institute, Boys' High School.		-				1890
London: Blackheath Proprietary School.	-					1887*
London: Boys' School of Royal Asylum of St Anne's Society.		1868*	1868*			
London: Christ's Hospital		1865				
London: City of London School.						1865
London: Dulwich College.	1619					1874
London: Emmanuel School.						1889
London: Godolphin School, Hammersmith.		1868*		1868*		
London: Grocers' School, Hackney.		1894*	1894*			
London: Kensington Grammar School.						1852

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
London: Mercers' School.	1804					
London: Owen's School.						1881*
London: Royal Naval School, New Cross.		1868*	1868*			
London: St Paul's School.	1512	1890	1899	1883	-	1861
London: St Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark.	1562					
London: University College School.	-	1868*		1840		
London: Westminster School.	1560	1861		1886	1847	1861
London: William Ellis School.						1890
London: Wilson's Grammar School, Camberwell.	1615					
Loughborough Grammar School.		1900				
Lynn Grammar School.	1698					
Macclesfield: King's School.						1896*
Malvern College.	-		1892	1867	1881	1874
Manchester Grammar School.	1515	1880				1890*
Manchester: Mechanics Institute Commercial and Secondary Day School for Boys.		1869*				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Market Drayton Grammar School.	1719					
Marlborough College.	-	1869		1849	1863	
Marlborough Grammar School.		1868*				
Merton: Rutlish School.						1900*
Middleton Grammar School.		1869*				
Mill Hill School.	-	1890*	1886*			
Monkton Combe School.	-	1894*		1882	1882	1874
Newark: Magnus Grammar School		1869*		1869*		
Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Royal Grammar School.		1891		1891		
Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Rutherford Grammar School.						1888
Newport (Essex) Grammar School.	1588		1888			
Newport (Salop) Free Grammar School.	1656					
Northampton Grammar School.						1879
North Tawton School.		1868*				
North Walsham: Paston Grammar School.		1898				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Northwich: Witton Grammar School.	1558					
Northwood: Merchant Taylors' School.	1561	1875		1875	1875	1872*
Norwich: King Edward VI Grammar School.		1869*				
Nottingham High School.		1884				
Nuneaton: King Edward VI School.	1610					
Oakham School.	1587		1889*	1889*		1866*
Ottery St Mary School.		1868*				
Oundle School.	1556	1895				
Oxford: Magdalen College School.		1868		1871		1861
Penketh School.		1895				1881
Peterborough: King's School.	1561	1868*				
Pocklington Grammar School.		1869	1869*	1896		1890*
Preston Grammar School.	1698	1869*				
Radley: St Peter's College.		1859		1855	1885	1859
Reading School.		1879	1879			
Reigate Grammar School.		1899*				
Repton Free Grammar School.		1869*	-	1854		1866
Ripon Free Grammar School.		1869*				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Ripponden: Making Place Hall.		1870				
Rishworth School.	1725					
Rivington and Blackrod Grammar School.	1614	1894*		1885*		
Rotherham Grammar School.	1683	1866				
Rugby School.		1872	1876	1863	1859	1853
Saddleworth: Wharfton School.		1869*				
Sandbach Grammar School.		1869				
Sandwich Grammar School.	1580					
Sedbergh School.		1876*	1885			1881
Sevenoaks Grammar School.	1574					
Sheffield: Wesley College.	-	1881	1881			
Shepton Mallet School.		1868*				
Sherborne School.		1885	1873	1675		1864
Shrewsbury School.	1578	1883	1887	1798		1858
Sleaford: Carre's Grammar School.						1871
Southampton: King Edward VI School.	1675					1868*
Southwell Grammar School.	1716					

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
St Albans Grammar School.	1570					
Stamford School.		1886				1897*
Stevenage School.	1558					
Steyning Grammar School.	1614					
Stourbridge Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Stratford-upon-Avon: King Edward VI Grammar School.		1900				1883*
Stratford-upon-Avon: Trinity College School.		1877		1877		
Taunton School.	-	1868*	1870	1873		1882*
Tettenhall College.	-	1864		1864		
Thame: Lord William's School.	1575					
Thurrock: Palmer's School.		1898	1898			
Tideswell Grammar School.	1560			1894*		
Tonbridge School.	1564	1868	1897	1873	1897	1880*
Totnes Grammar School.		1890*	-			1890*
Tregoney: Hart House School.		1889*				
Tuxford: Read's Free Grammar School.		1869*				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Uppingham School.	1587	1859	1883			1875
Ushaw: St Cuthbert's College.		1895*	1859		1895*	
Uttoxeter: Alleyne's Grammar School.	1558	1869*				1888*
Wakefield Free Grammar School.	1607	1869*				
Walsall: Queen Mary Grammar School.						1893*
Walthamstow: Forest School.		1869*	1869*		1869*	
Warminster: Lord Weymouth's School.		-	1888			
Warrington: Botellier Grammar School.	1520					
Watlington Free Grammar School.	1818*					
Warwick School.		1890				1876
Watford Grammar School.						1893
Wellington College.	-	1887*	1879	1863*	1886	1887*
Wells Cathedral School.	1461					
Weybridge: St George's College.	-	1869	1879*	-		1869
Weymouth College.		1889				1870
Whalley Grammar School.		1869*				

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Court	Athletics Sports Day
Whalley: Stonyhurst College.	-	1871*	1881			1891*
Whitehaven: St Bees Grammar School.	1583					
Wigan Free Grammar School.	1664	1869*				
Wimbledon: King's College School.	-	1900*		1899		
Winchester College.	1590	1878	-	1862	1872	1867
Windsor: Beaumont School.	-		1881			1865
Winscombe: Sidcot School.	-	1890	1849			
Winwick Free Grammar School.		1869*				
Wisbech Grammar School.						1891
Wolverhampton: Royal Wolverhampton School.		1872	1881			
Wolverley: Sebright School.						1880*
Woodbridge School.		1896		1896		
Woodford Green: Bancroft's School.						1898
Wooton-under-Edge Grammar School.	1624					

	Play Day Statute	Gymnasium	Swimming Bath	Fives Court	Rackets Courts	Athletics Sports Day
Worcester College for the Blind Sons of Gentlemen.	-	1879*				
Worcester: Royal Grammar School.	1688			1895*		1866
Worksop College.	-		1898*			
Wrekin College.	-	1899*	-			
York: Mount School.		1891				
York: St Peter's School.		1895		1889*		1860*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I BOOKS

- (a) Architecture
- (b) Documents (Published).
- (c) Health
- (d) Local History
 - (i) Town Histories and Descriptions
 - (ii) Trade Directories
- (e) Philosophy
- (f) Schools: General
- (g) School Histories
- (h) Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses
- (i) Sport
- (j) Universities

II ARTICLES

III OFFICIAL REPORTS

IV NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- (a) Newsprint
- (b) School Magazines

I BOOKS

(a) Architecture.

F.Clay, Modern School Buildings, 1906.

E.R.Robson, School Architecture, 1874.

M.V.J. Seaborne, The English School: its Architecture and Organization, 1570-1870, 1971.

(b) Documents (Published).

A.F.Leach (ed), Educational Charters, 1911.

J.S.Maclure, Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816-1967, 1967.

D.W.Sylvester, Educational Documents, 800-1816, 1970.

(c) Health.

C. Dukes, Health at School, 1894.

(d) Local History.

(i) Town Histories and Descriptions.

T.D.Atkinson, Cambridge Described and Illustrated, 1897.

G.Cowie, The History of Wyggeston's Hospital, 1893.

J.P.Earwaker, History of Sandbach, 1890.

R.H.Kirby, The Rural Deanery of Cartmel, 1892.

M.R.Lambert and M.S.Sprague, Lincoln, 1937.

J.Pendleton and W.Jacques, Modern Chesterfield, 1903.

B.Poole, Coventry: Its History and Antiquities, 1870.

Railway Traveller's Walk Through Cambridge, 1880.

W.Scott, The Story of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 1907.

Spencer's Illustrated Leicester Almanack, 1880.

A.R.Stedman, Marlborough and the Upper Kennet Country, 1960.

J.Townsend, A History of Abingdon, 1910.

E.Wooler and A.C.Boyde, Historie Darlington, 1913.

(ii) Trade Directories.

Bulmer's History and Directory of East Yorkshire, 1892.

City of London Directory, 1894.

Gore's Directory of Liverpool, 1900.

J.G.Harrold, Postal and Commercial Directory of Hampshire, 1865.

J.G.Harrold, Royal County Directory, 1877 (Norfolk).

Kelly's Directory of Berkshire, 1903.

Kelly's Directory of Devon and Cornwall, 1889.

Kelly's Directory of Devon and Cornwall, 1897.

Kelly's Directory of Dorsetshire, 1923.

Kelly's Directory of Essex, 1902.

Kelly's Directory of Gloucestershire and Bristol, 1894.

Kelly's Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, 1899.

Kelly's Directory of Hull, 1899.

Kelly's Directory of Lancashire, 1924.

Kelly's Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland, 1899.

Kelly's Directory of Lincolnshire, 1892.

Kelly's Directory of Norfolk, 1904.

Kelly's Directory of Northumberland, 1894.

Kelly's Directory of Nottinghamshire, 1906.

Kelly's Directory of Oxfordshire, 1903.

Kelly's Directory of Somerset, 1889.

Kelly's Directory of Suffolk, 1896.

Kelly's Directory of Surrey, 1938.

Kelly's Directory of Sussex, 1903.

Kelly's Directory of Warwickshire, 1892.

Kelly's Directory of Warwickshire, 1896.

Kelly's Directory of West Riding of Yorkshire, 1881.

Kelly's Post Office Directory of Cambridgeshire, 1879.

Kelly's Post Office Directory of Essex, 1878.

Littlebury's Worcester and District Directory, 1879.

The Court Guide and County Blue Book of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, 1901.

F.Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of Durham, 1894.

W.White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Devon, 1890.

W.White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk, 1890.

White's Clothing District Directory, 1870.

White's General and Commercial Directory of Bradford, 1881.

White's Sheffield Directory, 1905.

White's Warwickshire Directory, 1874.

Wright's Directory of Leicester, 1882.

Wright's Directory of Leicestershire and Rutland, 1896.

(e) Philosophy.

J. W. Adamson, Pioneers of Modern Education, 1600-1700, 1905.

J.Locke, Thoughts Concerning Education, (ed) F.W.Garforth, 1964.

J.Milton, Tractate on Education, (ed) O.Browning, 1890.

R.H.Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers, 1923.

(f) Schools: General.

F.J.Adams (ed), Education in Bradford since 1870, 1970.

A.S.Barnes, The Catholic Schools of England, 1926.

J.H.Bingham, Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903, 1949.

N.Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Schools of England and Wales, 2 volumes, 1818.

J.Dover Wilson, The Schools of England, 1926.

G.Griffiths, The Free Schools of Staffordshire, 1860.

G.P.D.S.T., 1872-1972, 1972.

A.F.Leach, Schools of Medieval England, 1915.

E.C.Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion 1780 to 1860, 1938.

C.P. McMahon, Education in Fifteenth Century England, 1947.

- B.Simon (ed), Education in Leicestershire, 1540-1940, 1968.
- B.Simon and I.Bradley (ed), The Victorian Public School, 1975.
- J.Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, 1966.
- H.Staunton, The Great Schools of England, 1865.
- The Town of Bedford and its Schools, 1896.
- W.A.L.Vincent, The Grammar Schools: Their Continuing Tradition, 1660-1714, 1969.
- D.Wardle, Education and Society in Nineteenth Century Nottingham, 1971.
- F.A.M.Webster, Our Great Public Schools, 1937.

(g) School Histories.

- Abingdon School, 1870-1970, 1970.
- R.Airy, Westminster, 1902.
- V.Allom, A Centenary History of Eastbourne College, 1967.
- D.H.Allport, Camberwell Grammar School, 1964.
- R.A.Austen-Leigh (revised R.C.Martineau), An Illustrated Guide to Eton College, 1964.
- E.Ayres, Woodbridge School, 1662-1962, 1962.
- W.Baker (ed), Merchant Taylors' School Register, 1871-1900, 1907.
- H.Bates and A.A.M.Wells, History of Shrewsbury High School, 1962.
- A.Beanland, Worksop College, 1895-1955, 1955.
- E.Beevor (ed), History and Register of Aldenham School, 1938.
- E.A.Bell, A History of Giggleswick School, 1912.
- A.C.Bennett and E.Parsons, A History of the Free School of Andover, no date.
- G.F.H.Berkeley, My Recollections of Wellington College, 1945.
- H.N.Birt, Downside, 1902.
- Blackburn, 1851-1951: Centenary Souvenir, 1951.
- R.Blumeneau, History of Malvern College, 1865-1965, 1965.
- A.K.Boyd, History of Radley College, 1847-1947, 1948.
- H.C.Bradby, Rugby, 1900.
- A.G.Bradley et al, Marlborough College, 1893.

- N.G.Brett-James, Mill Hill, 1938.
- J.H.Brown, History of Thame School, 1927.
- J.H.Brown, History of Harvey Grammar School, 1962.
- E.Bryans, St Peter's College, Radley, 1897.
- E.Bullins, Leeds Modern School, 1845-1931, 1931.
- J.Burman, Solihull and its School, 1939.
- S.A.Burshall, The Story of Manchester High School for Girls, 1871-1911, 1911.
- J.Carleton, Westminster School, 1965.
- F.C.Cass, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School at Chipping Barnet, 1573-1865, 1880.
- G.C.Chambers, History of Wigan Free Grammar School, 1596-1869, 1933.
- O.F.Christie, History of Clifton College, 1860-1934, 1935.
- A.K.Clarke, A History of Cheltenham Ladies College, 1853-1953, 1953.
- H.L.Clarke, History of Sedbergh School, 1925.
- A.Clutton-Buck, Eton, 1900.
- L.R.Conisbee, Bedford Modern School, 1964.
- A.K.Cook, About Winchester College, 1926.
- R.T.C.Cookson (ed), The Malvern Register, 1865-1904, 1905.
- Cranleigh School, 1865-1906, 1906.
- M.Craze, A History of Felsted School, 1564-1947, 1955.
- R.A.Dare, Owen's School, 1963.
- B.L.Deed, History of Stamford School, 1954.
- T.G.Dixon and H.E.J.Coxon (ed), Caistor Grammar School Records, 1932.
- A.E.Douglas-Smith, The City of London School, 1965.
- L.E.Duncan, History of Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham, 1910.
- T.Dyson, History of King James' Grammar School, Almondbury, 1926.
- C.F.Lastwood, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Blackburn, 1970.
- D.L.Edwards, A History of King's School, Canterbury, 1957.
- M.Eggleshaw, The History of Wallasey Grammar School, no date.
- R.W.Elliot, Story of King Edward VI School, Bury St Edmunds, 1963.

- C.Ellis, Carre's Grammar School, Sleaford, 1954.
- R.J. Evans et al, History and Register of Aldenham School, 1969.
- C.Evers, Story of Highgate School, 1938.
- L.G.Faulkner, History of Weymouth College to 1901, 1937.
- F.W.Felkin, Short History of University College School from 1830-1907, 1909.
- D.P.J.Fink, Queen Marys' Grammar School, 1554-1954, 1954.
- F.V.Follet, A History of the Worcester Royal Grammar School, 1951.
- C.R.Fordner, The Paston Grammar School, 1934.
- E.G.Forrester, Magdalen College School, Brackley, 1548-1948, 1950.
- F.H.Forshall, Westminster School, 1884.
- A.Fox, Harrow, 1911.
- L.Fox, A Country Grammar School, 1967. (Ashby-de-la-Zouch Grammar School).
- D.C.P.Francombe and D.E.Coult, Bancroft's School, 1737-1937, 1937.
- N.K.Freebody, History of Collegiate Girls' School, Leicester, 1867-1967, 1967.
- W.Furseman (ed), Centenary History of Rossall School, 1945.
- R.B.Gardiner and J.Lupton, Res Paulinae, 1911. (St Paul's School, London).
- J.Garstang, History of Blackburn Grammar School, 1897.
- A.B.Gourlay, History of Sherborne School, 1897.
- R.T.Graham (ed), Ilminster Grammar School, 1549-1949, 1949.
- I.E.Gray and W.E.Potter, Ipswich School, 1400-1950, 1950.
- J.M.Gray, History of Perse School, 1921.
- G.Gruggen and J.Keating, Stonyhurst College, 1901.
- H.Gunning, Reminiscences, I, 1854. (King's School, Ely).
- L.Gush, A History of Eton College, 1899.
- A.S.Hackett, The Story of Queen Elizabeth I's Grammar School, Alford, 1966.
- G.V.Hancock, History of Tettenhall College, 1963.
- B.W.T.Handford, Lancing, 1848-1930, 1933.
- A.Harper (ed), History of Cheltenham Grammar School, 1856.
- W.D.Hayward, History of Whitgift Grammar School, 1892.
- F.A.Hibbert, Short History of Denstone College, 1898.

- C.P.Hill, History of Bristol Grammar School, 1950.
- G.Hinchcliffe, King James School, Almondbury, 1963.
- R.C.Hitchcock, History of Barnard Castle School, 1883-1933, 1933.
- J.S.Hodgson, History of Penketh School, 1834-1907, 1907.
- W.H.Holden (ed), The Charterhouse we knew, 1950.
- R.Hope, History of Lord Weymouth's School, Warminster, 1961.
- H.H.Horne, Sherborne Register, 1823-1892, 1893.
- R.R.Houghton, Bungay Grammar School, 1565-1965, 1965.
- W.G.Hughes and M.Sweeney, Watford Grammar School for Boys and Girls, 1704-1954, 1954.
- H.E.M.Icely, Bromsgrove School, 1953.
- N.G.Jackson, Newark Magnus, 1964.
- W.A.James, Grammar and Song Schools of Southwell, 1927.
- E.M.Jameson, Charterhouse, 1937.
- J.Jamieson, The History of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, 1810-1960, 1959.
- D.C.W.Johnson, Wrekin College, 1880-1964, 1964.
- Jubilee Book of the Clifton High School, 1877-1927, 1927.
- H.M.Kay, History of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar School, 1931.
- W.H.Keeling (ed), Bradford Grammar School: Past and Present, 1912.
- Kingston Grammar School, Handbook of Pageant, 1909.
- J.W.Kirby, History of the Blackheath Proprietary School, 1933.
- F.A.Knight, A History of Sidcot School, 1808-1908, 1908.
- E.D.Labarde, Harrow School, 1948.
- A.F.Lace, A Goodly Heritage: History of Monkton Combe School, 1968.
- R.C.Laing, Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial, 1895.
- W.D.Larrett, A History of the Kings School, Peterborough, 1966.
- J.Lawson, A Town Grammar School Through Six Centuries, 1963.
(Hull Grammar School).
- A.F.Leach, History of Winchester College, 1899.
- A.F.Leach, History of Bradfield College, 1900.
- A.F.Leach, History of Warwick School, 1906.

- Leamington High School for Girls, 1934.
- T.Lees, A Short History of Northampton Grammar School, 1541-1941, 1947.
- C.R.Leetham, Ratcliffe College, 1847-1947, 1950.
- W.Lempriere, History of the Girls' School of Christ's Hospital, 1924.
- P.Levi, Beaumont, 1961.
- R.H.Lyttleton, A.Page and E.B.Noel, Fifty Years of Sport, III: Eton, Harrow and Winchester, 1972.
- H.M. Luft, History of Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, 1620-1970, 1970.
- A.MacDonald, A Short History of Repton, 1929.
- V.A.MacPherson, The Story of St Anne's, Abbots Bromley, 1874-1924, 1924.
- M.C.Malim and H.C.Escreet, The Book of the Blackheath High School, 1927.
- T.Mainwaring-Baines, The History of Hastings Grammar School, 1619-1966, 1967.
- S.Marby and N.Mark-Jones, Bishop's Stortford College, 1868-1968, 1968.
- L.B.Marshall, A Brief History of Enfield Grammar School, 1958.
- W.Maw, Rutherford Grammar School, 1964.
- H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, History of Eton College, 1440-1898, 1899.
- H.C.Maxwell-Lyte, History of Eton College, 1911.
- D.M.McKay, History of Lymm Grammar School, 1960.
- Merchant Taylors' School, 1929.
- G.S.Messiker, Records and Reminiscences of Repton, 1907.
- T.Middleton, History of Tideswell Grammar School, 1933.
- L.S.Milford, Haileybury College, 1909.
- M.C.Morgan, Cheltenham College: The First Hundred Years, 1968.
- A.A.Mumford, The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915, 1919.
- A.L.Murray, Royal Grammar School, Lancaster, 1952.
- A.L.Murray, Sebright School, Wolverley, 1953.
- E.N.Nason, A History of Nuneaton Grammar School, 1936.
- D.Newsone, History of Wellington College, 1859-1959, 1959.
- J.B.Oldham, History of Shrewsbury School, 1552-1952, 1952.
- T.L.Ormiston, Dulwich College Register, no date.
- F.M.Page, Christ's Hospital, Hertford, 1953.

- G.Parry, Annals of an Eton House, 1908.
- H.L.Parry, The Founding of Exeter School, 1913.
- M.H.Peacock, History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield, 1892.
- W.J.Pendlebury and J.M.West, Shrewsbury School, 1934.
- F.H.G.Percy, History of Whitgift School, 1976.
- C.M.Picciotto, St Paul's, 1939.
- A.C.Price, History of Leeds Grammar School, 1919.
- J.H.Priestley, The History of Rishworth School, no date.
- K.E.Proctor, Leeds Girls' High School, 1926.
- T.D.Raikes, Fifty Years of St Peter's College, Radley, 1896.
- A.Raine, History of St Peter's School, York, 1926.
- S.P.Record, Proud Century, 1948. (Taunton School).
- Reminiscences of Cheltenham College, 1868.
- S.Rivington, The History of Tonbridge School, 1898.
- A.N.G.Richards, St Paul's in West Kensington, 1968.
- D.Robertson, The Old Book of Hartlebury Grammar School, 1556-1752, 1904.
- G.B.Routledge, Carlisle Grammar School Memorial Register, 1924.
- J.F.Rowbotham, History of Rossall School, 1901.
- W.H.D.Rowse, History of Rugby School, 1898.
- Rugby School Register, III, 1874-1889, 1891.
- C.F.Russell, History of King Edward VI School, Southampton, 1940.
- W.A. Sampson, History of the Bristol Grammar School, 1912.
- P.C.Sands and C.M.Haworth, History of Pocklington School, 1514-1950, 1950.
- J.Sargeant, History of Bedford School, 1925.
- W.L.Sargeant, The Book of Oakham School, 1928.
- C.W.Scott-Giles and B.V.Slater, History of Emmanuel School, 1594-1964, 1966.
- R.M.Scrimgeour, The North London Collegiate School, 1850-1950, 1950.
- J.H.B.Simpson, Rugby Since Arnold, 1969.
- E.S.Skirving, Cheltenham College Register, 1841-1927, 1928.

- J.Smyth, Sandhurst, 1961.
- F.J.Snell, Blundells, 1928.
- D.C.Somervell, A History of Tonbridge School, 1957.
- H.Spencer Toy, A History of Education at Launceston, 1966.
- H.Stafford, Caterham School, 1945.
- R.S.Stainer, Magdalen School, 1958.
- W.Sterry, Annals of Eton College, 1898.
- F.L.Steward, History of Royal Wolverhampton School, 1850-1950, 1950.
- H.W.Strange and T.Clark, The Mount School, York, 1931.
- G.Stott, A History of Chigwell School, 1960.
- L.Tanner, Westminster School, 1923.
- The Bradfield College Register, 1876, 1876.
- The Bradfield College Register, 1963, 1964.
- The Church Schools Company, 1883-1933, 1934.
- The Eton College Register, vols I-VI.
- The History of St Stanislaus College, Beaumont, 1861-1911, 1911.
- The Lancing Register, 1848-1900, 1900.
- The Newcastle-upon-Tyne Church High School, 1885-1935, 1935.
- The Register of the Leeds Grammar School, 1820-1896, 1897.
- The Story of the Royal Grammar School, 1924. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne).
- The Wyggeston Grammar School for Boys: Jubilee, 1927.
- A.W.Thomas, History of Nottingham High School, 1513-1953, 1957.
- B.Thomas, Repton, 1555-1955, 1957.
- H.Thompson, History of Ackworth School, 1879.
- H.J.Tiffen, A History of the Liverpool Institute Schools, 1825-1935, 1935.
- A.H.Tod, Charterhouse, 1900.
- W.G.Torrance, History of Alleyne's Grammar School, Uttoxeter, 1558-1958, 1958.
- M.Tozer, Physical Education at Thring's Uppingham, 1976.
- C.L.Tripp, History of Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Barnet, 1935.

- 250 Years On, 1956. (Palmer's School, Thurrock).
- H.M.Vibart, Addiscombe: Its Heroes and Men of Note, 1894.
- H.E.Vipan, Register of Old Boys, 1900. (Bedford Modern School).
- E.Vipont, Ackworth School, 1959.
- J.Waddington-Feather, The Salt Grammar School, 1868-1968, 1968.
- D.Wainwright, Liverpool Gentlemen, 1960.
- W.A.G.Walker, A History of the Oundle School, 1961.
- W.G.Walker, A History of Oundle School, 1956.
- J.Walton and D.L.Gregory, Handsworth Grammar School, 1862-1962, 1962.
- L.Watkins, Shakespeare's School, 1853-1953, 1953.
- W.C.A.S., Winchester College, 1926.
- K.M.Westaway, History of Bedford High School, 1932.
- A.White, History of Loughborough Endowed Schools, 1969.
- L.H.White, History of Wisbech Grammar School, 1939.
- J.B.Whitehead, History of Great Yarmouth Grammar School, 1551-1951, 1951.
- T.D.Wickenden, William Ellis School, 1862-1962, 1962.
- J.F.Williams, Harrow, 1901.
- G.C.Williamson, The Royal Grammar School of Guildford, 1509:
A Record and Review, 1929.
- G.C.Williamson, Royal Grammar School, Guildford, 1929.
- D.Wilmot, Short History of the Grammar School, Macclesfield, 1910.
- B.Wilson, Sedbergh School Register, 1546-1909, 1909.
- H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' Grammar School, 1814.
- F.J.Wiseman, Recent History of St Peter's York, 1967.
- Woodhouse Grove School, 1812-1962, 1962.
- C.E.Woodruffe and H.J.Cape, A History of Canterbury School, 1908.
- W.Young, History of Dulwich College, 2 volumes, 1889.
- V.Zeller, Downside by and large, 1954.
- D.E. de Zouche, Roedean School, 1885-1955, 1955.

(h) Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses.

T.W.Bamford, Thomas Arnold, 1960.

E.T.Campagnac (ed), 1917, John Brinsley, Ludus Literarius, 1612.

R.Farrar, The Life of Frederic William Farrar, 1904.

J.J.Findlay, Arnold of Rugby, 1925.

F.D.How, Six Great Schoolmasters, 1904.

W.R.M.Leake, Gilkes and Dulwich, 1885-1914, no date.

Moss of Shrewsbury: A Memoir, 1841-1917, 1932.

J.Oliphant, The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster, 1903.

G.R.Parkin, Life, Diary and Letters of Edward Thring, 2 volumes, 1898.

A.E.Ridley, Frances Mary Buss and Her Work for Education, 1895.

A.P.Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, 1890.

(i) Sport.

Amateur Athletic Association, Fifty Years of Progress, 1880-1930, 1930.

D.Brailsford, Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne, 1969.

J.G.Dixon, P.C.McIntosh, A.D.Munrow and R.F.Willetts, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, 1957.

A.R.Downer, Running Recollections and How to Train, 1900.

E.Dunning (ed), The Sociology of Sport, 1971.

H.H.Griffin, Athletics, 1893.

H.A.Harris, Sport in Britain, 1975.

D.G.A.Lowe and A.E.Porritt, Athletics, 1932.

J.I.Lupton and J.M.K.Lupton, The Pedestrian's Road, 1890.

P.C.McIntosh, Sport in Society, 1968.

R.R.P.Rowe and C.M.Pitman, Rowing, 1898.

M.Shearman, Athletics and Football, 1887.

M.Shearman, Athletics, 1898.

A.Sinclair and W.Henry, Swimming, 1893.

M.Watman, A History of British Athletics, 1968.

F.A.M.Webster, Athletics of Today, 1929.

N.Wymer, Sport in England: A History of Two Thousand Years of Games and Pastimes, 1949.

(j) Universities.

- H.M.Abrahams and J.Bruce-Kerr, Oxford versus Cambridge, 1827-1930, 1931.
- R.Austen-Leigh, King's College, 1899.
- G.Bailey, (ed), Lady Margaret Hall, 1923.
- H.H.Bellot, University College, London, 1826-1926, 1929.
- H.E.D.Blakiston, Trinity College, 1898.
- G.F.Browne, St Catharine's College, 1902.
- J.Buchan, Braesnose College, 1898.
- W.Carr, University College, 1902.
- A.W.Chapman, The Story of a Modern University, 1955.
- A.Clark, Lincoln College, 1898.
- H.W.C.Davis, Balliol College, 1899.
- A.E.Emden, An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times, 1927.
- E.Fiddes, Chapters in the History of Owen's College, 1937.
- J.T.Fowler, Durham University, 1904.
- A.Gardner, A Short History of Newnham College, Cambridge, 1921.
- G. Godwin, Queen Mary College, 1939.
- A.Gray, Jesus College, 1902.
- F.J.C.Hearnshaw, The Centenary History of King's College, London, 1828-1928, 1929.
- R.H.Hodgkins, Six Centuries of an Oxford College, 1949.
- W.H.Hutton, St John's, 1898.
- D.Macleane, Pembroke College, 1900.
- H.E.Malden, Trinity Hall, 1902.
- C.Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, 1924.
- J.Peile, Christ's College, 1900.
- H.W.Pettit Stevens, Downing College, 1899.
- H.Rashdall and R.S.Rait, New College, 1901.
- D.W.Rannie, Oriel College, 1900.
- C.G.Robertson, All Souls' College, 1899.

- W.W.Rowse Ball, Notes on the History of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1899.
- A.N.Shimmin, The University of Leeds: the First Half Century, 1954.
- H.P.Stokes, Corpus Christi, 1898.
- W.K.Stride, Exeter College, 1900.
- H.L.Thompson, Christ Church, 1900.
- M.J.Tuke, A History of Bedford College for Women, 1849-1937, 1939.
- J.Venn, Caius College, 1901.
- J.R.Wardle, Clare College, 1899.
- J.Wells, Wadham College, 1898.
- C.E.Whiting, The University of Durham, 1832-1932, 1932.
- H.A.Wilson, Magdalen College, 1899.

II ARTICLES

- W.Birkett, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Middlesex,II, 1911, (ed) W.Page.
- F.Bonnett, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Kent,I, 1908, (ed) W.Page.
- F.Bonnett, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Yorkshire,II, 1902, (ed) W.Page.
- E.E.Butcher, 'Education', V.C.H.Wiltshire,V, 1957, (ed) R.B.Pugh and E.Crittall.
- E.Dunning, 'The Origin of Modern Football and the Public School Ethos', The Victorian Public School, (ed) B.Simon and I.Bradley.
- C.Fell-Smith, 'Schools', V.C.H.Essex,II, 1907, (ed) W.Page and J.H.Round.
- F.Fletcher, 'Schools', V.C.H.Rutland,I, 1908, (ed) W.Page.
- J.Fowler Dixon, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Lincolnshire,II, 1908, (ed) W.Page.
- A.T.Gaydon, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Salop,II, 1973, (ed) R.B.Pugh.
- E.Hampson, 'Schools', V.C.H.Cambridgeshire and Ely,II, 1948, (ed) L.F.Salzman.
- C.Herbert, 'Athletics', V.C.H.Surrey,II, 1905, (ed) H.E.Malden.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Bedfordshire,II, 1908, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Berkshire,II, 1907, (ed) P.H.Ditchfield and W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Buckinghamshire,II, 1908, (ed) W.Page.

- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Derbyshire,II, 1907, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Durham,I, 1905, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Gloucestershire,II, 1907, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'History of Schools', V.C.H.Hampshire,II, 1903, (ed)
H.A.Doubleday and W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Hertfordshire,II, 1908, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lancashire,II, 1908, (ed) W.Farrer
and J.Brownbill.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Lincolnshire,II, 1906, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Northamptonshire,II, 1906, (ed)
R.M.Sergeantson and W.R.D.Atkins.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Suffolk,II, 1907, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Surrey,II, 1905, (ed) H.E.Malden.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Sussex,II, 1907, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Warwickshire,II, 1908, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Worcestershire,IV, 1924, (ed) W.Page.
- A.F.Leach, 'Schools', V.C.H.Yorkshire,I, 1907, (ed) W.Page.
- D.P.Leinster-Mackay, 'Private Schools of Nineteenth-Century Warwickshire,
Pt II', Warwickshire History,II (vi), 1974-75.
- M.D.Lobel and M.Midgeley, 'Schools', V.C.H.Oxfordshire,I, 1937,
(ed) L.F.Salzman.
- J.A.Mangan, 'Athleticism', The Victorian Public School, 1975, (ed)
B.Simon and I.Bradley.
- J.D.Mellor, 'Schools', V.C.H.Middlesex,I, 1969, (ed) J.S.Cockburn.
- D.T.W.Price, 'Public Schools and Endowed Grammar Schools', V.C.H.
Salop,II, 1973, (ed) R.B.Pugh.
- D.H.Robinson, 'Cranbrook School', Cranbrook Notes and Records,No.9,
September 1971.
- T.Scott-Holmes, 'Schools', V.C.H.Somerset,II, 1911, (ed) W.Page.
- N.Vance, 'The Ideal of Manliness', Times Educational Supplement,
28 September, 1973.

III OFFICIAL REPORTS.

Charity Commission, 1837 -- Vol. XXXI.

Clarendon Commission, 1864 -- Vols I-II.

Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868-69 -- Vols I,VII, X-XIV.

IV NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(a) Newsprint.

Bell's Life in London, 1866 (Birmingham University Library).

Croydon Chronicle, 1855 (British Museum Newspaper Library).

The Midland Athlete, 1880 (National Centre for Athletics
Literature, Birmingham University
Library).

Times Educational Supplement, 1973 (Leicester University,
School of Education Library).

(b) School Magazines.

Caterhamian, 1888.

Carthusian, 1873.

Epsom College Magazine, 1871.

The Griffin, 1963.

The Pauline, 1882-5, 1900.

The Whitgift Magazine, 1880-81.

Uppingham School Magazine, 1875-76, 1900.