

THE “CIVILIZING” OF GLOUCESTER RUGBY FOOTBALL CLUB?

A HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF AN ELITE, ENGLISH RUGBY UNION FOOTBALL CLUB, 1873 - 1914

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Abstract

The “Civilising” of Gloucester Rugby Football Club? A Historical Sociology of the Development of an Elite, English Rugby Union Football Club: 1873-1914.

The research encompasses a sociological history of the development of Gloucester Rugby Football Club from its origins in 1873 to the conclusion of the 1913/14 season. The research design is based around a case study of a sports organisation that would become one of the elite Rugby Union Football Clubs. The methodology is qualitative and naturalistic, drawing upon extensive club archives, Rugby Football Union archives, reports of events and developments contained in local Gloucester newspapers, and publications relating to the club's history. Data analysis and interpretation utilises the “grounded theory” methods of open and axial coding recommended by Glaser and Strauss. Themes incorporated into this coding framework and those that emerged from its application are firstly components in the constructions of civic, collective (associated more narrowly with “the club”) and masculine identities. With regard to the latter theme, the structuring and nature of a “gender order” and the nature of gender relations that are both implicated in its construction, and emerge from it, provide contributory sub-themes. Secondly, changing patterns of player violence and spectator disorder are explored. Finally the responses of the club's administrators to the managerial imperatives associated with, and contributing to, processes of commercialisation and professionalisation are investigated. These three themes are framed as a series of “transitions” in the club's development.

The organising theoretical frameworks that guide the interpretation of data and against which research outcomes will be tested are the Gramscian notion of hegemony and a central component of figurational sociology, the Eliasian theory of a European “civilising process”.

The research concludes that the early development of the club, from a “team” of middle-class men to a fully-fledged gate-taking club effectively owning its own ground, was firmly in the hands of middle-class groups. The changing composition of the dominant middle class group, from a professional/merchant to a predominantly industrial/retail base, significantly affected the local development of rugby in Gloucester and of the club. Ideological control, in the face of growing diffusion and popularity of rugby amongst Gloucester' working class communities and as members of these communities were recruited into the club, was maintained through an interlocking set of values and behaviours. These involved, primarily, “rule adherence” and financial probity as guiding principles alongside compromise to local demands for competitive structures and to “ways of playing and spectating” that had a high degree of cultural consonance amongst the local working class. The research uncovers the emergence of a matrix of interlocking components that constitute what has become a robust and enduring cultural paradigm that incorporated a sense of collective sporting identity expressed through Gloucester Rugby Football Club. It was this paradigm that lay at the heart of Gloucester RFC's difficulties, relative to other clubs, in adjusting to

developments associated with the transition to the legitimization of professionalism in English Rugby Union football in 1995.

Andrew White, May 2000

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INTRODUCTION

Rationale

The choice of Gloucester Rugby Football Club as a research subject was a product of two factors. Firstly, events in 1994 indicated that the club's traditional status as one of England's premier Rugby Union football clubs was being threatened as developments associated with the accelerating commercialisation and professionalisation of the game unfolded. Central to these processes was the development of covert schemes of player rewards by elite clubs. This phenomenon became known as "shamateurism". Although technically players were amateurs, in the sense that they were not paid for playing, benefits in kind, for example lucrative employment, cars, houses, holidays and school fees for players' children, were offered by some clubs as inducements to retain and recruit players. By the end of the 1994/95 season a number of factors suggested that the historically and socially rooted operating paradigm was no longer appropriate in the context of a rapidly changing network of increasingly monetised relationships. These factors were a deterioration of the club's financial performance, loss of players to other clubs, and a decline in playing status to the extent that relegation from National League One was only just avoided. Gloucester's administrators were apparently unable and/or unwilling to monetise relationships to the same degree as was the case at other clubs. In particular it appeared that there was a high degree of attachment to the amateur regulations regarding the financial support of players and to the retention of a historically rooted cultural practice of recruiting players from local clubs. During the course of this research, professionalism in English Rugby Union football was legitimised in August 1995 (strictly speaking in 1996, as the Rugby Football Union imposed a one-year moratorium on clubs becoming "fully" professional). This precipitated the subsequent transition of Gloucester from a "members club", administered by an amateur, elected voluntary committee, to a limited company owned by a wealthy investor, with a professional management structure and playing staff. The termination of the contracts of two Chief Executives and two

Directors of Rugby, and an abandonment of the traditional policy of recruiting players from the locality, suggested this was a painful and traumatic process of change.

The aim of this research is to attempt to uncover the social and historical roots of Gloucester RFC's cultural paradigm through empirical investigation of two phases of the club's development. The first period covers the origins of the club in 1873 up to the purchase of its current Kingsholm ground in 1891, and the second from 1891 to 1914. It was during this period that rugby football was established as the predominant winter sport in the city, with Gloucester Football Club at the apex of its organisational structure. This period also marks a stage in the club's development when it became a significant component of collective, predominantly male, civic identity (the change in the club's title to RFC took place at some time during the 1920s). Additional longitudinal data concerning the contemporary development of rugby football during a period of rapid change in its traditional organising principles and ethos, suggest that developments up to the First World War constituted a defining period in the club's history. The club's dominant organising principles, structures and values, its "organisational paradigm", emerged during this period and were robust enough to persist until the onset of professionalism.

Secondly, this research project is derived from a strong personal attachment to the club. When personal participation in rugby was brought to an end through age and physical deterioration, interest, and the generation of tension-excitement through sport, was maintained through this attachment. An academic interest in the development of Rugby Union football and, relatedly, the fortunes of the club was first signalled in a Masters degree dissertation entitled "The Professionalisation of Rugby Union Football in England: Crossing the Rubicon?" (White, 1994). Contained within this dissertation was a short analysis of the ways in which the fortunes of Gloucester RFC had been affected by responses of dominant groups and individuals within the club to developments occurring during the "shamateurism" stage in the transition to professionalism. The research is therefore a continuation of this enquiry.

Underpinning these observations is an understanding of the nature of sport and leisure activities and, in this specific instance, rugby football as a site for a pleasurable “controlled decontrolling” of emotional controls (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 65-90). To quote Elias (1986b: 159):

The centrepiece of the figuration of a group engaged in sport is always a mock contest with the controlled tensions engendered by it and the catharsis, the release from tension, at the end.

The two important points here are that control over the emotions is emphasised and that the playing and watching of sport takes place within the currently acceptable social norms relating to the use of violence. It is therefore likely that conflict ensues when these norms are violated. Rugby, as Dunning and Sheard (1979: 9) point out, is an intensely competitive mock-fight based on a relatively high degree of permitted physical violence. Thus the potential for social norms, with respect to the socially legitimate use of violence, to be violated is ever-present and relatively close to the surface in this sport. In the context of this work it would appear that at particular times in the history of the club these norms were consistently violated by groups of players and spectators who expressed and constructed components of masculine and community identity through the playing and watching of rugby.

In summary, a sociologically informed history of Gloucester FC offered the opportunity to explore a variety of interrelated themes that encompassed the social origins of the club; the changing social composition of players, spectators and administrators; the contribution of Gloucester FC as a signifier of community identity for specific social groups; components of this identity that incorporated aspects of aggressive masculinity; and the contribution this made to the construction and reproduction of gender relations. Research will therefore be directed to uncovering the processes through which the cultural attachment to rugby was constructed and reconstructed over time and the ways in which, as Holt (1993: 366) puts it; “class and gender values meshed together to create socially distinctive ways of playing.” The transition to professionalism, a process that accelerated in the late-1980s and early 1990s, appeared to be accompanied

by tensions with regard to the appropriateness of retaining aspects of these historically and culturally rooted values and behaviours. Alerted by an apparent upsurge in myth construction and nostalgic recollections with regard to these values - in a vein similar to that identified by Dunning and Sheard (1979: 60-61) with regard to the construction of the Webb-Ellis myth of the origins of Rugby football - it was anticipated that the research could offer a potentially fruitful explanation of the contemporary difficulties faced by the club. This research therefore recognises that, as well as identifying sources of change, aspects of continuity should also form part of the investigation. As Holt (1993: 3) puts it: "To understand how far things did not change is just as important as understanding the extent to which they did." Thus, as a subject for empirical research, Gloucester RFC engaged what C. Wright Mills (1970) calls the "sociological imagination", with opportunities to exercise this imagination through an historical and critical sensitivity.

The time period covered by the research makes possible empirical observations regarding the existence, or otherwise, of aspects of an Eliasian "civilising process" *in vivo* (Elias, 1978; 1982). Briefly, the Civilising Process is a long-term, largely unplanned or "blind", change in the deep structure of social relations. At its core is a process of functional democratisation involving increasing chains of interdependence between groups of individuals. The increase in multi-polar controls, within and between groups, associated with this expanding network of interdependencies as individuals and groups are enmeshed in longer and denser networks of mutual reciprocity or "figurations", has the consequence that no one group or individual is capable of determining outcomes by their social actions. Additionally, the increase in multi-polar controls involves an equalising shift in power-relations between groups. Two themes associated with the "civilising process" stand out in the context of this research.

The first theme draws on the contention by Elias that, accompanying a European civilising process, there has been a long-term decline in people's propensity for obtaining pleasure from directly engaging in and witnessing violent acts. This is regarded as a largely unintended outcome of an increase in multi-polar controls regarding the social relations associated with expanding networks of

interdependence and a concomitant, inter-related, internalisation of these social standards, with conscience becoming increasingly important as a regulator of social behaviour (Dunning, 1986d: 227-8). Rugby football is a sport involving relatively high levels of socially permitted violence and is also a site for the pleasurable, controlled decontrolling of emotional controls. It may therefore be possible to identify periods where these two elements are in conflict. Dunning (1996: 199) suggests that the decontrolling of emotional controls becomes more controlled as societies become more "civilised". The traditionally relatively high levels of violence in rugby football, an integral feature of both the generation and release of tension-excitement in this sport, may engage dominant groups in attempts to exercise greater control should such traditions transgress emerging, tighter, boundaries of social acceptability. The conflicts involved in these relationships are likely to be particularly acute where the "offending" groups, as spectators and players, are culturally attached to ways of playing involving levels of violence in excess of those which are deemed socially acceptable. The longitudinal nature of this research opens up the possibility of making observations regarding the relationship between the sociogenesis (broadly, the social origins) and psychogenesis (changes in personality structures associated with the internalisation of patterns of behaviour) of this aspect of a "civilising process".

The second theme draws on Elias's observations regarding long-term changes in the "We-I balance" (Elias, 1987a: 155-237). He contends that:

Since the European Middle Ages the balance between we- and I-identity has undergone a noticeable change, that can be characterised briefly as follows: earlier the balance of we- and I-identity was heavily weighted towards the former. From the Renaissance on the balance tilted more and more towards I-identity. (1987a: 196)

Thus, features of a "civilising process" associated with stages in nation state formation involve a "shift of emphasis in the human self-image" (Elias, 1987a: 197). The relevance of this aspect of Elias's theory of the European civilising process to the research is as follows. Implicit in Elias's contention is the

relational nature of the "I" identity to "We" and "They" identities. If he is correct, it should be possible to observe, over a reasonably long period of time, changing patterns in these identities that move, in general, towards the first of the three. It has to be remembered, as Mennell (1992: 255) cautions, the balance between I-, we- and they-images changes over a lifetime. However, the attempt here is to investigate changes in the patterning of these relationships over longer periods of time. This approach is tentative and it is therefore perhaps necessary to elaborate upon the thoughts and observations that led to the adoption of such an ambitious project.

It has been observed that, in the late-Victorian period, two individuals, de Coubertin and Rowland Hill, appeared to dominate, respectively, the organisation of the Olympic Games and the Rugby Football Union (White, 1996). This also seemed to be the case in the history of Gloucester RFC, with H. J. Boughton and A.W.Vears being leading figures. Although these men were enmeshed in wider interdependencies with other groups of individuals, the "figuration" was perhaps sufficiently small for their influence to be significant possibly because relative power-ratios within these specific figurations were, to a large extent, in their favour. In addition, the "individualisation" of society occurring during this period, which Williams (1989: 308) claimed to be "an age that found a Carlylean 'great man' theory of history more to its taste than Darwinian evolution", would have provided conditions supporting the status of these individuals. The questions that then arise are, to what degree does these men's dominance of organisational structures represent a quest to achieve personal status in a pattern of longer-term social developments that, Elias suggests, offer diminishing opportunities for collective identification? Further, does an expansion of the figuration of interdependencies in which these individuals are enmeshed erode such sources of personal identity and, if so, how? For players, one source of personal identity and acceptance into a we-group of other players and spectators is their ability to withstand and, importantly, to return, vigorous physical assaults within or outside the laws of the game. Where this comes into conflict with wider social norms regarding acceptable levels of violence, this source of identity may be challenged. Maguire (1992) points to a potentially fruitful line of inquiry in this

regard. Drawing on links between sport and the emotions, he points out that sports contests are not only underpinned by the “significant excitement” of the confrontations, but they are also arenas of “exciting significance” in which collective identification, as well as a quest for “self-realisation and the presentation of self”, can be socially constructed. Thus, one way in which the we-I relationship in sport is linked, for players, club officials and spectators, is through the social construction and presentation of emotions in the presence of significant others. The research will therefore endeavour to identify the components of we-group identification as they emerged over time, the processes through which these components were transmitted, learned and internalised, and the ways in which culturally embedded features of affective bonding came to change.

Additionally, it is to be noted that we-group identities are also relational to perceived they-group identities. Pertinent questions raised by this observation in the research are; in relation to whom did groups at Gloucester FC choose to position themselves in relation to, for example, choice of opponents? What did these groups have, or not have, that influenced this association? What were the bases of differentiation between Gloucester FC and other groups, either at club or governing body level, and how were these generated and sustained? What impact did changing power-ratios have on the patterning of we-they relations?

Finally, incorporated into the Eliasian analysis is the view that “social actions are often performed and justified in the service of a symbolic ‘it’ - a creed, a flag, the honour of a family, the glory of a nation” (Mennell, 1992: 265-6). In England, the principles and ethos of amateurism can be seen as constituting, for many years, such a “symbolic creed”. In the context of this research, attempts are made to move towards an understanding of the process(es) through which Gloucester RFC came to be regarded as an important symbol of civic identity. These points illustrate the conceptual framework, and the nature of the empirical observations evident in the early historical development of the club, underpinning the theory-guided approach to unravelling the nature and sources of changes in the relative balance between “I-We-They-It” relationships.

I

The review of relevant literature is confined in this section to texts that specifically focus on aspects of the development of Rugby Union Football. There appear to be four identifiable, but overlapping, groups of texts in this regard. The first, "general" development of rugby football group, is headed by the seminal work of Dunning and Sheard (1979), a process-sociological empirical study of the origins of rugby football from its "folk football" roots to the mid-1970s. Dunning and Sheard (1979: 2-3) have identified five overlapping stages in the development of modern rugby football, each possessing more complex rules, organisation and behavioural constraints than the one before. These stages were, chronologically:

- i) a stage from the 14th century into the 19th century, when "games" were relatively rough, wild and simple with generally unwritten rules
- ii) a stage from about 1750 to 1840 when rugby began to emerge as a distinctive game form after being taken up by public-school boys
- iii) a stage from about 1830 to 1860 which was a period of rapid transition with codification, formal and self-regulation emerging as distinctive features - an "incipient modernisation" stage. Soccer (Association Football) also emerged at this stage as a specific game form
- iv) a stage from about 1850 to about 1900 when rugby football diffused into society at large, national associations were set up, for example, the Football Association and the Rugby Football Union (RFU), and paying spectators were attracted to both games. At this time rugby football split into League and Union forms
- v) a stage from 1900 to the mid-1970s during which a number of the characteristics of modern sport developed in Rugby Union.

Salient features of development during this period were:

- antagonism to professionalism

- distrust of spectators
- emphasis on “player-centredness” and character forming aspects of the game, despite changes in the playing laws designed to raise spectator interest
- an increasingly bureaucratised governing body
- transformation of the game into a rationalised “achievement-oriented” pursuit
- conflict between leading clubs and the “governing body”, the RFU

Dunning and Sheard identify a number of unintended and unforeseen consequences accompanying the expansion of Rugby Union. During the period from the turn of the century, they were;

- the growth of bureaucratic control
- the development of a rank hierarchy of clubs
- the rise of gate-taking clubs

Within these developments they claim that the ethos of the game has changed towards a “spectator” rather than a “player-centred” ethos necessitating ideological changes in attitudes to amateurism. Furthermore the playing of Rugby Union football, particularly at the top levels and through the “junior” clubs, has become more serious and dedicated, leading to a growing “scientific” management of the playing side and evidence of an emerging professionalisation of functions other than playing the game. Finally, the organisation of the game has come to be based on the institutionalisation of a range of national and international cup and league competitions. This pattern of developments, they suggest, was instrumental in a growing crisis within the sport, centred on the emergence of a syndrome of characteristics associated with professional rather than amateur sport (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 232-268).

The area of their empirical work that has drawn the most substantial challenge is their observations regarding the bifurcation, in 1895, of “Rugby” football into Union and League forms. Collins (1996) questions two “myths” that have been perpetuated in this regard and to which, he alleges, Dunning and Sheard have contributed. He suggests that the myth of the North-South divide in the process

of the bifurcation of rugby into Union and League forms in 1895 was in fact a split within Northern rugby. Furthermore, this was not simply a product of the conflict between the exclusively middle-class and the open clubs, but within clubs where different attitudes towards the impact of the increasing involvement of working-class players was prevalent. The second myth he challenges is that of the role of the "Northern businessman". Dunning and Sheard (1979) suggest that the motor force of the split was the difference in social characteristics and values of the businessmen who led rugby in the North, in comparison with the leadership of the RFU. This relative autonomy from the governing body, accompanied by a growing self-confidence, led them to split from the RFU. Collins' alternative view is that there was a fracturing of an initial bourgeois consensus over amateurism. This, he suggests, was a product of a tightening of amateur regulations by the RFU which would lead to working class players being driven from the game in the North thereby destroying its playing base. The leaders of rugby in the North, confronted by an increasingly self-confident and assertive working-class (a point Collins (1995) elaborates on in a study of the origins of payment for play between 1877 and 1886), therefore had "no choice" but to split from the RFU if they were to preserve the popularity and playing base of the game in the region.

Sheard (1997: 136) has responded to the charge of perpetuating the first of these myths by pointing out that in *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* there is a recognition of the complexity of this aspect of the figuration, making the criticism by Collins "difficult to understand". There is no doubt that the empirical work of Collins has drawn attention to this complexity, as indeed does the work of Delaney (1984), regarding the roots of Rugby League. Collins, however, consistently places significantly greater weight on the influence of the working-class as the motor force for the professionalisation of rugby in 1895 and the initial bourgeois-led resistance to this development. Class conflict, based on differential attachment to the principles and ethos of amateurism, appears to lie at the heart of his analysis. Accommodation to working-class pressures of sport for money - or reward in kind - only occurred when spectator revenues were threatened, an outcome thought to be the logical corollary of a tightening of amateur regulations that would effectively exclude the working man. In Collins'

work there appears to be greater diversity in the social backgrounds of the bourgeois leaders of the Northern rugby clubs, and a higher degree of class antagonism with regard to bourgeois and working-class groups' "ways of playing" and spectating, than Dunning and Sheard suggest. Collins suggests a more delicate interplay between aspects of "proletarianisation" of rugby as a spectator sport, involving a representation of community, expectations of reward or recompense in money or kind for playing, and aspects of bourgeoisification through the formalisation of competitions and the "monetisation" of relations. By over-playing class antagonism in his analysis, Collins perhaps misses a potentially fruitful line of inquiry that could replace the somewhat absolutist notion that the Northern leaders of rugby had "no choice" but to split from the RFU. Given increasingly self-confident bourgeois and working-class groups in this context, explanations of the split can be enhanced in terms of the shifting alliances between these groups and in particular the areas of mutual reciprocity, both economic and affective, on which these alliances were constructed. In other words, an exploration of the similarities as much as the differences between groups in this specific configuration at this particular time, could add a further dimension to the analysis incorporating aspects of co-operation to that of conflict.

Notwithstanding this criticism of the empirical basis of sections of Dunning and Sheard's work, albeit important ones, the overall tenor of their work is not only empirical but also theoretical. The "developmental" approach adopted by the authors is concerned with long-term social processes that involve uncovering overlapping stages in the development of rugby football and connecting those stages to Elias' theory of the civilising process. They are also at pains to make clear that neither the stages in the development of rugby nor those involved in a civilising process are "evolutionary" or "unilinear". In the case of stages in the development of rugby football they point out that;

the transition from one to another was largely determined by the structure and dynamics of the overall social context within which, at any given time, the game was played (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 3-4).

Additionally, in each developmental stage discernible traces of earlier stages of development are evident. The outcomes of this approach lead them to conclude that modern rugby has been “civilised” by the gradual institution of “formal rules” demanding stricter control over forms of physical violence; “intra-game sanctions” that penalise rule-infraction; the institutionalisation of a specific controlling role for the “referee”; and a nationally centralised “rule-making and rule-enforcing” body, in this case the RFU. Furthermore, that the long-term development of rugby football confirms a “limited aspect” of Elias’ theory. This, they suggest, occurred in two main spurts. The first at Rugby School, during and immediately after the headship of Thomas Arnold, and the second following public controversy with regard to “hacking”. Both were characterised by; “ the exercise of a stricter and more comprehensive measure of self-control” (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 273). However it is also suggested that a central aspect of the civilising process, that of “functional democratisation”, has contributed towards a growing cultural centrality and seriousness of modern sport. This, it is suggested, may create the conditions under which a temporary “de-civilising spurt”, with respect to an increase in sports violence, may occur. A significant amount of attention has been paid, in this initial section of the literature review, to the work of Dunning and Sheard. This research will be built on a similar approach to producing a sociological history of a specific figuration and, as in their work, will contain an interpretation of developments through an iterative use of theory and evidence. It is therefore a template that will be used to guide and structure the research process.

The second group of texts that inform this research cover a shorter time period than Dunning and Sheard’s work and has a national or regional focus. The most important, for this research, are those that relate to the socio-historical development of rugby football in Wales. The city of Gloucester is located close to the Welsh border and in the early phases of Gloucester FC’s development, fixtures against clubs located along arterial railway links in South Wales increased. In the last quarter of the 19th century, these inter-town/city contests would also have been overlaid with national rivalry. The process by which rugby football became “stitched into” the fabric of Welshness is summarised by Holt

(1993: 246-253) as occurring in two phases. The first was the implantation of the game in the southern valleys of Wales and the second its adoption as the dominant mass spectator sport in an emerging industrial and domestic culture towards the end of the 19th century. Smith and Williams (1980), in their centenary history of the Welsh Rugby Union, blend the historical and social development of rugby in Wales by identifying phases in the development of the game in Wales punctuated by historically and culturally significant "defining moments".

Other significant related texts are closely focused on what appears to be an intense and "defining period" in Welsh history from 1890-1914, a period which Andrews (1991: 337) identifies as "the zenith of the modern Welsh nation". It was also, he claims, a period during which rugby emerged as a "high profile symbol of a vibrant and self confident national ideology". In both cases he claims that the national ambitions of the industrial bourgeoisie "initiated" the processes of transforming Wales and making rugby "Welsh". These processes, Andrews suggests, were interdependent. At the same time as the industrial bourgeoisie were attempting to create an indigenous "Welshness", through the cultural realm, they actively sought a position of prominence in the British Imperial structure based on vibrant industrial growth and increasing political influence. Thus there was a "dual condition" in the construction of Welsh identity involving contrast and complementarity with England. "Cymric nationalism", as Andrews (1991: 234) terms it, was "simultaneously Welsh and British". Welshness was achieved through an iterative process of connecting Welsh success in rugby and the industrial economy to supposed historic "Celtic" racial qualities. Rugby, as an emerging popular sport in the context of an expanding urban-industrial environment in South Wales, was the vehicle through which a particular form of Welshness could be promulgated. Also included in Andrews' work, in a similar vein to Smith and Williams, is an understanding of how an "event" can act as a reinforcing signifier of identity. 1905, he suggests, was such a year. The dual condition of Welsh identity was rubber stamped as the previously unbeaten first New Zealand "All-Black" rugby team were defeated, the Welsh politician David

Lloyd George burst onto the political scene and Welsh coal powered the British Navy's defeat of the Imperial Russian Fleet.

Williams (1985) also draws attention to 1890-1914 as a significant period of Welsh identity formation in which rugby football was heavily implicated, and to the dominant role of middle-class groups in the development of rugby in Wales, specifically with regard to conflicts over the principles and ethos of amateurism. Williams argues that despite the erosion of the amateur ethos through increasing competitiveness and monetisation of relationships, the specific social configuration of rugby in Wales militated against full-blown professionalism. He points out, in a similar fashion to Andrews (1991) and Andrews and Howell (1993), that Welsh aspirations and ambitions were pursued within the political economic and social contexts of the British Empire. Should rugby in Wales have become professional, a source of national identity would have been lost and been substituted, in a sports context, by a regional rather than national identity and by a proletarianised, class-specific rather than "classless" image. In essence, rugby in Wales would have lost its symbolic, unifying, socially inclusive features. Accommodation between middle-class groups and their construction of amateurism and working-class groups of players and spectators and their values, generated a "tacit professionalism" of tolerated levels of remuneration, usually through generous expenses, by administrators.

Also contained in this work is a revision of Dunning and Sheard's interpretation of the failure of professional rugby to develop in South Wales. Williams points to specific differences in the social configuration of industrial Wales, in particular the differing degrees of assertiveness of middle-class administrators, relative to that in the North. He also identifies the "Gould Affair" of 1896/97 as a significant "event" in the assertion of Welsh rugby identity. In the face of opposition by the RFU and the International Rugby Board to the awarding of a testimonial, through popular financial subscription, to Arthur Gould, Wales' most famous player, the Welsh Football Union withdrew from the International Board and hence from international fixtures with England and Scotland and fixtures with English clubs (Smith and Williams, 1980: 65-96; Williams, 1985: 265-266). This signalled the

willingness of Welsh rugby's governing body to act to secure a high degree of autonomy over its own affairs.

Williams (1988) attempts, by substituting the concept of "acculturation" for that of social control, to demonstrate how attempts by acculturators to diffuse the "civilising" influences of rugby football into Wales resulted in an unintended incitement to violence and disorderly behaviour. This, he suggests, was the product of increasing competitiveness, through proliferating cup and league competitions, which reinforced and honed inter-community rivalry. He suggests that, in this specific figuration, at this time and under these conditions, a "decivilising" process with respect to an increasing proclivity to witness and engage in violent acts may have been evident. Williams also suggests that the democratic nature of rugby in Wales, in the sense that it fused middle and working class values, was nevertheless an "agency of acculturation". As an institution it represented an idealised, but culturally consonant, notion of a socially integrated Welsh nation. Andrews (1996: 52-53) points out that this construction of Welsh national ideology was predominantly male-oriented, the product of a cultural patriarchy that "privileged the male pursuit of what were construed as predominantly masculine practices." He is critical of Williams' "brazen intellectual male bias", a charge that is equally appropriate to his own work. However, both authors highlight how, in the construction of Welsh identity, "the masculine hegemony of modern nationalism works". Thus, it is to be anticipated that when sports practices are incorporated into constructions of community identity, particularly in the case of rugby as one of the rougher team sports, there will be a very strong component of masculinity in them.

There are three themes that have emerged from the literature review thus far. The first is the role of Rugby Union football in the construction of a collective identity. The key point that emerges from the literature on Welsh rugby is that identity is both relational to other identities and also incorporative of them. Furthermore, the defining characteristics of identity are the product of an iterative process involving choices made not only by we-groups but also by other groups needing to pin labels on a different social formation. Secondly, the dominant role of the middle-class is evident in all these texts. However, attention is drawn in

them to the observation that, in order to maintain these dominant positions, a degree of accommodation was necessary. Finally, Welshness, as defined through the incorporation of rugby into this construction, is essentially male Welshness.

Other texts that focus on specific national or regional figurations of rugby football playing include Williams' (1989) summaries of the social development of the game in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Thomas Hickie (1993) identifies a number of features of the development of Australian rugby in its early years that laid the foundation for the intensification of conflict as rugby went through a process of "democratisation" in the last two decades of the 19th century. Inter-related features identified by Hickie were firstly the development of "football" through the "Gentlemen's" cricket club in Sydney whose membership, although diverse, was substantially composed of the gentlemanly and merchant middle-class. Secondly, the suburbanisation of Sydney as a geographically condensed "walking city" had the impact of limiting open space. This located an emerging sporting culture in the hands of the expanding Grammar schools and Universities, increasingly influenced by English educationalists, and the gentlemen's clubs, in particular the Wallaroo Football Club (1870), who could obtain access to recreational land. By 1866 Sydney had adopted the English "Rugby" model of football favouring a more "open" game, reducing the number of players to fifteen-a-side well before RFU legislation in 1877, to cope with constraints on playing space and to encourage an increase in the formation of clubs. Fourthly, the formation of the Southern Rugby Football Union in Sydney in 1874 consolidated rugby as the preferred code in New South Wales (NSW). Importantly, this was not a national, indigenous ruling body but a Southern "offshoot" of the RFU and was therefore closely linked to, and played a significant part in, promoting the amateur ethos in sport. This tightly knit group of gentlemen's clubs, private schools and NSW country clubs survived internal attempts to abolish scrummaging as a dangerous feature. This, ironically, consolidated the power of a small administrative group, limited the game's popular base and laid the foundations for the process of bifurcation of union and league in 1907/8 and their crisis over the legitimacy of professionalism. Horton (1992; 1994) provides an

empirical study of the establishment of Rugby Union football in the Australian state of Queensland and its capital city Brisbane during the mid- to late-Victorian period. Alongside pragmatic responses by the dominant controlling group to a competitive ethos prevalent in early Australian sporting culture, the development of rugby football was guided by the sporting philosophy of an anglophile middle-class group holding a dominant position in the relatively small community of Brisbane. This group, Horton suggests, had a relatively greater degree of attachment to English, bourgeois notions of an amateur sporting ethos than groups associated with the development of Melbourne, later to become "Australian-Rules", football. Horton (1992: 125) points out that the adoption of the relatively more violent game of rugby football "could be considered as contrary to the 'civilising process'." Whilst this may well demonstrate an attachment to a relatively more rugged form of masculinity, Horton misses the point that deeply embedded in rugby football was a relatively greater emphasis on self-restraint than in other football variants.

There have also been a number of studies of the social development of Rugby Union football in regions of England. Martens (1993: 25-6) offers the view that, during the 1895-1914 period, a variety of social changes were threatening middle-class hegemony as the "brash and insolent forces of the New" increasingly focused on the failures of middle-class dominated Victorian society. Consonant with the tenor of the times, amateurism, as a sporting ethos, was associated with this decline of bourgeois values. These social changes also threatened the dominant bourgeois notion of amateurism in Rugby Union football, particularly as clubs in the West of England showed similar patterns of violations of its principles and ethos to clubs who had recently formed the Northern Union. Additionally, the style of play of clubs in the metropolitan area centred on London, where the commitment to amateurism was perceived to be the most intense, was criticised as being "boring and ineffectual" (Martens, 1993: 30). The resurgence and reaffirmation of the amateur code that occurred from 1905 to the Great War was, Martens suggests, a product of the development of a more open, "passing" style of play credited to Adrian Stoop, the London club Harlequin's half-back. The revitalisation in playing style that this development subsequently generated,

and the eventual improvement in the fortunes of English representative rugby, enabled bourgeois groups associated with the RFU to reassert the ideology of amateurism. Thus, as he points out “concession to the forces of the new on the pitch allowed the game to continue to function based on its Victorian amateur values” (1993: 38).

Barlow (1993) and Russell (1994) turn their attention to industrialised contexts. Barlow’s study of the diffusion of rugby football in Rochdale between 1868 and 1890 points to the interplay between middle-class sporting idealism and an emerging industrial-urban working-class culture as the key feature of the development of sport in this industrial town. He also suggests that a localised “civilising process” is observable as the constriction of space, work disciplines, the influence of middle-class reformers and repressive civic authorities acted to pacify and restrict large-scale games of folk-football. In the Lancashire town of Rochdale, a process of democratisation, following the foundation of the first rugby club in the town by a group of former public schoolboys, resulted in the rapid and widespread diffusion of rugby. By 1881 there were fifty clubs supporting over eighty teams in the town. The diffusion of rugby football into the local community was facilitated by a number of factors. These included the relatively “open”, socially heterogeneous, mix of membership of the early clubs and a local press sympathetic to the values of the middle-class sponsors. In addition the growth of the sport as a symbol of communal identity with other towns in the locality, and within the streets and districts of Rochdale, raised interest in the sport. However, Barlow draws attention to the fact that the influence of the middle-class in this context should not be overplayed. Many of the parish-based “works” and street teams were the result of the efforts of working men, “a testimony to the self-generating power of popular culture” (Barlow, 1993: 61). This, he suggests, was founded on competitiveness and community pride, characterised by a relatively lower level of adherence to the ethos of “fair play”. Russell’s broader study of local diversity in popular sporting culture with regard to the adoption of Rugby or association football in the West Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire, also draws on similar themes. He, too, suggests that the middle- and upper-classes played a crucial role in establishing the local football code, but also points to the influence

of working-class groups in technically developing the way the game was played. In making this point he adds to the explanation offered by Dunning and Sheard (1979). These authors emphasise the attraction for the working classes of the relatively higher level of "roughness" of rugby and its fit with traditional standards of working-class masculinity derived from an industrial occupational base requiring a high degree of physical strength and stamina from its workers. However, similarly to Dunning and Sheard, Russell sees competitiveness mixed with community identity is seen as influential in the development of both codes of football. Russell also identifies what he calls the "nationalising" influences of national newspapers and sporting journals, along with a preference for association football by schools and religious organisations, as influencing the transition from rugby to association football in some of these West Riding localities.

Academic literature on the origins and development of rugby football clubs is scarce in contrast to the substantial number of "popular" products on offer. Few club histories provide much in the way of historically and sociologically sensitised versions of events. There are, however, two products that can be drawn upon. The first is Thomson's (1997) study of the origins of the Otago University Rugby Football club in Dunedin, New Zealand. The search for a "home" ground and growing competitiveness are identified as key themes in the club's early development. Thomson also sets this in the context of rugby football playing in Dunedin and draws attention to conflicts regarding the way the game was developing which, he suggests, fell short of the expectation that the game would create "positive character development". The erosion of the "gentlemanly ethos" associated with the sport is identified as being a product of inter-club jealousy nurturing an emphasis on winning, growing commercialisation and gambling. The second text is a lament by Adrian Smith (1994) of the decline in the fortunes of Coventry RFC, as one of the premier English clubs, from the mid-1970s. He links the fortunes of the club to the economic decline of the city and in particular the outward migration of the "cream of schoolboy talent", mainly from the city's more prestigious schools, in search of educational and occupational opportunities outside the city. Additionally, the growing popularity of Coventry City football club

as they moved up the national leagues and the preference for soccer amongst the local “comprehensive” schools, added to the erosion of a local rugby playing base and support for the game.

It should be noted that this research into the development of rugby football, in a variety of social and historical contexts, points to a plurality of factors influencing the development of the game in each specific local, regional and national figuration. Class relations have tended to be a dominant theme but not an exclusive one, and authors who have engaged with this theme have, at times, failed to recognise the accommodation, compromise and concessions made by groups bound by mutual interdependency in this context. An additional substantial theme, that of competing constructions of masculinity, is also evident in a number of texts and it is to a brief review of this theme that attention will be turned in concluding this section.

Nauright and Chandler’s (1996) anthology provide the most substantial contribution to this field to date. This text contains contributions from authors explaining the relationship between rugby football, masculinity and the construction of identity in contexts ranging from the English public schools in the mid-1800s, to the North of England, Wales, New Zealand, Natal in South Africa and New South Wales in Australia. A common theme in this collection is the focus on the mid- to late-Victorian period as significant in the construction of notions of masculinity and, through these notions, regional, national and ethnic identities. Morgan and Walvin (1987) and Maguire (1986) also identify this period as being a crucial phase, both emphasising that there was no “common code” of masculinity but rather, a number of competing codes. Manliness, as Morgan and Walvin point out:

was in effect a portmanteau term which embraced a variety of overlapping ideologies regionally interpreted, which changed over time and which, at specific moments, appear to be discrete even conflicting in emphasis. (1987: 3)

Maguire also emphasises the conflicts between groups attached to competing notions of manliness, pointing to the inability of middle-class groups to establish

their own "distinctive yet related" codes of manliness incorporating notions of self-restraint amongst sections of the working-class. This "relational" nature of manliness is also a theme picked out in Nauright and Chandler's (1996) anthology and is particularly prevalent in the contributions of Andrews (1996) and Morrell (1996), Grundlingh (1996) and Nauright (1996) and in other work by Nauright (1990; 1991). A final theme of note is the emphasis, in the majority of the contributions, on "physical manliness" encompassing physical conditioning, muscularity, strength, speed and stamina, in short, control over, and use of, the male body. Spracklen (1996), in a comparative ethnography of a Rugby League and a Rugby Union playing community, also points to the role sport plays in the construction of both masculine and community identity. In the case of the former he suggests that commercialising influences have been responsible for a replacement of traditional ideals of physical robustness with those associated with masculine athleticism.

Other work in this field has focused on the rugby club as a type of "male preserve". These, it is suggested, are enclaves for the ritualised breaking of taboos regarding violence, physical contact, drunkenness, nakedness, obscenity and theft, alongside the sexual objectification and vilification of women and expressions of homophobia in the post-match renditions of "rugby songs" (Sheard and Dunning, 1973; Dunning, 1986b, 1990). Sheard and Dunning (1973: 8) trace the historical and social conditions, "ripe ... for the emergence of a subculture that was both all-male and composed of heterosexuals", in which the rugby club came to function as a social setting for the expression of current norms of masculinity. They argue that, in the late-Victorian period in England, middle-class male groups, from which the vast majority of rugby players were drawn, were amongst the first to feel significant pressure from predominantly middle-class women for a greater share of political and economic power. Thus the "rugby club" could act as a social enclave where threatened masculinities could be re-established. White and Vagi (1990) have, from a feminist psychoanalytic perspective, added a further hypothesis. They suggest that these behaviours are provoked by the potential threat of female intrusion into a masculine domain and as a reaction to the loss of the nurturing and emotionally responsive mother after

weaning and, later, the onset of puberty. This hypothesis focuses on a narrow group of young middle-class males who attended boarding schools. However, it is reasonable to expect that male companionship in other social spheres, principally in all-male and occupational environments, is an additional consideration. It is also to be noted that themes relating to the historical and cultural variability of constructions of masculinity run through the work of Dunning and Sheard (1979). A significant example is their interpretation of the bifurcation of football into "Association" and "Rugby" forms which substantially involved fears by groups associated with the latter form that the abolition of "hacking" would emasculate the game thereby eliminating some of its more "manly" components.

This review of rugby-related academic literature has ranged over a variety of sociological "themes" encompassing the Eliasian "civilising-process" approach, inter-relationships between class groups, the construction of collective identities, aspects of masculinity and, relatedly, gender relations as they are produced and reproduced through rugby football. To varying degrees, these texts will guide the categorisation of themes as they emerge during the course of this research and provide opportunities for reflection on their explanatory power.

Theoretical Frameworks

Incorporated in the title of this work are signals as to its theoretical disposition. The research is a process-sociological approach to the analysis of the development, through time, of a specific social figuration. An approach of this kind attempts to identify patterns in social action and to:

shed light on the diachronic connections that explain how and why such patterns are socially generated and how and why, under specific conditions and for specific periods of time, they persist or undergo structured processes of change. (Dunning, 1993: 8)

It therefore enables the construction of a “sociology of the past”, providing both a comparative backdrop for current patterns of behaviour as well as identifying longer-term processes of social development and seeking potential explanations of them (Jarvie and Maguire, 1996: 38). Implicit in this approach is a fusion of the disciplines of history and sociology. Abrams (1982: ix) has noted that although the two disciplines have been “happily drifting towards one another”, traditional distinctions between them have been couched in terms of sociology as a theoretical discipline and history as an empirical discipline. However, he takes the view that:

In terms of their fundamental preoccupations history and sociology are and always have been the same thing. Both seek to understand the puzzle of human agency and both seek to do so in terms of the process of social structuring.... Historical sociology is thus not some special kind of sociology; rather it is the essence of the discipline (Abrams, 1982: x).

Jarvie and Maguire (1996: 52) observe that such historical sociological accounts of sport (and leisure) involve:

a) an attempt to understand the problems of human agency and to do so in terms of social structuring; b) an insistence on asking questions on social structure or processes understood to be concretely situated in time and space; c) an attention to the interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts to make sense of intended as well as unintended outcomes in sport and leisure spheres; and d) an attempt to highlight particular and varying features of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change.

These characteristics form, in essence, the guiding principles behind the formulation and execution of this empirical investigation of the sociological history of Gloucester FC.

An historical sociological approach requires the fusion of the historical - empirical with a potentially fruitful theory or theories. Advocates of a “process” or “figurational Sociological” approach to uncovering long-term processes of social development maintain Elias’ work on the “civilising process” to be a crucial or guiding theory. It is this theory that informs the study of the development of rugby football by Dunning and Sheard (1979), regarded by Jarvie and Maguire (1996: 58; 1994: 130-1) as an example of “good practice within sport and historical sociology”. Along with Horne and Jary (1987: 95), they point to the design of the *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* project as a Durkheimian “crucial case” with regard to penetrating and making clearly visible the “decisive forces” underlying the development of modern sport. However, Mennell (1990) cautions that it would be hazardous to justify historical sociology on utilitarian grounds suggesting that any utilitarian practical value is almost always incidental. The intention in this research project is to utilise a “figurational” approach, less ambitiously than Dunning and Sheard, to penetrate the long-term patterns of social interaction that both contoured, and were influential in, the intended and unintended development of Gloucester FC.

Figurational sociology identifies as the prime unit of analysis the “figuration”, that is, historically produced and reproduced networks of mutually oriented and interdependent groups. The concept therefore emphasises the social bonds between individuals that shape development in both planned and unplanned and

unanticipated ways. From this idea of the figuration other important elements can be elaborated upon. Firstly, this approach draws attention to the need to study the development of figurations "processually", that is, they are historically produced and reproduced networks of interdependencies within which social bonds are both enabling and constraining. Secondly, individuals are interconnected by a multiplicity of dynamic and polyvalent bonds which may take the form of affective (emotional), political and economic bonds. Therefore these bonds cannot be reduced to a single determining factor. The relative importance of the type of social bonding is therefore an empirical problem. These points emphasise the dynamic nature of social relations as emergent and contingent. Figurational sociology, as Dunning (1989: 41) points out, is "concerned to discover the immanent dynamics of figurations". What is meant by "immanent dynamics" is that the dynamics of a social figuration "are inherent in its structure and in the 'make-up' and motivations of the people who comprise it". Attention is focused on the "structure" of "process" rather than a reduction of each to separate forms. As Dunning (1993: 67) puts it, this approach sees "processes as structured and structures as processual", it being through the interweaving of the actions of pluralities of interdependent individuals that comprise the structuring or patterning that occurs. Thirdly, the development of figurations is a largely unplanned and open-ended process. As Rojek (1985: 160) explains:

Individuals may deliberately engage in planned intervention, but the whole network of interdependencies that bind people together at each phase of development, has not been planned or willed by the individuals who compose it.

There will therefore be "unintended consequences" or outcomes as a result of social interaction by innumerable groups or individuals as they struggle to "secure their shared and conflicting ends" (Dunning, 1993: 44). These outcomes however have a determinable structure and direction in the long-term. As explained by Dunning (1989: 42) this is because:

the structure of a figuration at any given stage forms a necessary - though not a sufficient - condition for the

formation of its structure at a later stage. The development focus of figurational sociology is concerned with tracing such connections between stages in the longer-term “figurational flow”.

This takes, on balance, the form of a “civilising process”, a process that has come to be a theoretical cornerstone of figurational sociology (Dunning 1989: 42). Fourthly, interdependent relationships are “tension-loaded” and are characterised by struggle and conflict as individuals and groups work out changing power-ratios. Thus the concept of interdependence is inextricably bound up with power chances determined by the degree and nature of dependency between individuals and groups in the figuration.

Sport-forms in this theoretical approach are examined in terms of specific functions that they perform for individuals in figurations. Sport is viewed, in figurational sociology, as having a “compensatory” function in the specific context of the figuration. This is based on a view that individuals have a “socially conditioned psychological need to experience a kind of spontaneous, elementary, unreflective yet pleasurable excitement” (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 198). In contrast to a “functionalist” usage, this “function” is characterised not by the production of harmonious relations, but by tension and conflict. In addition this compensatory function, “must be viewed from the perspective of long-term figurational shifts, in patterns of economic, political and emotional bonding” (Rojek, 1985: 164), associated with the stage reached in a civilising process. The “mimetic” qualities of sport make it a site of “situated freedom” in that its practice is constrained by the requirement to remain within contemporary standards of self-control. The key point here is that both “tension-release” and “tension-creation” features of sport are contingent upon patterns of social bonding associated with a particular stage in a civilising process. The contingent nature of the “decontrolling of emotions” in figurational sociology is therefore linked with the Eliasian model of a European “civilising process”. One feature crucial to the figurational study of sport is the observation of a “long-term decline in people’s propensity for obtaining pleasure from directly engaging in, and witnessing violent acts”. This entails firstly, an advance in the threshold of

repugnance regarding manifestations of physical violence and secondly, the internalisation of these changing thresholds so that feelings of guilt are aroused whenever they are breached (Dunning, 1989: 42-43).

This approach to the sociological study of sport has drawn a number of criticisms that have been outlined, clarified and responded to by Rojek (1995: 50-56; 1992: 13-35; 1985: 158-172), Dunning (1996: 39-70; 1993a; 1992: 220-284; 1989: 36-52) and by Jarvie and Maguire (1996: 38-73; 1994: 130-160). These texts have variously addressed criticisms levelled against figurational sociology, and the guiding theory of the “civilising process”, as involving evolutionary and modernisation thesis undertones; a Western Capitalist ethnocentric bias; functionalist or “neo-functionalist” elements with regard to both the civilising process and the “function” of sport at various, but especially contemporary, stages in this process; a neglect of, caricaturisation, and over-blown hostility to forms of analysis emanating from more “political” sociological paradigms; an alleged positivist methodology; the claim that figurational sociological approaches to research generate relatively greater “object-adequate” or “reality-congruent” outcomes than other approaches; an empiricist epistemology and, relatedly, “political quietism” and “ethical neutrality” regarding socially disadvantaged groups; and finally, that as a fundamentally pragmatic theory of social relations, figurational sociology is low in propositional content, predictive value and defies falsification (Curtis, 1986; Hargreaves, 1994: 12-16; 1992; 1996; Jary and Horne, 1994; Horne and Jary, 1987).

It is not my intention to become embroiled in what Rojek (1992) has called the often gladiatorial, multi-paradigmatic rivalry evident in some of the critiques, counter-critiques, and responses to the counter-critiques. Rather a more useful purpose is served by engaging with those theoretical issues that most directly affect this work. Firstly, as has previously been mentioned, a central and overriding objective is to research empirically aspects of the Eliasian theory of the “civilising process” *in vivo*. A relevant issue here is the charge that the theory “defies falsification” and is “irrefutable” (Rojek 1992: 26, 1985: 172). The basis of this allegation lies in the processual nature of figurational sociology and the interpretation by critics that long-term “civilising” changes in figurations are

“evolutionary” rather than as figurationalists suggest, “developmental”. In the latter regard figurational sociologists suggest that the stages for the transition to a further stage of development lie in the past but they are not sufficient, in and of themselves, to determine outcomes. These will be the intended and unintended products of a conflictual and consensual interweaving of social actions between individuals and groups in the context of differential and shifting power-relations. As Dunning (1992: 265) points out, this raises the possibility that outcomes may be in the direction of shorter- and longer-term “counter-civilising” developments which, he suggests, may occur:

in a society which experiences (absolute?) economic decline, a shortening of interdependency chains, diminishing state monopolies over force and taxation and growing inequality in the balance of power between groups.

It is this possibility that lies at the heart of the indictment of the irrefutability of the theory. If the theory can explain both a “civilising process” and a “de-civilising process”, what can’t it explain? As Guttman (1992: 158) observes, “no key turns all locks”. To be fair, no figurational sociologist would suggest that the theory of the “civilising process” is such a key, indeed they regard their work with some humility as a “symptom of a beginning” (Dunning, 1992: 276). Moreover, Dunning (1993a: 203-205) has provided a schema to guide approaches to research that could falsify the theory. The design of this research is not intended to undertake such a grand project but, through a study of the “figurational flow” of Gloucester FC through time, to generate data that enable observations to be made regarding specific elements, outlined in the previous section, of the civilising process. It is therefore broader than simply a text of whether violence, as it existed in the playing of rugby at Gloucester FC and in its environs, has increased or decreased *per se*. It will attempt to offer observations on this aspect of the theory of a “civilising process” through an empirically-based review of changes in the incidence and forms of violence as an aspect of figurationally specific changes in patterns of social bonding.

Secondly, there is a need to draw on other potentially fruitful theories and frameworks to address aspects neglected by a figurational analysis of sport. For

example Clarke (1992) is critical of the absence of aspects of collective identification expressed in and through particular sports. This lack of emphasis on the nature of affective bonding has, to a degree, been accepted by Dunning (1992: 274-275). Work by Maguire (1992) and more recently by Dunning (1996), has attempted to shed more light on the nature of the emotions in sports and leisure contexts. Dunning (1992: 227) also accepts that figurational sociologists have not undertaken systematic enquiry "into the ways in which sport and leisure are constrained by economic exigencies especially the exigencies of capitalism". In particular Rojek (1985: 171) points to the relative neglect of "the important categories of bourgeois repression and the capitalist work ethic in the development of human figurations". This, he suggests, leaves the figurational approach "condemned for underestimating the significance of struggles of class, race, and sex, in the integration and dynamics of capitalist society." With regard to gender relations, Dunning (1992: 255) agrees that figurational sociologists have "in the past been too silent on questions of gender".

The most vigorous critic in this area of neglect has been Jenny Hargreaves (1986; 1992; 1994: 12-16). In critical and counter-critical responses to figurational sociology, she attacks the approach as reproducing male bias and treating women as invisible in the gendered arenas of the state and of sport, both of which are male dominated. Additionally, she argues that feminist theorists who strive to understand the complexities in the interdependency between patriarchal and capitalist relations provide a better explanation of the social reality of gender relations than that of figurational sociologists. Dunning (1992: 254-257) has taken issue with the claim of a better "reality congruence" emanating from this approach. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the relative neglect of gender relations has generated a more explicitly relational appreciation of the construction of masculinity and femininity as expressed in the work of Dunning and Maguire (1996).

The theoretical perspective that will be drawn on, in addition to the figurational approach, is that of the Gramscian notion of hegemony. This concept, broadly defined as "moral and philosophical leadership", refers to leadership which is

attained through winning the “active consent of major groups in a society” (Bocock, 1986: 11). As Hargreaves (1982: 113-114) summarises:

By hegemony Gramsci meant the ability of a dominant class, or class fraction, to exercise a special kind of leadership over a society, a leadership not simply based on ownership and control of the means of production, a monopoly of state power and the ability to impose its ideas willy nilly on the population, but which is also founded on “moral” leadership, the ability to obtain the consent of the dominated, which amounts to something more than acquiescence, and unites the whole society positively behind it in an historic bloc. A hegemonic class manages, in a variety of ways, to suffuse every level or pore of society, from the most formal institutions down to the informal practices and meanings of everyday life with its version of reality: “it is a lived system of meanings and values - constitutive and constituting - which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming”. (Williams, 1977: 110) ... What Gramsci stresses above all is the way a specific historical form of domination becomes sedimented and naturalised as “common-sense” in practical consciousness, that is, in and through everyday living, so that the seemingly most innocuous values, meanings and practices reproduce a particular class’s hegemony.

Thus, hegemony is achieved by dominant groups winning the active consent of subordinate groups through, in large part, their intellectual and cultural leadership of a dominant ideology that, it is claimed, pervades every aspect of capitalist society including sport.

However, this choice of perspective is not without its problems. Hegemony, as Rojek (1993) points out, rather a slippery concept, not least because in Gramsci’s development of the concept there appear to be three models of the key relationship between the state and civil society in securing the consent of subordinate groups to leadership by the dominant group. In the first of these the state and civil society are separated, with hegemony achieved in civil society and coercion applied by the state. In a second version, this distinction is dissolved and hegemony is seen as having both civil and political components such that the state also becomes an “apparatus of hegemony” (Hargreaves, 1982: 115). Thus,

in Althusserian terms, there is both a repressive state apparatus and an ideological state apparatus that support a dominant ideology. In a final version the distinction between the state and civil society disappears as the former is assimilated to the latter and hegemony is generated from some synthesis of the functioning of both (Gramsci, 1971; Bocock, 1986: 28-39; Hargreaves, 1990: 263-268). Hargreaves (1990: 264-265) suggests that each of these models is associated with groups of neo-Marxian writers on sport who are distinguished by the relative weight they assign to the influence of capitalist relations. However, as Hargreaves (1982a: 103) points out, the advantage of hegemony theory as applied to sport, with a less deterministic view of capitalist power-relations, is its softer formulation than other Marxian variants. These include variants such as "correspondence" theories, which characterise sport as determined and dominated by capitalist forces to the extent that sport relations are a simple reflection of capitalist relations. Additionally, "reproduction" theories, which claim that the apparent differences and relative autonomy of sport from capitalist relations actually enable sport to be used to reproduce dominant social relations, are also viewed as heavily deterministic.

Ideological control, the "consent of the governed" is achieved through socialising agencies, of which sport is one, that promote and legitimise the ideas of a dominant group. Hegemony, as a process, is never complete, requiring constant ideological work as power-relationships are historically constructed and reconstructed. The hegemonic process is therefore characterised by accommodation, conflict and consent. Additionally it involves an emotional dimension. Hegemony, as Whitson (1984; 68) puts it, also constitutes:

an internalised sense, not only of what is desirable but what is possible, which is difficult for most people to distance themselves from, to think critically about, and to imagine beyond. This network of "common sense" understanding must make sense of the political and economic order... It must also... extend beyond these to make sense of the private life...work, leisure, family, and friendships, the powerful affective experiences of most lives. A dominant culture, if it is to remain effective in its sense making power, must "extend to, and be formed from, this whole area of lived experience" (Williams, 1977: 111).

Thus, those groups who seek hegemonic leadership must address the sentiments of the groups over which they wish to exercise leadership to avoid a degree of social differentiation that, through a dissociation of mutual interests and values, threatens a basis of their dominance. The “hegemonic trick” so to speak, is that the dominant group must reflect, generate and/or access symbols, events and actions that have a cultural resonance within and between groups. Crucial in the way that social actions are interpreted and defined is, therefore, the exercise of power.

Hargreaves (1986: 3-10) draws attention to the conceptualisation of power common in this perspective. Firstly, power is viewed as the property of social relations and is not the attribute of an individual or group. Secondly, power-relations may take economic, persuasive and coercive forms, none of these being mutually exclusive. Thirdly, power relations are historically variable. Fourthly, the exercise of power involves struggle and conflict, is rarely absolute, and will therefore involve unanticipated outcomes. Finally, the mode of production is a key structural feature that gives rise to unequal power-ratios which, in a capitalist society, favours bourgeois groups.

Hargreaves (1986) regards the influential position of sport as a socialising agency in the hegemonic process as being, to a significant extent, a product of its unique characteristics as a cultural formation that secures relative autonomy from the rest of social life. Morgan (1994: 34) also points to a unique characteristic of sport in that the constitutive rules of sport are such that; “the permissible means to attain the goal are always narrower in scope than the possible means to attain it”. Along with its dramaturgical qualities, this is what makes sport interesting and, because it has the power to captivate, it proves useful and explains why “certain features of sport are singled out for attention and others ignored and why sport takes on the various social hues that it does”. However, Gruneau (1983) has argued, and it is an argument contested by Morgan (1994: 82-87), that sport cannot be disjoined from its social setting, that is, the material production and reproduction of social life. Further, the rules of sport that are an element of its relative autonomy are socially impregnated with the values of the dominant class

and that this, paradoxically, reduces the scope of its autonomy. Nevertheless, sport is viewed as a site where bourgeois values are re-negotiated and subordinate social groups can express their values. In this way it can express critical, oppositional social meanings in a residual way (for example, in the attempts to retain bourgeois notions of amateurism) or in an emergent way (for example, the future development of sports suggested by feminists). However, the capacity of sport to act as an enabling or constraining force is, as Morgan (1985) observes, contingent upon whether it expresses the interests of the dominant or subordinate class. In conclusion, the analysis of sport within hegemony theory is often located in the context of class conflict. Hegemonic leadership is always contingent upon the ability of dominant groups to respond to anticipated and unanticipated changes in power-ratios through negotiation, compromise, accommodation as well as, to a lesser degree, coercion.

At this point it needs to be recognised that there are similarities between hegemony theory and figurational sociology. There is, Rojek (1992: 26-29) observes, "room for transference" between them. In particular both place a common emphasis on process, historical contingency and the unfinished qualities of social life as well as on the "debunking motif" of the sociological imagination, that is, to "look behind" what appears to be normal. There is a common awareness of the range, diversity and richness of culture within and between socially constituted groups. Additionally, there is a common weakness of relative neglect of other structural features, for example, race, sexuality and, to a lesser extent in hegemony theory, the issue of gender relations in sport. Dunning (1992: 275; 1993) notes "welcome convergences" detectable in the work on sport from figurational sociologists and hegemony theorists. Nevertheless, it needs to be recognised that there appear to be two irreconcilable differences between the two schools of thought. The first is the relative importance of the mode of production in structuring social relations including nation-state formation, and the second, a debate located around "praxis", that is, political action based on analytical critique. Each of these will be reviewed in turn.

Hegemony theorists have to a large extent abandoned the heavily deterministic economic base-superstructure dichotomy of "vulgar" Marxism. This point is

emphasised by Hargreaves (1982: 111) when he comments, "It is clearly necessary to relate sport very closely to the mode of production, but by itself it is insufficient". The softening of their formulation of the relative importance of economic relations to one in which their primacy is emphasised but in which economic relations are not regarded as fully determining, remains problematic. Gramsci opposed deterministic economism, that is the exclusive focus on the contradiction in capitalism between the interests of the proletariat and bourgeoisie that Marx claimed would lead to the breakdown of the capitalist system, and placed greater emphasis on the political. However, the question that remains to be answered with regard to the status of economic relations is; to what extent are they historically transcendent? Further, are they always and everywhere more important than other forms of social bonding? Indeed in Gramsci's work there is a potential insight. Suggesting that in the interests of hegemonic leadership the dominant class may need to accommodate to subordinate groups by sacrificing some of their own "economic interests", he suggests:

there is also no doubt that such sacrifices and such a compromise cannot touch the essential: for though hegemony is ethical-political, it must also be economic, must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity (Gramsci, 1971: 161).

Thus, despite Gramsci's emphasis on the "ethical-political", the "decisive" nucleus of economic activity and the class relations formed on this basis are not excluded from an analysis of the exercise of hegemony. Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 110) claim, somewhat contentiously perhaps in the light of the preceding quote, in the context of Gramsci's critique of economism that he "overwhelmingly rejected" economic determination of a political and ideological superstructure. Furthermore, Whitson (1984: 73-4) adds to this ambiguity suggesting that approaches emanating from this perspective view cultural traditions and practices as:

not mere derivatives of economical or political structures, but are, on the contrary, basic constitutive processes contributing to the actual shape these structures will take in a given place and time.

Figurational sociologists would accept this point but would reject a view of cultural plurality explained as epiphenomena of the outcomes of contested bourgeois values. Cultural plurality is seen as intimately connected with the “civilising process”, in particular the process of functional democratisation involving, as an outcome, a trend towards both “diminishing contrasts” and “increasing varieties” in social relations. Economic relations are regarded as being implicated in this process of structural differentiation, but the process is not reducible to them. The relative importance of this form of power relationships thus becomes an empirical problem. These insights will guide the interpretation of research outcomes with regard to the development of Gloucester FC.

The second key point of difference between figurational sociologists and those who draw on hegemony theory relates to praxis. Figurational sociologists have argued that the political-ideological values pervading the work of cultural studies sociologists who have adopted a Gramscian approach, have muddied the waters in their quest for object adequacy (Dunning and Rojek, 1996). This, it is suggested, is a consequence of the relative balance between involvement and detachment being altered in favour of the former due to their attachment to economic relations as a primary feature of analysis. This criticism is contested by feminists and cultural studies sociologists arguing, in essence, that their work has a greater realism by locating analysis in the context of patriarchal and capitalist structures.

The aim in this research is firmly to locate issues back into the field of theoretically-guided empirical research. Therefore, in the light of the need to assess the extent to which bourgeois values dominate the social figuration of Gloucester FC at specific periods in time, attention will be paid to the sources and relative use of economic, persuasive and coercive power exercised by dominant groups. Secondly, there will be an attempt to assess the extent to which explanations of the cultural specificity of playing and watching Rugby

Union football in Gloucester can be achieved through research evidence of what Hargreaves (1982a: 118-119) describes as the “three dimensions” of hegemony. These are, “the extent of incorporation, the strategic mode of incorporation, and the mode of compliance”. Finally, as Holt (1993: 364) points out with regard to these crucial research issues:

The claims for sport as a tool for the moral leadership by the bourgeoisie of a divided working class needs to be treated with great caution. Which sports? When? How? The agencies of hegemony need to be made clear.... It is not enough to show that there were individuals with the *intention* of exercising control over the workers. It has to be established that some kind of moral influence was in fact exercised. (*Italics in original*)

This approach to the development of an analytical framework to assist with the interpretation of research material, draws on the explanatory strengths of both figurational sociology and hegemony theory. It is anticipated that explanations of the sociological history of Gloucester FC will be generated by the synergy derived from an iterative use of these two approaches. The view here is similar to that taken by Abrams (1982) with regard to mutually reinforcing explanations of social behaviour drawn from the disciplines of sociology and history. Figurational sociology and hegemony theory, like sociology and history, can achieve a symbiosis but they do not have to. Holt (1992: 26) also commends an approach of this type when he asks:

Why should “theories” be true or false, all right or all wrong? Why can’t we pick and choose from the concepts we need to make sense of the rich diversity of our material? Providing, of course, we take the trouble to try and understand their intellectual provenance and be as careful and explicit in our usage as sociologists are supposed to be.

However, the use of both frameworks of analysis lays this work open to the charge of an aspect of what Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 112; 1996: 53) call a “violence of abstraction”, that is, an “interpretative free-for-all ... through the

selection of concepts without their original context" (1996: 53). This particular charge has some basis with regard to the use of a Gramscian notion of hegemony. Gramsci's development of the concept in the context of Western European national-political struggles has little relevance in the context of this research. Gloucester FC were hardly a sporting organisation entangled in an hegemonic struggle for West Country separatism. Thus, the notion of a "war of movement", a direct assault on the state, is largely irrelevant here. However, aspects of the literature have drawn attention to the role of rugby football as an element in the construction of both a Welsh and "British" cultural identity in Wales. Thus, it is to be anticipated that Gloucester FC, through regular contact with Welsh clubs, was entangled with elements of a Welsh national-political struggle for identity.

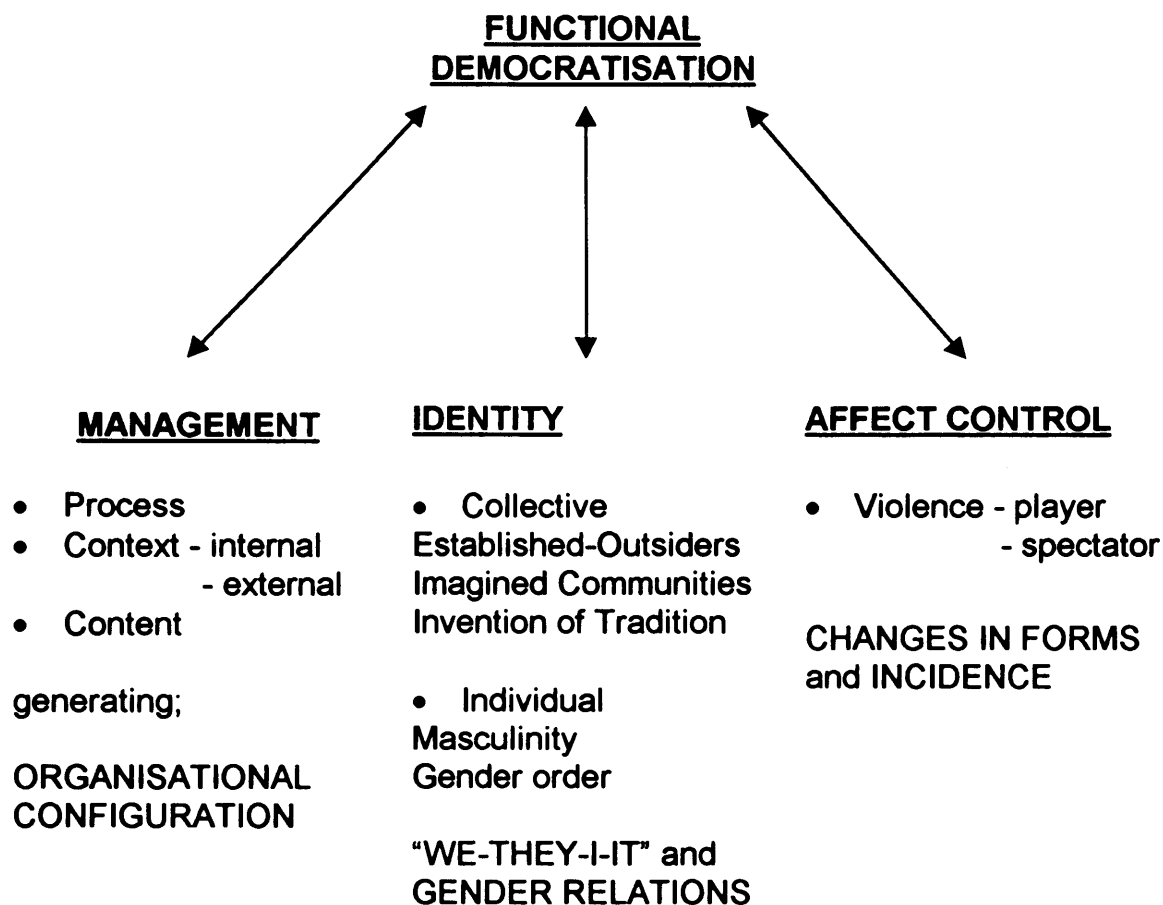
Counter-hegemonic struggle in civil society, that is a war of position that challenges bourgeois leadership, may be a more useful conceptual underpinning. Working-class groups in Gloucester FC and other towns and cities in the late 19th century would have been confronted with, and offered potential access to, rugby football as a game infused with bourgeois origins, values and control. This opens up the possibility of undertaking research that attempts to uncover the extent and success of the cultural input from working-class groups. It is not anticipated that these groups will attempt to wrest control from bourgeois domination. Rather, there is an understanding that there are a number of different groups who enjoyed playing and spectating, deriving personal status as players and administrators and psycho-social benefits of collective identification. Vested interests are protected, reinforced and modified by social interaction but also involve compromise and accommodation. It is therefore more appropriate to view interaction as an historically variable nexus of treaties rather than raw-boned hegemonic struggle. However, it must be remembered that the structuring of social relations enables groups to bring differential access to power resources, be they economic, political or coercive, to the "negotiating arena".

There is clearly some "cherry-picking" from both figurational sociology and hegemony theory in this work. In its defence, the historically rooted and empirical approach, evident in both perspectives, contextualises the development of the

playing and spectating of rugby football in Gloucester and the development of Gloucester FC in the cultural politics of location at given periods. Empirical evidence admissable under one paradigm cannot therefore be excluded from the other. The use of both perspectives as interpretive frameworks enhances the theoretically guided and empirically grounded nature of this research project.

Research data will be organised thematically as set out below:

Figure 1. Thematic Structure of the Research.



The integrating theme draws on the Eliasian conception of “functional democratisation”. This is defined by Mennell (1992: 107) as the:

process by which every individual is emeshed in longer and denser webs of interdependence with more and more others, leading to greater reciprocal dependency and more multi-polar control within and amongst groups.

Or, using Gouldsblom's simplification; "more people are forced more often to pay more attention to more other people" (Mennell, 1994: 185). The research will endeavour to establish evidence of increases or decreases in chains of interdependencies. It will seek to identify the sources of these changes and examine the influence exercised by social groups over the development of Gloucester FC and the playing of rugby football in Gloucester. From these data, comment will be made on the existence, or otherwise, of a dominant form of social bonding in the development of this specific figuration between 1873 and 1914.

The *management* theme will involve an analysis of the club's development with regard to two sets of relationships. Firstly, the relationship between the *internal context* of the club's operations (organisational structure, design and procedures) and the *external context* (as a locus of civic identity, relations with the RFU and other clubs, and commercial relationships as a "gate-taking" club). Secondly, connections between these contexts (the set of circumstances under which both the strategy process and the strategy content are determined), the *process* of strategy formulation (the manner in which strategies, both formal and emergent, come about) and the *content* of managerial and administrative decision-making (de Wit and Meyer, 1998: 5-6) will be explored. This inter-disciplinary approach demands that the interpretative theoretical frameworks adopted be consistent with the overall research paradigm. Two schools of thought in the strategic management literature, the "Processualist" and "Systemic" approaches to the formulation of activities that fundamentally guide the development of an organisation, are relevant here. Processual approaches to strategic decision-making, associated mainly with the work of Mintzberg (1978; 1987), Mintzberg and Waters (1985), Pettigrew (1973; 1985) and Pettigrew and Whipp (1991), view the strategic direction of organisations as an emerging pattern in a stream of decisions. This approach recognises that the interdependencies between groups comprising an organisation's structure and outcomes, are an aspect of the exercise of power-relations between them. Mintzberg (1979) also suggests that the dominant group in this configuration will strongly influence the emergence of organisational structure, design and policy initiatives. Thus, for dominant groups or individuals in an organisation, strategy is a continuous and adaptive process to

the interplay of internal and external contexts. It is emergent in the sense that its coherence, as Mintzberg and Waters (1995) suggest, accrues through action and, as Whittington (1993: 26) observes, is often perceived in retrospect. Systemic approaches add an understanding that the behaviours of groups and individuals in an organisation are culturally embedded in networks of social relations - for example, family, class, gender, educational background - that both enable and constrain the choices managers and administrators make. Modes of strategy are thus regarded as being deeply embedded in particular social systems. Thus, processes of strategy formulation, and actions in pursuit of objectives, may be perfectly "rational" according to the criteria of dominant groups in the organisation.

These approaches lend themselves to, and are consistent with, the longitudinal, processual and contextual nature of this research. They may offer insights into the ways in which groups associated with the administration of the club attempted to develop structures and systems that were both a response to, and an attempt to exercise greater control over, increasing and more complex chains of interdependence. Furthermore, there are similarities in these management-based "schools of thought" to the theoretical frameworks informing this research. They are; emphasis on the interdependency of groups in organisational (con)figurations; shifts in power-ratios as causes and consequences of change; ideological work by dominant groups to construct and reconstruct aspects of an organisation's culture (its "operating paradigm"); the enabling and constraining aspects of this culture; and the intended and unintended outcomes of social actions. In Slack's (1997) view, despite a growing interest in sports management research and the contribution sociologically grounded approaches can make in this regard (Bryant, 1993; Soucie and Doherty, 1996; Chalip, 1997), there are still "no studies within sports management utilising a processual, contextualist, case study approach to the development of a sports organisation". This research, it is hoped, as a case study of the management of Gloucester FC during a defining period of its development, will add to this scant body of knowledge.

The *identity* theme will be investigated through two interrelated lines of enquiry, namely the construction and reconstruction over time of collective and individual

(masculine) identities. Empirical evidence will contribute to an explanation of the construction of gender relations and the relative balance between “We-They-I-It” components of identity formation. Data pertinent to the collective identity theme will be interpreted using the conceptual frameworks of Elias (1987a) regarding changes in the “We-I” balance and Elias and Scotson’s (1965) work on “established-outsider” groups. The relevance of the former work, as an investigative theme, has been outlined earlier. The “established-outsiders” conceptual framework will be used in an attempt to shed light on the ways in which changing power relationships between groups are linked to the social habitus, that is, “the predominant modes of conduct, taste and feeling” (Mennell, 1994: 177), of group members. The analysis will also be informed by Anderson’s (1991) contribution to this area of study regarding “imagined” communities. Anderson’s work refers primarily to the construction of nationality and nationalism but it is equally relevant to this study. He points out that communities are “imagined” in the sense that although individuals in a community “may never know most of their members, meet them, even hear of them.... in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. Further, communities are historically constructed and reconstructed and distinguished “by the style in which they are imagined” (1991: 6). He goes on to suggest, and it is a recommendation taken up in this research, that:

To understand them... we need to consider carefully how they came into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time and why... they command such profound emotional legitimacy (1991: 4).

Finally, the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), with regard to the “invention of tradition”, will be drawn on as a contribution to an understanding of the ways in which middle-class groups came to dominate sports administration and practice by repetition of roles and activities. The authors suggest that these roles, particularly during changes in the pattern of social relations, contribute to the “invention” of an organising “tradition” and, concomitantly, draw class boundaries between themselves and the working classes (1983: 4-5, 298-303).

The opportunity to incorporate empirical work on individual male identities, particularly as manifested through the construction of aspects of masculinity, and the impact on gender relations, has also been taken. There are two interrelated “themes” that draw on the concept of hegemony. The first is that developed from Connell’s (1987: 1995) conception of a “gender order” constructed on conceptions of masculinity. As Messner (1990: 18) explains:

at any given historical moment, there are also competing masculinities - some hegemonic, some marginalised (e.g. gay). Hegemonic masculinity, the form dominant today, is defined in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to femininities. The gender order is a social system that is constantly being created, contested and changed, both in the relationships and power struggles between men and women, and in the relationships and power struggles between men.

Thus, a culturally idealised form of masculine character in a particular social and historical setting can come to form a dominant or “hegemonic” form of masculinity. In the context of the sport of Rugby Union football this can be explained, albeit simply, as follows. Amongst groups of males, and females, rugby players are regarded as being physically “harder” than soccer players, who are regarded in the same way relative to, say, badminton players. All of these groups are regarded as being physically superior to women participants in sport and homosexual men. In addition, within rugby there is a distinction between the generally physically stronger and more confrontational forwards, variously described as “donkeys”, “fat boys” and “little-piggies”, and the more athletic and quicker three-quarters (the “backs”), often called “the girls”. Even within the forwards there is a further hierarchy with front-row forwards ascribed additional status as “hard men”. Manifestations of this type of masculinity are generated almost exclusively on the basis of physical hardness, in particular on the ability to give and take physical punishment. Thus, in Connell’s (1995: 54) view :

the institutional organisation of sport embeds definite social relations: competition and hierarchy among men, exclusion

or domination of women. These social relations of gender are both realised and symbolised in the bodily performances.

This, he argues, becomes a basis of “symbolic proof” of male superiority and dominance over women. Research will therefore attempt to uncover the nature and extent of a historically and socially constructed gender order derived from male involvement in rugby football in Gloucester and the ways in which it contributed, relationally through the construction of notions of femininity, to the subordination of women. In other words, the research will attempt to understand the way rugby was implicated in the construction and reconstruction of male hegemony. In Boutilier and San Giovanni’s (1983: 102) words:

cultural definitions have not merely differentiated men from women: they have attached to them evaluations that rank men higher than women in social value.

Thus, a distinctly “pro-feminist” stance is taken in this regard. Messner (1989, 142-145) argues that this approach, essentially one of men studying the construction of masculinities in and through sport, makes a contribution to the overall feminist project. It does so by drawing attention to the trade-off made by males in sport, involving physical and emotional damage, in return for the promise of masculine power and privilege.

The second “theme” is related to the previous point. Sport as a social institution is heavily implicated in constructing a dominant, “hegemonic” masculinity. This, Kidd (1987) suggests, contributes to a system of power relations by which men dominate women and perpetuates patriarchal relations by reinforcing a sexual division of labour. Jenny Hargreaves (1986; 1994: 23) suggests that in capitalist societies these take specific forms. She also argues that it is possible to apply the concept of hegemony to male leadership and domination of sports, adding that:

Some men and women support, accommodate, or collude in existing patterns of discrimination in sports that are specific

to capitalism and to male domination, while other men and women oppose them and struggle for change.

The inter-relationships between patriarchal and capitalist relations are also evident in the work of Shona Thompson (1988; 1990; 1993). She argues that the woman's primary responsibility for childcare, "wifehood" and unpaid domestic labour, services and supports male participation in sport. Dunning and Maguire (1996: 314) also recognise that the "servicing" of male sport is "based on internalisation of group charisma of males, and (is) not freely given and fully reciprocated". Hargreaves (1994: 36) argues that an investigation of this aspect of male domination needs to be framed by an understanding of "the complexities of the relationship between, and the relative independence of, capitalist relations and gender relations". This framework will be adopted in an attempt to understand how dominant notions of masculinity are constructed and reconstructed over time as elements of personal and collective identity and how this derives from, and is translated back into, patterns of social interaction between the sexes. Where women become "visible" in the research attempts will be made to uncover their experiences and position in this male dominated network of associations.

In summary, the frameworks for interpreting research data will draw on figurational sociology and hegemony theory and on the strategic management frameworks that have a high degree of "fit" with these perspectives. One of the intentions of this research is to offer observations on the object adequacy of the two theories in explaining social phenomena. Merton (1968) regards this as a passive role of sociological research in contrast to a relatively more developmental one achieved through initiation, reformation, refocusing and clarification of social theory. It may be possible, in the context of this research, to move towards the latter by suggesting that, in certain circumstances, a symbiosis of both perspectives can provide a basis for mutually reinforcing explanations of social development. Additionally, a deliberate attempt in this work has been made to move towards an applied sociology of sport by integrating some of the concepts and analytical frameworks of figurational sociology with those drawn

from the field of strategic management. Yiannakis (1993) identifies this as an "applied research" phase where findings illuminate or explain problems and create intellectual conditions for problem solving and decision making. The utilisation of both historical sociology and processual strategic management frameworks may provide these possibilities. The ongoing transition in Rugby Union football in England, from an amateur/volunteer/committee system of organisation to a more professional, bureaucratic, administrative form as clubs respond to contemporary problems associated with an acceleration of processes of professionalisation and commercialisation, provides a potential testing ground for such an approach.

Methodology and Methods

A close personal affective bond to the fortunes of Gloucester RFC has already been signalled in this introductory chapter. This raises questions with regard to the degree of “object-adequacy” any choice of methodology and methods can achieve in these circumstances. It is therefore appropriate to discuss briefly the relative balance of “involvement and detachment” in the research process. For Elias (1956) this issue was broader than merely an approach to sociological inquiry, being part of his theory of the long-term development of human knowledge and the rise of the sciences. Movements along the continuum of involvement and detachment, from the former towards the latter were, Elias suggested, linked to the civilising process. This occurred in conjunction with increasing levels of self-control as an interdependent and complementary critical process facilitating a greater degree of emotional detachment from a particular problem or situation. This in turn enables a greater understanding of physical, biological, psychological and social processes at work, and greater control over them to be exercised. Linking this to stages in the civilising process, Elias (1956: 231-232) observes that:

Paradoxically enough, the steady increase in the capacity of men (sic), both for a more detached approach to natural forces and for controlling them, and the gradual acceleration of this process, have helped to increase the difficulties which men have in extending their control over processes of social change and over their own feelings thinking about them ...the growth of men's comprehension of natural forces and of the use made of them for human ends is associated with specific changes in human relationships; it goes hand in hand with the growing interdependence of growing numbers of people.

Thus, individuals are confronted with different forms of insecurity derived from growing interdependencies that require adjustment to outcomes of social processes not of their own making, or not intended by them. In essence, to use Mennell's (1992: 170) words, “The growth of the web of social interdependence tends to outstrip people's understanding of it.”

Two issues relevant to this research are raised. The first is, as Elias (1956: 234) points out:

Investigators themselves form part of these patterns. They cannot help experiencing them, directly or by identification, as immediate participants from within; and the greater the strains and stresses to which they as groups are exposed, the more difficult is it for them to perform the mental operation, underlying all scientific pursuits, of detaching themselves from their role as immediate participants and from the limited vista it offers.

How then is the balance between involvement and detachment, a “detour via detachment”, to be achieved in this research? Dunning (1992: 252-254), in response to Rojek’s (1992: 19) criticism that figurational sociologists have produced no rules or drills “to accomplish self-distancing”, draws on the work of Elias to offer five practical rules of procedure. These are firstly, to locate objects of research historically and contextually in the wider system of social interdependencies in which they are embedded. Secondly, to explore connections and regularities, and structures and processes, for their own sake. Thirdly, to relate research observations to an existing body of knowledge in the field of inquiry. Fourthly, relate theories to observations and, fifthly, work in areas where there is personal interest, involvement and experience. These will form the “rules of thumb” that, in this research, will guide the search for and interpretation of data. This, it is hoped, will provide a sufficient degree of personal detachment from the research subject.

Additionally, in the context of Gloucester FC and the intense nature of affective bonding in this figurational network, the second issue with regard to the relative balance between involvement and detachment is raised. Elias (1956: 236) was aware of the strong emotional ties that bind individuals in groups and recognises the problems faced by researchers in this connection. He observes that group images are an amalgam of “realistic observations and collective fantasies”. Further:

To sift out the former from the latter, to hold up before these groups a mirror in which they can see themselves as they

might be seen, not by an involved critic from another contemporary group, but by an inquirer trying to see in perspective the structure and functioning of their relationship with each other, is not only difficult in itself for anyone whose group is involved in such a struggle; expressed in public, it may also weaken the cohesion and solidarity feeling of his group and, with it, its capacity to survive. There is, in fact, in all these groups a point beyond which none of its members can go in his detachment without appearing and, so far as his group is concerned, without becoming a dangerous heretic, however consistent his ideas or his theories may be in themselves and with observed facts, however much they may approximate to what we call "truth".

In summary, a research methodology and appropriate methods of gathering data had to be tailored in such a way as to produce a delicate balance between relative degrees of involvement and detachment of both the researcher and the researched.

Methodology

The research takes as its starting point the emphasis placed in figurational sociology on producing object adequate, or “reality congruent” explanations of social phenomena through an interplay between “theory-guided research and research-orientated theory” (Dunning 1996: 205). It adopts a fundamentally qualitative, naturalistic approach to the study of Gloucester FC as a social figuration. Lincoln and Guba (1985: 36-38) identify five axioms of naturalistic inquiry. The first is an ontological assumption regarding “multiple constructed realities that can be studied holistically” that is, with reference to their specific social and historical contexts. The second axiom draws attention to epistemological concerns regarding the interactive relationship between the researcher and what is being researched and the mutually influencing relationship between the two. A third axiological assumption points to the value-laden nature of research evident in the choice of “problem”, the investigatory paradigm and the substantive theory or theories selected to guide the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. A further axiom points to the aim of naturalistic inquiry to produce an “idiographic body of knowledge”, that is, the interpretation of data and the conclusions drawn from them, are expressed in terms of the particulars of the case rather than as “law-like” generalisations. Finally, this form of inquiry recognises the iterative “mutual simultaneous shaping” of cause and effect that make it difficult to distinguish one from the other in social inquiry. This paradigm can therefore embrace the social and historical contexts of patterns of human interaction. It abandons the positivist notion of value-neutrality implicit in the object-subject dichotomy and avoids positivistic explanations based on a deterministic, one-way linear relationship running between cause and effect. The position of this research on the continuum of nomothetic and ideographic approaches and methods (Gill, 1991: 37) lies more towards the latter. However, it is not truly ideographic in that it connects to wider social changes, and the development of sport and rugby football taking place during this period, and to social theories that offer possible explanations of processes of the development of this specific figuration.

These ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions exhibit a high degree of congruence or “value resonance” with the research paradigms associated with figurational sociology and hegemony theory, the two substantive theories that guide and inform this research. Lincoln and Guba (1985: 39-43; 187-249) suggest that there are fourteen characteristics of “operational naturalistic inquiry” logically following from these axioms. These are, a *natural setting*, the use of a *human instrument* for data gathering and information, the utilisation of *tacit knowledge* by the researcher and *qualitative methods*, *purposive sampling* to flexibly respond to emerging themes, *inductive* data analysis guided by *substantive theory* (grounded theory), an *emergent research design* to flexibly respond to research developments, *negotiated outcomes* (i.e. checking, verifying and confirming interpretations from human sources), a *case study* reporting mode, *idiographic interpretation* of data and *tentative application* of research findings, *focus determined* boundaries (i.e. emergent issues set the boundaries for research rather than the preconceptions of the researcher), and the development and use of *special criteria for assessing the trustworthiness* or reliability of research data. All of these, to varying degrees, are evident in the operationalising of this research. Attention will now be turned to the key operational features.

A process of induction will be employed to proceed from the collection of research data to the generation and testing of theoretical positions. The research strategy draws heavily on, and is structured by, the methodological guidelines of the “Grounded Theory” style of qualitative analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Strauss, 1987: 5-36). This approach is underpinned by the premise that:

theory at various levels of generality is indispensable for deeper knowledge of social phenomena ... We also argued that such theory ought to be developed in intimate relationship with data, with researchers fully aware of themselves as instruments for developing that grounded theory. (Strauss, 1987: 6)

Thus, as a research strategy, it is consistent with uncovering relationships between theory and data, which may involve the discovery and formulation of

new theoretical positions and/or the verification and/or the modification of existing ones.

The research process proceeded as follows. A multi-method approach to the gathering of data was adopted (these are detailed in the *Methods* section below). The data were then organised using the “coding paradigm” recommended by Strauss (1987: 27-34) and Strauss and Corbin (1990: 61-74; 96-115). The first phase, the process of open coding, involved extracting from the data indicators of a class of events or behavioural actions that could be conceptually labelled as core categories. Strauss (1978: 36) suggests these categories should be *central*, appear *frequently* in the data, *relate easily* to other categories and contribute to a more *general theory* allowing for *maximum variation* in the building of the analysis. Although to some extent these categories emerged from the data, the majority of them were “recognised” from texts and articles outlined in the literature review along with personal experience and knowledge of rugby football, the substantive field of this study.

The second phase, axial coding, involved an intense analysis around each category using Strauss and Corbin’s (1990: 96-115) paradigm items of the *causal conditions* that gave rise to the phenomenon, the *context* in which the action was embedded, the *action/interaction* strategies by which events were handled and managed and, finally, the *consequences*, intended and unintended, of those strategies. For example, a component of masculinity, fighting amongst players, was analysed as follows. Inquiry into *causal conditions* involved questions such as, against which clubs did this fighting take place? At whose ground? Had there been a history of fighting in previous encounters? What was the nature of the competitive intensity; was there some status - cup, league or other element - at stake? Was there inter-personal rivalry between players, for example for international places? *Contextual* elements involved accounting for the type of fight: (“man-on-man”; mass brawl; and method: for example, fist, boot or head-butt). When, during the game, did the fight take place? What was the duration and intensity of the fight and so on. The third element, the *action/interaction* strategies, reviewed what was done or not done during and after the event. For example, peer pressure to fight, constraints imposed by the laws of the game, the

role of the referee, spectator influences etc. Finally, the *consequences*, or outcomes, of the event were identified. Were players sent off; were relationships between the clubs involved put under stress; what comment was made about the incident (particularly in the local and national press and by the governing body); were fixtures cancelled? These questions give a flavour of attempts to “densify” the analysis through “constant comparison” of research data.

The third phase involved reassembling the data for evidence of structuring of social action. This was undertaken through the construction of a “mind-map” or “flow chart”. As these patterns in the social development of Gloucester FC emerged they were compared and contrasted with theory. This iterative process of research informing theory, informing research, also required a return to the raw data to check for accuracy and to develop and refine emerging themes. This process allowed observations to be made of the object-adequacy of explanations of social development emanating from figurational sociology and hegemony theory.

In summary, this approach provided a framework for not only organising data but also, more importantly, for organising *ideas* emerging from the analysis of data. It was suited to a longitudinal, sociological history of Gloucester FC, providing frameworks for the management of the volume and richness of the data, the identification of patterns of social development emerging from the data and an accompanying iterative process of conceptual development. It was also sufficiently dynamic and versatile to deal with longitudinal developments as themes faded and re-emerged, often with different complexions, over time. It also facilitated the organisation of chapters to reflect specific events that emerged from the research, marking transitions from one stage in the development of the club to another.

The final issue addressed here is the extent to which the “trustworthiness” of the research enquiry can be established. This research is, in essence, a case study of a social figuration. Robson (1993: 52) defines a case study as:

A strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon

within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence.

Although this research is more historical than “contemporary”, the definition is appropriate. Mintzberg (1979: 240) has justified the use of case study research in management contexts in the following way:

we shall never understand the complex reality of organisations if we persist in studying them from a distance, in large samples with gross, cross-sectional measures. We learn how birds fly by studying them one at a time, not by scanning flocks of them on radar screens.

This research extends Mintzberg's approach in its attempt to uncover, through a sociological history of the club, how Gloucester FC “flew” *in conjunction with others*, and the directions, planned and unplanned, this “migration” took as the figuration changed over time. Yin (1994: 9-11) suggests that there is a prejudice against case studies based on their perceived lack of rigour as a form of empirical inquiry, concerns over their basis for scientific generalisation, and the time they take to research and read. This case study of Gloucester FC is of a particular design. It is what Yin (1994: 38-44) identifies as being of an “holistic design”. Yin rather vaguely defines this as research examining the “global nature of a programme or organisation”. This research attempts to uncover, in depth and in detail, the social processes involved in the development of Gloucester FC and attempts to relate outcomes to two broadly explanatory theories, the “civilising process” of figural sociology and Gramscian hegemony theory.

The use of a single-case and the qualitative nature of the research, has implications for the “trustworthiness” of the enquiry. Lincoln and Guba (1985: 294-331) propose that, in order to establish a high degree of trustworthiness, researchers should address themselves to the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of their work. In this research, I draw upon multiple-sources of evidence as the basis for data triangulation in an attempt to establish credibility. With regard to transferability it should first be noted that single-case studies are often criticised on the grounds that their conclusions are

not transferable, or “generalisable” to other contexts. Yin’s (1994: 10, 36) response is that case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions rather than to populations. This “analytical generalisation” involves the researcher striving to generalise a particular set of results to some broader theory or theories. Attempts have been made to provide “thick descriptions” of data in the text to illustrate the evidence on which such generalisations have been constructed. Dependability largely relates to consistency in the process of undertaking research and the methods employed to group and link categories of data. The systematic use of the Glaser and Strauss “constant comparison” paradigm for the open and axial coding of research data was used as an aid to consistency. The iterative process of research outcomes informing additional reading, the outcome of which may require further research and further reading, and so on, until the data can be relied on as providing a reasonable contribution to theory, was an additional tactic used in this connection. Finally, there is the issue of confirmability. The question here is, has the research process been sufficiently rigorous, involving a blend of involvement and detachment that facilitates the generation of conclusions that are, to an acceptable degree, reality congruent? All that the researcher can do here is lay open for scrutiny the extent of personal involvement with the subject of the research, theoretical predispositions, methodological frameworks, processes, procedures and methods of gathering research data.

Methods and Instrumentation

The design of this research required a variety of data collection techniques and methods. This offers both flexibility and diversity in the use of research methods but is also time consuming in the search for and collection of any type of evidence that is relevant to the study (Hakim, 1987: 61). My personal impact on the research scene and subjects was relatively unobtrusive, for two reasons. Firstly, the geographical distance, close to one hundred miles, separating me from the club limited my visits to Gloucester to approximately three per month. Secondly, although a degree of intimacy was built up with members of the club, there was always a sense of being an “outsider” to what was, and still is, a very tightly knit group of players and administrators.

1. Administrative Documents and Records.

These became a significant source of research data. The initial task involved gathering as many historical artefacts and records kept at Gloucester RFC, or by others, as possible. These were found by “asking around” and with help from Doug Wadley, whose association with the club - as Honorary Secretary - spans over sixty years. A variety of materials was located in old cupboards, in a tin box in the groundsman’s store, in old desks and in the possession of individuals associated with the club. No systematic attempt had been made to collect and collate this archive material, some of which dated back to the mid-1870s. This task was undertaken as part of the research process. During the process of collating and cataloguing material a variety of material was unearthed. A catalogue of this research material, currently held in Gloucester RFC archives, is reproduced in Appendix 1. These provided a mix of records and documents, what Hodder (1998: 112-113) calls “material culture”, related to specific events and decisions taken throughout the club’s history.

The Secretary’s Handbooks, pocket-sized commercially produced notebooks, contained records of a season’s fixtures, players participating in those fixtures, results and comments on each game and are referenced as *Secretary’s Notebooks*. A scrapbook kept by W.B.Bailey (hereinafter referred to as “W.B.’s” *Scrapbook*), a long-serving journalist with the *Gloucester Citizen*, containing

hand-written notes, copies of his newspaper articles and with souvenir publications, provided the bulk of documentary evidence regarding the early years of the club. Other documents heavily used were the "Minute Books" of the club's committee meetings, those of the Directors of the Gloucester Athletic and Football Ground Company Limited, set up in 1891 to purchase and manage the Kingsholm ground, and minutes of its Annual General Meetings. These are referenced respectively as *GRFC Minutes*, *Directors' Minutes* and *Grounds Co. Minutes of AGMs*. Other documents, for example correspondence regarding particular issues, accounts ledgers and private collections of memorabilia and cuttings, were used but on a less regular basis than the "official" administrative documents. The contents and characteristics of the latter group of documents were accorded the most attention on the basis of their longitudinal consistency as records of decision-making and action. Additional documents used were minutes of committee meetings, held by the Gloucestershire Records Office, relating to the formation of the Gloucestershire (County) Rugby Football Union and associated bodies (for example, a Referee Society, Disciplinary Committee and Gloucestershire Schools Union). These are referenced as *County Union Minutes*, *Society of Referees Minutes*, *Disciplinary Committee Minutes* and *Schools Union Minutes*, respectively.

Interpretation of texts of this nature is not without its problems. They are produced in a specific set of historical and social circumstances, often different to those in which they are being interpreted (Hakim, 1992: 36-46; May, 1993: 133-151). Hodder (1998: 112) points to the nub of this difficulty, suggesting that there exists:

a tension between the concrete nature of the written word... and the... potential for rereading meanings in new contexts... Text and context are in a continual state of tension... saying and doing things differently through time.

Therefore there are issues regarding the generation and interpretation of data from this type of resource. Firstly, the administrative purpose of minutes is to provide records primarily for internal use to record the basis of and to sanction action. The "audience" for whom they are intended is not the researcher.

Consequently, although they are formal records, there may also be informal, unrecorded actions undertaken by individuals “on trust”, or “ways of doing things” by the committee members that are not captured by these data. Secondly, documentary material of this type is a record of communication between individuals attempting to come to a consensus about achieving specific objectives. They are often a record of post-hoc responses to issues and problems that have emerged rather than an exploration of their causal influences. Thus, additional research is required to understand the reasons why issues arose and why action was required. Thirdly, some of the minutes had been deliberately “edited” in order to truncate the recording of lengthy discussions. This was particularly frustrating as it can be reasonably assumed that “lengthy discussions” are indicative of the existence of contentious issues and solutions. In consequence information on who held particular views, their justification for them and the nature of the conflict is often unrecorded. Finally, there was an observable variation in the quality, consistency and completeness of minutes over time as they became more perfunctory and less detailed. Care has been taken in interpreting evidence from these sources to attempt to understand their meaning in the context of the period in which they were produced, their purpose, and “audience”. Despite these issues regarding the quality and reliability of this form of research evidence raised by Robson (1993: 284-5), Yin (1994: 80-82) and May (1993: 133-151), they provided what may be taken to be an accurate record of the social reality under investigation in terms of participants, issues, actions and preferences of committee members elected to administer the club’s affairs .

In addition to documents contained within the confines of the club, the “postal search” services of Companies House were commissioned to obtain documentation relating to the Gloucester Athletic Football Ground Company Limited. This search resulted in the acquisition of a summary of the initial shareholding in the company in 1891 along with details of the first group of Directors of the company. These documents contained the names, addresses, occupations and number of shares held by the initial shareholders and Directors. Additional material used included “souvenir” publications of 1891 (published by the *Citizen* to commemorate the opening of the Kingsholm ground) and 1923

(published by the club to celebrate its “Golden Jubilee”), and material from the transcript of a lecture given in 1951 by C. Granville Clutterbuck, at the Wheatsheaf Hall in Gloucester, containing reminiscences of his seventy year association with the club. (The latter source is referenced as *Clutterbuck Lecture*).

Material from this “base” was linked to and followed up by the use of other, mainly desk-based, research methods. Typically this involved using 1881 and 1891 census data to identify the residence and occupation of players and officials; maps of Gloucester (*Map of Gloucester*, 1896; GL 65/21 and *List of Spirit and Beer Premises*, 1887; GL 65/43) to ascertain parish boundaries, locations of major industries, residential areas and public availability of alcohol. The *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire* (referenced as VCH) and other local histories relating to the last quarter of the 19th century were also used. These are held at either Gloucester Library’s “Gloucestershire Collection” or the Gloucestershire Records Office.

2. Local and National Newspapers

Local newspapers, the *Gloucester Journal*, *Gloucester Citizen*, *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic* and *Gloucestershire Magpie* (referred to hereinafter as *Journal*, *Citizen*, *Graphic* and *Magpie* respectively) were the main source of corroborative and additional research data. Indeed, they were the only available resource for these purposes. The *Journal* and *Citizen* are both held on microfilm at Gloucester Library. The *Journal*, a weekly, eight-page broadsheet costing three pence, provided all the data gathered on the club from newspaper sources from 1873 to 1876. Indeed, it was in this newspaper that, on September 13th 1873, an announcement was made by one of the founder members of Gloucester FC of the intention to set up a rugby club in the city. Brief reports of early fixtures of the club, names of players and the proceedings of the first two Annual General Meetings (AGMs) were extracted from this source. From 1876 onwards the *Citizen*, into which the *Journal* was subsequently subsumed, was used as the major resource. The *Citizen*’s first issue on the 1st of May 1876 was priced at one penny and, as the City’s first daily local newspaper, was aimed at a mass circulation. Reporting of local sports, including the Gloucester Football

Club, as it was known at the time, increased and in the early 1890s a Saturday "Sports Edition" was published. The *Citizen*, and the *Journal*, reported on the club's fixtures, and included a "Seasons Review" section and reports of the club's AGM's. The growth of local rugby and fixtures between local clubs were also reported. Reporting on Gloucester FC generally took the form of lengthy and detailed narrative, along with occasional editorial comment, and associated correspondence. This information was used primarily to extract issue-based material, for example, regarding levels of violence, local growth of interest in rugby, issues arising from AGMs, attitudes to competitions and so on. Cashman (1995: 170) points to the value of this type of research material. He observes that:

The sporting press did more than record and disseminate information about an increasing number of sporting events: it interpreted and explained them, it invested them with shape, meaning and moral worth. The sporting press helped to construct and legitimate the new sporting universe that was organised sport. It created ideals and values for players and even defined appropriate behaviour for spectators. It whetted the appetite of sporting followers to consume more sport.

Each week's publications during the rugby season were reviewed from the club's first season in 1873 to the conclusion of the 1913/14 season. Particular attention was given to the Saturday sports editions and pre-and post-season "reviews". Substantial amounts of information and correspondence relating to local rugby, were also found in the mid-week issues. The *Citizen* provided a rich source of data in this regard. This was largely due to the intimate relations established between its sports editorial staff, initially H. V. Jones, a former Gloucester player, and W. B. Bailey who, from the early 1890s, reported on the club's fixtures and affairs for over forty years.

The *Journal* also proved useful for more general contextual factors regarding the development of Gloucester as a city. References from the *Journal* on specific themes had already been collated. Those drawn on for this research included "Industry, Trade and Commerce", "Entertainments, Events and Sport", and "General" classifications. These references spanned the period from 1850 to

1900. There appears to have been no academic purpose to this activity which library staff confirmed as being undertaken by a retired man in his spare time. These references identified the relevant editions of the *Journal*. These were then accessed on micro-fiche and used in conjunction with other local histories. Other local media publications were of marginal benefit to the compilation of data. The *Magpie* was only published for two years between 1891 and 1893 and was essentially a weekly “pictorial journal”. Along with the *Graphic*, which ceased publication in the mid-1920s, it provided numerous sketches, cartoons and photographs of teams and players.

There are issues regarding the reliability of research data from these sources. On the one hand Williams (1997: 300) suggests that the local newspaper is:

Produced for a known community on a basis of common interest and common knowledge, the local newspaper is not governed by a “mass” interpretation. Its communication, in fact, rests on a community.

Thus, the reporting of rugby football as the dominant winter sport in Gloucester and of the fortunes of the club as representatives of community would have reflected and contributed to an affective resonance amongst the readership. The status and priority given to rugby football in sports coverage by the *Citizen* can be seen as significant evidence of an historically rooted “lived experience” of a community. This, if anything, may well have dampened any tendency by the early journalists to take a uncritical or even eulogising stance if it was at odds with the perceptions of their audiences. On the other hand, it must be recognised that the bourgeois values and gentlemanly ideals deeply embedded in rugby football during the latter part of the 19th century would have been attractive to the middle-class proprietors of local newspapers. It is to be suspected that such behaviours were eulogised through their publications and choice of sports journalists. Care has taken to contextualise data from this source during the process of open coding.

All of these sources are to varying degrees commercial products. Whilst they do carry factual information relevant for use as research data, these texts do need to

engage their respective audiences to maintain the commercial viability of the publication. In this way the selection of “facts” and the interpretation of them by journalists and authors may well contain varying degrees of bias. In order to ensure the necessary degree of caution in using information from these sources, a “sifting” framework was devised. This involved taking into account firstly, the target audience and the purposes of the publication as an indicator of potential selectivity and “embellishment” of information and, secondly, the stance taken by the author mainly through the use of value-laden language in the text. In this way it was anticipated that it would be possible to strip out some interpretative bias. This “interpretation” was not discarded but recognised as being an indicator of conflict, that may or may not have been representative of a specific group, warranting further investigation. Finally, corroboration from other sources was prioritised where data appeared to suggest that significant conflict was occurring.

Research data from administrative records and commercially produced sources were included into the coding categories only after the quality of the data was assessed against four criteria suggested by May (1993: 143-144). These were firstly, the *authority* of the documents as genuine records of events. Secondly, their *credibility* as being, as far as possible, undistorted and, to a significant degree, free of error and omission. Thirdly, the *representativeness* of the document as being “typical” for its specific purpose and finally, its *meaning*, that is the degree of clarity and comprehensibility to the researcher in the social and historical context of its construction.

Organisation of Content.

Each chapter is organised to represent a particular stage in the development of Gloucester FC from its origins in 1873 to the end of the 1913/14 season. There is no discrete beginning or end to each stage, processes are continuous with the roots of a phase in the club’s development lying in the previous phase. However, turning points or “events” have been used to identify where particular identifiable stages have reached a climax. As Abrams (1982: 192) points out, “events” act as markers of transition, they are, “a moment of becoming at which action and structure meet”. Thus, an event is:

a portentous outcome; it is a transformation device between past and future; it has eventuated from the past and it signifies for the future. It is... a happening to which cultural significance has successfully been assigned... Events... are our principal points of access to the structuring of social action in time. (Abrams, 1992: 191)

Events, in this sense, occur during tension-laden periods characterised by changes in relative power ratios, where the conflicts between continuity and change are worked out as new meanings are fought over and negotiated by groups in the figuration.

The first chapter takes as its starting point the formation of the club in 1873, and identifies the motivations and social backgrounds of its founder members. These origins are viewed in the broader contexts of the stage reached in the development of rugby football and the social patterning of leisure and recreation in Gloucester. These are further placed in the context of the stage reached in the economic, political and social structure of the city. In this way the formation of the Gloucester Football Club can be placed in the pattern of social interdependencies as they existed at the time. The second chapter aims to produce an understanding of the process of diffusion of rugby football in the city and the factors contributing to its emergence as an element of popular culture. This phase is seen as occurring from 1873 to around 1890.

The 1890/91 season marks a significant point in the development of the club. At the end of this season the club was forced to find a new ground by their landlords, the Gloucester Cricket Club. This ultimately led to the formation of the Gloucester Athletic and Football Ground Company Limited (the "Grounds Co."), financed by an issue of shares taken up by members of the local community. The third and fourth chapters cover aspects of Gloucester's commercial development as a gate-taking club, a process that had begun to emerge prior to the 1891 eviction from the Spa field. Examined alongside this development are "professionalising" trends in rugby football occurring during this period, a growth in competitive structures involving local rugby clubs in the city, and responses to concerns regarding player violence and disorderly behaviour by spectators. This

period, from 1891 up to the First World War, is seen as crucial in the development of Gloucester RFC's "cultural paradigm". Significant and deeply embedded components of this paradigm would, ultimately, become unsustainable as the commercialisation, and attendant professionalisation, of Rugby Union football in England accelerated during the 1980s and early 1990s.

CHAPTER ONE

The Social Origins of the Gloucester Football Club

This chapter is organised into three sections. The first focuses on the social origins of the club, specifically the backgrounds and motivations of the founding members. The formation of a rugby club in Gloucester is placed in the context of the stage reached, at that time, in the development of Rugby Union football. The changing structure of education in Gloucester is introduced as part of an explanation of the social origins of the club. The second section explores the processes involved in the social patterning of leisure and recreation participation in Gloucester. The influences of middle-class groups and of religious observance are examined here. The third section widens the context of the study in identifying the structure of economic, political and social organisation in Gloucester in order to shed light on the network of interdependencies characterising social relations at this time. The analysis will be made dynamic by reviewing the processes involved in the shifting of relative power-balances as a background context to the exploration of the social and historical development of Gloucester Football Club undertaken in subsequent chapters.

I

The process of formally constituting “The Gloucester Football Club” began with an announcement in the *Journal* of the 13th September 1873. It read as follows:

A meeting will be held at the Spread Eagle Hotel on Monday evening at half-past seven for the purpose of enrolling members for a football club when a committee, Captain and other officers will be appointed. Persons wishing to become members will please attend: J. P. Riddiford. Secretary, pro. Tem. 9th Sept. 1873.

About 45 people responded and in the following week's edition it was announced: “A football club has been formed in this city - the season's operations to begin at the Spa on the first Tuesday in next month” (*Journal* 20.9.1873). It appears that “football”, of a relatively unorganised and unspecified form, had been played on

the open land of the "Spa" and the adjacent "Park" area, half a mile south-west of the city centre, for some time. In 1864 the Town Council Parks Committee "altogether prohibited" football in the park and restricted, because of danger to other users, cricket and all other ball games after 9.00pm. They were, however, "pleased to see people enjoyed themselves at games" (*Journal* 5.3.1864).

The lack of organisation of these games is hardly surprising in the context of that stage in the development of football forms. It was only a year earlier, in 1863, that the bifurcation of football into Association and Rugby forms, over the issues of "hacking" and "running-in", took place. The formation of the Rugby Football Union (RFU) and the drafting of rules which were to govern the playing of the game, did not occur until 1871 (Dunning and Sheard, 1979:108). Moreover, industrial growth in Gloucester up to the mid-1800s had attracted labour from predominantly agricultural communities. It is plausible, therefore, that some of the traditions of "mob" or "folk" football, although in decline in rural areas, may have been brought into an urban context by these groups (Dunning and Sheard, 1979). Tensions existed between social groups playing "football" type games, middle-class liberal reformers pressing for alternative forms of recreation of a more "rational" kind (Brailsford, 1992), and members of the Town Council. These were mainly due to the lack of organisation of the games, the use of public land and the need to confine such games to controlled spaces. Given that games of football were being played in Gloucester at least nine years before the formation of Gloucester Football Club, what were the influences that led to formal organisation in 1873 rather than around 1864?

There appears to have been no successful organising or motivating group for either code in Gloucester up to 1873, in contrast to other towns and cities that already had Association and Rugby football clubs. A more adequate explanation must, therefore, be located in an analysis of the specific (con)figuration of social groups associated with Gloucester's economic and social development. The social backgrounds of some of the 45 playing members and administrative personnel who attended the initial meeting give some clues. The ten players who participated in the first fixture against the boys of College School are recorded as being F. Hartley (Captain), J. P. Riddiford, W. A. Lucy, E. Lynch-Blosse, A. King, John Boughton, W. A. Boughton, J. A. Balfour, R. Ring and R. McKenzie (*Journal*

11.10.1873). Francis Hartley was a London solicitor who had come to Gloucester that year to work for the local firm of solicitors, Messrs. Haines and Riddiford. He was also ex-captain of the Flamingoes club, founded in 1865. The entrance fee to the club was 5/- with an additional 2/6d annual subscription. Their ground in Battersea was, according to the information given in the "Football Annuals" of the time, five minutes from Battersea Pier by steamboat. They were reputed to be one of the best London teams of the day (Souvenir publication, 1891). Two of his brothers also played rugby football and participated in a Flamingoes team he brought down from London in February 1876 to play against Gloucester in the final year of his three season tenure as Captain of the club (*Journal* 12.2.1876).

Francis Hartley was present at the first General Meeting of the Rugby Football Union (RFU) at the Pall Mall Restaurant on the 26th January 1871 and was elected onto the committee of the newly formed RFU to help draw up the "Laws of the Game". Little is known of his educational background, but his occupation as a solicitor and his London address at 31, Warwick Square, SW. confirms a middle-class background. Francis Hartley and his brother E. B. Hartley are singled out in successive *Football Annuals* between 1868 to 1871 as leading players in the rugby game, both being described as "useful half-backs" and "good runners". Francis Hartley appears to have been one of the leading players of his day amongst the London clubs. He would, in addition, have derived some status from his position as a founder member of the RFU. The 1869 *Football Annual* notes that the Flamingoes played the "Rugby" form of football "without tripping or hacking". Hacking, the practice of kicking an opponent's shins, was one of the contentious issues both in the bifurcation of football into Association and Rugby forms in 1863, and in the development of the RFU in 1871. It seems reasonable to suggest that Francis Hartley, as a member of the committee that drew up the RFU's "*Proposed Laws of the Game*", would have supported Law 57 that "No 'hacking' or 'hacking over' or 'tripping-up' shall be allowed under any circumstances." (Underlined in the hand-written original document, RFU Library, Twickenham). Francis Hartley's association with the formation of Gloucester's rugby club can therefore be seen as important in diffusing an enhanced understanding of the laws of rugby football to participants and a set of ethical values opposed to the more violent aspects of rugby football (Dunning and

Sheard, 1979: 123; Owen, 1955; RFU Library, Twickenham). He may also have influenced the development of playing skills and techniques, in particular Gloucester's early reputation as a side skilled in the "short-passing" game.

The available data on the social backgrounds of other founding members are patchy. Nevertheless the following is fairly well established. J. P. Riddiford was a partner with the firm of solicitors employing Hartley; W. A. Lucy was the son of W. C. Lucy, a corn merchant from Stratford-upon-Avon; John Boughton was a solicitor and W. A. Boughton, his brother and a resident of Cardiff, was also a corn merchant. Of the committee, J. Bryan became a Magistrates Clerk in Gloucester; and H. Jewesbury was a banker's clerk. E. T. Gardom became the first clerk appointed by the Gloucester County Council. He was originally from Stoke-on-Trent where he captained an Association football team (Clutterbuck, 1951; *Obituaries Collection*, Gloucester Library; *1881 Census Index*, Gloucester Library). A number of founding members and players were active in local churches, particularly the Anglican Church. The Crypt appears to have been the place of worship of a significant number of these men and their families. In 1879 a "friendly" game of rugby football was organised between the club and representatives of this church. There were, in the church team, six men who were associated with the founding of the club and its early teams (*Secretary's Notebook* 1879/80). This may not necessarily mean that all attended this church. They may have been asked to participate on the basis of personal friendship. However it does provide additional evidence that founding members formed strong "we-group" associations in a variety of social, religious and commercial activities. Clearly the Gloucester club was the product of a close network of, in local circles, relatively high status individuals involved in the legal profession, local administration and trade.

The network of commercial and professional interdependency ties also extended into other elements of their recreational lives. Riddiford, Balfour, W. A. Lucy, Bryan and both Boughtons all played for Gloucester Cricket Club, an overlap of playing personnel that persisted through this early period in the club's history. Two early captains of the football club, J. F. Brown (Captain 1876 to 1882/3) and H. J. Boughton (1883/4 to 1884/5), both captained Gloucester Cricket Club. The cricket club's professional, A. F. Hughes, also played for a number of years at

Full-Back. The cricket club was not the most prestigious in Gloucestershire, but did host County matches once every summer at the "Spa" ground in the city. The cricket club held the tenancy of the Spa ground, granted to them by the Town Council, and in turn sub-let the field to the newly formed Gloucester Football Club during the winter months (*Town Council Minutes*, 1879/80). Through this social network, the newly formed football club was able to find a permanent home ground fairly swiftly. As the narrative of Gloucester Football Club's development through this early period unfolds, four elements of this relationship between the cricket and football clubs will be highlighted. Firstly, the impact it had on the degree of social exclusiveness at the football club. Secondly, the network of support which could be drawn on when the football club was threatened with eviction from the Spa by the Town Council in 1879. Thirdly, the limits the sub-letting agreement placed on the commercial expansion of the club and finally, the nature of the "conflict of interests" which contributed to the football club moving from the Spa.

In summary, the formation of the club was undertaken by a mix of young men developing their careers as they rose through the ranks of the lower middle-classes, along with self-made businessmen, merchants, solicitors and clerks. In part their motivation was to continue their summer association into the winter months through "healthy" and "manly" exercise. In this respect, there were similarities with the origins of a number of other rugby and association football clubs (Williams, 1989; Dunning and Sheard, 1979). The analysis of the club's social origins assists in explaining why rugby football should have become organised at Gloucester when the general trend in the provinces was for the adoption of the Association code, with its simpler rules, more open play and greater national popularity as an adult game (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 125-127).

The desire for peer-group association may well have accounted for the social exclusivity of the club, at least in its first two or three seasons. The initial cost of membership was a total of ten shillings; five shillings entrance fee and five shillings annual membership. This fee would have excluded most working-class men. A skilled workman at the local Wagon Works only earned around £1/8/- a week and the lowest grade of police constable around £1/- (*Journal* 5.2.1876).

In addition, practice games were scheduled for Fridays, and of the first fixtures played that season (against College or “Kings” School, Hereford, Frampton and Cirencester) only one, Hereford, was played on a Saturday (*Journal* 11.10.1873, 8.11.1873; 22.11.1873; 29.11.1873). Thus, it is unlikely that working class groups would have been able to participate to any significant degree due to constraints of finance and time. However, there is evidence that early on there was some concern regarding the impact of the high membership fees. At the club’s first AGM the entrance fee of 5/- was abolished, probably as a response to the club only being able to raise ten players for their first fixture against College School and fourteen against Cirencester (*Journal* 10.11.1874). The playing members’ subscription of 5/- was still, however, relatively expensive for working class men. The extension of the fixture list over the next two seasons increased the need for a larger number of players, and helped to regularise Saturdays as match days. As a consequence, one of the structural barriers to the participation of working class groups was reduced, if only marginally. The first AGM, held at the Spread Eagle Hotel on October 3rd 1894, also illustrates a feature of the familiarity of the middle-class groups at the club with capitalist values. A “satisfactory balance sheet” was presented and it was observed that “the club was in a prosperous condition” (*Journal* 10.11.1874). Thus, from the beginning, there was an emphasis on the principles of sound commercial and financial management, a thread that runs through a substantial part of Gloucester Football Club’s history.

The first year’s fixtures also illustrate another thread in the club’s development, that of its relationship with the local educational system. The College (or King’s) School, against whom the first fixture was played, could trace its origins to 681 AD. By 1866 it was a school of 96 boys, of whom 52 were boarders. The five headmasters between 1872 and 1886 were all Oxbridge men and it is highly likely that they would have brought with them some knowledge of football. That all but one of these Headmasters was an Oxford man suggests that the form favoured might have been closer to the “Rugby” than the “Association” game. Rugby football appears to have been played at the school up to the 1890s when, after a player from a visiting school broke his leg, it was replaced by the Association form (Whiting, 1990). Thus, the College School provided

Gloucester's first opponents on account of their familiarity with the already complex rules of rugby football. Furthermore, there is evidence from the school register, and attendance at an Old Boys Reunion Dinner in 1895, that founding players, J. A. Balfour, J. P. Riddiford, and the brothers J. and W. A. Boughton, were "Old Boys" of the school (Whiting, 1990; *Kings School Register*, 1860-1885, Gloucester Library). This suggests a very strong old boy influence and that the founding of the club was driven to a large extent by the desire of these young men to continue their school association into adult life through sport. The first fixture against College School involved a game between the boys of the school and its former pupils, the ten of Gloucester winning with "8 tries at goal", two of which were kicked. The boys from the College School we are told, "Played well in the scrimmages in which they generally had the best of it" and their defeat was accounted for by the fact that they were playing against "older and more weighty opponents" (*Journal* 11.011873). Another College School fixture against the boys of Newent Grammar School (10 miles outside Gloucester), and one between Gloucester and the newly formed Newent football club in 1878, suggests a further local expansion of rugby football involving local schools. Other fixtures in the founding year included ones against Hereford who, like Gloucester had a "College" and a Cathedral school, and Cirencester, with its Royal Agricultural College. A later, regular fixture against Cheltenham's "Training College", demonstrate that the very early fixtures were significantly influenced by links with educational institutions where there was, at least, a rudimentary knowledge of rugby football.

The Crypt Grammar School, founded in 1528, also played a significant part in the early history of the Gloucester Club. As a day school in 1870 it accommodated 136 boys at fees of between £3 and £6 per annum. A reorganisation of fee-paying schools in Gloucester in 1882 established the pre-eminent status of the Crypt Grammar School. By that time the fees had risen to between £5 to £10 per annum for the 160 boys, including 40 boarders, who attended. Fifteen scholarships were set aside for boys from the lower grade Sir Thomas Rich's School (fees at that school were £2 to £4 per annum), and "exhibitions to University" were awarded annually to the three best scholars. The school did not have a games master at this time or its own playing field. Games-playing

appears to have been largely under the control of the senior boys. Cricket was played during the summer but was not made compulsory until 1921. The school also possessed a fives-court and quoits bed. The Headmaster, the Reverend C. Naylor, appointed in 1876, and the second master, the Reverend J. Cumming, were both graduates of Cambridge and may have favoured the Association code. There is no evidence that there was any formal imposition of either football code, rather there appears to have been an encouragement of healthy exercise with a significant degree of roughness permitted (Lepper, 1989). The rugby variant was certainly played by the Crypt's schoolboys in the late-1870s with the boys, apparently, being responsible for its organisation. The rising status of the Crypt School in the locality was used by Gloucester FC to overturn the banning of all types of football on the Spa by the Town Council in 1879, a ban that would have required both the club and the school to find alternative playing fields. The nature of the incident that led to the ban will be recounted in greater detail in the next chapter, but for the moment it is worth noting that The Crypt's Headmaster, Rev. Naylor, formed part of the club's deputation to the Town Council. The boys of the Crypt School who were instrumental in the collecting of 2,500 signatures for a petition against the Town Council's decision, also played football on the Spa in the late 1870s with the permission of Gloucester FC (*Journal* 4.10.1879). By the end of the century there is evidence that socially aspiring middle-class families were sending their sons to the Crypt.

The lower status school, Sir Thomas Rich's, was originally constituted in 1666 to provide education for "poor boys" between the ages of 10 and 16 years of age, 6 of whom were to be apprenticed yearly. Like the College and Crypt schools it had no playing field for cricket and football. In the 1880s, as was characteristic of elementary schools of the time, emphasis was placed on drill rather than team games as a form of physical activity (Watkins, undated). It is unlikely, therefore, that this school would have had a significant influence on the early development of rugby football in Gloucester.

By the 1880s the majority of the middle-class schools preferred the Association form, a consequence perhaps of the social and educational backgrounds of the masters and contemporary concerns regarding the relatively rougher rugby variant. By the early to mid-1890s the three grammar schools, College, Sir

Thomas Rich's and the Crypt, were involved in regular competition against each other under association rules, the Crypt generally being the premier side (*Journal* 4.3.1896). However, talented players would have found it relatively easy to switch codes, their soccer skills being easily transferable to the rugby code where "dribbling", that is moving forward with the ball close to the feet, was still a significant element in the pattern of play. Despite the dominance of soccer in the local schools, the "early start" that the organisation of rugby football in Gloucester enjoyed over its rival association code enabled a strong sense of community identity to emerge. In large part, the wider network of opponents, particularly from Wales and the Midlands against whom a reputation was being established, may have been a factor in the motivations of players who, as adults, chose rugby football rather than "soccer" as their principal winter sport.

Education for working class children was organised by the Gloucester School Board from 1876. Prior to this, religious organisations providing churches and schools in the working class districts had undertaken a voluntary system of provision. The Church continued to have a significant influence on the School Board, a compulsory administrative body under the 1870 Education Act (VCH, Vol. IV: 201, 209-210). It is unlikely that young working class boys would have learnt to play rugby in these schools during the 1870's. A lack of substantial playing areas at the schools makes it likely that working-class boys would have learnt to play rugby football by watching Gloucester FC, and would have played a rough, unorganised form of football in open areas, including the streets. The growing popularity of the game amongst working-class boys was, to a degree, formalised in the 1880's through organisation by church groups and philanthropic organisations such as the Young Men's Religious Instruction Society and the "Gordon League". The latter, set up in 1888 by Agnes Jane Waddy to commemorate the death at Khartoum of General Gordon, was primarily for young boys who did not regularly attend church services. Athletic sports, including rugby football, were a major attraction and it was not long before they were providing players for the city club, county and country. In summary, for working-class boys the opportunity to participate in a winter team sport was provided, in large part, by voluntary religious and quasi-religious groups of middle-class volunteers rather than through the local schools.

This review of the pattern of educational provision in Gloucester in the last quarter of the 19th century suggests that the organisation and development of rugby football in Gloucester conforms to a large degree to the general pattern of class bias. The middle-class schools provided opportunities for and encouraged team games amongst their boys, the university backgrounds of the masters influencing the choice of game. However, the sensitivity to incidents of accidental injury and the associated roughness of rugby football were factors that had an impact upon the adoption of the rugby or association variants. Working-class schools generally did not organise team sports for their boys, the influence of religious groups placing more emphasis on education in the schools and only indirectly organising local teams as the popularity of rugby grew in the city. One important consequence of this early pattern of development for Gloucester FC needs to be highlighted. It is reasonable to suggest that the adoption of soccer as the main team game by the Gloucester United Endowed (or "Grammar") Schools, (The Crypt and Sir Thomas Rich's) in part assisted in the development of rugby football amongst working-class groups in the late 1800's. It did so because the adoption of rugby by working-class groups was a relatively uncontested development by local middle-class schools who had turned to soccer. Although the Gloucester club did draw on a pool of "footballers" from these schools, from the 1880s onwards the club came to rely substantially on players from locally organised rugby clubs dominated by players drawn from the working classes.

II

A further and interlocking element in the figuration of relationships that assists in explaining the development of rugby football in Gloucester is the pattern of leisure and recreation in the city during this time period. This pattern, to a significant degree, was the outcome of processes associated with the development of Gloucester, in particular its economic and political organisation, as well as topographical changes.

The pattern of sport, recreation and leisure activities in Gloucester in the mid to late 19th century, whilst diverse and growing was, to a significant degree, socially differentiated. The organisation of many sports and recreations was dominated by bourgeois groups who were not only providing leisure and recreational opportunities for their own and other social groups, but were also opposed to certain types of leisure-associated behaviour, for example, drinking. They were also contesting the exclusive recreational use of open spaces, in particular the Spa and Park areas. This brief introduction hints at the subtleties of the inter-relationships between the social groups that were responsible for the pattern of recreational activity in Gloucester as the city developed as a commercial and manufacturing centre. A growing working-class population was coming to exert a distinctive influence on social and cultural life, and it is the struggles and conflicts between and within social groups over sport and recreational activities that will be the theme of this section

The aristocracy and county landowners generally found the attractions of nearby Cheltenham more appealing than those of Gloucester. Two influences led this group to distance themselves from a growing industrial working class and, more particularly, the mercantile class in Gloucester. They were the lateness of Cheltenham's industrial development relative to that in Gloucester and the growth of "aristocratic society" in Cheltenham which took place around the turn of the century (Hart, undated). The influence of the gentry on the development of sports and recreations in Gloucester was marginal, confined to the organising and sponsoring of the annual "Root, Fruit and Grain" show and the Music Festival (VCH. Vol IV: 215-6).

The influence of the middle-classes is more complex and varied due to the differentiation of groups within this class. Broad, but overlapping, distinctions can be drawn between groups defined by religious observance, mainly Protestant Nonconformists and Anglicans, a professional mercantile and entrepreneurial group, and clerks who were often rising young men in professional, mercantile and local government occupations. The alliances and interdependencies that drew a diverse middle class together, as participators and organisers, had a major impact on the development of sport and recreation in Gloucester.

The most popular forms of religious observance in Gloucester were Anglican and Protestant Nonconformist, the most popular of the latter being the Wesleyan Methodist and Baptist sects. Their theological basis, encompassing values and beliefs that eulogised the sanctity of labour and the accumulation of material wealth, would have appealed to many of the leading industrialists and merchants of the time. There are three points to be made here. Firstly, the tenets of the Protestant ethic, with its emphasis on disciplined labour and the eschewing of idleness and pleasure, would have contributed to a legitimisation of the accumulation of material wealth by middle-class groups. However, this wealth could not be enjoyed for its own sake or find its social manifestation in displays of vanity. Instead, it was often used in some measure for local projects that demonstrated this individual's fitness for entry into the Kingdom of Heaven and reinforced their social status amongst the local population. Secondly, the sanctification of labour implicit within the work ethic would have been partially instrumental in the formation of relationships between this group and sections of the urban-industrial working class. It is reasonable to suggest that this latter group, through their attendance at church and their regular and sober working habits, would have earned respect from their employers. However, as Hargreaves (1986: 28-9) points out:

Tensions were generated within Methodism, especially within the sects, between on the one hand the theological tenets of submissiveness and the sanctification of labour, so dear to the hearts of authority and employers, and on the other the independence and self respect conferred by sect organisation in particular.

Therefore, to a degree, through membership of these religious organisations, sections of the working class and industrial-mercantile capitalist groups were drawn together through a shared value system. Finally, it is unlikely that either group fully sacrificed the impulsive enjoyment of life for rational asceticism, or that this was a basis for class conciliation between these groups. Working-class groups were generally regarded as being more prone in their leisure to lapsing into, as Weber (1976:167) puts it, “Spontaneous expression of undisciplined impulses.” Nevertheless, Protestantism was a powerful influence in contouring bonds of interdependency between groups in Gloucester.

During the last third of the 19th century parochial life in the city began to flourish (*Journal* 25.9.1888). Attendance at religious worship appears to have been significant. A “Religious Census of Gloucester” undertaken by the *Journal* in 1881 reveals that, on Sunday 13th of November, fifty-three per cent of the city’s population attended religious services, the majority, over thirty per cent, attending evening services (*Journal* 19.11.1881). Table 1.1 below shows Church of England and Nonconformist services to be the most popular, each with approximately equal total attendance of just over 7,800, and identifies the popularity of evening service.

Table 1.1 Comparison of attendance at Church of England, Nonconformist and denominational places of religious worship (Sunday Nov. 13th 1881).

| | Morning | Evening |
|--------------------|---------|---------|
| Church of England | 3662 | 4203 |
| Nonconformists | 2957 | 4870 |
| Mission Hall, etc. | 715 | 1988 |
| Totals | 7835 | 11061 |

(Adapted from “*Religious Census of Gloucester*” *Gloucester Journal* 19.11.1881)

The *Journal* attempted to identify a class basis to religious attendance indicated by these figures. It claimed that the “upper classes” preferred the morning service and the “poorer classes” the more heavily attended evening services. The popularity of the evening service for the working-classes, particularly at Nonconformist places of worship, may have been part of a Sunday leisure pattern. Attendance at church services provided them with “entertainment” and the promise of further amusement, such as picnics and excursions. The *Journal* (19.11.1881) also suggested that “special services” were a common way of attempting to attract non-attenders. For example, the Salvation Army changed its venue for one week to the skating rink and, as a consequence, doubled its attendance.

The activities of the churches and chapels were characterised by a continuance of earlier missionary work and school building in working class areas, the attempted control of prostitution and drunkenness, and the organisation of sports and recreation as counter attractions to “un-Godly” secular amusements. These were facilitated by alliances between Anglican and Nonconformist churches and between these and wealthy merchants. For example, the merchant W. C. Lucy instigated and financed the building of a new church for St. Catherine’s parish. W. A. Lucy, his son, was a founder member of Gloucester FC and played cricket for the city. St. Catherine’s Football Club, one of the first parish-based rugby clubs to be formed in the city, was founded in 1878 by the local clergy and remained under their stewardship until it disbanded in 1896. The club’s President was the Reverend Canon Mayne and its Secretary and Treasurer, the Reverend J. H. Waugh. The late 1870’s and early 1880’s saw many rugby clubs in Gloucester organised along parish lines, for example, St. Lukes Red Cross and St. James Rovers. The educational and university backgrounds of the clergy would have meant that they had some acquaintance with the “rules” of rugby football. A perceived need to provide counter attractions to the “evils of drink” and to provide forms of “rational recreation” for working class groups with a growing financial surplus and more time for leisure, may have been instrumental in their encouragement of local clubs. The alliance between “trade” and “religion”

meant that projects initiated by the clergy were often sustained by finance from mercantile groups.

In the light of these data it is possible to suggest some features of the role of the churches in organising sports and recreations. There is some evidence to support Cunningham's (1980: 180-3) contention that the clergy may well have encouraged the formation of parish based rugby clubs, both as a response to the growing popularity of the game and as a means of attracting non-church-attending parishioners. It is also likely that, as was the case with St. Catherine's, they took on some of the organisational functions of running the clubs. There are three other examples of clubs and societies formed by religious groups. The Young Men's Religious Instruction Society (Y.M.R.I.S), the Theological College and the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A), all had rugby clubs associated with them. In these instances the influence of the clergy was more direct, particularly in sustaining the ideological basis of sport as part of the development of the Christian gentleman. Schoolmasters and members of the clergy were also instrumental in the formation, in 1886, of the Gloucestershire Football Association and, in 1889, of the Gloucester Association Football Club. They also played a dominant role in establishing the Association code in local schools during the 1880s (Hunt, 1949: 10).

The disassociation of the clergy from local parish-based rugby clubs may have occurred when inter-parish rivalry between clubs drew in rougher, non-church-attending working-class elements as spectators and players, and when the behaviours accompanying these highly competitive inter-community contests became inconsistent with those of "Christian gentlemen". The diffusion of rugby football into the parishes was often marked by fierce rivalry and involved an ethical change from emphasis on the benefits of participation in sports to one where competitive success was more highly valued. Intra-community rivalry was also part of a wider inter-community rivalry that was beginning to contour relations between Gloucester FC and their opponents representing other towns and cities, as the club's fixtures and status increased during the last two decades of the 19th century.

It is important not to over-emphasise the role of the clergy. It is likely that parish and clergy organisation was a convenient focus for working-class groups to organise their sports. The evidence of St. Catherine's suggests it was loss of players and not the withdrawal of the clergy as an organising group that led to its disbandment (*Citizen* 17.10.1896). The revival of church life in Gloucester during the late 1860's coincided with, and contributed to, the growth of popular sport, in particular the adoption of rugby football amongst working-class groups. The focus on organised sport by the well-established Anglican Church, and to a lesser extent by Nonconformist groups, offered a convenient locus for working-class groups to engage in the playing of rugby. Initially, the local clergy, generally the Anglicans, appeared both willing and able to adopt an organising role. Indeed as Cunningham (1980: 180) points out, "Secular leisure had become recognised as a separate and necessary part of life, and one in which prowess could confer both distinction and respectability". He also suggests, perhaps a little deterministically, that, "Leisure called the tune and the churches danced to it" Cunningham (1980: 182). Thus, those members of the clergy with sporting ability and experience of "secular leisure" were of considerable value in drawing in new members to their churches. The role of the clergy in the diffusion of sports in Gloucester was nevertheless significant and may have been undertaken in the context of a secularisation of religious life.

In Gloucester the diffusion of rugby would bring about changes in the influence members of the clergy could exert over their sports-playing parishioners. Of crucial importance in this process was the emerging lack of consonance between the ethics of sport embodied in the idea of the "Christian Gentleman" and the values of working-class groups for whom intra-community rivalry was a driving cultural force. Further, other forms of patronage were becoming available as bourgeois groups emerged as sponsors, organisers and commercial providers of leisure and recreational activities. These developments will be explored later.

The middle-class in Gloucester was occupationally diverse consisting of a combination of the professions, local government administrators and civil servants, corn and timber merchants, owners of retail and industrial businesses and a significant number of lower status clerical occupations that supported this

structure. There was particularly close interdependence between the professional and merchant groups, not only in their business lives, but also in the organisation of their leisure time. Leading citizens from these groups could associate in their leisure time at a number of venues. These were the Royal Lebanon and Zetland Masonic lodges, the Liberal or Conservative clubs (set up in 1877 and 1885 respectively) and the Gloucester Club, formed in 1873, for professional and business men (*A History of the Royal Lebanon Lodge*, Gloucestershire Collection NR. 13 – 40 Gloucester Library; VCH Vol. IV: 213; *Journal* 2.5.1873).

Members of these socially exclusive clubs also continued their association through the playing and organisation of sports. Their class status, and close relations with others of their class in positions of civic authority, enabled privileged access to key sports and recreation facilities in the city, particularly the Spa and Park. Consistent with Gloucester's growth as a city, the Park was seen as an important component of civic pride and an area where healthy walks and exercise could be undertaken with a degree of class interaction. It was one of the first efforts by "rational recreationalists" in Gloucester to provide public space (VCH Vol. IV: 217). Its northern boundary was defined by the Brunswick Rd., Brunswick Square and Park Rd. dwellings of the professional and mercantile middle-class. The main working-class areas were further to the North of this area, so that substantial working class use of the park would have necessitated them passing through a predominantly middle-class district. This topographical feature contributed to a greater middle-class association with the Park as a recreational area than for working class groups.

The close inter-relationships of middle-class groups in Gloucester meant that Councillors and Aldermen on the Town Council and the Parks Committee were closely connected with sports clubs through friends, business associates or as participants and organisers. These clubs had little difficulty in obtaining access to, and often exclusive, use of this land. This network enabled the Gloucester Cricket Club, formed in May 1858, to acquire the lease of the Spa ground in 1863. In the 1870's this was the most prestigious sports organisation in Gloucester, erecting a large pavilion in 1883 and, from 1884, hosting one county

cricket match each year (VCH Vol. IV: 217; *Journal* 1.5.1888). The Parks Committee also leased land to tennis clubs, the first of which was formed in 1878. These clubs were also dominated by a middle-class membership, some of whom also had connections with the rugby club. Middle class control of a significant area of the Spa was extended into the winter by the sub-letting of the cricket ground, from 1874 onwards, to the newly formed rugby club. The overlap of playing personnel between the cricket and rugby club that had helped in the formation of the latter, was therefore also instrumental in the acquisition of a playing area for the winter game. The tenants of the Spa Cricket field were officially recorded as John Bryan and J. F. Brown, the former being a founding committee member of the rugby club and the latter the second captain of the club (*Town Council Minutes* 1890/91; VCH Vol. IV: 218; *Journal* 1.9.1888).

This early pattern of middle class dominance of resources, organisation of clubs and participation in sport, is the main feature of the social development of sport in Gloucester in the 1870's and 1880's. A small group of energetic and enthusiastic middle-class men, bound together in a close social network of interdependencies through commerce and recreation, was instrumental in this development. Key figures associated with the rugby club were also involved with other local sports clubs. J. F. Brown captained the rugby club and the cricket club, for which, we are told, he was "a demon bowler". He helped with the organisation of the County Cricket Club, the Gloucester Amateur Athletic Association and Rowing Club. As well as being Chairman of his Lawn Tennis Club he helped organise sports at the Gloucester Post Office where he was employed. After leaving the club he went on to become Postmaster General in South Africa. H. J. Boughton, another King's School former pupil, captained both the city's rugby and cricket clubs, became the first President of the Gloucestershire County Rugby Union and the county's first representative on the national Rugby Football Union Committee. A. W. Vears who settled in the city as a timber merchant after 12 years service in the Royal Navy was responsible, as a member of the Committee of the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club, for the arrangement of the annual cricket week at the Spa. He was also a member of the organising committees for Gloucester's cricket, athletic and rugby clubs and the first Chairman of Directors

of the Gloucester Football and Athletics Ground Company Ltd. which secured the Kingsholm site for the rugby club in 1891. A similar pattern is replicated in other sports clubs in Gloucester at the time, for example, the Gloucester Cycling Association, the Water Polo Club, the Gloucester "Early Closing Association" Cricket Club, the Gloucester "Thursday" Rugby Club and the Gloucester Rowing Club (*Journal*, 22.4.1885; 29.12.1886). Where sports such as athletics were socially more "open", these men had a strong organising influence, permitting prizes to be awarded "to the value of" specified sums, but pressing home the value of healthy exercise and amateur sport. Cunningham (1980: 90-91) points out that this pattern of middle-class dominance, and attempts by rational recreationalists to use sport as a form of social control, should not be overstated. These groups were, to a large extent, drawing on their own cultural models of leisure practice that incorporated ideals of self-improvement, self-discipline and delayed gratification. Nevertheless, this pattern of middle class dominance of the organisation of local sport was crucial to the club's survival of two events, in 1879 and 1891, which threatened its existence. These will be detailed in the next chapter.

Drawing on Hobsbawm (1983: 299), the evidence suggests that sport in Gloucester provided mechanisms for bringing together diverse groups of middle-class men of an equivalent, but internally differentiated, social rank. Factors that contributed to differentiation from the working class were numerous. They included an insistence on amateurism and the capacity to initiate a variety of measures designed to instil in the lower orders a propensity to exercise greater control over their emotions. They also monopolised policy-making and administrative positions in local sports organisations and, at Gloucester FC, exhibited a proclivity towards the monetisation of relationships. Additionally, repeated public expressions of patriotic sentiments at AGMs, celebratory functions and when the existence of the club was threatened, offer some support for Hobsbawm's (1983: 302) observation that it was as "the quintessential patriotic class that the middle-class found it easiest to recognise themselves collectively". These interlocking features contributed to a distinctive matrix of shared values and behaviours that segregated them from the working class.

The social development of recreation and sport for working class groups in Gloucester in the last third of the 19th century generated a pattern different from that of middle-class groups. The use of the Park for unorganised ball games was contested and circumscribed by the Town Council in 1864 on the grounds of danger to other users. It will be remembered that football was “altogether prohibited” in the Park. However, the problem reappeared in 1880. It was not so much the game itself that seemed to attract the attention of the authorities and some citizens, as the associated behaviours of the participants. Two correspondents to the *Citizen*, “Tredworth” and “Paterfamilias”, and the City Surveyor, confirmed that “swarms of rough youths” were playing football in the Park late into the night. It was alleged that the participants were using “bad and filthy language”, committing wilful damage and endangering the safety of women and children (*Citizen* 13.12.1880). The Town Council, in response to further public complaints in 1881 and 1882 regarding “horse play and foul language” and the nuisance from games in the Park, engaged a uniformed Park Keeper at 20/- per week who was empowered to carry handcuffs. Later, in 1885, there was a mass appearance of lads, with an average age of fifteen, at the Petty Sessions on a collective charge of using indecent language in the Park. They were all warned as to their future behaviour and released (*Journal* 9.4.1881; 29.4.1882; 19.9.1885). The strategy employed for dealing with such “incivility” largely involved external, imposed control on these youths, from civil authority as well as exhortations to parents. These youths were clearly deemed not to be at a stage of personal development where they could be expected to internalise more “civil” behaviours.

These attempts at surveillance and control were symptomatic of middle class concerns about the consequences for public order of a growing urban working class. Outbreaks of hooliganism characterised by street fights were common in Gloucester during the 19th century, and the City, according to the *Journal*, had a reputation for drunkenness and “the most profane language” in the streets. It was felt that organised recreations and sports for these groups, particularly “young lads”, would be one way in which problems of disobedience and lack of respect for authority could be alleviated, and the Park used for more fruitful purposes. To

this end Dog shows and summer "Promenade Concerts" were organised in the Park. Athletics meetings were also organised, although there were significant worries about gambling by spectators (*Journal* 27.5.1876; 12.5.1883; 10.10.1887). It is difficult to assess how successful these alternatives were in securing public order. In 1894 the Parks Committee succeeded in banning football in the Park (*Corporation of Gloucester Minutes*, Vol. VII, 1894). By this time there were a number of clubs and societies for youths, such as the Gordon League and Y.M.R.I.S., that offered organised sports and recreations for their members. The success of the policy was due as much to the development of parish and local community based sports clubs, reflecting the growing popularity of rugby football in Gloucester, as by attempts to prohibit football from the Park and Spa fields. Furthermore, by 1891, Gloucester FC had secured its own ground at Kingsholm and would not have needed to resist the decision.

One other feature of the development of the Park as a recreational area is worthy of consideration. It was not only its use by working-class groups that was being contested. In April 1879, at the time of Gloucester FC's first crisis over the use of the Park, a letter by John Goold suggested that the Town Council should: "throw the whole of the Park open to the public. What right have the corporation to reserve any part of the public park for the use of the few to the exclusion of the many...". He went on to advise the council to resolve the matter, "or probably the citizens will in the words of a member of the council 'look after and exercise their rights' in a manner not pleasant to the Board" (*Journal* 26.4.1879). This was a clear reference to the exclusive use of the Spa fields area of the Park by the Gloucester Cricket Club during the summer, and its sub-letting to the rugby club during the winter. No evidence can be found in the local press or the Town Council's records of a reply to this letter, or action taken as a result of it. In contrast, in 1885 the location of a Public Baths and "Wash House" at the Spa was successfully contested due to the nuisance it would cause in a "select" neighbourhood (*Journal* 26.12 1885). In this instance there is evidence of conflict between liberal-democratic principles of equal access and opportunity to use public resources, and the degree of exclusivity of use acquired by prominent middle-class groups.

In 1891, attempts were again made to democratise the recreational space of the Spa. The Finance, Estates and Waterworks Committee resolved to serve the tenants, the Cricket Club and two tennis clubs, with notice to quit: "in order that the whole of such grounds may be available for the general public when required" (*Corporation of Gloucester Minutes*, Vol. V, 1890/1891). By the next meeting of the Committee on 9th October, the Cricket Club had formulated its response. The letter from H. J. Boughton, Captain of the Gloucester Cricket Club (he was also Captain of Gloucester FC in 1883/4 and 1884/5) is reproduced in Appendix 2. The high status users of the Spa field, as well as those of the Cricket Club, would have been known to the Committee and it is reasonable to expect that this would have influenced their deliberations. Boughton's letter indicates that he believes that the philanthropic gestures of the club, with regards to the Sunday School "treat" and the Rounders Association, were arguments in their favour. Additionally, the threat that "if we go so does our pavilion" - which the city corporation may have had the expense of replacing - may also have affected the outcome. Boughton also points out that the Cricket Club kept their word with regards to improving the condition of the Spa, whereas the corporation appears to have broken theirs on the issue of the Spa field as the Cricket Club's headquarters. The letter thus implicitly accuses the corporation of ungentlemanly behaviour. These arguments apparently carried sufficient weight for the decision of the Parks Committee to be rescinded. Whether these attempts by local politicians to democratise recreational resources were motivated by pangs of conscience among middle-class groups, as suggested by Cunningham (1980: 90-91), is hard to ascertain. Nevertheless, successful resistance by vested middle-class interests appears to have been the result of close networks of interdependencies and an appeal to a set of values that underpinned these relationships. The success of the Cricket Club in retaining the use of the Spa appears to have been largely based on an appeal to the "honour" of the members of the Parks Committee and the highlighting of "philanthropic" assistance to "rational recreation" activities. Affective bonds that drew middle-class groups together in association through sport were being threatened by these democratising developments, provoking a vigorous response. This episode is indicative of conflicts between private "club" provision of recreational activities,

incorporating degrees of exclusiveness at the discretion of the organisers, and an emerging municipal model of provision that incorporated a greater degree of open access to facilities and opportunities for leisure.

The second contested area, bathing in the Gloucester and Sharpness Canal, has a different basis of resistance. Again it concerns a social group, working class youths, over whose behaviour there was great public anxiety. Evidently, groups of youths used the canal during the summer months as a recreational area for bathing. However, it was also used by the Gloucester Rowing Club and, in the summer months, excursions on commercial pleasure craft were popular on it. A number of complaints were made about the behaviour of the young lads. In one case they were accused of deliberately exposing themselves. This was reported in the local press as, "challenging for the attention of females" on a passing pleasure vessel and, in another instance, making ribald remarks to passers-by using the canal towpath. A complaint was also made that youths were in the habit of throwing timber into the water and, on one occasion, had assaulted a watchman who tried to stop them. The response by the city corporation was to ban bathing after 7.30 am and before 6.00pm and to request that the lads must not remain undressed "for longer than absolutely necessary or to offend decency." The problem was contained, to a degree, with the construction by the city corporation, in 1891, of two indoor pools, one of which could be converted into a gymnasium, as part of the new public baths in Barton Street. As well as being prestigious civic works, these would also have accommodated increasing feelings of social embarrassment by privatising the naked and semi-naked body. However, it was not long before middle-class groups, including the Swimming and Water Polo club, the Crypt and Sir Thomas Rich's Schools, were requesting, and being granted, times for exclusive use of these public facilities at preferential rates (VCH Vol. IV: 218; *Corporation of Gloucester Minutes* Vol. V, 1890/1891; *Journal* 20.6.1888; 16.7.1880; 19.8.1871; 2.8.1873).

The final and most pervasive area of leisure activity that was contested in Gloucester was that of drinking. This provides an interesting contrast to the previous two examples as, in large part, it was an activity undertaken with relatively more privacy inside public houses and therefore not under the same

degree of surveillance. There is again evidence of a class basis to this leisure activity. An 1887 map of Gloucester details the location of "Drink Shops" defined as those premises holding Spirit and Other Licences. In total, there were 244 recorded licensed premises within the city boundary of Gloucester. A significant proportion were located within a quarter-mile radius of "The Cross" (the intersection of Northgate, Westgate, Eastgate and Southgate Streets, effectively the centre of the city). These included the larger and more prestigious establishments such as the New Inn and the Bell Hotel. A further concentration could be found around the Cattle Market where the Spread Eagle Hotel, the site of the inaugural meeting of Gloucester FC, was located. Working-class areas, such as the City Match Works in the North-west of the city, and Morelands Match Works to the South-west, the Docks area and the Wagon Works, all had a large number of licensed premises within close proximity. In working-class residential areas premises would serve particular communities and in some cases individual streets. It was therefore commonplace for working-class groups to drink together in tightly knit local communities in Gloucester. This drinking was probably heavy, assisted by long opening hours and competition between local suppliers to produce strong ales. "Grocers Licenses", granted to shops selling basic provisions, extended the availability of drink to the home and were blamed for creating increased drunkenness amongst women. Social reformers also drew attention to the associated "evil" of prostitution in the public houses, most notably in the Cathedral Tavern (Westgate St.), Beaufort Arms (St. Aldgate St.) and the Railway Guard (Northgate St.). All of these were close to the centre of the city (VCH Vol. IV: 218; Map of Gloucester's *Inns and Drink Shops* 21.6.1887 Gloucester Library, GL65.43; *Journal* 27.1.1883).

This pattern of drinking amongst the working classes was a contributory factor in generating what is best described as a tribal sense of local identity among and between working-class groups in Gloucester. It is no surprise that when these groups mixed, particularly in the city centre locations, fighting and hooliganism were prevalent features of the interaction. The police force in the middle-third of the century had little success in controlling lawlessness in the city due to insufficient numbers of constables and alleged corruption amongst them (VCH

Vol. IV: 192). The main attack on drinking in Gloucester came through the Temperance Movement, supported by a powerful coalition of prominent citizens drawn from the clergy, factory owners and merchants. Public meetings were held in January and March 1883 to consider the question of Sunday Closing and the "Local Option" (this involved taking licensing decisions out of the hands of magistrates and placing them under the jurisdiction of an undefined elected body). These met with fierce opposition from licensed victuallers and working-class groups. At one public meeting there was a fight on the platform involving notable citizens, J. Powell and John Fielding, raucous competition between opposing groups with singing, horn-blowing, hooting and clapping employed to drown out speakers, and numerous defiant acts of drinking from beer bottles in front of the platform. At one meeting at the Shire Hall, upwards of 3,000 attended with an estimated 1,000 others outside. Fear of disorder led to the entrances being guarded by policemen. These brief examples illustrate the cultural centrality of drinking amongst working-class groups in Gloucester and their resistance, with licensed victuallers as allies, to powerful reforming middle-class groups (VCH Vol. IV: 192. *Journal* 27.1.1883; 17.3.1883).

The relevance of this cultural feature for the development of Gloucester's rugby club in its early years is threefold. Firstly, the middle-class groups that dominated the playing and organisation personnel of the club used the respectable hotels and inns they frequented in their social and commercial lives for formal meetings and as changing-rooms and venues for the post-game hospitality of "meat teas" and "smoking concerts". Thus, although drinking was part of the post-game culture, in the early years it was socially differentiated through choice of venue and entertainment. Secondly, as the first major organised winter team sport in the city, the attraction of rugby as an entertainment for working-class groups of spectators grew rapidly throughout the 1870's. This was seen by civic dignitaries to be beneficial. Alderman Edwards, at the 1882/83 Annual Dinner, claimed the club had done a great deal of good: "by providing an attraction for the working men, and thus keeping them from public houses" (*Journal* 7.4.1881). Finally, the growing popularity of rugby football amongst the local community and the growth in spectatorship had an influence on owners of public houses. Association with

the club could help retain customers' loyalty in a competitive market. In the 1891 issue of shares in the Gloucester Athletic and Football Ground Co Ltd, members of the drink's trade purchased 11% of the issue, being the third largest group of subscribers (*Gloucester Athletic Ground Company Limited; List of Shareholders*, Companies House, London). Publicans therefore had a significant role in the cultural life of Gloucester. Drinking has consistently been associated with rugby culture. However, in the social context of Gloucester FC's origins in the 1870's, the experience was different between social groups. Middle-class groups legitimised their post-game consumption of alcohol as showing hospitality to visiting teams while providing entertainment in the form of "smoking concerts" in respectable inns. The working class, on the other hand, were encouraged to attend rugby matches on Saturday afternoons as an alternative to the public house. Once there, their behaviour became evermore public and, at the same time, they were increasingly exposed to a display of middle-class values.

The pattern of sport and recreation in Gloucester is one influenced not only by its industrial and commercial development and attendant urbanisation, but also by continuities with its agricultural heritage. There was, around the time of the foundation of the rugby club, a mixture of new activities promoted by rational recreationalists, alongside older folk festivals and pastimes that were increasingly coming under threat. It is worth looking briefly at three examples, urban "blood sports", the Barton Fair and Gloucester Races, as illustrations of the processes at work. Instances of dog-fighting and cock-fighting in the city are recorded in 1872 and 1873 respectively. Both appeared to have been relatively spontaneous affairs and resulted in the prosecution and conviction of the organisers. The cockfight, which took place under a railway arch at Barnwood on the outskirts of the city, resulted in four Wagon Works employees being charged with cruelty to animals. In 1866 a "prize fight" between two men of one hour and twenty minutes duration, was reported to have been "systematically arranged" to escape the vigilance of the police (*Journal* 28.12.1872; 9.5.1873; 22.5.1886). Whilst it is difficult to ascertain how prevalent these incidents were, the penalties imposed and the need to avoid detection and arrest, would suggest that the authorities

made it difficult for these events to be organised on a regular basis and signalled significant resistance to them.

In contrast to the apparently successful control of these rough blood sports, the development of the popular Barton Fair was subject to a more complex range of pressures. The annual fair was held in Barton St., an important thoroughfare on the South-east corner of the city. Historically it was a location where, in late September, the local Gloucestershire agricultural community would congregate to sell produce. In addition, the hiring of farm labourers and country women for domestic service would take place in the customary atmosphere of heavy drinking and a pleasure fair. A number of pressures led to the decline of the Fair. Firstly, accommodation to religious groups changed the day of the Fair from the traditional Sunday to Monday. However, there was still strong resistance on the grounds of the drunkenness and immorality associated with the Fair. Secondly, as a consequence of the shift to a Monday, a conflict emerged with retail and business concerns whose commercial operations were interrupted. As the *Journal* (18.10.1884) explained: "Work is nowadays done at high pressure. Time is literally money...the presence of a pleasure fair in one of the most important parts of the city (is)... anomalous." Thirdly, the hiring function of the Fair was being substituted by advertisements of employment placed in the local press and by the establishment of a Servant's Inquiry Agency in the city. Fourthly, the development of steam-driven swings and "round-a-bouts" meant that the Fair outgrew its location. Finally, a fatality on one of the amusements in 1888 led to pressure to abolish the Fair. By the 1890s the Fair had become a commercialised entertainment, losing much of its agricultural heritage. It still retained its importance as a cultural event, more so to an urban, rather than an agricultural, community. If it was to continue, increased space, along with a relatively more contained location, was needed. In 1894 the rugby club was approached, through the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co Ltd., as a possible site for some of the Fair's amusements. All the Directors opposed letting the ground for the Fair due to fears regarding potential damage to the ground. Additionally, letting the ground for the Fair was thought to be "entirely foreign to the purposes for which the ground was intended" (*Directors Minutes*, 6.6.1894).

Here again there are echoes of middle class appropriation and control of recreational space, in this instance through private ownership of resources and selectivity in the choice of groups to whom these resources were made available.

The final "local event", the Gloucester Races, popular amongst working-class groups in the city, is also illustrative of the role that the patronage of a dominant group can have in a specific figuration. The decline of the races in the mid-19th century was largely a consequence of the commercial development of the racecourse at Cheltenham to which the aristocracy and landed gentry gravitated. Small horse racing events continued to be organised in Gloucester and attempts were made to revive the larger meeting on several occasions without much success. By the 1880s the races at Gloucester did not attract sufficient patronage from the landed gentry and aristocrats who comprised the dominant group in this sport, thus limiting the scope for the pattern of commercialisation that supported the Cheltenham Races (VCH Vol. IV: 219; *Journal* 26.10.1861; 21.2.1861). Furthermore, improvements in mass transport enabled Gloucester's race-goers to more readily attend the more prestigious Cheltenham meeting.

These examples of developments in older sports and recreations in Gloucester illuminate a complex pattern of popular support amongst an urban working-class population and varying degrees of patronage and resistance by dominant groups. A class basis to these developments is identifiable, but it is important to note that dominant groups, particularly those comprised of members of the middle-classes, did not act uniformly nor could they determine outcomes. The critical feature is one of differentiated class groups responding to, and interacting with, a developing culture of sports and recreations in Gloucester, at a time when these activities were undergoing, to varying degrees, a commercialising process. This trend was evident in a number of other popular entertainments and recreations in Gloucester. These were, for example, the "Theatre Royal", a major venue for the dramatic arts, and the Alhambra Music Hall, popular with working-class groups for its "variety" entertainment. Circus entertainment, described as "contemptible" by the editor of the *Journal*, was also a regular feature of commercially provided entertainment in Gloucester. The larger commercially owned and more respectable licensed premises, for example "The Bell" and "The Spread Eagle",

offered evening entertainment such as magicians and evening concerts, as well as meeting rooms for clubs and societies (VCH Vol. IV: 219; *Journal* 21.9.1872; 16.11.1872; 27.9.1873; 24.11.1874; 1.8.1874).

In summary, at the time of the formation of the rugby club, there were trends involving the commercialisation of the provision of popular entertainment alongside the bourgeois, voluntarist mode of club and society provision. A striking feature of the development of sports at the time of the foundation of Gloucester was that there were very few regular organised winter sports for participants and spectators. The motives of the middle-class group that founded the rugby club may have had a strong “instrumental” basis of continuing their summer association through sport and the “rational” qualities of regular, vigorous, physical exercise. However, the club’s foundation also occurred at a time when, for working-class groups increasingly willing and able to pay for their entertainment, there was, other than the pubs and music hall, little in the way of entertainment in the winter months. A regular organised sporting event coincidentally met the needs of both groups. For each group there was, from an Eliasian perspective, a psychological need for a pleasurable, controlled, decontrolling of emotions. However, the meanings each group attached to the tension-generating and tension-releasing qualities of rugby football as one of the rougher sports of the time, were to become, and remain, a site of struggle and resistance.

Finally, it is worth noting developments occurring up to and during this period regarding the witnessing of hanging as a leisure spectacle. These developments can be set in the context of aspects of a “civilising process” occurring in Gloucester with regard to a “lowering of the threshold of repugnance regarding bloodshed and other manifestations of physical violence” and, accompanying this, “a tendency to push violence increasingly behind the scenes” (Dunning, 1986d: 228). The last public hanging in Gloucester, that of Lewis Gough for murder, took place on 27th August 1864. Eight years later, in January 1872, the hanging of Frederick Jones, also for murder, was undertaken in private within the confines of the County Goal. The *Journal* reported the crimes and the hangings in detail. A brief comparison of the reports is instructive with regard to the

changing attitudes to public hanging over this period, and as evidence of an advance of thresholds of shame and embarrassment. The 1864 report explained that Gough's was the first public hanging in Gloucester for twenty five years and pointed out that, previous to this, it was not uncommon for five or six people to be hanged together in what was colloquially called a "Hang Fair". The report also noted the number of people hanged in Gloucester in previous years. We are told that from 1786 to 1791 seventeen people were hanged for offences ranging from murder to sheep stealing. From 1792 to 1829 ninety-five people were executed, twenty-six of them for "minor offences". Twelve people were hanged from 1830-1872, virtually all of them for murder (*Journal* 13.1.1872). This suggests that at the time of the two hangings under comparison there was a growing sensitivity to the use of capital punishment, particularly for minor offences such as housebreaking and theft. Mention was also made in the report of a published "protest" to capital punishment. Nevertheless, the hanging of Gough was justified in the *Journal* as being a necessary deterrent which, to be effective, needed to be carried out in public (*Journal* 3.9.1864).

A crowd of between four and five thousand people witnessed the hanging of Gough. The behaviour of the spectators was described as "solemn" by the journalist who reported the event. This was in contrast to executions held at the Old Bailey and Newgate in London which, he suggested, were witnessed in previous years by a "brutish rabble" of drunken, blasphemous, fighting mobs of spectators (*Journal* 13.1.1872). The journalist appears to be suggesting that this type of behaviour by the lower orders was both embarrassing and offensive, given the nature of the circumstances. The greater solemnity of the public at Gough's execution is viewed as indicative of increased sensitivities to witnessing such events with the suggestion that: "happily, the times and we have changed" (*Journal* 20.1.1872). This is reflected in the account of Gough's last moments. There is an evident sensitivity to the awfulness of the spectacle and the dramatic nature of his death. Again, in 1872, the journalist – who appears to have been the same at both events – makes a similar point suggesting that private executions reflected the "progress of the times" (*Journal* 13.1.1872). The

repugnance felt by witnesses to the execution of Jones is also chronicled. We are told that:

The individual on the blouse beats a hasty retreat, the young man places his handkerchief to his eyes and rushes to the other end of the courtyard, one of the press representatives nearly faints, and most of the spectators involuntarily drew back, several seeking the pillars of the colonnade at the furthest end of the courtyard ... One of the prison workmen, who had been standing in the yard, rushes into an adjoining court and there gives vent to his feelings in a fit of weeping. (*Journal* 13.1.1872)

It therefore appears that, around the period coinciding with the formation of Gloucester FC, there was a growing sensitivity, expressed largely by middle-class groups, to the witnessing of violent spectacles including ritualised and solemn ones such as hanging. This, it was felt, would spare the emotional distress of observers and curb the excesses of those groups, for example those at the Old Bailey or Newgate hangings, who obtained pleasure from such events. This, along with other evidence presented in this section, suggests that a general lowering of thresholds of shame and repugnance with respect to violence, and a variety of “incivilities”, was occurring around the time of the formation of Gloucester FC.

III

In the previous two sections mention has been made of middle and working-class groups in the context of the social origins of Gloucester F.C. and their respective participation in leisure and recreation activities. This section will focus on inter-related developments in the economic, social and political organisation in Gloucester during the last half of the 19th century in order to locate these groups in a broader and changing pattern of interdependencies.

Mid-19th century trade in Gloucester was associated primarily with grain, timber and coastal traffic brought through the Gloucester and Berkeley canal to Gloucester's inland port. The entrepreneurial organisation of this trade was dominated by merchants who would purchase consignments, have them shipped into the docks and then find buyers, making their profit in the process. Merchants from Bristol and Birmingham dominated this aspect of trade. In the grain trade, the port of Gloucester ranked third after London and Glasgow and, by 1882, was the fourth largest timber importing port after London, Liverpool and Hull. This growth in international commerce, supported by railway links into the Midlands, was such that, in 1841, eight consular powers were represented in the city. The timber and corn merchants were the dominant commercial middle-class group in Gloucester. A common bond of entrepreneurship between the two groups of merchants provided a degree of social cohesion. Association was extended into their social lives through the aforementioned Gloucester Club and into the sporting sphere with annual "Corn v. Timber" cricket matches. The dock trade also supported a labouring class that would manually transfer sixty-pound sacks of grain and consignments of timber from the holds of cargo ships into the warehouses. These labouring groups often bore the brunt of short term fluctuations in trade due to wars, for example that between Germany and Denmark in 1864 and the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and to seasonal changes in trade (VCH Vol. IV: 171-7; *Journal* 26.6.1882; Inland Waterways Museum, Gloucester Docks). The remainder of the middle-class was composed of a "professional" group of lawyers, a "clerical" group who aspired to middle-class status (Lockwood, 1969), officers of national and local government, retailers and teachers.

Towards the end of the 19th century, a general decline in the corn trade, relative to timber, led some merchants to leave the city. Gloucester's inland port was also under threat as larger ocean going vessels were unable to use the docks. However, the timber trade continued to prosper in large part due to the expansion of the building trade to meet the needs of a growing urban population for dwellings, entertainment and retail businesses. The implications of this trend for Gloucester were twofold. Firstly, the chains of interdependency supporting international commerce were being shortened and replaced with the development of more local trade, with agricultural and market gardening concerns developing alongside brewing, pickling and jam-making businesses. Secondly, the general decline of the docks was the beginning of a shift in power ratios between merchants and industrialists that, by the beginning of the next century - assisted by a general economic recovery in the late 1880's - would come to favour the latter group (VCH Vol. IV: 176-180).

With regard to industrial concerns, the Gloucester Wagon Company founded in 1860 by local businessmen to repair, build and hire railway trucks was, with 360 workers, the biggest single employer at that time. By 1879 it employed 900 men involved in a mixture of heavy manual work and craftsmanship in iron and wood. The organisation of relationships between managers and workmen was structured differently to those at the docks. When an employee was engaged at the Wagon Works, the respective foreman fixed the rate of wages according to the value of the labour. However, most of the work was done on a "piece-work" system, the men collectively contracting with the foremen the rate for the job. Thus it was possible, and indeed this often occurred, for men to earn "balances" over and above their fixed weekly wage. These "balances" could be variable. In situations where, in order to obtain a contract, the company had to quote a lower price, the foremen would be required to negotiate a lower price for the new work. Consequently the "balances" of the men would be affected. Nevertheless, their wages were always made up to the agreed fixed weekly wage. This system generated close interaction between managers, foremen and workers. It took into account the disadvantage caused to the men by general economic conditions by supporting what was, in effect, a minimum wage. Tensions arose in this

relationship, particularly when the economic recession of the 1880's reduced the size of the balances. In one instance, this resulted in a ten-day strike of a third of the workforce.

Evident here is a closeness of relations between skilled workmen and their labouring colleagues, and with foremen and managers of the works, structured by a negotiated system of "piece-work". There appears to have been little expression of "status-insecurity" by lower-middle class supervisory groups and industrialists in their interaction with their working-class employees. Furthermore, groups of skilled and semi-skilled manual workers were accorded a high degree of autonomy in offering a rate for a particular job. It appears that the particular way in which these working relationships were structured, reflected and generated close and mutually supporting interdependencies between employers, supervisors and manual labourers at the Wagon Works. It may be that this feature of relationships between social groups was one of the preconditions which enabled Tommy Bagwell, a labourer at the Works, to become, in 1890, the first "working-man" to captain Gloucester FC.

A smaller concern, the Atlas Iron Works, acquired by Samuel Fielding and James Platt, was the other significant heavy engineering firm. In the 1870s it employed around 300 workers. In the late 1890's and early 1900's, A. J. Fielding (continuing the family tradition in the company) and J. T. Brookes (who later became manager of the Wagon Works) were instrumental in acquiring shares in the Gloucester Football and Athletic Grounds Company Ltd., on behalf of the rugby club(VCH Vol. IV: 176-180; Russell 1994: 19; *"W.B's" Scrapbook; Share Transfers Book*).

Three sections of the working class in Gloucester can be identified. These are the "artisan" skilled worker including foremen, a labouring group split between docks and industrial labour, and a residuum of drunks, the unemployed, criminals and the poor. The growth of factory organisation in Gloucester would have placed the artisans and foremen in a pivotal position, mediating between employers and the labouring groups over work tasks. Additionally, the changing economic structure of the city, from a mercantile port to an industrial base, is one feature influencing the composition of social groups active in the administration

and commercial development of the club, the recruitment of playing personnel, and the place of rugby football in popular culture.

The political organisation of the city was heavily influenced by municipal reform in the mid-1830's involving greater politicisation of the government of the city as the City Corporation's powers became vested in elected councillors and aldermen. The growing functions of the corporation gave increasing opportunities for leading citizens to acquire local power and prestige as popularly elected representatives. The political composition of these elected representatives to local government changed over the years. In 1835 the local council comprised thirteen Conservative and five Liberal councillors. By 1839, the Liberals had gained control of the council and by 1869 and 1871 Conservative representation was reduced to a single councillor. The municipal elections were reported as being characterised by significant corruption through the distribution of large quantities of beer and other "incentives". The Liberals were led by Thomas Robinson, a corn merchant, who later became the Member of Parliament for Gloucester. Furthermore, the growth of municipal works undertaken by the city corporation also enabled the dispensation of patronage by elected officials to their supporters. In this, the leader of the local Liberal Party, Thomas Robinson, was no exception. Accusations, and resultant charges, of corruption sharply divided the parties in electoral contests during the 1870's and 1880's. Nevertheless, as a significant figure in local politics, Robinson was invited to ceremoniously "kick off" the first fixture at the Kingsholm ground in 1891. The rugby club also cultivated links with other prominent citizens. Councillors, aldermen and mayors were regularly invited to annual suppers, they served on the club's committee and gave complimentary dinners to the Gloucester team after a significant victory, particularly when achieved against Welsh clubs (VCH Vol. IV: 195-6. *Journal* 17.10.1891). The association of civic dignitaries with the club was mutually beneficial. It enabled the club to obtain additional access to the local power network and for local politicians to attach themselves to a talisman of civic pride and reinforce bourgeois values encapsulated in the rugby ethos.

This association with a popular recreation could also enhance political support. At the same time as the popularity of rugby, and the status of Gloucester FC was growing, the franchise was being extended to more citizens. The electorate rose from 4,040 in 1868 to 5,371 in 1880 and 7,685 by 1900 (VCH Vol. IV: 206, 208). Bribery and corruption were prominent features of Gloucester's Parliamentary elections in the second part of the 19th century, perhaps encouraged by the conduct of the aforementioned municipal elections. In 1859 the city's two Liberal MP's, Price and Monk, were unseated for bribery and a Royal Commission to investigate illegal electoral practices was appointed. Again, in 1880, another Royal Commission was established to examine electoral practices after Robinson was unseated having been petitioned for bribery. The Commission found Gloucester to be among the most corrupt of the seven towns it investigated with 2,765 electors, over half the electorate, having taken bribes. Local politicians and other civic dignitaries were blamed for most of the corruption. These included 18 councillors and aldermen, as well as 6 poor-law guardians, 3 magistrates and 5 solicitors (VCH Vol. IV: 205-8). Bribery was an expensive way to secure votes and increasingly risky. Association with the rugby club offered a potentially cost-effective, and legitimate, way of soliciting popular support.

There is little direct evidence to suggest that members of the club were implicated in the bribery scandal of 1880. Two councillors named in the report as having offered bribes, Moussel and T. Powell - the latter became Mayor of the city - were both involved with the club as committeemen or guests at annual suppers in the late 1880's and early 1890's. Dennis Reardon, a Director of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Grounds Co. Ltd. and instrumental in the process of acquiring the shares in the company on behalf of the club, was also named as a briber. Also of interest, is the fact that three named bribers, S. Moss, G. W. Haines and J. A. Matthews were all Masters of the Royal Lebanon Lodge of Freemasons in the city. Some members of this Lodge, S. S. Starr, A. V. Hatton and H. J. Berry were club officials in the 1890's (*Journal* 15.1.1881; 2.4.1881; 21.3.1885; 4.7.1883; *Directors Minutes* 1891; *A History of The Royal Lebanon Lodge*, Gloucester Library; *A Report on Corrupt Electoral Practices* 1881: 15-33, Gloucester Library).

This evidence reinforces and extends earlier points regarding the close commercial, political and recreational links between groups of middle-class men. In relation to the rugby club, there is an illumination of the relationship between the instrumental and the affective elements of this form of bonding. The club provided an important source of recreation, social status and emotional release for both players and officials. Infused in their association was the ability, through a close social network of business partners and acquaintances, to develop mutually beneficial commercial and financial relationships. Thus, the club's commercial development became increasingly located in the hands of groups of men who had the ability and the motivation to dominate this process. Evidence will be presented later to demonstrate that, in large part, the motivation to accumulate profit for private gain was suspended in a stage of the commercialisation process that involved the acquisition of a new ground.

The final feature, within which the growth of rugby in Gloucester needs to be located, is the city's demographic and associated topographical development. In 1851 the population of the municipal borough was 16,512. In 1868 extension of the Parliamentary boundary, as a result of population growth, raised the recorded population of the municipal borough, now coterminous with the Parliamentary borough, to 31,844 people. Of these 15,429 were males and 16,415 females. There were approximately 5,700 houses in the borough. By 1891 the population had risen to 39,444. Most of the residential development to meet this population growth consisted of working-class housing around the docks and main industrial area of the Bristol Road to the South, in the industrial areas of the "Island" to the North-west, and in new streets of two-storey terraced housing to the South-east. Industrialists were also involved in laying out new residential developments, for example S. J. Moreland (next to his match factory) and Isaac Slater (near the Wagon Works). Housing for artisans was chiefly located to the North-east of the city. Middle-class residences were mainly around the Brunswick Square and Spa areas, further growth taking place to the South and East of the city, along the road towards Tuffley, and in outlying villages. In general there was a movement of population to the suburbs away from the older, overcrowded residential areas in the west of the city. In the ten years between 1889 and 1899, 27 new streets,

1,789 houses and 206 shops and factories were built. The northern hamlets of Kingsholm St Mary and Kingsholm St Catherine, where the club finally located its playing headquarters, also developed rapidly during this time. In the city centre, properties such as the New Inn, the Bell Hotel, the Corn Exchange and Eastgate Market were renovated. New commercial developments, banks, shops and public buildings, began to transform this part of the city. Development of the residential infrastructure failed to keep pace with this growth, leading to repeated problems with sanitation, water supply, derelict buildings and slum dwellings. Road building was substantial, although pressure was relieved to a certain extent by Gloucester's development as a "walking city" of easy pedestrian access between the suburbs and the city centre, supported by the city's horse-drawn tramway inaugurated in 1879 (Hickie, 1993: 25-33; VCH Vol. IV: 221,236).

Four features of this development are relevant for this research. The first is the degree of social exclusivity enjoyed by middle-class groups with regard to their residential locations in the city, especially around the prestigious and environmentally pleasant open recreational areas of the Spa and Park, and in the outlying villages away from industrial development. Secondly, the commercial development of the city centre reinforced its status as a business, administrative and recreational area. Thirdly, and most importantly for the diffusion and subsequent popularity of rugby, was the development of numerous working-class areas close to the city centre. These communities - organised on a parish basis and commonly supported by public houses, small retail traders, parish churches and chapels - were in many instances dominated by a single occupational group, for example, dock-workers, industrial labourers or artisans located in dwellings close to their employment. These close associations helped in generating rivalry between working-class areas. The nature of the social bonding through sport of these urban social groups will be explored later. For the present it is sufficient to note that there is strong evidence of intra-community rivalry between these social groups in Gloucester, differentiated by parish and/or workplace. It was this rivalry between working-class groups that had a significant influence on the growth of sports in the city, and of rugby football in particular. Finally, the urbanisation of Gloucester placed significant pressure on the availability of, and access to,

recreational land. Commercial development of popular team sports such as rugby or soccer could only take place with any degree of security if organising groups secured ownership of land or long term control over the use of public spaces. Middle-class groups were dominant in this process, either through provision of recreational opportunities through the “private club” model or through their ability to influence decisions regarding access to recreational areas provided by municipal authorities.

In summary, the club owes its origins, in a very large part, to an organising and playing group of middle-class men whose association with each other began at The King’s School, continuing in their adult lives through the Gloucester Cricket Club and through their commercial, professional and business occupations. At Gloucester FC this led, initially, to a high degree of status exclusivity. Further status was acquired through the decision to name the club the Gloucester Football Club. By taking the city name, members proclaimed themselves the sporting representatives of the city. In exploring the economic, political and topographical development of the city, it has been possible to identify the influential short to medium-term processes involved in structuring the pattern of social interdependencies in Gloucester during the period of the club’s formation and its early development. Tentative evidence has also been presented of an acceleration in a longer-term “civilising” process, particularly amongst the middle class, involving a general lowering of thresholds of shame and repugnance at engaging in, or witnessing, acts of violence and incivility. The changes in power-ratios and shifting alliances among groups brought about by these processes will provide the contextual base for further investigation of the development of Gloucester FC and its contribution to the growth, diffusion and commercialisation of rugby football in the city.

CHAPTER TWO

1873 to 1889/90: The Diffusion of Rugby football in Gloucester and its Emergence as a Component of Local Popular Culture

This first phase in the development of Gloucester FC was characterised by rapid spectator growth and diffusion of rugby football into the local adult community. The focus of this chapter will be this process of diffusion, the position of rugby football as an element of popular culture in the city, and the role of Gloucester FC in this process. The previous chapter drew attention to the lack in the city of a substantial upper-middle class of the type running the RFU. The withdrawal of the middle-class schools from the playing of rugby football, the city's geographical location, along with transport and trade links that favoured contact with Wales and the Midlands rather than London, created what may be termed "social space" as a precondition for the particular features of the development of rugby football in Gloucester. However, this alone does not explain the nature of this differential development nor the motivations of social groups adopting the game, particularly those working-class groups among whom rugby football came to have a high degree of cultural resonance. Therefore, the process of diffusion will be seen as the product of interaction between social groups organising and playing rugby in Gloucester. The motivations and values of these groups, the tensions and conflicts that arose, and the accommodation of these conflicts as rugby diffused into the community and the club expanded its network of fixtures, will all be examined here.

There are several key periods and processes in the development of the club. The first period, from 1873/4 to 1877/8, is characterised by the regularisation and expansion of Saturday fixtures. The impact this development had on the rise of rugby as a spectator sport in Gloucester is examined, along with the opportunities taken by the club to acquire revenue from this source. Within this process, attendant issues of player behaviour and later, spectator behaviour, began to emerge. The nature of these, and the role of the Gloucester newspapers, particularly after the publication of a daily newspaper, *The Citizen* in 1876, as

elements involved in the process of diffusion of rugby football, will be investigated. The second section focuses on the transition of Gloucester FC from a "team" of local school old-boys to a "club" with supporting financial, organisational and player recruitment structures through the period 1878/9 to 1889/90. This section includes an analysis of the conflict surrounding the organisation of a floodlit match in 1879, the outcome of which threatened the club's existence. The number of local clubs, often but not exclusively formed on a parish basis, grew during this period and bonds of interdependency were established between Gloucester FC and local clubs. The nature of these bonds is also explored. Evidence is presented to demonstrate that attendant on this diffusion of rugby was the growth of intra-community rivalry in the city, and rivalry with other communities, most especially those in Wales. Other elements of the club's development, in particular continuing concerns regarding spectator behaviour, the development of tactical playing (con)figurations, and the institution of Easter tours, are highlighted. This section concludes with a review of the pressures that led the club to search for a new enclosed ground, a development precipitated by the events of the 1890/91 season, the club's last at the Spa ground.

The third and fourth sections attempt to provide a sociologically adequate explanation of the pattern of diffusion of rugby football in Gloucester as a basis for the later exploration of the game's association with the formation of community and masculine identities. In addition, the structures, associations and practices adopted will also be investigated as contributing to features of the club's dominant position as the "sporting" representative of the city. The exercise of power is viewed as crucial in this context. Thus the changing nature of interdependencies and the relative importance of economic, persuasive and coercive elements of power-relationships will be evaluated. Although the first two sections are arranged chronologically, there will be no attempt to confine content to tight temporal boundaries. The processes investigated are dynamic and consequently cannot be so confined. Thus, where appropriate, events will be seen as evidence of formative development or key moments in continuing

processes that emerge, fade and re-emerge in changing social and historical contexts.

I

Most notable in the early growth and organisational development of Gloucester's rugby club during its first five years from 1873 - 1878 was the increase in the number of fixtures, rising from only four in the first season to fifteen at the end of this period. A number of features accompanied this development. In the first instance, although some organised fixtures and practice matches were played on Fridays, the regularisation of Saturdays as match days was virtually complete by the 1877/78 season, and the publication of a "fixture list" in the local press appeared as early as 1875. Some rugby was played midweek, notably a Gloucester "Thursday" team that grew out of the Gloucester Early Closing Association of local tradesmen who had campaigned for, and obtained, a weekly half-day closing. This team was closely connected to the city club, playing on the Spa ground and drawing some of its players and organisers from the Gloucester club. The 1878/79 season also included some second team fixtures played initially on Wednesdays, although apparently there was some difficulty in raising sufficient players (Russell, 1973; *Journal* 9.10.1875; 22.1.1876; 21.10.1876; 2.11.1878; 22.3.1879).

The clubs with which Gloucester established links, as fixtures grew, reflected the traditional trading interests of the town and the development of the railway network. The latter consolidated Gloucester's position as a regional centre at the junction of major routes from the Midlands to South-western England, and from London to South Wales. The major fixtures were against teams from Hereford, Ross, Clifton, Bristol (Rockleaze), Handsworth and Newent. The first Welsh club to be played was Newport in the 1878/79 season. Railway transport was therefore important in facilitating the initial expansion of fixtures. As local support for the club grew, railway links assumed much greater importance in transporting spectators to away games and in drawing support from the towns around Gloucester. The rugby club, in conjunction with the Great Western Railway, organised its first "excursion" train to the fixture at Cardiff in March, 1890. This became a regular occurrence for many seasons as spectators were conveyed to matches in South Wales and the West Midlands (VCH Vol. IV: 172; Clutterbuck, 1951; Souvenir Publication, 1891; *Citizen* 29.3.1890). This also increased

pressure for the regularisation of Saturday fixtures, given that longer journeys were required both for players and, later, spectators.

In conjunction with this dependence on the railways there were other processes working toward regular Saturday fixtures. In large part they came from the pattern of development of local spectator support. Nationally, Dunning and Sheard (1979: 138) point out, one of the preconditions for growing spectator support was the spare-time provided by the Factory Act of 1847 which shortened the working week contributing to the gradual institutionalisation of the Saturday half-day. In Gloucester, similar processes were at work. In the 1860s the "Gas Company" in Gloucester granted a request for a nine-hour working day. Building trades employers had also agreed the same working-day but with a 54 hour week. Railwaymen achieved a ten hour day and Sunday overtime working during this period, and by 1885 the local council agreed to their masons and carpenters ceasing work at 1.00pm on Saturdays, instead of 4.00pm. The Early Closing Association had enabled the formation of football and cricket clubs who played on Thursdays, and as early as 1844 solicitors' clerks were amongst groups seeking a reduction in winter working hours (*Journal* 17.2.1872; 24.2.1872; 6.4.1872; 17.8.1872; 5.6.1875; VCH Vol. IV: 183). Spare time was therefore increasingly available to groups in Gloucester enabling them either to play or spectate. However, whilst fixtures remained predominantly on Fridays, substantial numbers of a growing urban-industrial working class were excluded. Likewise, the Thursday team also excluded many working-class groups. Even with the regularisation of Saturday fixtures some occupational groups would have been excluded, most notably dock-workers, whose working schedules were dictated by tidal variations and intermittent work patterns.

It would appear that, from the outset, the club's committee encouraged the attendance of spectators, for apparently no admission charge was made for the first three seasons. This probably encouraged the growth in popular support. Had the club decided to charge admission, the open nature of the Spa ground, and the lack of funds to undertake even rudimentary enclosure, would have made such a policy difficult to administer. In the event spectatorship was actively encouraged. The *Journal*, for example, notes that: "We understand that members

of the club will always be glad to see spectators on the ground, and the goal posts having been moved so that a capital view can be obtained from the pavilion" (*Journal* 9.10.1875). The relocation of the pitch to facilitate a better view from the pavilion, traditionally reserved for members and the ladies, does perhaps indicate that greater attention was being paid to these social groups rather than encouraging mass, popular support. Given the social status of the playing members, the motive behind encouraging spectators from lower-status social groups may have been one of displaying to them, the members' physical prowess at games. This point is necessarily speculative. However, it is difficult to avoid the supposition that they could not have anticipated the rapid growth of spectator interest and adoption of rugby by the local community which occurred and the impact this was to have on the club's development.

The first gate-taking fixture at Gloucester was against the "Flamingoes", brought down from London by the ex-Gloucester captain F. Hartley, on February 12th 1876. The club justified charging admission by claiming that such charges were essential to cover the "considerable expense" of bringing the team to Gloucester. (It was common at this time for a visiting team to ask for a "guarantee", a sum of money to cover their expenses when playing an "out" (or "away") fixture for which there was no return "home" game). However, the committee made a point of emphasising to spectators that "on all other occasions the ground was open to them." This fixture, played on a Saturday afternoon, was highly successful with a large attendance of spectators inside the rudimentary enclosure. Many also watched from vantage-points outside the playing and spectating area which had been enclosed by canvass screens. The ladies are reported to have "mustered in full force in the pavilion", seats being provided especially for them. Post-match hospitality was provided at the Ram Inn and was of such a generous nature that only one of the Flamingoes' party left on Saturday night, the rest remaining until the following Tuesday (*Journal* 9.10.1876; 12.2.1876).

It is difficult to ascertain the precise period when admission charges were regularised. The available information suggests that charging for admission was undertaken initially on an "ad hoc" basis for popular fixtures or special events such as the floodlit match against Rockleaze in January 1879. Clearly the

committee had recognised, after the Flamingoes fixture, the revenue earning potential of charging for admission. Revenue from increasing membership subscriptions also grew throughout this period, suggesting an increase in spectatorship. Crowds of between three and four thousand were estimated to have attended each of the matches against Clifton, Moseley and Newport in 1880. The growth in popularity was not confined to male spectators. At the Newport match, the pavilion was evidently too small to accommodate the ladies who, we are told, were “more numerous than usual”. Spectator revenues rose from approximately £35 at the end of the 1881/82 season to £134/5s/6d in 1883/4. Memberships had also risen to 350, bringing in just over £100 in subscriptions (*Journal* 14.4.1887; *Citizen* 7.4.1883; 3.4.1884). The regularisation of Saturday fixtures, aided by the expansion of fixtures, a growing rail network, local and national influences generating “spare-time” on Saturdays and the growth of spectator support encouraged by free admission and “special matches”, enabled Gloucester FC to begin to grasp the opportunity to become a gate-taking club. These factors contributed to the generation of substantial spectator revenues by the early 1880’s.

Growth in spectatorship led to emerging “problems” associated with player behaviour and, in 1879, spectator behaviour. In the former case, sensitivity to the violent nature of the game leading to accidental injury, “unnecessary roughness” and players disputing decisions, were the main concerns. The first serious incident involving accidental injury to a Gloucester player occurred in a match, played in March 1876 against Ross, when Sydney Lane fractured his thigh. The incident was reported in the following week’s *Journal*. The reporter was at pains to point out that it was caused by an inopportune slip, “not by any special violence”. However, it appeared to have had a serious effect on attendances in particular, it was believed, amongst the ladies. The match against Hereford the week after was cancelled as a result of the accident. The responses to this incident reveal a considerable degree of sensitivity to witnessing serious injury. The injury, moreover, was perceived to have had a greater emotional impact upon “the ladies”. The general view of this event, and a similar one involving W. Snushall who broke his ankle in a match against Newport in 1879, was that whilst

it was unpleasant to witness, it was an unfortunate consequence of the relatively high degree of physical contact inherent in rugby football. Acceptance of the likelihood of accidental injury whilst playing rugby was confirmed at the General Meeting of club members in September 1889, when it was agreed to insure players against injury. The committee, however, claimed it could not afford the £20 to £30 required. In the event, the money to insure players was raised by private subscription by the members (*Journal* 16.12.1876; 14.9.1899; *Jubilee Souvenir* publication, 1923).

Also of concern was excessively rough and violent play. Initially this issue did not appear to cause the journalist who reported Gloucester's matches in the *Journal* undue concern. Occasionally, in early match reports, comments occur such as "an unusually pleasant game". This might hint at games being regarded as regularly "unpleasant" in some way, but that the "unpleasantness" was played down or not mentioned in the press. During the first five years of fixtures the only incident of deliberate violence taken up in the press surfaced through the "Letters to the Editor" column of the *Journal*. An M. J. Jeffs, who in 1882 became Sheriff of Gloucester and who was a prolific contributor to the "correspondence" columns of local newspapers, expressed his concern over the "foul kick" aimed at the Gloucester player W. Snushall in the Newport game of 1879. Later in the match Snushall broke his ankle (*Journal* 16.12.1876; 17.12.1877). However, player violence became a more significant issue in the mid- to late- 1880's onwards, and its implications will be dealt with later in the chapter.

Finally, there was a third element of player behaviour that caused concern. This was the "unseemly wrangling" and "disputed decisions" common in some fixtures. To a degree this was a consequence of the stage reached in the general development of rugby football. The referee was not yet the "sole arbiter of fact", the role of settling disputes by discussion was the responsibility of the captains. The emphasis, as Dunning and Sheard (1979: 96) point out, was "laid on the internalisation of the rules rather than external restraint". Later, the role and status of Umpires was strengthened but at this time they were often officials or members of the home clubs and would have made decisions based on the evidence presented by the two captains. There was a significant degree of

leeway for “interpretation” of the laws, and as a consequence, inconsistency in decision making. So much so that an appeal to the RFU after a game could lead to a score being disallowed and a result changed. Nevertheless, there was an assumption that players understood and respected the notions of self-regulation and “fairness” that underpinned the ethos of participation. These values were positively reinforced on a number of occasions during Gloucester’s early fixtures. For example, against Hereford in 1876, the club “waived their claim” to two disputed tries and in 1880 against Stroud they again took the same action, “after friendly discussion”, in respect of a disputed try (*Journal* 9.12.1876; 10.1.1880). After the special match against the Flamingoes in 1876 it was felt necessary by the local press to “congratulate the teams on their bona fide rivalry that marked the play throughout, instead of the unseemly wrangling that so often mars a football match” (*Journal* 19.2.1876).

These behavioural values also extended to criticism of the Gloucester players’ lack of punctuality in starting matches. This was fastened on to by a correspondent to the *Citizen* after a late start to the game against Cheltenham College in 1882. The correspondent pointed out that: “This is not courteous to the visitors or satisfactory to the public. Punctuality is the soul of pleasure as well as of business” (*Citizen* 29.10.1883). Herein lies a hint of the process that would involve the regularisation of kick-off times. The growing numbers of spectators wanted action and entertainment and were resentful of late starts and lengthy stoppages for appeals to the umpire. In addition, as contests became tests of community virility, not only the “efficiency” but also the impartiality of the umpire was increasingly called into question. The account of the events in the *History of the Gloucester Football Club* (1891: 4) published by the *Citizen* to commemorate the opening of the Kingsholm ground on October 10th 1891 states “The first match was played at... (Newport) and resulted in a victory to Gloucester by a goal to two tries. Every point was, however, disputed and the result was therefore most unsatisfactory”. Evidently, the Newport umpire, in disallowing a Gloucester try, adopted the “unheard of and absurd course of reversing his previous decision”. Later, “In the return at Gloucester the hon. sec. of the Rugby Union refereed and Newport won by a try to nil. Perhaps Mr Rowland Hill will

remember that Gloucester had not the bad manners to question the decision on that day?" The members of the Gloucester club during this period, as they were to do on a number of future occasions, appear to be laying claim to the high ground of rugby's ethical values with regards to questioning the decisions of the referee.

It would appear from this evidence that there were attempts, from a number of directions, to establish a "way of playing" that incorporated both physical and moral qualities. It is reasonable to suggest that key personnel, as old-boys of the prestigious King's School and as young, rising members of the middle-class, would themselves have been infused with these values, and would also have attempted to diffuse them into the community. At the same time this would have reinforced their social status through their support for, and adherence to, a specific set of values associated with the playing of sport. However, this should not be seen as simply an attempt at ideological and status domination perpetrated through the playing of sports. These young men, as mentioned earlier, gained personal enjoyment and satisfaction through their sporting associations. Proselytising a set of physical and moral qualities was bound up with their participation and "display", but it is difficult to suggest that this was a primary motive. The growth of popular support for rugby football in Gloucester both as a participant and spectator sport would, by the 1890's, threaten this ethical stance. For the moment, however, it is sufficient to recognise that for the first four to five years these values were, in large measure, secure, sustained by the social exclusivity of playing and membership requirements.

One way that these values were transmitted publicly was through the local press. The *Journal*, liberal in political affiliation, was owned by Thomas Chance. In 1879, he formed a partnership with Samuel Bland, the owner of the *Citizen*. The *Citizen* continued this affiliation to liberal principles. In its first issue it claimed that: "class interests will receive no encouragement in our columns" and declared that one of its roles was to "assist... in the spread of knowledge among the people." The *Citizen*, in its first edition on May 1st 1876, suggested that a daily newspaper was necessitated by the growth of the city. The enlarged docks at Sharpness Point and the establishment of steamship links with the Forest of

Dean coalfield, were suggested as being factors leading to an increase in population in the city and surrounding areas. The *Citizen* was therefore the first “mass circulation” newspaper in Gloucester published on a daily (except Sunday) basis. The halfpenny price, as compared to the weekly threepence for the *Journal*, a paper predominantly for a wider audience in the “City, County and Neighbouring Shires”, would have assisted its adoption amongst the growing industrial-urban groups in Gloucester. The content of the two papers was initially similar, although the *Journal* as a weekly paper generally contained more political commentary and detail on national and world events (VCH Vol. IV: 213; *Citizen* 1.5.1876).

From 1873 to 1876 Gloucester’s fixtures were “reported” in the *Journal*. The reports were not substantial but contained some comment on the nature of the game, the scorers and the names of the players. The “special” match against the “Flamingoes” in February 1876 was given substantial attention by the paper, beginning a trend that was to continue throughout this period. The AGMs of the club were also reported and fixture lists were published, along with other items of interest. For instance, in 1876, the presentation of a gold watch to Francis Hartley, the first captain, who resigned the post at the end of the 1875/6 season, was given substantial coverage. During this season a small “Football” section of approximately three column inches emerged, reporting on Gloucester’s and other local clubs’ games. However, the most significant development of sports coverage occurred through the *Citizen*.

This paper followed the pattern of reporting in the *Journal* with a commentary on the club’s fixtures appearing in Monday’s edition. These grew in length and detail and were extended to cover the fixtures of the newly formed local rugby and association football clubs. After investment in new technology, in 1886, it became possible to include full match reports in the Saturday late editions from the 1886/7 season onwards. In 1888, “special arrangements” were made to cover other fixtures, for example Cardiff v Weston and Cardiff v Llanelly, in response to the “increased interest in the game of football” in the city (*Citizen* 20.11.1888). Local, regional and national coverage of sport in general, and of rugby in particular, expanded during this period, reflecting and generating

increased interest in sport. On September 12th 1891, the *Citizen* published its first Saturday "Football Edition", with the back page devoted entirely to the reporting of local and national fixtures. There were two significant features of this that are of relevance to the development of Gloucester FC. The first was the timing of a regular "Football Edition" which coincided with the club's first season (1891/92) at its new, enclosed Kingsholm ground. The second, is the nature of the relationship between the sports reporting staff and the Gloucester club. H. V. Jones, a Gloucester player in the early 1880's, was a member of the editorial staff of *The Citizen*. It is unclear whether he reported on any of the games but it is reasonable to suggest that he would have provided a link with the football club, facilitating press access to and reporting of the club's committee meetings and AGM's. T. H. Chance, the proprietor of the *Citizen*, also a city councillor and later alderman, often attended the club's end of season dinners in the early 1880's and on one occasion was invited to preside, as Chairman, over one of these events. This assists in explaining the intimate relationship the *Citizen's* staff appears to have had with the rugby club. William Bailey, who wrote as "W B", joined the staff as sports writer and assistant sub-editor in 1892, positions he held until his retirement in 1936. He continued to contribute weekly articles, entitled *From W B's Notebook*, in the Football Edition of the *Citizen* until the onset of the Second World War. He first joined the paper in 1883 in the Publishing Department and, through his contact with H. V. Jones, developed a close association with the rugby club through the forty-seven years of his career as football commentator. As a specialist "football journalist" he developed an intimate knowledge of the club's affairs. "W.B." was in essence an "insider" and his reports on the club's administration and fixtures contributed to a sense of local "ownership" of the club amongst the Gloucester community and, through his reminiscences in later years, to an historical construction of the club's social identity ("*W.B.'s Scrapbook*").

The popularity of the "Football Edition" appears to have grown strongly throughout the 1890's, containing match reports of local and national fixtures of rugby football including, after the bifurcation of rugby football in 1895, Northern Union games. Association football games were also covered but not to the same degree. Towards the end of the 1890's, a regular "Football Notes" page

preceded the match reports with a review of Gloucester's fixture the previous week and a preview of the forthcoming fixture. This practice extended to correspondents covering other teams in the area, for example, Lydney, Cinderford, Stroud and Cheltenham. It was on this page that cartoons and poems began to appear in the first decade of the 20th century. There was also the initiation of a Football Competition run by the newspaper that involved predicting the score of local rugby football matches for a cash prize. Increases in prize money added to the popularity of the competition. This form of gambling on the outcome of matches was also run by the weekly *Magpie* during its short existence from 1891 to 1893. In 1891, the *Magpie* also published a *Sports Edition* on Mondays to report on local sport. Only five editions were printed. Sketches, and later photographs of prominent players and club officials also began to appear during this period. Examples of these products, which contributed to the popularisation of rugby in Gloucester, are contained in Appendix 3. Annual meetings of Gloucester FC, as well as those of major local sides, were also reported and a "Season's Review" of each club's results was published in the "Football Edition" which concluded the season in April. The paper also published, on a Friday night, the team lists for a number of the junior city clubs. The Saturday "Football Edition" also contained reports of the outcomes of their matches. After the introduction of local cup and league competitions reports of such matches were extended. Fixtures between local Gloucester schools were also reported after 1907. Finally, it was through the *Citizen* that a souvenir "History of the Gloucester Football Club" was published on October 16th 1891 (priced at one penny), on the occasion of the opening of the Kingsholm ground.

In summary, the origins of the "*Citizen*" in 1876 and the subsequent development of the "Football Edition" in 1891 which reflected and extended the local popularity of rugby, can be explained in the following way. The *Citizen* began publication at a time when the growth in Gloucester's urban-industrial population, in conjunction with the 1870 Education Act and the municipalisation of Gloucester's elementary schools, was beginning to produce a mass-public which, as Williams (1972: 295) observes, was increasingly literate but still largely "untrained in reading". The

Citizen, as a daily newspaper with a growing mass circulation, clearly had some consonance with the reading requirements of large numbers of the local community. However, as Williams (1972: 295) points out, "communication is not only transmission, it is reception and response." In the context of sport and the position of Gloucester FC, the development of the *Citizen's* "Football Edition" can be seen as articulating with a large section of the local community increasingly interested in the sport of rugby and, in particular, the fortunes of Gloucester FC and local sides. The increased sports coverage of the newspaper reflected the interests of this group. It also had an input, through its liberal stance and close relations with Gloucester FC, on the cultural position of rugby football in Gloucester. Indeed, in 1879, it was through the local newspapers that reports of, and correspondence relating to, the first major threat to the club's existence were transmitted, debated and amplified.

II

The incident that precipitated the 1879 controversy resulted from the club arranging a floodlit fixture against the Rockleaze club from Bristol. The match was organised for Thursday evening January 30th 1879. It had been advertised in the previous week's *Journal* as "Football by the Electric Light", with the claim that the two clubs would "settle the issue regardless of weather." According to the *Journal*, "Siemens patented electric light," originally developed for military use, had been used earlier in the city, at the skating rink as part of what seems to have been its growing application in the field of popular amusements. Gloucester FC was not the first to experiment with floodlit football. Rochdale FC had held a rugby match under lights in November 1878. According to reports of the game held at Gloucester, the lighting system was far from perfect. Evidently the system worked erratically, one of the four lights failing and a second flickering on and off. There is reported to have been a large attendance at both events, over 2,000 attending at Gloucester and around 5,000 at Rochdale (*Journal* 25.2.1879; Smith and Williams, 1980: 35; Barlow, 1993). Clearly, this technical/commercial innovation attracted a significant number of spectators to football matches. This was, however, as Gloucester FC was to find out, not without its consequences.

It is worth dwelling on the events that occurred after Gloucester's floodlit match at the Spa, not only because they nearly led to the club's demise, but also because they exposed the dilemma posed for both the club's officials and the city's administration by growing numbers of spectators. The Parks Committee, meeting on the 8th of April 1879, debated a proposition, from the Deputy Mayor, Alderman Reynolds, that lawn tennis, cricket and bowls could be played in an enclosed area of the Spa, but football was to be prohibited. The proposal was prompted by damage caused by the spectators at Gloucester's floodlit match against Rockleaze to an area of shrubbery adjacent to the pitch. Despite attempts to resist the proposition by two Parks Committee members, a Mr Edwards and a Mr Pitchford (they only managed to obtain four supporters for their amendment),

football was subsequently banned from the Spa (*Corporation of Gloucester Minutes*, 1879; *Journal* 12.4.1879). This decision sparked off a flurry of correspondence in the local press. Supporters of the ban variously applauded the opening up of the Spa to other users and drew attention to the roughness of rugby football, also pointing to the alleged disorderly nature of large gatherings of spectators at Gloucester's matches.

The debate in the press was effectively opened by W. G. Bosley, the Honorary Secretary of Gloucester FC. After complaining of a lack of consultation by the Town Council, particularly after the club had offered to repair the damage and erect fences at its own expense, he pointed out that it was:

somewhat hard that the club should be deprived of its ground because football has become so popular in Gloucester that thousands of people of all ages and classes assemble to see and enjoy the matches whereas were no interest whatever taken by the public in the game it might be played in the Spa without fear of prohibition until the end of time (*Journal* 26.4.1879).

Bosley appears to have missed the point here. It was precisely because there were large numbers of interested spectators that there was public concern. A correspondent, writing under the pseudonym "Z", took issue with Bosley. With regard to spectators at football matches he suggested that: "No doubt many enjoy them as they would enjoy, or doubly enjoy, to see bull baiting, badger drawing and cock fighting revived." He reserved his greatest ire for the "objectionable" features of the game; the violent aspects of scrummages, shinnings and hurling players to the ground which he claimed would sooner or later lead to the "serious wounding or maiming of one of themselves or their antagonists". "Football", he believed, "as it used to be played was a fine and manly game, football as now too often played, and as played in Gloucester is... a brutal game". He concluded by asking that, "the more thoughtful portion of the community be asked their view in the matter". He did however load the response he anticipated by pointing out that, "As far as my experience goes it is difficult to meet with any of the middle-class who either take delight in watching the game or even approve of its being played in the present fashion" (*Journal* 3.5.1879).

A stinging response by H. J. Boughton, the Treasurer of the club, followed in the next issue of the *Journal*. He pointed out that the club was supported by “many influential gentlemen residing in the neighbourhood, with seven members living in the eight houses comprising Beaufort Buildings, located on the perimeter of the Spa”. As a final barbed comment, apparently aimed at “Z”, Boughton suggested that, “There are many people who are too obtuse and too dense to understand the game either as played at present or in days gone by” (*Journal* 10.5.1879). Boughton, however, did not rest there. He appears to have been active during the summer months in canvassing support for the club from members of the church, The Crypt grammar school and from “respected” citizens. By late September 1879 the club was ready to launch its appeal to the Parks Committee requesting them to overturn the ban on football.

The deputation that attended a meeting of the Parks Committee on 30th September 1879 contained Reverend C. Naylor (Headmaster of The Crypt grammar school), W. C. and W. A. Lucy (corn merchants in their father’s business), J. Bryan (a magistrates clerk), J. P. Moore (architect), J. F. Brown (club captain and Post Office clerk), H. J. Boughton (club Secretary and solicitor’s clerk), H. Cooke and A. S. Phelps (committee members). The timing of the club’s appeal to the Parks Committee was particularly astute for two reasons. In the first place, being so close to the beginning of the season, the club could have claimed that it would have been impossible, at such short notice, to find a suitable alternative ground and that they might therefore have to disband. Secondly, the presentation of a petition to the Town Council on Barton Fair Day, a local public holiday, took advantage of an atmosphere conducive to an appeal to any populist sentiments shared by the elected representatives.

A number of arguments were presented to support their case for reinstatement. Firstly, a petition of over two thousand Gloucester residents, including highly respectable people such as clergymen, magistrates and the “best men in the city”, confirmed popular support for the club. Moreover, a survey of 72 households close to the Spa revealed only three objectors and dispelled fears of neighbourhood resistance. Secondly, it was also pointed out that Gloucester FC allowed the Crypt schoolboys, who incidentally had been instrumental in

gathering names for the petition, to play on the Spa. Thus, by depriving the club of the Spa, the Parks Committee would also be depriving boys from one of the prestigious schools in the city of their exercise. Furthermore, other venues would be too expensive in terms of rent or were unsuitable. One alternative, the "Ham", was deemed unsuitable on two counts. First, it was prone to winter flooding and, secondly, the Crypt school had been compelled to discontinue its use on earlier occasions "on account of what the boys saw and heard in the district through which they were obliged to pass". The route from the Crypt School to the Ham involved the boys passing through some of the older, industrial working-class districts. Thirdly, the Reverend Nisbett, a member of the deputation who could not attend, played the nationalism card in a letter supporting the reinstatement of rugby football playing on the Spa. "Manliness", which he saw as being a key component in the playing of rugby, he claimed, "was the pride of Englishmen and everything that tended to cultivate it should be encouraged". Finally, the club proposed a set of self-regulatory conditions to prevent a recurrence of the problem. The most important of these for present purposes was the proposal to charge one penny for admission to the "popular" side of the ground opposite the Pump Room (*Journal* 4.10.1879; *Corporation of Gloucester Minutes*, 1879; *Souvenir* publication, 1891; *Jubilee Souvenir* publication, 1923).

These arguments were sufficient to secure a *volte face* on the part of the committee. The original prohibition of football on the Spa was rescinded after two-and-a-half hours of debate. However, this was only after some members of the Parks Committee, most notably Councillor Moussell, had indulged in a bout of eulogising the virtues of rugby football. He also pointed to its contribution in keeping working men from public-houses as well as the contention that, "to play successfully men must be in training, and to be in training they must lead steady and sober lives. It was from men such as these that England got her officers and soldiers" (*Journal* 4.10.1879). It was reported that this observation brought forth cheers from those present. The outcome was that the Cricket Club could continue to sub-let the Spa during the winter months on condition that the rugby club repaired any damage to the playing and spectator areas. Furthermore the rugby club did not organise any more "night" games, and obtained permission

from the Park Committee prior to erecting canvas screens around the playing area for gate-taking purposes.

This example of the resolution of conflict between groups in Gloucester over playing resources raises important points about the context in which the club developed. Firstly, the development of Gloucester FC is seen to be firmly in the hands of middle-class groups with access to influential citizens who could be relied on for support. Over the next few years the club's officials devoted much time and effort to acquiring friends and allies from amongst influential groups of local citizens and in particular, elected representatives. Councillors, Aldermen, Mayors and local MPs figure prominently amongst invited guests at the club's "Annual Suppers" and prestigious fixtures. This network of local interdependencies involving middle-class groups facilitated both the organisational development of Gloucester FC and its emergence as a focus for the expression of community identity. The organising members of the club were now well placed to discharge their responsibilities to the rest of the membership, the main priority being to retain the use of the Spa in the future. That they did so to the satisfaction of the city's elected representatives is confirmed by the Mayor, Trevor Powell, speaking at the "Annual Dinner" to mark the end of the 1884/85 season. Referring to the contingent nature of the relationship between the club and the city council and the gate-taking activity of the club, he made it clear that, "so long as the club conducted its business, or rather pleasure, in the present manner, he was sure the corporation would be glad to leave them in possession of the Spa grounds" (*Journal* 21.3.1885).

Secondly, the conflict exposed a constellation of values and concerns held by the groups over the development of rugby in Gloucester. Towards the end of the meeting, Councillor Pitchford hinted at an element of class display when he claimed that rugby was played by "a number of respectable gentlemen anxious to indulge in a game which would afford amusement and pleasure to thousands". Concerns about the roughness of the game were countered with the proposition that "Mr Naylor and the masters of the school (the Crypt) would not allow it to be played if it were a rough one" (*Journal* 4.10.1879). However, it is to be suspected that it was precisely because it was a rough game that it was allowed. Previous

quotes and references have drawn attention to the values of manliness and national pride that were bound up in the argument for continuing the playing of rugby. Furthermore, the suggestions made by club members as to how the affairs of the club could be regulated would have had some consonance with the ethos of self-discipline prevalent during the mid- to late-Victorian era and with a city corporation anxious not to increase its spending. Thirdly, popular support, as evidenced by the size of the petition, was substantial. It may also have been that the councillors, reflecting on the need to subject themselves periodically for re-election, took some notice of the volume and source of this support. Finally, as an unintended consequence of the resolution of this issue, gate-taking was now formalised at Gloucester FC with the exclusion of non-paying spectators achieved by the erection of canvas screens around the perimeter of the ground on match days. Within the ground, the trend towards segmentation for specific populations was reinforced. The "ladies", members and the committee occupied the pavilion, and the "one-penny" spectators were confined to a designated area on the opposite side of the ground.

The growth in spectatorship was only one aspect of the development of rugby football in Gloucester. Towards the late 1870's there was a growth in local, often parish-based clubs. St Catherine's FC, founded in 1879, is recorded as the first of these clubs to have been established in the city. This club was closely associated with the parish church, using the schoolroom for meetings and the clergy as organising personnel. In 1886/7, Reverend Canon Mayne was the club's President, and the Reverend J H Waugh was Secretary and Treasurer. Other clubs began to emerge including, for example, St Luke's Red Cross, St James' Rovers, Gloucester Rangers, Gloucester Hornets, a team of Crypt School Old Boys (Old Crypt) as well as a Crypt Church team. Some of these clubs even ran second teams. The first reference to a workplace team is in the 1880/81 season when Atlas Engineers ran a club and fielded three sides. There were other clubs from the villages and towns surrounding Gloucester, for example, Tredworth Wanderers, Highnam, Newent and the earliest club established in the Gloucester area, Painswick, whose formation preceded that of Gloucester by one season. These clubs provide testimony to the general growth in the popularity of

rugby in the area. The Gordon League club, historically one of the more successful local clubs producing, at the time of writing, nine internationals, developed from the Gordon Boys League. The popularity of the associated Gordon Boys club, already running athletics meetings and sports events, enabled two rugby sides to be fielded in the club's first season (Citizen 20.12.1879; 31.1.1880; 10.1.1880; 19.10.1880; 25.9.1886; 17.9.1888; *History of the Gordon League* Gloucester Library N29.82).

There are a number of reasons for growth in the popularity of rugby as a participant sport in Gloucester. In the first place, it was clear that the church and workplace-based clubs were becoming a convenient focus for working men to engage in rugby football. There was, bound up with this, direct encouragement from liberal reformers for working-class groups to participate in "rational recreation". It is to be anticipated that there would be tensions in this relationship as the expectations and motivations of these two groups clashed. Secondly, although the motives of the clergy may have been to promote rational recreation, as well as increasing church attendance, the parish basis of these clubs had the effect, largely unintended, of contributing to the formation in Gloucester of intra-community identities in which displays of aggressive masculinity were valued. Again, it was likely that there would have been tensions between the ethos of the "Christian Gentlemen" and forms of masculinity preferred by specific groups of working-class males. Given that the senior club in the city, Gloucester FC, had a predominantly middle-class playing membership, it is not unreasonable to suggest that working-class groups used their participation in rugby football to display and confirm their forms of masculinity in relation to middle-class participants from more sedentary occupations. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it needs to be stressed that players in these early clubs would have enjoyed playing. Rugby afforded them an opportunity to engage in a rough sport offering a pleasurable generation and release of tension excitement, albeit in a constrained and organised setting.

The diffusion of rugby football through the community provided opportunities for Gloucester FC to recruit players from local clubs. This was formalised through the institution of "Colts" matches at the start of each season. Between eighteen

or twenty players from local clubs would make up a “scratch” team and play a practice match against the senior Gloucester side. Promising players would then be recruited into the club’s second team, or directly into the first team. Players from local clubs were occasionally called up into Gloucester FC’s second team during the season when the club had difficulty in raising a second team for their Saturday fixtures. There is some evidence that recruitment from local clubs could not be consistently relied upon. At the start of the 1887/1888 season the traditional Colts XX versus the club’s first team did not take place due, it is reported, to the decline of local clubs. It may well have been that some of the smaller clubs folded due to lack of players, inadequate financial support with kit and rent of pitches, or a lack of individuals who were willing to take on organising functions. In later years these fixtures were re-established, with Colts players being drawn from the surviving clubs, such as Gordon League, Gordon Wanderers, St Luke’s, Atlas, Steam Press as well as from the local Theological College and the Gloucester Association Football Club, founded in 1889. There was significant pride taken in the number of local players recruited to Gloucester’s senior side. In 1887 the *Citizen*, (12.3.1887) displayed a table showing the city as the birthplace of ten of the players (Appendix 4). This, it was suggested earlier by Councillor Moussell, was the reason why leading citizens had taken an interest in it as a *bona fide* club. Gloucester he claimed, “did not go outside the town to get men to play for them”. Recruitment from outside the city was apparently frowned upon, at least by someone calling himself “Bob”. In a letter to the *Citizen*, Bob exhorted the club, “to select local men from the city clubs rather than outside” (*Citizen* 7.4.1883). As rugby football diffused into the local community, increasing emphasis was placed on local clubs as a source of players. Recruitment from this source became important as the founder members retired from playing and the difficulty in replacing them was compounded both by a lack of rugby playing schools in Gloucester at this time and of a substantial professional, public school-educated middle-class.

As recruitment from local clubs increased in importance a financial relationship developed between Gloucester FC and the local clubs. By 1887, admission was being charged for practice games against the Colts held at the start of the

season. At first sight this appears to be a move by the club to increase spectator revenues. However, gate-money from these fixtures was apportioned to local clubs, taking into account the number of players those clubs had provided to Gloucester FC the previous season. In 1891 the club distributed £6.2s.11d to local clubs with Agnes Waddy, the founder of the Gordon League for boys, also adding £6.4s (*Citizen* 10.9.1887; *Magpie* 26.9.1891). Gloucester FC was therefore not only acting as a benefactor of local clubs but was also involved in a financial transaction with them for the use of players. Tensions existed between Gloucester FC and local clubs, who not only lost their best players to Gloucester but, in addition, were inconvenienced when the club called up their players as late replacements for the second fifteen. Indeed, these tensions became more acute with the introduction of cup, and later league, matches for local clubs in the mid-1890s. This development will be explored in the next chapter. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the gate-money proceeds from Colts matches in the late 1880's would have been used, to a degree, to ease this tension.

The organisational status of the second fifteen became more formalised as the club expanded. At the start of the 1887/1888 season, it had its own committee, was unbeaten in the previous two seasons and was viewed by members of the club as a recruiting ground for the first team. A resolution was also in force up until the end of the 1888/89 season that local clubs should not be included on the second team's list of matches in order to avoid Gloucester players turning out against their old clubs. Finally, the Treasurer of the club, S. S. Starr, pointed out at the annual supper in 1890 that the second team had, for the first time, "paid its way", with a positive financial balance (*Citizen* 15.4.1889; 16.4.1890).

The decade of the 1880's was therefore a significant period in the social development of the club. At the start of the period the social backgrounds of players reflected its middle-class origins. The first team in the 1879/80 season contained a Post-office clerk (J. F. Brown) as captain, a clerk in timber, an articled clerk, an accountant and a timber merchant. The captain of the second team, F. W. Wood, was a 21 year-old sack contractor. Towards the end of the decade recruitment from local clubs gradually changed the social composition of the team. Amongst the earliest "working-man" players was George Coates (ex-St

Luke's Red Cross) a labourer at the Wagon Works, and Harry Taylor (ex-captain of St Catherine), a plumber and glazier, who made their debuts for the club in 1881 and 1882 respectively (1881 Census Index). In 1890 the Gloucester club was captained for the first time by a working-class man, Tommy Bagwell.

This was a significant event in the development of the club and deserves further attention. Tommy Bagwell, a 25 year old labourer at the Wagon Works, made his debut for the club in 1884, and like his lifelong friend George Coates, was an ex-St Luke's Red Cross player. He lived at this time with his widowed mother, and his younger sister Mary, in High Orchard, a working-class district inhabited mainly by dock-workers and industrial labourers. As a "half-back" playing just behind the forwards he was, we are told, renowned for his "dodging powers", a "speciality hand-off which opponents after one experience, took every precaution to avoid", and a tactical alertness. These qualities, along with his reputation for personal fitness, enabled him to hold a regular place in the first team and earned him his club and county caps. On retiring from senior rugby he played for St Catherine's before returning to the Gloucester club, firstly as a trainer and later as the baggage and kit man. He died in 1943, in his early eighties, after sixty year's association with the club as player and life-member (this biography has been gleaned from reports in the *Citizen* through the 1880s and 1890s, from a special feature on Bagwell in the *Citizen* (28.9.1946) and from the 1881 Census Index. In addition, interviews with former players, in particular Doug Wadley and Roy "Digger" Morris have provided additional detail). Bagwell came into the Gloucester side at the beginning of the period when its traditional playing base was changing. There appears to have been some concern amongst the older members and founders of the club that the values to which the club adhered were being eroded by this development. As the process of democratising the playing membership accelerated, two examples crystallise and illustrate the values that influential groups connected with the club were attempting to reinforce. The first is drawn from the early 1880's when Bagwell had just joined the club through the Colts, and the second from 1889, the season prior to the start of his captaincy, In 1884, there was a presentation of a "Testimonial", in the form of a gold watch and chain, to J. F. Brown, Gloucester's second captain. Brown had captained the

side for seven seasons after finishing his education at The Crypt school. Around £60 had been collected for him, despite his rejection of collecting boxes being placed around the ground. He claimed it would give him greater satisfaction if admirers came forward voluntarily. A committeeman, W. C. Lucy, ventured to suggest that Brown's former duties at the Post Office were, "more efficiently performed on account of the recreation he had gained in advancing the sports with which his name had been connected" (*Citizen* 27.12.1884). The Reverend Scobell followed this with the observation, common at this time, that "to have a healthy mind it was necessary to have a healthy body", and that there was no better path to this than practising "manly sports". It is noteworthy that Brown presided, in his final year as captain, over Gloucester's first unbeaten season of 1882/83, a fact that would not have been missed by the men who were bestowing praise upon him. Thus, there is a suggestion that the values that made both Brown and the club successful, were congruent (*Citizen* 27.12.1884). The second event, the 1888/1889 Annual Supper focused more on the individual's role in the "collective" of the club. A. W. Vears who took the chair at the supper, in the company of the Mayor, the local MP and City Aldermen, prevailed upon the players to "prevent rough play and play for the good of the team". He also suggested they should remind themselves that, "Upon me rests the credit, the honour, the glory and the future of football and of the club for which I am playing". In addition, he pointed out that, "to the games of her youth England owes the superiority of her manhood" (*Citizen* 16.4.1889).

Bagwell would have come into the club and commenced his captaincy, with these messages of manliness, honour and nationalism reverberating through the club. This is not to suggest that Bagwell was a passive dupe to this ideological pressure, but that his succession to the captaincy in the 1890/91 season was contingent upon a visible degree of acceptance of these values, as well as his status as a long serving and talented player. The role these values played in constructing and reinforcing a version of masculinity that interweaves male physicality with moral, ethical, economic and patriotic responsibilities will be evaluated in the next chapter. Nevertheless, Bagwell was proposed as captain by A. W. Vears who clearly must have seen in him values and behaviours he

admired. In the event, his first season as captain was a highly successful one, the club winning all but two of their fixtures (*Citizen* 6.9.1891; Russell, 1973: 27). Bagwell retired from the captaincy at the end of the 1891/92 season and continued his association with the club but, despite serving on the club's committee, either never wanted, or was never given, a significant administrative role. He did, however, have significant status amongst influential members as an exemplar of what was expected of the "working-man" at Gloucester FC.

The growth in working-class players also had the consequence of moving the operations of the club to the fringes of the rewards permitted under the amateur regulations of the RFU. As early as the 1883/84 season Gloucester FC was paying the travelling expenses of its players and at the AGM of 1884 it was agreed that the "hotel" and tea expenses at an "out-match" (an away fixture) should be met by the club. In addition, Gloucester players in a home match would be invited to partake of the tea provided, at the club's expense, for the away team. This "no-cost-to-play" policy stopped at broken-time payments. The club supported an RFU sub-Committee report on professionalism in October 1886, setting themselves firmly against compensation for time lost through playing rugby by working men. However, by the 1891/92 season the club took responsibility for insuring its players against loss of income caused by injury whilst playing for the club. In addition, a further resolution by the RFU in 1889, fixing a closed season between May 1st and August 31st, and professionalising any player who transgressed this rule, was also supported. However, at this time the "closed season" was not an issue for Gloucester FC as their season was curtailed by the sub-letting agreement with the Gloucester Cricket Club who needed time to repair the wicket prior to the opening of their season. The only other manifestation of professionalising tendencies was quickly rejected. It was rumoured that an over-enthusiastic supporter had offered "money presents" to first and second team players on scoring a try. This offer was rejected by the club on the grounds that it would lead to selfish-play and "would impart an undesirable professional tinge" (*Citizen* 11.3.1892). A degree of compromise is evident here in the financial support of players as, in common with other gate-

taking clubs who drew players from working-class communities, pressures to support players in some way increased.

Other values were also under tension. The public response by H. J. Boughton, one of the founder members and the club's first President, to the suggestion in 1889 for a "Football Challenge Cup" for clubs in Gloucester and neighbouring counties, illustrates the stance he took on the ethics of amateurism. He expressed his opposition in a letter to the *Citizen*, arguing that it would lead to rough play, ill-temper and partisanship, citing the withdrawal of leading Welsh clubs from their cup competition as evidence. He concluded by observing that, "To play for the love of the game...should be the desire of every footballer" (*Citizen* 3.4.1884; 11.9.1884; 3.10.1889; 2.2.1890). The organising group at Gloucester FC were clearly committed to the principles and regulations relating to amateurism through necessity - they were after all, the "rules of the game" - and also by choice. Given their founding captain Francis Hartley's contribution to the foundation of the RFU, and the emerging status of the club, they would have circumscribed any action which threatened the existence and reputation of it. However, accommodation with regard to the amateur ethos appears to have been required as rugby football diffused into the local community.

Other influences on the development of Gloucester FC came from the expansion of the club's fixtures. Of these, interaction with Welsh clubs was to be the most significant. It was not just the sheer number of fixtures - by 1889/90 ten of Gloucester's games were against Welsh clubs; four of them against Cardiff - but also the intense rivalry between the respective communities and the exposure to new playing tactics that was to be influential during this period. The contribution this interaction made to the relationship between rugby football and community identity formation will be discussed in more detail later. In this section the nature of the relationship between Gloucester FC and Newport, Swansea, Llanelli and Cardiff is explored as being typical of this relationship.

Prior to commencing this analysis, it needs to be recognised that, by the early 1880's, Gloucester FC had developed significant support amongst working-class groups of spectators and amongst high status civic dignitaries who were incorporated into its ambience. The original club crest had been dispensed with

and the City crest adopted and displayed on the blue playing jerseys. (Both crests are reproduced in Appendix 5). The transition in the visible symbol of the club is worth further comment. The motto accompanying the club's first crest "Palman Qui Meruit Ferat" has been traced to Jortin's "Lucus Poetici" (1748). The translation is "Let him bear the palm who deserves it". To "bear the palm" is an allusion to the Roman custom of giving a victorious gladiator a branch of a palm tree as a signal of superiority; of being the best. A similar practice was also adopted in the games of Ancient Greece prior to the presentation of the victor's laurels. There is therefore an association with physical contests and an exhortation to succeed, both as an individual and as a club representing the city. The reason for the adoption of this particular motto offers the intriguing possibility that its choice may have been influenced by one of the early and prestigious founding members, A. W. Vears. Vears served in the British Navy for twelve years and may well have been aware that the motto was adopted by the Commander-in-Chief of the British Navy in 1784, Viscount Horatio Nelson, and later as that of the battleship HMS Nelson. In this context, given Vears' influence in developing Gloucester FC as a socially open club, the adoption of this motto may well signal a commitment to the meritocratic basis of recruitment to playing membership.

The adoption of the city crest indicates that, even at this early stage in its development, the club was fairly well established as representing the community in a sports context and, on this basis, there was significant interest in the outcome of contests with other communities, particularly those in close proximity and with similar social organisation. The Welsh clubs fitted the bill and could offer the additional spice of nationalism in the contests. It needs to be pointed out here that the inter-community rivalry element should not be overstated. Whilst players may well have been aware they were representing the club and the city, they would also, as individuals, be attempting to demonstrate their personal skills and physical toughness.

Gloucester's earliest and closest Welsh opponent was Newport. The first fixtures between the clubs took place in the 1878/79 season, both being highly charged encounters. Newport were holders of the South Wales Challenge Vase and both

teams were undefeated at the time of their first encounter in December 1878. The first game was drawn and Newport won the return game at Gloucester. The latter not without some controversy over the “shady play” of the Newport player, Ponsford, who allegedly feigned injury close to his own goal line but recovered swiftly enough to pick up the ball and prevent a try that would have given Gloucester the draw. Further disputes occurred at Newport in the 1883/84 season over decisions by the home umpire, and in the 1888/89 season at Newport. In the latter encounter spectators, described as “facetious” by the *Citizen*, baited a Gloucester side that had been unable to defeat a depleted Newport team. This led to Gloucester cancelling fixtures with Newport until the 1891/2 season. Their reappearance on the fixture card, not popular amongst some members, was described at the club’s AGM as a “blot” by C. H. Dancey, a member of the committee (*Journal* 7.12.1878; 22.1.1879; 29.12.1888; *Citizen* 24.4.1891; Souvenir publication 1891: 4). Although these are snapshots of significant incidents, the history of encounters between these two teams does seem to suggest that they were the most acrimonious of all the fixtures between Gloucester and the Welsh clubs. Spectator interest was also high with large partisan crowds swelling the club’s coffers and adding to the intensity of the occasion. This intensity appears to have been carried into subsequent fixtures with other Welsh teams, although not to the same degree as with Newport. Battles against Swansea and Llanelli were also keenly contested. After one game against Cardiff, the hero of Gloucester’s victory, W. H. Taylor, was carried off the ground and paraded around the streets shoulder high by Gloucester’s supporters.

Fixtures against Cardiff were amongst the most popular with spectators. Entries in the notebooks kept by successive Secretaries of the club during this period are repeatedly accompanied with “record gate” alongside the amount taken in gate revenue. Even second team games between the two clubs attracted large numbers of spectators. In the 1888/89 season, when Gloucester played Cardiff four times in one season, an “excursion train” was arranged with the Great Western Railway to transport upwards of 1,500 supporters to Cardiff for the final and deciding game, the previous three being drawn. These intensely partisan

crowds caused problems on occasions. After one home defeat by Cardiff in December 1889, the referee, Jack Young of Tredegar in South Wales, had to be escorted from the ground by policemen at the end of the game (*Citizen* 23.3.1889; 21.12.1889). Given the regularity with which the teams met, that violent play may have escalated over time as “old scores” were settled. However, there was a feature of the relationship with Cardiff that dampened these emotions, specifically the role played by Cardiff, and indeed Gloucester, in the mid-1880’s in developing a style of play based around a reconfiguring of the playing formation. In order to understand the nature and impact of these developments, it is worth reviewing briefly the way that rugby was being played during this period.

An early formation, relatively common in games played under Rugby Union rules from the early-1870’s, was for the fifteen players to be divided into nine “forwards”, two “halves”, two “three-quarters” and two “full-backs”. When a player was tackled or held he was required to shout “down” or “have it down”. The ball would then be forced to the ground, whereupon the job of the forwards was to gather tightly around the ball forming a “scrummage”. The forwards were then expected to try to force the ball through the opposing pack of forwards and, if possible, dribble the ball towards their opponent’s goal line. The attacking half-backs, one on either side of the scrummage, would retrieve the ball if it came out of the pack of players and pass it to one of their respective three-quarters who would run for the opponent’s goal line, attempting to evade his opposite number and the two full-backs. Defending three-quarters and full-backs were expected either to tackle players or stop the dribbling rushes of the forwards by collecting or falling on the ball. Thus, whilst the game formation gave scope for individual brilliance by the three-quarters, there was comparatively little passing with the ball which was entombed in the scrummage for long periods of time. Gloucester, under the influence of Francis Hartley, dispensed with the second full-back, bringing the extra player into the three-quarter line and developing short, passing movements between them. It is well-established that Gloucester developed a reputation for this “short-passing” game, a style that Welsh clubs soon came to adopt. This new configuration and style of play assisted in spectacularising the game and may well have been one of the factors that encouraged spectator

growth (Reason and James, 1979: 61; *Football Annals*, 1873-1880, RFU Library, Twickenham).

The Cardiff innovation in February 1884, described by Smith and Williams (1980: 61) as a “stroke of improvisation”, was to reduce the number of forwards to eight and increase the number of three-quarters to four. This, they suggest, was initially undertaken in order to retain the newly promoted F. E. Hancock in the first team without dropping any of the current first team three-quarters. The first time Cardiff played this formation was on February 23rd 1884 against Gloucester. By the 1885/6 season Cardiff had fully adopted the four three-quarter “system” and had developed a set of tactics to go with it. It was not the new configuration *per se* that led to them being dubbed the “Welsh Invincibles” in the 1885/6 season but the supporting developments Cardiff made, which the rugby journalist of the *Citizen* claimed, had “reduced the game to a science” (*Citizen* 25.4.1884). One of these inter-related developments was described as the “heeling-out-dodge”. This changed the job of forwards from one where they were expected to drive the ball through the opposition pack, to one where they were to heel the ball back to their four three-quarters who, before other clubs adopted the same tactics, would have outnumbered their opponents. To counter the opposition copying this tactic Cardiff developed the tactic of “wheeling” the scrummage so that if the ball was heeled out by the opposition it would come out towards their own three-quarters. This led to greater emphasis on “combination” between forwards and backs.

The new role for the forwards had implications for their physical abilities. The aim now was to deliver the ball from the scrummage as quickly as possible, rather than indulging in prolonged bouts of pushing and wrestling, a difficult task when one had only eight forwards against the opponents nine. Therefore, according to the *Citizen's* rugby reporter, the heavy forwards, the “Hercules” of the past, were giving way to forwards who, “to strength and muscle can add greater staying power, agility and fleet of foot” (*Citizen* 25.4.1884). By the beginning of 1889/90 season Cardiff was using at least two “trainers” to develop these physical and athletic abilities. As a consequence of these developments and their adoption, first by the Welsh clubs in 1885/86 and formally by Gloucester FC in 1888/89 after tentative experiments in the previous two seasons, the dynamics of the

game were now faster and more open. Indeed, Cardiff scored one hundred and twenty-one tries against only four conceded in the 1885/86 season (Smith and Williams, 1980: 61; *Citizen* 7.4.1888; 17.4.1889). In addition, it is worth tentatively suggesting that the reduction in close-quarter combat between forwards may have reduced levels of player violence. However, against this must be placed the rise in levels of tension-excitement brought about by a more dynamic game in the context of intense inter-community rivalry.

Gloucester FC were slow to catch on to Cardiff's new system and did not develop either their way of playing or the supporting tactics and training infrastructure as quickly as Cardiff and the rest of the Welsh clubs. In large part, this was due to historical roots embedded in the cultural *terra firma* of a reputation for pioneering and mastering the short-passing game and their increasing status as one of the best club sides in England. Change would not have come easily in this context. Persistent defeats by Welsh clubs, against whom Gloucester FC played a significant proportion of their fixtures, soon brought a change of heart. One of these defeats against Cardiff, described in the *Citizen* (29.3.1890) as a "prodigious whopping", would have been very hard to swallow. However, the mutual respect between Gloucester and the Welsh clubs, and in particular Cardiff, should not be underestimated as an agent for change. The subtlety of this bond is most effectively illustrated by the review of Gloucester FC's 1886/87 season in the *Journal* of the 26th April 1887. After a statistical review of the club's performance, the article noted:

In these figures we find the ground for our assertion that the Gloucester team is as good as of yore, for it has again asserted its supremacy over the West of England teams in marked manner and made good its title to the championship of this part of the country; while solace may be found in the fact that defeat came at the hands of teams who learnt the scientific game from Gloucester, for Cardiff, who introduced the "passing-game" into Wales with startling effect, admittedly acquired the art from Gloucester, and there may be some comfort to be discovered, some healing balm to be extracted from the fact that Wales has furnished such apt pupils, who have been able not only to take a lesson but turn round and use the experience gained with such good results on their masters.

This mutual learning and adaptation appears to be a feature of interaction with Welsh clubs. However, it was now more the Welsh clubs, and Cardiff in particular, who were the “masters” and Gloucester FC, the pupil.

In the same column compelling reasons, based on the club’s growing reputation, are given for a review of its fixtures:

If in place of meeting some of the teams that Gloucester has again and again asserted its superiority over, the club were to arrange a Northern Tour, or induce the Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs that annually journey into Wales to meet the pride of the Welsh clubs to call at Gloucester on their way and do battle with the home team, it would be desirable, for not only would an attraction be provided that must swell the coffers of the club, but it would give its representatives an opportunity of measuring their strength with combinations whose prowess they have hitherto only known by hearsay.

It did not take the committee long, intoxicated perhaps by the potent combination of spectator revenues and the possibility of a new inter-community virility contest, to arrange such a fixture. In October 1889, Huddersfield, champions of Yorkshire in the previous season, were the first opponents. In a very rough game two Huddersfield players were incapacitated, one with broken ribs and the other with a dislocated shoulder. In addition, Arthur “Joe” Cromwell of Gloucester and Walker of Huddersfield, both forwards, were sent off for fighting. Huddersfield, with three men short, won and were reported as being “superior at all points of the game”. In February 1890, Gloucester FC went on a tour of the North, losing against Swinton and Wigan before, what were for these clubs, small crowds of around 1,500 spectators. If the results were unsatisfactory so too was the financial aspect of the tour. The club ended up over £40 down on the venture (Citizen 19.10.1891; 1.3.1890). Gloucester’s reputation had clearly not penetrated these communities and the results would have put into perspective Gloucester’s perceived status as the best club in the West of England. The club was clearly not yet at the same standard as those in the North. Interestingly, a number of players would have needed to take time off work to undertake this five-day tour. It has been impossible to ascertain from the club archives how this

requirement was accommodated. It is likely that their expenses were met, but there is no evidence of any remuneration for lost wages. It is unlikely any such evidence would exist. If recorded, it could easily have exposed the club to charges of professionalism

A further, and highly significant development that occurred towards the end of the 1880's, was the search for a new ground. At the 1888 AGM a sub-committee was set up "for the purpose of making enquiries with a view to procuring an enclosed and private football ground within or near to the city" (*Journal* 14.9.1889). At the AGM of the following year, H. J. Boughton reported on the attempts made by the sub-committee to realise this aim. Evidently a number of locations had been explored, but, due to objections by residents and legal restrictions, their efforts had proved fruitless. Later in that year a possible site at Kingsholm had been identified but was regarded as too expensive, requiring an estimated £4,000, a not inconsiderable sum, for its purchase and development as a football ground (*Citizen* 31.3.1888; 29.3.1889).

There appear to have been three key reasons influencing the perceived need for a new ground. Firstly, the growth in spectator support had increased the potential revenue that could be earned from charging for admission. Secondly, the openness of the Spa ground, and its ownership by the city corporation, prevented its permanent enclosure and with it the exclusion of non-paying spectators. Attempts had been made to erect temporary canvas screens to obscure the view of people outside the ground, but permission for this was required from the Parks Committee. This was usually granted, the club facilitating a positive response from the councillors by offering ten per cent of the gate-money to the Gloucester Infirmary or, on one occasion, half of the net gate to the Mayor's "Relief Fund" for the alleviation of social deprivation in the city. Finally, the relationship with Gloucester Cricket Club, which sub-let the Spa ground to the rugby club, was beginning to constrain the commercial development of Gloucester FC. At the start of the 1884/5 season the cricket club increased the rent from £6.10s to £15, and, at their AGM in 1889, expressed concern that the extension of the rugby club's fixtures into late-March would leave insufficient time for the preparation of cricket wickets. This tension seems to

have been resolved relatively amicably. There was, of course, a coincidence of interests with prominent members of the cricket club, A. W. Vears and H. J. Boughton, both of whom were also involved with the rugby club. In addition, to compensate the cricket club for any inconvenience that season, H. J. Boughton, on behalf of the football club, offered them half the gate-money from the profitable fixture against Swansea to be played on the 30th of March. Nevertheless the cricket club resolved that in future years the latest date that football would be allowed to be played on the Spa would be the 7th of March, thus preventing the organising of potentially lucrative fixtures during the Easter holiday period (*Journal* 21.3.1885; 23.3.1889). These were strong influences associated with, and contributing to, the acceleration of a commercialising process that would ultimately involve the acquisition of the Kingsholm ground in 1891. However, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, it was attempts to maximise revenues from the Swansea fixture that precipitated the departure of the rugby club from the Spa at the end of the 1890/91 season.

Two other developments are worth noting in bringing this section to a close. The first is the organising in 1878 of the Gloucester County Football Club, later to become the Gloucestershire Football Union, and the emergence in 1889 of Gloucester Association Football Club. The Gloucester County Football Club was in essence organised by members of Gloucester FC, led by H. J. Boughton. At the first AGM held on 28th September 1878 three members from Clifton, two from Gloucester (J. F. Brown, the club captain, and H. J. Boughton), three from Cirencester, two from Stroud and two from Rockleaze attended. Initially, fixtures against other County representative teams, for example against Somerset and Devon in December 1878, were played in mid-week. This, along with records in the *Minutes of Committee Meetings* which show that only half, or at best two-thirds, of railway fares were refunded to participants, suggests that the newly formed county club would have drawn its early players predominantly from middle-class groups. Over the first ten years of the County club's existence individuals from Gloucester FC came to dominate its playing and administrative functions. J. F. Brown became Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, H. J. Boughton was Chairman and later the first President of the County Union. He

later became the County representative on the General Committee of the RFU. Meetings of the County Union were often held at Gloucester, either at the Ram Inn or the Spread Eagle Hotel. In addition to organising and administering the County club, Gloucester FC invariably provided the bulk of the players. For one fixture in December 1890 they provided the Captain, H. V. Page, and twelve other players. In the 1890/91 season the side played in the County Championship scheme and, after winning the West and Midlands Division, lost to Lancashire in the final. However, by far the most prestigious fixture undertaken by the County team was in February 1889 at the Spa ground, against the touring New Zealand "Maoris" team. The ground was enclosed by canvas screening and a record gate of £193.12s.8d was taken. Seven Gloucester FC players represented the county in this fixture which the New Zealand team won, a result that the local press reports as being due to the clever tactics and physical conditioning of the tourists. This is hardly surprising as this team played seventy-four matches on their tour of the British Isles, winning forty-nine, losing twenty and drawing five (*Citizen* 9.2.1889; Nauright, 1991: 241).

A restructuring of the County club took place at the end of the 1888/89 season as a result of the growing number of member clubs and increasingly complex administrative functions involving the appointment of referees and disciplinary matters. What began as a County "club", instituted for the playing of rugby on a county representative basis, was developing into a significant organisational and administrative body for rugby football clubs in the county. Gloucester FC members were instrumental in this transition but it was not without conflict as the clubs in the South of the county, notably around Bristol, increased in numbers and subsequent representation on the county committee. Bristol FC, in particular, came to challenge Gloucester FC's dominant position as the best team in the West of England and later, Gloucester's influence on the county committee. This appears to have become a major issue during the organisation's transition to the administratively more powerful Gloucestershire Rugby Football Union. Resolution of this conflict involved the founding group from Gloucester FC surrendering some of their power (*Gloucestershire County Football Club Minutes*, Vol. 1 No.1, D7035 Gloucestershire Records Office; *Journal* 7.1.1879).

A potential challenge to the position in Gloucester of rugby football as the major winter sport came with the foundation of Gloucester City Association Football Club (AFC) in 1889. The foundations of Association football in Gloucester were laid primarily in the secondary schools of the city, most notably in the Crypt School, the County School at Hempstead just outside the city, and the Gloucester Theological College. It appears that players from these schools, boys as well as masters, were amongst those that took part in the first fixture of the Gloucester Association Football Club in October 1889. Their first few seasons were not particularly successful. On one occasion, as a result of the cancellation of Gloucester FC's fixture against Bristol, several hundred spectators attended Gloucester AFC's match against Clifton Reserves and, we are told, "evinced considerable interest in the game" (*Citizen* 2.10.1889). However, the level of attachment to the soccer club was not permanent. One reason for this was suggested in the *Journal* which pointed out that "Association Football does not... enjoy... the popularity (of) the Rugby game...in Gloucester, and perhaps will not until the "soccer" men achieve some...notoriety in the field" (*Citizen* 2.10.1889). There are hints here that community identification with the rugby club cannot simply be explained by its earlier start but was, in large part, based on the status of the representative side *vis a vis* other communities. In Gloucester the early success of the rugby club assisted this process of community identification.

The position in Gloucester with regard to the strength of support for rugby rather than association football indicates, as Russell (1994) points out in his analysis of the emergence of rugby and soccer zones in Yorkshire and Lancashire in the latter half of the nineteenth century, that support for a local side, particularly a successful one, can be a crucial basis for the expression of local identity. An interesting, and linked, development in this context is the movement of players from the soccer club to the rugby club during the 1890's. In part this was due to the way rugby was played with emphasis still being placed on the ability of players to "dribble" with the ball. Soccer players were obviously adept at this skill and some of them from Gloucester AFC played in the start of season "trials" game held for the rugby club. Indeed, Gloucester's second player to achieve international honours, Percy Stout, was a county standard soccer player at fifteen

years of age before he changed codes. It may well be that opportunities for greater local and national recognition of their sporting talents were greater at Gloucester FC than at the soccer club. It may also simply have been a more enjoyable sport for these men. Although it is only possible to speculate on their motives, it would appear that for these talented sportsmen the position of Gloucester FC as the principal representative of the community at team sports would have had an impact on the decision to play rugby. Thus, to a significant degree, the success of Gloucester FC and the emerging county representative side, insulated rugby in the city from competition by the association code (Hunt, 1949: 9-18; *Citizen* 2.11.1889).

In conclusion, at the end of the period 1873/4 to 1888/89 Gloucester FC had emerged as the premier rugby club in a city that was rapidly adopting the handling code. These two features were interdependent. However, it is important to draw together features of the development of the club from its origins in 1873/74 up to 1889/90. In essence there is evidence that Gloucester FC was coming towards the end of the period of transition from, in large measure, a team of local old-schoolboys who had continued their association into winter sports activities, to a gate-taking club. Prominent members, through accident and design, contributed to the generation of organisational structures, associations and practices that supported this process. To a large extent this was the product of a recognition by those involved in the organisation of the club that there were insufficient public-school-educated middle-class players in the city to enable it to be a socially "closed club". In addition, the prominence of liberal values in the city would have made it difficult to restrict membership to the club, which from the outset appears to have adopted city representative status. The club's committee was increasingly required to deal with two issues. The first involved player recruitment and the second the organisational architecture of the club.

To aid recruitment the club set up a structure to identify the best players from local clubs who might contribute to the first or second teams. This had the impact of differentiating local clubs as providers of players and the second team as a "nursery" for the senior side. The salient point here is the apparent high degree of acquiescence amongst the local teams in Gloucester to the needs of the senior

club. It has been suggested earlier that Gloucester FC's status as the premier club would have had some influence on the players, whilst the financial relationships between Gloucester FC and local clubs would have influenced the latter. In any event, the club successfully managed to institute procedures that enabled the recruitment of local players and their progression through the club. The value of this policy would have been self-evident to the club's administrators, with the first team unbeaten in the 1882/83 season and the second team likewise in the 1885/86 season.

As a consequence of this growing status, greater emphasis began to be placed on the performance of players. Two practice matches were introduced at the start of the season and players were persistently exhorted to undertake "training", largely self-directed, for important matches. This even extended into advising the appropriate players to practice kicking "goals" in order to convert more "tries" into winning points. In addition, particularly after the fourth three-quarter innovation, players were increasingly confronted with new tactical developments that clubs, in an effort to retain their playing status, were requiring players to adopt. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that by the end of the decade there is evidence of a nascent process of "scientification" of rugby football in the West of England and South Wales enclave. Players who represented the club successfully could expect to receive financial rewards, consistent with the amateur regulations, which funded their costs of playing. In addition, individual status was conferred through the introduction of club "caps", introduced in 1884, to long serving and/or talented players and also by local and national popular recognition.

The administration of the club became increasingly demanding with the organising of "special fixtures", the general expansion of fixtures, growth in membership and spectators, and the associated increase in the complexity of the financial management of the club. Sub-committees were appointed to take on general (e.g. second team) and *ad hoc* (e.g. new ground) functions. This contributed to distinctions between and within playing and administrative groups requiring the substantial reorganisation of the club's committee system in 1888/89. Financially, the priorities of the club were changing from raising

sufficient revenue to keep the club operational, always an underlying priority, to reaching a position where future development, particularly the acquisition of a new ground, could be countenanced. However, the financial position of the club was never totally secure during this period. More distant fixtures, including the club's first tour of the North, meant the club incurring substantial travelling expenses. Gate-money, subject to fluctuations of spectator interest and variability in weather conditions, became a relatively more important source of revenue than membership subscriptions. The club made a loss over the 1886/87 season requiring a large portion of the club's deficit of close to twenty pounds to be met by A. W. Vears. AGM's were soon to become significant events in the club's calendar, not only for the formalities of election to committees, but also as a means of scrutinising the success of the club as a *business-like* organisation.

The development of Gloucester FC during the early period of its history is characterised by a broadening network of interdependencies arising out of, and growing hand in hand with, a pattern of role specialisation and differentiation shaped by commercialising activities. This period also saw the club's emergence as a significant element in the symbolic representation of the city through sport. Interpretation of the evidence regarding a "commercialisation" process is problematic. On the one hand, the club clearly needed to raise money to remain operational, and surplus balances were used to improve facilities and support players and local clubs. On the other, there is increasing emphasis on running the club on business lines which, consistent with the social backgrounds of the founding members, involved not only the production of "favourable balances" i.e. profits, but also the accumulation of profits. The club may not have been a business but it was being run on traditional business principles. There was a monetization of relationships through membership subscriptions, gate-taking, financial remuneration of local clubs who provided players, and a reimbursement of player's and official's "out-of-pocket expenses" when travelling to away fixtures. The production of financial surpluses was important not only to support this emerging infrastructure but also to retain the club's dominant position in the community and to develop its reputation by providing "guarantees" to the prestigious clubs against whom they wished to play. At this stage the financial

activities of the club are best viewed as an approach to raising money that goes beyond simply keeping the club operative. In the early years of the club it was membership subscriptions that were the main source of income. By the mid-1880s these were exceeded by spectator revenues. On this basis it is reasonable to suggest that there are at least the beginnings of a commercialising process. It was the interaction of these two constitutive features of Gloucester FC's development as a gate-taking club that intensified the search for a new ground towards the end of the decade. In 1891 this culminated in, through a set of circumstances that will be detailed at the beginning of the next chapter, the acquisition of the Kingsholm ground.

III

The intention in this section is to explore the extent to which the adoption of rugby football as the premier winter sport in the city was bound up with a deep-seated transition in forms of social bonding as a consequence of increasing structural and functional interdependence in this specific figuration. In addition, it will be suggested that, as a consequence of social change associated with the growth of Gloucester, there was a fragmentation of values and behavioural norms generating, at one and the same time, conflict between groups and a "social vacuum". It will be argued that this facilitated the adoption of rugby as the most popular winter sport in Gloucester and provided significant groups of males with both a moral code and a source of collective identity. Woven into this framework will be a critical evaluation of the limits and possibilities of alternative sociological theories and their contribution to more object-adequate explanations of developments such as this.

There is substantial evidence of a transition in the forms of social bonding having taken place in Gloucester during the latter half of the 19th century. In the previous chapter attention was drawn to the changing economic structure of the city with growth in the industrial and heavy engineering base relative to trade through the docks. The corn and timber merchants dealt primarily with each other in a network of contractual relationships based on the speculative buying and selling of their respective commodities. These commercial activities were supported by legal and clerical structures. Two points need to be made here. Firstly, this was a relatively "closed" network of interdependencies in that there would have been little direct contact by members of the "higher" classes with the manual labourers employed at the docks. However, it should be noted that there was a decline in this merchant group, most noticeable amongst those involved in the corn trade. In contrast, trade in timber was supported by substantial retail and residential development. Employment for the supporting group of construction labour would have been seasonally intermittent and insecure, with irregular hours of work involving predominantly heavy physical labour. Secondly, and in contrast, the industrial middle-class had much closer relationships with groups of workers whose employment was more regularised and occupationally

differentiated but, like the dock-workers, was largely based on physical labour. A comparison between the Wagon Works strike that lasted from September to October 1884, and a dockers' strike in December 1889, points up the different nature of relationships within these occupationally based figurations. The Wagon Works dispute was resolved through direct interaction between employees and managers mediated by influential local citizens. The dockers' strike, however, was resolved largely through the representatives of organised labour, the Dockers and General Labourers Union, whose Bristol executive had called the strike over the use of foreign labour to unload vessels. Taking into account the fact that there was very little in the way of formal labour organisation in Gloucester in 1884, it was the closeness of the relationship between employer and employee that is one of the distinguishing features of the resolution of the Wagon Works strike. The dock-workers do not appear to have had the same degree of closeness to their employers and this may be a reason why there was a greater need for formal collective organisation. The balance sheet contained in the *First Annual Report of the Gloucester Trades and Labour Council* (1892) reinforces this point, with over a third of total contributions being made by the Dockers' Society. It was also reported that their main concern at that time was to seek help from the City Council to find work for the unemployed during the winter months (*Citizen* 23.9.1894 to 4.10.1894; *Journal* 7.12.1889; 14.12.1889; *First Annual Report of the Gloucester Trades and Labour Council*, 1892, Gloucester Library).

The relevance of this pattern of relationships to the first phase in the development of Gloucester FC is as follows. The founding members were predominantly drawn from the higher status merchant and professional groups associated with the docks trade. Thus, given the nature of their interaction with working-class groups, which tended to be either at "arms-length" or with representatives of working-class organisations, it is to be anticipated that they would attempt to replicate these relations at the rugby club. Indeed, in the early years, social exclusivity was retained in both the playing and social memberships. Later, around the late-1880s and into the 1890s, this pattern of relationships was gradually replaced by the closer affiliations and mutual interests of industrial

urban groups, a pattern that also began to emerge at the rugby club as it began to recruit from local clubs. This is not to suggest that changes in the pattern of relationships at the rugby club were determined by changes in the pattern of economic relationships in the city. A formulation of this type is too deterministic. Rather it is an attempt to contextualise the development of Gloucester FC in the pattern of social change occurring at this time. In consequence, it aims to provide a background for an exploration of specific developments at the club that are evidence of both a reinforcement of, and resistance to, these wider features of social change. Specifically, it helps to “set the scene” for an explanation in the following chapter of the attitudes held by groups within the club to a “no-cost-to-play” policy, professionalism and the introduction of cups and leagues.

As the economic structure of the city was beginning to change, so too was the composition of middle-class groups, with the relative power-balance moving towards the industrialists who were used to significantly greater contact with working-class groups. Although the pace of this transition did not gather momentum until close to the end of the century, there was contained within it the roots of a different pattern of power-relationships between middle- and working-class groups. There was also a change in the composition of the middle-class in Gloucester similar to that suggested by Checkland (1966: 296-304). There was evident, in the city, a provincial “*haute bourgeoisie*” of solicitors and merchants, alongside a growing lesser bourgeoisie of shopkeepers, dealers, milliners, tailors, local brewers and an emergent managerial and supervisory class of workers employed in business, government and the railways. Significant numbers of these middle-class groups, attached to the ethic of self-discipline and improvement, looked to educate their sons at the two local grammar schools, The Crypt and Sir Thomas Richies. It is reasonable to suggest, following Checkland (1966), that this latter group was involved in a process of constructing a corporate identity. Its members, relative to higher status middle-class groups, were “tainted with the stain of trade” and subject to the “triple opprobrium” of dealing in small quantities, handling or touching goods and directly receiving money payments hand-to-hand. These criteria for the award of status, which derived from an agrarian aristocracy, were still influential in the county although less so in an

industrial-urban context. The “lesser” men of business were therefore distanced from the higher status middle-class and were also under pressure to differentiate themselves from the working-class, whilst at the same time retaining an “economic” attachment to them as a customer, and employee, base. In consequence, they appear to have worked out a collective identity based on conservatism and conventionality that reassured their customers and suppliers of their business soundness, whilst boosting their own sense of status and of their station in life. The following chapter will reveal the impact this differentiating social structure had on relations between the Directors of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Grounds Co. Ltd. and Gloucester FC’s committee. In large part the former were members of the older higher status middle-class group instrumental in the founding of the club in contrast to the elected officials of the rugby club who were increasingly being drawn from the lower middle-class.

The contribution made by changing economic relationships to the development of Gloucester FC has been emphasised here. However, it was only one of a number of factors constraining social relations. The topographical expansion of the city outlined in the previous chapter led to a fragmented and socially differentiated pattern of residential development consisting of new working-class communities located near sources of employment, and dwellings for artisans that were distanced from those of middle-class groups. At the same time as older working-class communities close to the city centre decayed, established middle-class communities expanded and cemented their position in the more prestigious locations in the suburbs of the city. The impact of this industrial-urban growth on sections of the working-class would have involved a search for new forms of collective identity and self expression as these groups became increasingly isolated from their agricultural roots and family structures. At the same time, they were increasingly subject to closer control over their working environment and leisure practices. Sport was therefore one element that could offer a means of assimilation into city life and at the same time contribute to collective identity formation. In this context it seems reasonable to suggest that members of newer working-class communities were in the process of constructing their own forms of community identity around a group-specific set of values and behaviours. At the

same time, older, more established middle class communities were attempting to protect the values and beliefs that bound them together.

Increased population growth also generated an extension of relationships between city residents and those responsible for local government. The number of councillors doubled between 1835 and 1875, while a borough rate and then a district rate were levied on householders as the city corporation financed additional functions relating to health, sanitation, street repair, parks and elementary schooling. The city government was becoming increasingly involved in financial transactions with its citizens in order to finance its growing responsibilities. At the same time as the franchise was being extended to more individuals, the corrupt practices that had earlier characterised relationships between political candidates and the electorate were being challenged. Thus, alternative methods of securing votes, perhaps by a public association with aspects of local popular culture, were potentially more effective and cost-efficient than bribery, which was attracting increasing opprobrium.

These examples of social reorganisation involving economic and political change are illustrative of the most significant structural developments occurring during the latter half of the century in Gloucester. There were smaller, shorter-term economic disturbances involving periodic unemployment, particularly during the acute economic recession of the mid-1880's, as well as seasonal unemployment caused by the influx of agricultural labour seeking winter employment at the hiring fairs or "mops" during the week of Barton Fair in late-September. However, the key structural changes were, in large part, associated with the lengthening and changing bonds of economic interdependency as the more prosperous timber business at the docks co-existed with a developing urban-industrial structure, both of which supported a thriving retail sector and building trade.

An important point to make here is that there is some validity in the adoption of a Durkheimian (1933 (1902)) analysis of the changing nature of social order, in particular the suggestion that increasing economic interdependency can be a significant driver of social change and structural differentiation. The evolutionary undertones contained in his notion of a societal transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, in conjunction with an inadequate view of conflictual power

relations as a consequence of the concern with “social order”, makes this model of social relations inadequate for developing this part of the analysis further. A helpful Eliasian interpretation of such changes is suggested by Dunning (1986c: 219). According to Elias, the long-term transformation usually referred to by terms denoting specific aspects such as “industrialisation”, “economic growth”, the “demographic transition”, “urbanisation” and “political modernisation”, is in fact, a long-term transformation of the total social structure. Elias contends that one of the sociologically most significant aspects of this total social transformation consists of the emergence of longer and more differentiated “chains of interdependence”. That is, it involves the integration of functionally differentiated groups into wider networks: “Moreover, concomitantly with this their occurs... a change in the direction of decreasing power differentials within and among groups...” (Dunning, 1986: 219). Whilst there are evidently points of contact with Durkheim (1933) regarding longer and more differentiated “chains of interdependence”, the key difference is that industrialisation is viewed as being bound up with much longer term developments with regards to the interrelated development of state-formation and a “civilising process”. At this point, the sixteen years of historical development covered hardly provide significant scope for an evaluation on the necessary scale. Nevertheless, the incorporation of the concept of power-ratios, and implicitly the conflictual nature of the exercise of power in functionally interdependent networks, offers a way forward.

In this context the social hiatus in Gloucester as relationships changed and expanded is best viewed from a standpoint of conflict over norms of behaviour associated with specific groups rather than in Durkheimian terms as “anomie”. It may well have been as Durkheim (1926: 385) puts it that, “the old gods are growing old or already dead, and others are not yet born”. In this case, rather than the new gods generating social consensus, there was conflict over the form the new gods should take. It is worth elaborating on this point in the context of an emerging pattern of social relations occurring in Gloucester during this period.

It is the contention here that the experience of middle-class groups was qualitatively different from that of working-class groups, in that the values and norms of the former group were undergoing considerably less flux and attack than

those of the latter. Membership of Masonic groups, with their strong and structured relationships as well as close interdependencies in political, commercial and social activities, dampened the impact of social change on this group. In addition, their more privatised leisure activities and geographically condensed location in prestigious dwellings around the Spa, offered some sense of individual and collective security. Industrial employers, as noted earlier, had established a system of social relations with their employees associated with factory organisation. Although dialogue between employers and employees was mediated through the "foremen", there was a high degree of mutual interdependence with regard to the negotiation of rates for specific work contracts. It was also noted that these employers exhibited a degree of social responsibility with regard to maintaining the "wage balances" of industrial labour. In contrast, the merchant group, by the nature of their business, were relatively more detached from their workforce. The emerging concern of both middle-class groups, particularly liberal reformers, was over the way the working class spent their leisure time. It was this that became a significant source of conflict over norms of social behaviour and generated a new basis of inter-relationship that focused on activities outside the workplace.

Working-class groups were affected much more intensely by the social changes occurring in Gloucester at this time. These groups were geographically more dispersed in new and emerging communities. Demographic data presented earlier suggest that many of them may have been first generation "city-dwellers". The trend towards increasing industrial labour in the city, along with the regularisation of leisure time and financial surpluses, led to tension over ways in which they spent their leisure time. There was little, if anything, in the way of organised sport enabling participation through playing or spectating. Their traditional drinking habits were under threat from the Temperance Movement, "Local Option" legislation and a growing concern regarding drink-related disorderly behaviour, as well as fighting and profanity in the street. There was, in a sense, a "leisure vacuum" of organised winter sports, as participant or spectator, for large sections of the working class. Two points however, should be noted. Firstly, the lifestyles of industrial and docks-based labourers were a

further basis of social differentiation between these groups, and secondly, although religious attendance in Gloucester was substantial, this does not necessarily imply adherence to a set of “respectable” values. It may be more likely that working-class groups would have moved in and out of “respectable” activities as and when it suited their needs. If Bailey (1978) is correct, in these circumstances intra-group and external social controls would have appeared weak to reforming elements of the middle-class, and the moral obligations constraining and regulating individual behaviour not strong enough to function effectively to prevent what they regarded as anti-social behaviour. Thus, whereas elements of the middle class thought that they could be relied on to regulate themselves, some working-class groups were under significant external pressure, in particular over the way they should spend their leisure time.

At this point it is worth turning to the work of Durkheim, particularly to *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1926 (1915)) and some of the ideas in *The Division of Labour in Society* (1933 (1902)). In the latter, he suggests that changes in the nature of social bonding, as part of the transition from mechanical to organic solidarity, generate a functional interdependence between work and leisure. That is, he assigns a compensatory or restorative function to leisure (Rojek 1985: 51). Earlier, it was demonstrated that this presumed “function” may have had some resonance at the time. With regard to the presentation of a gold watch to the ex-captain J. F. Brown, a link was clearly drawn between his participation in sports and his “economic efficiency”. However, this line of enquiry is not fruitful because of the functionalist undertones of a Durkheimian explanation of the cohesive role of sport and leisure that is couched in terms of a dichotomous construction of work and leisure where the latter acts as a restorative for the former. It has been suggested in this thesis that there was significant conflict between social groups over behavioural norms. Indeed, it can be further suggested that Gloucester FC was a significant locus of these emerging conflicts, particularly during the period of transition to its status as a representation of the city through sport.

In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* Durkheim attempts to explain the origins and development of leisure forms, and the ways in which they can be

viewed as reminiscent of religious behaviours (Durkheim, 1925: 379-380). He points out, with regard to what he calls “representative rites” and “collective recreations” that:

The representation which it (the rite) seeks to awaken and maintain in our minds are not vain images which correspond to nothing in reality, and which we call up aimlessly for the mere satisfaction of seeing them appear and combine before our eyes. They are as necessary for the well working of our moral life as our food is for the maintenance of our physical life, for it is through them that the group affirms and maintains itself, and we know the point to which it is indispensable for the individual. So a rite is something different from a game; it is a part of serious life. But if its unreal and imaginary element is not essential, nevertheless it plays a part which is by no means negligible. It has its share in the feeling of comfort which the worshipper draws from the rite performed; for recreation is one of the forms of the moral remaking which is the principal object of the positive rite (1925: 382).

Establishing similarities between the “state of effervescence” created in both religious ceremony and in recreation he goes on to observe:

Thus the same manifestations are to be observed in each case: cries, songs, music, violent movements, dances, the search for excitements which raise the vital level, etc. It has frequently been remarked that popular feasts lead to excesses, and cause men to lose sight of the distinction separating the licit from the illicit; there are also religious ceremonies which make it almost necessary to violate the rules which are ordinarily the most respected (1925: 383).

There are three relevant points contained in these quotations. The first draws attention to the generation and re-affirmation of collective identity, a point reinforced later in the present work. He claims:

There can be no society which does not feel the need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make its unity and personality. Now, this moral remaking cannot be achieved except by the means of reunions, assemblies and meetings, where the individuals, being closely united to one another, reaffirm in common their common sentiments (1925: 385).

Secondly, the “moral remaking” element of both recreation and religion is regarded as a product of social change which, he suggests, had the consequence that:

The great things of the past that filled our fathers with enthusiasm do not excite the same ardour in us, either because they have come into common usage to such an extent that we are unconscious of them, or else because they no longer answer to our actual aspirations; but as yet there is nothing to replace them (1925: 385).

Thirdly, the level of excitement required by these events to generate a “state of effervescence” may generate behaviours that transgress socially accepted norms.

Durkheim therefore sees a role for leisure as a “secular form of moral remaking”. Indeed, the secularisation of religious life occurring in Gloucester, suggests that religious leaders in the city recognised that access to particular groups, and the retention of a degree of associated interest in the spiritual and moral components of their value system, could be achieved through addressing, influencing and assisting in the organisation of their leisure and recreational behaviours. This framework and its application to the present study has been treated with a great deal of caution. It is reasonable to accept that collective identity can be generated and reinforced through leisure forms and sport in particular. Indeed there have been applications of a Durkheimian framework in this context (Goodger, 1985; Lever, 1983). However, the most problematic element in Durkheim’s work is the ascription of qualities of social cohesion to the “moral remaking” functions of recreation. Whilst there may well be values that are held in common by social groups at specific times, the process of value construction is best understood as endemically conflictual. Furthermore, the generation of excitement levels, which as Durkheim rightly points out, may lead to the transgression of social norms, needs to be viewed from a developmental perspective. As Elias and Dunning (1986; 81) point out;

The strength and pattern of emotional needs differ according to the stage a society has reached in a civilising process. The mimetic events which serve these needs differ accordingly.

Elias (1986a: 44) further makes the point that sport as a mimetic activity, that is a controlled struggle in a specially constructed setting, in a highly differentiated society, produces "an enjoyable and controlled de-controlling of emotions." Thus sport offers an enclave not only for the release of stress-tensions in increasingly regulated societies but also for the generation of enjoyable tensions. This, he suggests, poses problems of:

how to reconcile with each other the design of two contradictory functions - the pleasurable decontrolling of human feelings, the full evocation of an enjoyable excitement on the one hand and on the other the maintenance of a set of checks to keep the pleasantly de-controlled emotions under control (1986: 49).

Thus, the socially approved arousal of excitement behaviour has to be viewed, as Rojek (1985: 164) puts it, "from the perspective of the long-term figurational shifts in patterns of economic, political and emotional bonding."

The threads of these explorations of theoretical frameworks can be drawn together as follows in the context of the development of Gloucester FC up to 1890. The available evidence suggests that the stage in Gloucester's historical and social development reached by the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century was characterised by significant structural and functional differentiation of social groups as chains of interdependency lengthened. Importantly there is evidence of a changing basis to these interdependencies, driven in large part by emerging patterns associated with changing forms of economic organisation. In this analysis it has been suggested that a shift towards industrial organisation in the city was of significant influence in the social development of the city. That is, it is a change in the nature of economic interdependencies as well as an expansion of them, which constituted the key drivers of social change at this time. However, in contrast to Durkheim's (1902) view in *The Division of Labour* of an

evolutionary shift from “mechanical” to “organic solidarity”, there appears to have been conflict and negotiation over a range of competing behavioural norms. The emergent and fragmented nature of social groups in Gloucester meant that affective bonds of community identification did not initially appear to be particularly strong at city level.

Attention has been drawn, in the previous chapter, to the characteristics of the social development of Gloucester. These were, increasing regulation and political activity associated with the growth of municipal government, a changing economic structure, attempts at pacification of “uncivil” behaviour through an expansion of law enforcement and strong influences from religious groups. The main focus of regulation through repressive sanctions was on drinking, fighting and other associated aspects of disorderly lawlessness. However, there was little in the way of organised, mass, alternative activities that could have provided the opportunity for a regulated release of excitement during this early period of the club’s history, and very little in the winter months. Participation in, and spectatorship of, sports had the potential to fill this vacuum. Rugby football was one of these sports and had reached a stage in its development as a “mimetic” game form which still permitted a relatively greater degree of physical force than for example Association football (Dunning, 1986d: 230-231; Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 2-39). There emerged, at the confluence of these currents of social and sports’ development, the preconditions for the adoption of a leisure-sport form that offered both a means of collective identification for groups and individuals and a point of “moral remaking” around a set of culturally consonant but contested values.

There appears to be some explanatory value in a limited application of a Durkheimian analysis alongside elements of an Eliasian “civilising process” in identifying the important social-structural preconditions that were conducive to the adoption of rugby football in this figuration. There is no attempt here to suggest that the specific context of Gloucester FC can be translated into general theory, more-so to view the social development of sports related figurations as associated with these wider developments. The analysis so far has made little comment on why rugby football as a sport form was adopted, the nature of the

process of diffusion amongst groups of males and the reasons for the dominant influence of Gloucester FC in the organisation of local rugby by the late 1880s. It is to these questions that attention will now be turned.

IV

The final section of this chapter will trace the process of diffusion of rugby football in Gloucester, its appeal to various groups and the nature of the relationship between rugby football and the construction of community and individual identity. In addition, there will be an exploration of the structures and practices that supported Gloucester FC's dominant role in the development of rugby in the local community. Finally, it will be suggested that, as a largely unintended outcome of these developments, there is evidence of an ethical change in the amateur-gentleman basis of participation in rugby football at Gloucester FC towards the end of the 1880s.

The formation of Gloucester FC, noted earlier, was undertaken largely by ex-Kings College schoolboys. The playing development and status of the club was significantly influenced by the first captain and founder member of the RFU, Francis Hartley, in 1871. J. F. Brown, the second captain and a former pupil of the local Crypt grammar school, was instrumental in expanding the playing of rugby football into the local community through his organisation of the Gloucester Post Office and Gloucester Thursday teams. He also encouraged the development of smaller parish-based clubs during his seven-year tenure as captain. Gloucester FC, for at least the first ten years of its development, was dominated by a middle-class group of merchants, solicitors and clerks as a means initially of continuing their association into the winter months and engaging in physical exercise. This close association between men from similar social backgrounds was still evident in the early 1880's. (Appendix 6 contains photographs of both the 1883/4 and 1876/7 teams along with their occupational details.) Of these players, six; J. W. Bayley, W. A. Boughton, H. J. Berry, H. J. Boughton, G. J. Dewey and W. Brown, were members of both sides and the two Boughton's (W. A. and H. J.) played in the club's first season (1873/74). E. D. and F. Tandy were also brothers. Data from the 1881 population census of Gloucester and other sources detailed in Appendix 6, confirm the middle-class status of the majority of the 1883/84 side and, compared with 1876/77 side, the marked similarity in the occupations of both sets of players. They are drawn

predominantly from relatively high status middle-class groups of merchants, professionals, (accountants and solicitors) and clerks. This latter group, despite - or perhaps because of - ambiguities regarding their social status, identified themselves as part of the middle class, aspired to higher middle-class status and embraced middle-class sporting patterns and values (Lowerson, 1995: 11-12; Lockwood, 1969). There also appears to be a strong middle-class element amongst non-playing members. A membership book for the 1885/86 season reveals that a potential member had to be proposed and seconded at a meeting of the club's General Committee and "would not be considered a member if two black balls appeared against his name." This, along with the five shillings membership fee, suggests strong middle-class recruitment to membership of Gloucester FC.

There is however one very significant figure in the 1883/84 team, George Coates. Coates was employed as a labourer at the Gloucester Wagon Works and had come into the side through his local team, St Luke's. He was the first "working-man" to play for the senior team and as such is indicative of an emerging trend that involved the extension of the player base to other than middle-class groups and local grammar schools' old-boys. The reasons for the increasingly "open" access to playing membership have been dealt with earlier. For the moment it is sufficient to note the significant numbers of players drawn from middle-class occupations in Gloucester up to the mid-1880s.

The links that this group had with Gloucester Cricket Club - a number of rugby players were also members of the cricket club - helped in securing the winter leasing of the Spa cricket ground. Here they could display their athleticism, physical capabilities and mastery of the complex rules of rugby football to "the ladies" and spectators drawn from middle and working class social backgrounds. This latter point suggests that there was not a strong attachment to the purest form of amateurism that viewed spectatorship as physically and morally debilitating. However, the issue is more complex. Although the educational background of the early participants from local grammar schools suggests a weaker attachment to this aspect of the amateur ethos than individuals associated with the public schools, the influence of the first captain, Francis

Hartley, cannot be discounted. Along with J. F. Brown, the second captain, there appears to be a consistent thread of proselytising work undertaken by these two men to encourage more people to take up playing rugby football. Therefore the encouragement of spectators may initially have been a method of diffusion by example, that is through the demonstration of how the game was played and, importantly, the way the game was played by gentlemen. In the early years, the club could rely on players from the local grammar schools who would have been receptive to this ethical stance. However, by the late 1880s these schools had adopted association football against the wider national trend amongst grammar schools. The retention of soccer by the local grammar schools in the face of the growing popularity of rugby football in the local community may well be explained by the work of Mangan (1983: 1-45). In order for these schools to attract boys from the middle-class, and in particular lower middle-class families, the adoption of some form of team game was necessary in order to emulate the higher status public schools. The problem was, what form of team game should be adopted? Given the diffusion of rugby into the local working-class community during the 1880's, the adoption of soccer by the grammar schools can be seen as part of a process of distancing themselves from what was perceived to be the sport of working-class groups in Gloucester. This explanation has some validity but it is incomplete without recognition of a number of other contributory factors. These include; the support and encouragement given by middle-class groups to the diffusion of rugby in the local community; the incidence of, and response to, injury to schoolboys whilst playing rugby; the largely Cambridge University background of the local grammar school heads and the vigour of the Reverend Brereton in organising the adoption of the Association code in local schools. It may also have been the case that, for adult rugby players, the playing of rugby in Gloucester was becoming defined as an "adult male's" game in comparison with soccer, played mainly by local schoolboys. Furthermore, the relatively simple rules of the Association game in comparison to the more complex rules of rugby football, would have facilitated the adoption of soccer particularly amongst younger age groups (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 125-6).

In summary, there is evidence to suggest that middle-class groups dominated both playing and administrative personnel at least for the first ten years of the Gloucester club's existence. Although socially "open" - there were routes into the first team through the "Colts" trials and the second team - the membership of the senior side was, to a very significant degree, socially homogeneous. Nevertheless, with a decline in rugby participation in the local middle-class schools and a growth in working-class participation, a transition in the player base was beginning to occur around the mid-1880s.

The process of diffusion of rugby football into the Gloucester community that ultimately provided a strong local playing base amongst working-class groups was multifaceted. In the first instance, the encouragement of spectators would have assisted this diffusion. The adoption of the "short-passing game", and later the "four-three-quarter" system in the mid 1880s, would have made the game more exciting for spectators by making the game-dynamics more free-flowing. A significant aim of the early organisers at Gloucester FC appears to have been to provide an example of "rational recreation" through the playing of team games. It was hoped that spectators would wish to adopt the playing of rugby football in their communities, and the ethical code that went with it. There was, however, a fundamental paradox to this development. Supporters of rational recreation for industrial-urban working-class groups, by organising spectatorship as a means of diffusion, exposed rugby to the then existing forms of capitalist consumer culture. With the introduction at Gloucester FC of published fixture lists, admission charges and "special" matches such as the floodlit fixture in 1879, the spectating of rugby football was, in many respects, being developed as a commercial sports-based entertainment. The revenues from this development supported the interdependency with local clubs, based on their emergence as a significant source of new players, and reinforced Gloucester's status at the apex of local rugby and as the sporting representative of the city.

Secondly, the encouragement of spectatorship had other advantages. In Gloucester at this time there was little in the way of entertainment, other than that provided by the public houses, to fill Saturday afternoons in winter. Mass attendance at Gloucester FC may have been welcomed by middle-class

reformers due to its relative orderliness and its emphasis on self-discipline and control in leisure time. The public nature of these mass gatherings in designated spaces also offered reformers an extension of surveillance over working-class groups, and a degree of control over their behaviour through “stewards” at the ground, not possible in the more intimate confines of the public house. The development of differential entry charges to sections of the ground may well have been based on the recognition of the varying financial status of groups of spectators, but it also had the impact of segmenting spectator groups, further facilitating surveillance over the “rougher” sections of the crowd.

Thirdly, and this occurred more from the mid-1880s onwards, the continuing transition towards an industrial-urban social structure was characterised by relatively close affiliations between some middle and working-class groups based on the specific pattern of factory relations prevalent in Gloucester, and growth in the retail and service sector. It is reasonable to suggest that, with the growth of workplace based teams, the industrialist employers would at least have been sympathetic to, and possibly supportive of, the development of rugby football clubs, either as representatives of the workplace or of the communities from which they drew their labour. In this regard, from the mid-1880s onwards the position in Gloucester appears to have many similarities to the socially “mixed” or “open” clubs of Yorkshire and Lancashire (Barlow, 1993; Russell, 1994).

The discussion of these first three features of the process of diffusion has focused on the role of middle-class groups in Gloucester and the beginnings of a shift in power-balances from the traditional mercantile/grammar school base in favour of industrial-urban groups. It is worthwhile at this juncture to widen the inquiry to explore the influence, in this social figuration, of the principles and moral values of mid- to late-Victorian liberalism. This is not to suggest that liberalism was a cohesive value-system amongst middle-class groups. However, it was a pervasive one and the period under review was one of substantial penetration of liberal values in many areas of social life, including sport and leisure. Therefore, the analysis will be enhanced by locating the early history of Gloucester FC in this context. As Speak (1988) points out, an investigation of this type has the benefit of narrowing and sharpening the ways that aspects of

liberalism, proselytised by dominant groups in a specific cultural formation, impact on the “targeted” groups. The resistance and accommodation of groups to this particular set of values and beliefs enables a clearer picture of the nature of interrelationships in their specific historical and social setting to be established.

During this period, the liberal idea that “freedoms” of thought, speech, and religious worship generated what seemed to be natural and logical freedoms of enterprise, competition, markets and trade, held sway. These freedoms, it was believed, would work to meet the interests of the whole community, the utilitarianism of “the greatest happiness of the greatest number”. “Laissez-faire” principles, accompanied by material expansion, played a powerful role in structuring social relations and were sustained by moral values of industriousness, tolerance, liberty of mind and self-reliance. These were drawn, in part, from a successful business middle-class and an intellectual tradition of the free competition of ideas and opinions between and within social groups.

Elements of the three liberal themes of self-improvement - recreation, education and temperance - are evident in Gloucester with a predominantly politically Liberal town council and Parliamentary representation. However, the dominance of a mercantile middle-class, intermingling in the commercial, political and sporting life of the city, appears to have enabled this group to exercise their power in their own interests, as well as for the interest of the community as a whole. These middle-class groups viewed themselves as the exemplars of ways of playing and as an intellectual focus for the diffusion of improvement in ideas and behaviour. Included in this view was a principle of “fraternal relations” with lower-class groups as an aid to their improvement which, it was hoped, would ultimately be “self-directed”. Amongst the organising group at Gloucester FC, A. W. Vears, an influential founding member who remained active on the club’s committee during this period, appears to be the most prominent figure in this regard. He consistently challenged policy recommendations regarding gate-admission prices and memberships that he felt disadvantaged working-class spectators, and proposed Tommy Bagwell, successfully, as the first working-class player to captain the club. In practice, however, this support was limited to the most receptive of these groups, those regarded as the most “deserving”. Also

incorporated into such relations was an understanding that the effective transmission of the practices of rational recreation would need to be offered as a counter to other attractions, particularly the public house (Bailey, 1978). Rugby football was seen to be one of these counter-attractions for “working-men”, fusing the values of recreation and temperance with loyalty to club, city and country.

At the same time as this organising group was attempting to reform elements of the behaviour of working-class groups through rugby, they were also looking towards the RFU for status. The organisation that eventually became the Gloucestershire County RFU, heavily influenced by members of Gloucester FC, aspired to representation on the RFU General Committee. G. Rowland Hill, Honorary Secretary of the RFU, was invited to referee a number of club and county matches, and officiated at the opening match at the Kingsholm ground in 1891. This “upward looking” relationship to the RFU administrators, perceived as being of higher social status, along with the kudos attached to the club with Francis Hartley as its first captain, are plausible explanations of the retention of elements of the amateur ethos. It also explains the initial rejection of cup and league competitions and of the offer, made by a local citizen in contravention of the laws of rugby, of financial rewards for Gloucester players who scored tries. However, amateurism as a form of social exclusion was not sustainable in this context due to the need to widen the playing base. This placed significant emphasis on persistent reinforcement of those elements of the amateur ethos the organising group chose to retain; an adoption that, at one and the same time, would not threaten their aspirations regarding representation at the RFU or be untenable in the local context. There is evidence here of a “two-way” facing dominant group. A combination of the liberalist instigated diffusion of rugby amongst local working class groups, essential as a source of future players, along with a desire for acceptance by the RFU, required accommodation to the values of both.

Liberal influences on working-class groups were clearly strong and penetrated their working lives and spare-time leisure activities. Nevertheless, these values were under threat in two ways. Firstly, the decline in Britain's industrial and commercial strength relative to other industrialising nations brought with it a

questioning and contesting of some of the key liberal assumptions, most especially of "laissez-faire" capitalism, that were contingent upon, what appeared at the time, to be unlimited material expansion. It was in the context of a severe recession in the mid-1880's that the most significant strike in Gloucester, the Wagon Works strike of 1884, occurred. By 1890, following a dockers' strike the previous year, labour in Gloucester began to organise through the Gloucester Trades' and Labour Council, representing a shift in power-relations and a focus for the contesting of liberal values. The second point relates to the response of working-class groups, with respect to rugby football, to the proselytism of liberal reformers. These working-class groups were not simply passive consumers of the new leisure spectacle of rugby or unequivocal receptors of the value of participation. They invested participation and spectating with their own meanings, resisting cultural embourgeoisement through a vacillating attitude to "respectability". As Bailey (1978: 178) argues, "If we approach respectability as a role rather than an ideology ... relationships in leisure take on a new light." It may well have been that working-class groups adopted "respectable" behaviours to gain access to local teams, but this instrumental view of sports participation is incomplete. Its explanatory power needs to be enhanced by asking the apparently simple question: "Why did individuals, and in particular those from the working-class, want to watch and participate in rugby football?"

The first and perhaps most obvious answer is that they enjoyed it! Evidence has already been presented in the previous chapter of the enthusiasm for playing football in the Park area in 1864. These unorganised games and, later, organised rugby football in Gloucester, were a site for players and spectators to experience, as Elias (1986a: 44) proposes, a pleasurable, controlled decontrolling of emotions. Rugby football, therefore, offered a social enclave for expressive behaviours and a socially permitted degree of roughness which were experienced as enjoyable. As noted earlier, other avenues for this type of behaviour were being closed off in response to concerns over street-fighting and other forms of what were viewed at the time as disorderly behaviour. It does need to be noted here that this deep-rooted psychological need for the generation and release of tension-excitement is not confined to particular social

classes (Elias and Dunning, 1986). What was contested was the degree of permitted roughness and the nature of the outburst of emotion and, as will be pointed out later, it is this that, in complex ways, may be contoured by social status.

Secondly, rugby football as it diffused into the local community is likely to have been an element in the formation of community and individual identities. At the community level rugby football clubs in Gloucester represented parish, workplace or other religious and quasi-religious organisations. Sport, as a “mock-battle” (Elias, 1986b: 159), was ideal for inter-community virility contests and would have given some cohesion, or point of reference, for new and growing urban-industrial communities. Barlow (1993: 49-67) illustrates this point with reference to the diffusion of rugby football in Rochdale. In this instance, the penetration of rugby into the community was extensive, to the level in some cases, of street teams. Such a degree of diffusion was not so evident in Gloucester, possibly because it was not so heavily industrialised as Rochdale. In addition, these disparate groups were increasingly part of larger civic units, and Gloucester FC as the sporting representative of the city, offered the opportunity for a wider collective identity. Holt (1989: 172) draws attention to this feature of symbolic citizenship in relation to soccer. Unlike soccer clubs, Gloucester FC did not play in a league structure but there was an informal mechanism for generating “real” contests that relied on adding and dropping fixtures depending on the playing strengths of opponents. Although this informal “ranking” of opponents was not as efficient as a league system, it was sufficiently effective for spectators and players to recognise the significance and intensity of particular contests. The early successes achieved by Gloucester against Welsh and Midlands teams further enhanced community attachment to a winning team that carried the City’s crest on the players’ jerseys. As is to be expected, there was a strong territorial basis to this attachment, with the protection of a “home record” of significant importance. The cartoon in Appendix 7 emphasises this point. If Gloucester FC could not beat the Welsh teams at Kingsholm, it was doubly important that they should win against English clubs, particularly against close rivals such as Bristol and especially on home territory. Again, this sense of community identification

was not confined solely to working class groups. The middle-class groups of players and administrators, it has been noted, were integrated into the local power-network. This reinforced both their commercial and athletic prowess through association with the club, as well as fostering a sense of community leadership.

The role of sport as a means of personal identity formation is often overlooked, or where it is dealt with in relation to rugby football, the focus is often on the construction of masculinity. This element in the appeal of rugby football will be explored later, but it is first worth reflecting on other aspects. Maguire (1992: 97) suggests that "identity formation in sport also involves the quest for self-realisation and the presentation of self"; what he calls the quest for "exciting significance". Sports participation and spectating offer enclaves for creating personal behaviours that can be valued not only by the individuals themselves, but also by those around the "performer". Thus, particular self-images may be constructed or cultivated in relations with significant others. As an example, some of the early players at Gloucester FC were given nicknames and were associated with particular behavioural attributes. For example, Arthur Cromwell was valued as a particularly strong and hardworking forward. Bagwell, a small man, was renowned for his personal fitness and excellent "dodging" and "collaring". There are numerous examples of this form of individual differentiation based on physical attributes. Others were based on moral qualities, "gentlemanly behaviour" and others that eulogised the "epitome" behaviours working-men players should demonstrate. Whether these ascribed characteristics are accepted, adopted and reinforced or resisted is influenced by the significance of the "others", that is, the ascribers. The point here is that association with the club offered opportunities for individuals as players, administrators and spectators to construct, reconstruct and reinforce personal identities around a complex of physical, intellectual and moral behaviours that had cultural *and* personal resonance. Initially the local press was reticent to single out individuals for "special praise". By the end of the 1880's, with the publication in 1891 of a Saturday Football Edition of the *Citizen* which soon included photographs and profiles of players, comment on the individual contributions of players and

officials to the success of the club as representative of the community became more prevalent. The construction of personal identity was subject to growing pressures emanating from the growth in local, popular interest. For players, there was emphasis on maintaining their playing "form" and reputations in front of large groups of partisan spectators, many of whom would have been drawn from their peer groups. The financial management abilities of the club's officials were increasingly becoming a focus of attention, particularly with the growth of rugby as a winter sports entertainment in the city. This discussion generates two important summary points. Firstly, Gloucester FC provided an important site for the formation of personal identity that encompassed physical, organisational and commercial capabilities. Secondly, personal identity formation as a dynamic process changes over the life-time of the individual.

The latter point is particularly relevant in a sporting context where, as physical abilities fade, continued association with a sporting figuration requires the construction and enhancement of different bases of personal identity formation. Given the level of affective bonding amongst the early founding playing members of the club, it is not unsurprising that many of them continued their association with the club through its committee. Elements of their personal identity were intimately bound up with the status of the club in the local community. Accompanying the diffusion of rugby into the local community these men were instrumental in structuring social relations with local clubs. They established a financial relationship that supported these clubs. In doing so they made a direct link between the level of financial assistance and the number of players each local club provided. Whilst this recognised the mutual interdependence between Gloucester FC and local clubs with regard to the recruitment of new players, it also established Gloucester FC as a source of income for junior clubs. Members of Gloucester FC were also instrumental in organising the Gloucestershire County Football Club, the next level of playing and, later, administrative representation. Finally, middle-class men were intimately involved in developmental activities. These included the association with, and proselytising of, a set of values, developing links with civic dignitaries and local clubs, and the visible confirmation of the club's status as the sporting representative of the city

that they publicly reinforced by the adoption of the city's crest as the club badge. A combination of affective bonding to the club they founded and the enhancement of their personal identities was intimately associated with their ability to generate and maintain the senior status of Gloucester FC amongst the city's rugby playing clubs. These were potent forces enabling them to exert a dominant influence over the development of rugby in Gloucester. By accommodating to the condition of clubs in the city who drew their players from predominantly working-class communities and by offering financial support to individual working-class players at Gloucester FC through the provision of hotel and travelling expenses, the dominant influence of organising individuals was sustained. Few, if any, other clubs in the city could have offered this level of support.

By contrast, this avenue of personal identity formation through an organising role at Gloucester FC would, in general, not have been available to members of working-class groups. It is unlikely they would have had the time, the financial resources, or the social networks to exert a significant influence at the organising level. Given the strong affective bonds of the founding members to their association with the club, it is likely that penetration by "outsider" groups from a lower social class would have been resisted. It is also likely that priorities of members of working-class groups were more to take advantage of the opportunities to spectate and participate, than to become involved at this level of organisation. For players drawn from working-class communities the construction of personal identity hinged more significantly on demonstrating their skill and physical toughness at playing rugby. This, of course, would have been common to all participants of whatever social class. However the point here is that middle-class players, in addition, placed relatively more emphasis on the maintenance of a code of ethical behaviour associated with amateurism. Alongside this was a sense of responsibility for leadership and organisation that facilitated the transition to reconstructed personal identities at the conclusion of their playing careers. Working-class players either stopped playing or played at a lower local level or, in the case of the former captain, Bagwell, undertook lower status supporting functions, for example kit man, rather than an organising role.

V

In summary, the pattern of diffusion of rugby in Gloucester reveals a set of complex and interlocking influences that defy attempts to reduce them to a single determinant. The influence of middle-class groups was, at this time and in this figurationally specific context, significant in the origins, organisation and playing structure of the club. As this process of diffusion was taking place, Gloucester FC developed a dominant organising role. This did not happen “automatically”, simply because it represented the city at rugby football. In order to understand this development, it is necessary to investigate the structural conditions and behavioural practices that enabled club members to achieve and sustain their dominant position.

The development of sources of revenue, at first from memberships and later from spectator payments - along with the presence of a benefactor, A. W. Vears, who on occasion made up any financial deficit - formed the basis of the club's growing economic power from the mid-1870's onwards. After the early years, when the major concern was to ensure the continuance of the club's operations, greater emphasis was placed on acquiring and sustaining a financial surplus over and above that required to meet increased costs incurred as fixtures expanded. This enabled the club to develop a financial relationship with players through the full reimbursement of travel expenses and the provision of post-match refreshments. There developed what can be described as a “no-cost-to-play” policy once the club could afford it. For players there was no financial gain derived from payments but it was certainly a status reward. What needs to be remembered in this regard is that up to the mid-1880's first team players were almost exclusively drawn from the middle-class and thus reimbursement would have been helpful if not strictly necessary. Financial surpluses also enabled the club to effectively buy-off resistance to their continued use of the Spa ground after the incidents surrounding the floodlit match in 1879, by bearing the cost of repairing damage, appointing “groundskeepers” and undertaking to prosecute trespassers. The

resistance of the cricket club to a late-season football fixture on the Spa was dampened with an offer of a proportion of the gate-money. Requests to the Town Council to allow the club to erect canvas screens around the ground were “sweetened” by similar offers of a contribution to the Mayor’s Relief Fund or to the local Infirmary. Gate-money from the “Colts” trials matches was distributed to local clubs, assisting their development and also recompensing them for the calls the Gloucester club made on their players during the season. Finally, by the late 1880’s the club’s officials, recognising the importance of spectator revenues, felt sufficiently secure financially to begin a search for a new ground.

The influential position of the club in its early years owes much to the status of Francis Hartley, the first captain, and the social backgrounds of its players. The close network of association between middle-class groups in commerce, local administration and politics enabled club officials access to local power networks. Later these links with civic dignitaries and local councillors were cultivated, an attachment these groups welcomed, as the club’s popular support and association with civic identity grew. Councillor Moussel, in euphoric mood at the Annual Dinner celebrating the first team’s unbeaten season in 1882/3, claimed, “If anything had done any good to Gloucester it was the Football club” (*Journal* 18.4.1883). The growth of the club also increased the need for voluntary assistance from men with financial and administrative expertise, in effect members of the middle-class, locating significant power in the hands of these men.

The encouragement of spectatorship and support for local clubs offered routes for the transmission of ethical and moral values associated with games playing and, in particular, rugby football. This was problematic as the encouragement of spectatorship was not consonant with the views of those who adhered to the purest form of amateurism and who viewed this development as socially and morally debilitating. As the founding members were not educated at public schools, it is unlikely they would have had strong attachments to this feature of amateurism. The reinforcement of other aspects of the amateur ethos was undertaken through, firstly, the display of a “way of playing” emphasising self-discipline, gentlemanly behaviour, control over the emotions and dealing with the

rigours of physical contact. Secondly, club members and officials attending matches, by differentiating themselves in designated spaces - usually around the pavilion - could also display an emotionally controlled way of spectating that fostered an appreciation of "good play" from either side. This was a double-edged sword as it also created an area where working-class groups could display their propensity and ability to unleash emotions! Thirdly, the existence of a popular daily newspaper employing a journalist with playing links with the club secured, in addition to regular reporting of fixtures, a further channel of value transmission.

Towards the end of this first period of the club's history, these values were coming under threat from two developments. In the first instance, the increasing recruitment of players from working-class backgrounds intensified the requirement for persistent value-reinforcement. The appointment of Bagwell, in 1890, would have sent a powerful signal regarding valued behaviours to his peers. The other source of conflict came as the importance of the club as an element in the construction of civic identity grew. This led to intense emotions amongst supporters which, as Holt (1989: 173) suggests often "transgressed the 'limits of decent partisanship", with "fairness and good manners.... not held in high regard". This behaviour proved to be the most difficult to deal with. Club officials were clearly concerned by it. At the club's Annual Supper at the end of the 1889/90 season, the chairman of the club, A. W. Vears, denounced "all exhibitions of ill-feeling towards visitors". He went on to exhort:

Partisanship there was sure to be, and a good healthy rivalry amongst the teams was good, but let the spectators never descend to such unsportsmanlike practices as hooting and jeering at visitors. Rather let them cheer to the echo all good and meritorious play irrespective of the side on whose behalf it is effected. (*Citizen* 16.4.1890)

Where the behaviours of players and spectators of other clubs were not consonant with those held at Gloucester FC, club officials were ready, as after the match with Newport in 1888, to apply the sanction of cancelling fixtures.

It is evident, then, that, as a structural correlate of increasing interdependencies associated with the diffusion and adoption of rugby football in Gloucester, there was a change in power relations. In this expanding figuration and at this time, economic bonds were the most visible in structuring these relationships. It has also been shown that affective and political bonds significantly contributed to the dominant role of middle-class administrative and playing personnel.

Accompanying this growth in the network of interdependencies was a marked increase in the differentiation of roles in the figuration. In the first instance, the development and adoption of new playing formations and methods defined clearer roles for players between “forwards” and “backs”. Within these groups there were also being assigned increasingly specialised roles. These developments were further supported by the introduction of a “trainer” to enhance players’ physical conditioning. Secondly, relationships between the first and second teams and with local junior clubs were being used to produce a structured system of player recruitment and development. Thirdly, the segmentation of the ground through gate-taking activities differentiated groups of spectators spatially by gender, by class and between members and non-members. Fourthly, the administrative reorganisation of the club further refined the structured relationships between playing and non-playing representatives on the committee and redefined their inputs into the process of administration and team selection. Fifth, the club was acquiring cultural status as one of the “senior” clubs in the West of England and had aspirations to achieve similar status at national level. Sixth, the rivalry with Welsh clubs was strongly infused with a sense of national representation intensified by the close proximity of and regular contact with these clubs. Seventh, there were movements, associated with the specialisation of the role of the referee, towards the development of a Gloucestershire Referees’ Society to structure the appointment of neutral referees, qualified by examination. Eighth, from the 1891/92 season, the *Citizen* produced a Football Edition on Saturday evenings, employing “W.B.” as its specialist sports journalist. Finally, Gloucester was becoming identified as a “rugby city” with Gloucester FC in a dominant, authoritative-traditional role with regard to the development of rugby football in the city.

There seems to be evidence to suggest an emergence of longer and greater differentiated chains of interdependence. Elias proposes that this leads to greater reciprocal dependency and more multi-polar control within and among groups, a process Elias calls “functional democratisation” (Dunning, 1986c: 219; Mennell, 1992: 109). One element in this changing pattern of control concerns the use of physical violence. It is relevant, therefore, to ask what impact this process had on the use and type of violence contained in the playing of rugby football in this specific figuration at this time. It is not possible, due to lack of quantitative evidence, to suggest that there was a change in the balance between the use of instrumental and expressive violence at Gloucester FC as a consequence of an increase of socially generated, competitive pressure. However, Bagwell, as captain, in a speech at a supper celebrating their victory over Swansea, believed that the level of violence had declined over the ten years he had been playing and that the game was less “rough” than it used to be (*Citizen* 15.1.1891). This observation needs treating with some caution. Bagwell, the first working-man captain, began his playing career with a local parish-based club, St. Luke’s, that drew players from working-class residents who may have been inclined to play a rougher game because of their lower skill levels compensated by a relatively greater degree of emphasis on physical strength. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to accept the veracity of his claim in this instance even if it is unclear whether he was comparing his “junior” club experience with that at Gloucester FC, or the trend during his time at the club.

On the surface, there may appear to be a link confirming this specific and limited aspect of a “civilising process”. However, correlation does not equal explanation, and it is therefore necessary to elaborate on the mechanisms of control that were brought to bear on the use of violence. In the first instance, the gentlemanly ethic of games playing was associated with the dominant middle-class groups at Gloucester who still had sufficient power to impress it, to a significant extent, on both middle and working class groups of players. It could also be reinforced by not inviting to the club, or considering for selection, those players who were thought to play an overly roughly. Secondly, the development of intra-game control by the referee and later the instituting of disciplinary procedures under the

auspices of the County Union, would have sent messages to errant players. These may, or may not, have been successful as deterrents to foul play, but they did take persistent offenders out of game situations. The sports journalist at the *Citizen* was also prepared to admonish rough play, on one occasion drawing attention to the fact that a Gloucester player, Cromwell played an “unnecessarily vigorous game”. This same player had been sent off three months earlier against Hull for fighting (*Citizen* 18.1.1890). Thirdly, clubs whose players indulged in over-vigorous physical activity could be dropped from the fixture list. In one game against Moseley during the 1889 season, this sensitivity to excessive roughness by players and members of Gloucester FC is expressed in an entry in the *Secretary’s Notebook* for the 1889/90 season. The record of the fixture is accompanied by a note that Gloucester players refused to take the field for the second half unless “the Moseley forwards played an altogether quieter game”. Finally, the changing game dynamics brought about by the introduction and adoption of the “four three-quarter” system, to a degree, “de-powered” the scrummage by reducing the length of time that players, particularly forwards, were in close contact with each other. Thus, mechanisms of constraint over the use of violence were operating. This analysis needs to be tempered with the recognition that developing alongside were factors raising the intensity of contests. These were, an increasing community identification with the club, a growth in the numbers of increasingly partisan spectators, a need to retain the club’s status against old opponents, and a desire to test the reputation of the club against new opponents from the North and prestigious London clubs. In short, there was an increasing emphasis on winning.

Towards the end of this period there is evidence of an intensification of affective attachment to the club as a representation of collective identity extending into working class groups of players and spectators. At the same time, club officials, driven by a similar identification with the city and the club, were anxious to sustain and improve the playing reputation and financial status of the club. These pressures manifested themselves in a further erosion of the amateur ethos at Gloucester FC. This ethical shift involved an extension of the commodification of spectatorship through the search for an enclosed ground. There was also an

increased emphasis on players to undertake training to achieve success, and the call for competent and neutral referees in order to raise the status of the referee and thereby limit accusations of bias.

The first two chapters have sought to demonstrate that receptivity to rugby football in Gloucester was due to a conjunction of processes involved in the "sportisation" of rugby football and the stage reached in the social development of Gloucester as part of its transition to industrial-urban organisation. The central position of Gloucester FC in the development of rugby football in the city was achieved and sustained through middle-class groups exercising a relatively high degree of control over the lengthening economic, political and affective bonds associated with the development of the club. In particular, their attempts to exercise control over and to exploit a driving force - the growth in spectator revenues - were significant. The club's development and organisation was characterised by greater interdependencies and the associated differentiation of administrative and playing roles. In addition there is evidence of a growing, if limited, "democratic" incorporation of working-class groups into the playing personnel of the club. In essence, the evidence appears to suggest a dominant influence exercised by the older founding members, but one that, if it was to be sustained, required accommodation to other middle and working-class groups actively seeking association with what was becoming, a prestigious local organisation.

The pace of change at Gloucester FC was beginning to accelerate towards the end of this period. The expansion of the club's activities had made it more complex to manage. In the 1890s, as Gloucester FC moved into the second phase of its development, officials and players at the club had to respond to a number of strategic issues. These were its organisational structure; the growth in popularity of cup and league competitions; and issues of player and spectator violence. The way that the officials and players approached these issues was important in the locality as the club was at the centre of local popular culture with regard to team sports, and its organising personnel laid claim to both moral and administrative leadership in this sphere. At the national level the playing reputation of Gloucester FC, and the growth of rugby football in the county,

generated increasing contact with the RFU and were factors in Boughton's continuous attempts to secure County representation on the governing body's General Committee. The responses to these issues, along with the features of the club's development that brought them to the fore as managerial, administrative and cultural imperatives, will form the basis of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

1890/1 - 1913/14: Processes of Commercialisation and Incipient Professionalisation in the Development of Gloucester FC

The period 1890/91 to 1913/14 incorporated many significant changes and these will be reviewed over the proceeding two chapters. This chapter is organised into four sections. Firstly, the origins, organisation and development of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Grounds Company Ltd. (Grounds Co.) will be examined. In the second section, specific attention will be paid to the nature of, and changes in, the power-relationship between the Grounds Co. and Gloucester FC, and the impact the setting up of a limited company had on the use of sports space in the city. The next section investigates the ongoing financial development of Gloucester FC, in particular the revenue management strategies adopted by the committee. Links will be drawn between this aspect of a commercialising process and the administrative organisation of the club. The fourth section will place the development of Gloucester FC in the context of incipient “professionalising” trends in rugby football during this period. It will endeavour to explain why the club was suspended by the RFU under the Professional Laws in 1893, and what this event reveals of the management committee’s attitudes towards player rewards.

I

The 1890/91 season, the last at the Spa ground, began under the captaincy of Tommy Bagwell. It was, we are told, “not an easy job for a working man to get into the city team” during this period, never mind captaining it (*Citizen* 7.9.1929). At the 1890 Annual Meeting, A. W. Vears, a prestigious and influential member of the club’s committee, proposed Bagwell for the captaincy (Appendix 8 contains a photograph of Bagwell with his 1890/91 team). Vears’ sponsorship of Bagwell appears to reflect his general sympathy with working men and his commitment, as he put it, to “fairly treating” this group. At a later AGM Vears was at pains to point out to members who had complained about the price of season tickets how little it cost them to watch football relative to members of the local working class.

Moreover Bagwell had, through his abilities, contributed to his election as captain. At 32 years old he had been playing rugby football for fourteen years. Although at five feet four inches tall and ten stone in weight he was one of the club's smaller players, his skills were much admired and for the previous four years he had played in almost every county match (*Magpie* 10.10.1891). In 1892, at the end of his tenancy as captain, the Gloucester Amateur Dramatic Club, reflecting public opinion, undertook a series of well-attended benefit performances for him that raised over £11. Later in the 1893/94 season, the club attempted to organise a financial "testimonial" for Bagwell but was advised by the RFU that it would "professionalise" him. In the context of the growing sensitivity of the RFU to player rewards at this time, and also since this was the season in which Gloucester FC was suspended under the professional regulations, he perhaps did not receive as remunerative a testimonial as he might otherwise have done. It is clear that Bagwell not only possessed the playing and character attributes required of a club captain but that he also offered a role model of what Gloucester FC, as a still relatively exclusive members club, would have expected of its working class players.

It is worth noting the difference in the nature of the "testimonials" arranged for Bagwell in 1892 and 1893, and that accorded to another former captain, J. F. Brown, in 1883. Brown eschewed a public collection preferring voluntary donations to be made by close friends and appreciative supporters. Brown apparently preferred appreciation of his efforts to be expressed by a close social network. Bagwell's testimonial was a more public affair, with funds raised through association with popular, commercial entertainment represented by the Gloucester Dramatic Club. The nature of Bagwell's testimonial is perhaps indicative of a stage in the club's transition from its origins as a "recreational" members club, to an increasingly commercialised and locally popular sports entertainment offering a site for civic representation and identity. The assimilation of working-class values also appears to be evident in the preference for a "cash" gift. It will be remembered that Brown received a gold watch on his retirement from the captaincy.

The 1890/91 season also saw the continued encouragement of spectatorship at fixtures. This was not without its problems. After one fixture, the committee, through the local newspaper, requested that spectators should not bring their dogs to the ground after one animal bit a player and then, we are told, turned its attention to a "prominent member" (*Citizen* 14.2.1890; 12.11.1890). There were also complaints, articulated and responded to through the press, by an "hon. Member of G.F.C.", about schoolboys being "noisy, impertinent and in the habit of throwing objectionable articles". These turned out to be a dust covered coat and half a packet of cocoa (*Citizen* 12.11.1890; 13.11.1890). The response by one of the offenders is reproduced below:

Dear Sirs, in your issue of the 12th June... that an "hon. Member G.F.C." has been complaining of the "noisy and disorderly" conduct of the schoolboys in the pavilion.... He also says they are frequently impertinent. Being one of these so-called impertinent schoolboys... allow me to give you the true state of the case. The other Saturday, four or five of us were sitting in the front row, when a...member of the committee came up and, taking hold of the collars of our coats, roughly ordered us to move. There happened... to be plenty of room for the ladies. Finding that we would not move, he threatened to fetch a policeman, but eventually spoke to Mr Starr. By this time the latter gentleman came up to the pavilion, two ladies, unable to find room in the front seat, were sitting in the second row and, on Mr Starr politely asking us to make way, we of course did so immediately. I have never... been disorderly in the pavilion, nor have I seen others so. As to throwing dirt etc., on the people... below, I have never seen or heard of it.
ONE OF THE SCHOOLBOYS (*Citizen* 15.11.1890).

This articulate response on behalf of the schoolboys, their emphasis on good mannerly behaviour towards the "ladies", and their position in the grandstand, suggest that they may well have attended one of the local grammar schools. Interestingly, an outcome of this event was that the front row of the grandstand, regarded as the "haunt" of the boys, became reserved for the ladies; the young lads and their "objectionable articles" being ousted.

Local, popular interest in the fortunes of Gloucester FC is evident in the match against Hull on Wednesday, 11th of February 1891. This was a significant event

as many of the local works "suspended operations for a few hours" to enable their employees to watch the first fixture between these clubs (*Citizen* 12.2.1891). In consequence, Gloucester FC achieved their biggest ever mid-week "gate". In the 1891/92 season other Northern clubs visited Gloucester, amongst the most prestigious being St Helens and Wakefield. There are some signals here not only of the growing national reputation of Gloucester FC, but also of the growth of "tours" by Northern clubs, initially to Wales, and of growing support for players who would have needed time off work to participate. With respect to the visit of the St Helens club, the *Citizen's* journalist remarked:

It is only by the interchange of very occasional visits by one team or another... dignified by the name of tours, when more than one match is played - that we can form a reliable comparison between the form of clubs in districts so widely separated as the North and the West. These visits are always interesting, but... often next to valueless... it is always a difficult matter to get the fifteen one would like to undertake the... long journeys and the... long absences from homes and avocations rendered necessary. But... the visit of St Helens Recreation football team to Newport and Gloucester (was) more than usually interesting... as their strongest fifteen have done the journey (*Citizen* 14.2.1891).

It therefore seems likely that some form of support would have been given to players in these circumstances. In the case of the visit by Hull FC, identified as a socially "open" club by Dunning and Sheard (1970: 136), it is likely that the club officials would have been sympathetic to working-class players who were financially inconvenienced. When such matches were played mid-week, as all the aforementioned fixtures with Gloucester FC were, it is even more likely that this would have been the case.

The development of gate-taking activities was also continuing with the Spa ground being enclosed by canvas screens to facilitate gate-taking at important fixtures. This was the case at the first fixture against Rugby, which the Mayor ceremoniously kicked off, with half the net receipts of the gate being donated to his fund to help cover the cost of workmen's tools lost in a fire at the Atlas Iron

Works. Admission prices were also doubled to sixpence and one shilling for important matches (*Citizen* 18.10.1890).

At this stage in the club's development there was a strategy of attempting to maximise gate revenues. However, large financial surpluses were problematic in an amateur sport and, as the club did not possess a permanent ground, these could not be used to develop spectator areas. Consequently, the club directed donations to charitable institutions and worthy local causes, further enhancing the status of the club and its committee in the community.

However, the successful development of a gate-taking strategy could only be achieved through the ownership of an enclosed ground. A search for a suitable venue had been initiated towards the end of the 1887/8 season but one had yet to be found. Events surrounding the game against Swansea, at the Spa ground on the 10th of January 1891, precipitated the move to a new ground. Games between Gloucester and Swansea had become contests imbued with local and national rivalry. The intensity of this particular fixture was raised because Swansea was unbeaten at this point in the season. Several letters to *The Citizen* prior to the match exhorted the players to prepare well and raised the expectations of a Gloucester victory. One such letter is reproduced below:

Dear Sir, - I trust you will allow me... to wish the Captain of the Gloucester Football Club and his famous team continued prosperity and success in this the New Year, and in doing so I feel sure I am only expressing the sentiments of all true lovers of the game...

It is now little more than a week to the long looked for return match with Swansea and as they are the only team who have defeated Gloucester, it behoves all individual members of the team to do their utmost as regards training, etc. to turn out fit and well on this important day. It will be remembered that the previous fixture was contested under the most disadvantageous circumstances for the Gloucester team, as, in addition to being an out match, the full strength was not available.

Yours truly,
SPES (*Citizen* 2.1.1891).

In the week prior to the game the ground was frost-bound and Swansea offered Gloucester £35 to switch to their ground. Gloucester refused and applied salt to the pitch in an attempt to thaw it and used hay to protect the playing surface from further frost. By the weekend a general thaw had started and the fixture was played, with Gloucester beating their opponents after some "initial unpleasantness amongst the forwards was quickly set right by the referee" (*Citizen* 10.1.1891). The gate revenue, from an estimated 8,000 spectators, of £71/17/8, was a record for the club and apparently justified the efforts of the committee to ensure the game went ahead. The victory was celebrated extensively inside the ground, in the local press and at a complimentary dinner for the officials and players at the Ram Inn the following Wednesday (*Citizen* 10.1.1891; 15.1.1891).

However, the application of salt, along with the onset of further frosts, killed the grass on the playing area. The club had effectively "pickled" the Spa ground in their efforts to obtain gate revenues from this intense inter-community contest. The deterioration of the playing surface became a source of conflict between the rugby club and the Gloucester Cricket Club from whom the rugby club sub-let the ground. The Cricket Club was forced to dig up and re-seed 1,600 square yards of the playing area at their own expense. Initial moves to resolve the problem of the co-existence of the cricket and rugby clubs were made by A W. Vears and H J Boughton in May 1891. The two men attempted to resolve the problem amicably and co-operatively. This is evident in the exchange of letters between them. They wrote:

My dear Boughton, - Referring again to our several conversations respecting the present condition of the Spa field, I am strongly of an opinion that we should at once call together a representative body of the various clubs connected with the Spa, or... the full committees of the various clubs, and discuss the situation.

We have now undoubtedly arrived at a climax. The Cricket Club or the Football Club must go. Personally I much regret this, and very much wish the field was a bit bigger so we could avoid playing football on the cricket pitch, and that the two clubs might go hand in hand on the main field. But this is impossible... It would be manifestly unfair, looking at it from a football point of view, if the Cricket Club, who are tenants of

the ground, were to give the Football Club notice farther on in the summer...

It is easy...to point out ... reasons why the Football Club should have a ground of their own. ...it is to their direct interest to secure a ground over which they would have entire control and that they can never have on the Spa. It is quite possible public opinion will be in favour of football being continued on the Spa, because the Gloucester public have been very much spoilt by having such a central ground, and would probably be a bit horrified at first at having to go, say half a mile to the football ground. But (they) would soon get over this feeling in the knowledge of the fact that a properly enclosed ground is necessary for the future welfare and prospects of the club. Football has become such an institution in Gloucester that I question if it would not be well... to invite... a public meeting to consider the matter. Someone must take the initiative, so I address this letter to you with full permission to make what use of it you like, together with your reply.

Faithfully yours,

A. W. VEARS 25, Brunswick Square, May 8th, 1891.

My dear Vears, - I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th inst,... I may begin by expressing my entire accord with its contents, and I do not see any better way of solving the difficulty we are in than by a joint meeting of the two committees. I understand...that a Cricket Committee has been summoned for to-morrow (Tuesday) night for the purpose of discussing the state of the field when... the matter will be thoroughly thrashed out from a cricket point of view, and suggestions made for further consideration by the joint meeting...in the early part of next week.

...the ground... has been absolutely ruined by football, and can never be of any real use again until it has been re-turfed... It is useless attempting to disguise the fact that there can be but little probability of the Gloucestershire v. Surrey match being played here in August, and if we lose this match Gloucester may as well bid good-bye to county cricket for ever. I am...averse to taking a pessimistic view of things, but I really see little prospect of bringing off all our own first and second XI matches this year.

...as regards the Football Club, I feel with you that it would be unfair and - having regard to the cordial relations which have hitherto existed between the Cricket and Football Clubs - unsportsmanlike...to delay giving the club notice to quit a day longer than we can possibly help; and I even go farther than this, and say that seeing how popular the winter game is with the citizens, we ought not to give such a notice unless we can find a suitable field elsewhere upon which the Football Club can play. A ground over which the Football Club would have

entire control all the year round would be of great advantage to them, and if once procured...it would...be a source of profit...

I gather from the last sentence in your letter that you anticipate my thinking is worth while to publish it, together with my reply, and this I will do in the hope that it may lead to useful suggestions being made by some of the many readers of the *Citizen* who take an interest in two of the best games ever played by Englishmen.

Yours very truly,

HUBERT J. BOUGHTON, Linden Grove, May 11th, 1891.

The level of mutual consideration between the two men is not surprising given their aforementioned social backgrounds as members of the higher status middle-class group in the city and their mutual association through playing and organising the main winter and summer sports in the city (Appendix 9 contains sketched portraits of the two men).

In summary, the move from the Spa was the culmination of this phase of a commercialising process based on the development of Gloucester FC as a gate-taking club. This impinged on the cricket club, both through the extension of fixtures into early spring and through the actions that ruined the ground in an effort to bring off a lucrative fixture. The requirements for the continuance of this process, namely a ground over which the rugby club would have full control, seems to have been accepted by both parties. There was nevertheless some conflict amongst the general public regarding the desirability of a move from the Spa. On the one hand, a correspondent to the *Citizen* in February 1891 pressed for action, claiming that the acquisition of the club's own ground would overcome the club's "one great drawback and obstacle which has prevented the club from rising to a flourishing financial state". On the other, "A Working Man" registered a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the working class "that the football club should be compelled to quit the now celebrated Spa field". He also pointed out that the citizens of Gloucester, as owners of the Spa field, ought to be allowed to contribute to decisions regarding the use of the Spa ground for recreational purposes (*Citizen* 18.7.1891). The Town Council responded by passing a resolution that all the sports clubs who held tenancies on the Spa, including the Gloucester Cricket Club, be given notice to quit, "in order that such lands may be

made available for the general public". After representations were made to the Town Council by H.J. Boughton, on behalf of the cricket club, this resolution was overturned (*Citizen* 18.7.1891; *Journal* 14.2.1891; *Town Council Minutes* 7.11.1891). In the event, members of the Gloucester working class did not have much of a voice in the matter.

A small sub-committee of the club, led by Boughton, intensified their search for a ground over the summer months. A number of schemes and locations in the city were evaluated with regard to cost, enclosure and accessibility for spectators. At a General Meeting of members on Wednesday July 1st, under the chairmanship of A. W. Vears, Boughton outlined the various schemes. At the end of the meeting, an overwhelming majority voted in favour of acquiring a site in the Kingsholm district of the city, the "Castle Grim Estate", for the new ground. This ground was about half a mile to the north of "The Cross" (the city centre), somewhat distanced from the main working-class areas on the south side of the city. It was, however, a substantial piece of land of 7 acres, 0 rods and 21 perches, bounded by Worcester Street, St Mark's Street, Deans Walk and the Twyver ditch. This option was regarded as the best business proposition and, as Boughton reinforced, it was to be used as an Athletic Ground in order to raise money in the summer months. (Ironically, one portion of this ground was known as the "Old College" ground, the piece of land on which, in 1873, the club had played its first fixture.)

There were some reservations expressed about the proposed scheme. The rugby club recognised that the expense of acquiring and developing the ground themselves was too great, and were worried that if they were to set up a limited liability company to purchase the ground, the RFU would regard it as a money-making concern and, in consequence, "professionalise" them. They were also aware that, if others set up a limited liability company and the ground was rented to the club, there may have emerged conflict over its use. In addition, the aim from the beginning had been for the club to acquire its own ground and thus such an arrangement did not seem to meet these purposes. However, when it was recognised that the shareholders and directors would be the same regardless of whether the club or an envisaged limited liability company undertook the scheme,

fears regarding potential conflict in a tenant-landlord arrangement were allayed (*Citizen* 2.7.1891). The purchase price of £4,400 was to be raised by a combination of a mortgage and an issue of shares in the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Company Ltd., formed specifically for the purpose of this acquisition. Four elements of the acquisition of the Kingsholm ground will be scrutinised. These are firstly, the method of raising the required capital. Secondly the process of purchasing the land, associated mortgage extensions and transfers in the early years. Thirdly, the pattern of shareholding in the Grounds Co. and, finally, the tenancy agreement between Gloucester FC and the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Company Ltd. Documentation relevant to this analysis has been recovered from the club's archives and the analysis of shareholding from a Companies House postal search of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Company Ltd.

Soon after the General Meeting had sanctioned the purchase of the Kingsholm site, the process of acquiring the necessary finance got under way. A circular outlining the proposal was sent to club members, accompanied by an application form for the purchase of shares (Appendix 10). The attractiveness of the acquisition of the Kingsholm site is signalled at various points in this circular. In the second paragraph, it is pointed out that some of the capital cost could, in future, be recouped by the sale of excess land for building purposes. Thus, there was an element of speculative investment in land. The mutually beneficial arrangements between the club - which could expect higher gate-revenues from access to an enclosed ground - and the Grounds Co., which would fix a maximum rent, structured relationships such that a five per cent annual dividend could be paid to shareholders, was also stressed. In the penultimate paragraph, the balance between financial returns and the security of Gloucester FC is underlined. It was, after all, the initial objective of the scheme to provide a long-term home for the club. Finally, in the last sentence of this paragraph is an interesting "marketing" ploy. It publicises the popularity of the scheme and carries with it the suggestion that potential investors needed to act quickly if they were to secure a shareholding. Investors were given only one week to make their decision. In the event subscriptions for 2,805 one pound shares were received.

Given this level of shareholding it is to be expected that shareholding was extended to individuals outside the membership of the club. No data concerning the names and addresses of members of Gloucester FC are available in the club's archives to enable this proposition to be checked by cross-reference to the two groups. It is, nevertheless, reasonable to suspect that a high proportion of shareholding was by members of the club, who at this time numbered around eleven hundred.

With access to funds secured, representatives of the club approached A. V. Hatton who had recently purchased the "Castle Grim Estate" site in January 1891. What emerges from the research of the purchase process (a detailed chronology of the commercial process can be found in Appendix 11) is the swift profit, over 20% in six months, which Hatton made on his sale of the Kingsholm site. There appears to be some evidence of collusion between Hatton and Boughton in this regard. In a speech made at the dinner to celebrate the opening of the new ground in October 1891 Hatton, after assuring them of Boughton's leading role in the scheme, informed his audience that:

As long ago as last March he (Hatton) consulted Mr Boughton as to whether, if he bought the ground, he would be able to sell it, and Mr Boughton said he had no doubt a company would be formed for its purpose. On that he took courage and made a bid for it, and he thanked Mr Boughton for the way in which he kept his confidence during the negotiations, to which was due the purchase of the ground (*Journal* 17.10.1891).

The date of March is significant in that this was two months before the correspondence between Vears and Boughton regarding the use of the Spa, and four months before Boughton outlined the schemes to a General Meeting of the club. Boughton appears to have encouraged Hatton to purchase the Kingsholm site, confident that he could expedite its resale at a profit through the "Grounds Company" scheme. A bond of freemasonry that existed between these men may well have been influential in Hatton trusting the judgement and influence of Boughton. It is possible to see Hatton's offer of purchasing 100 shares, made at the General Meeting in July, as a "sweetener" in this regard. However, Hatton was a local brewer and may have had more than just a speculative interest in

supporting a locally popular sport. Moreover, the process regarding the sale of the land, and the joint offer of a mortgage, suggests that this was a speculative investment in property by Hatton. Boughton, through his position as solicitor and his contacts as a Freemason, was able to facilitate mortgage arrangements. This again suggests evidence of a close bond of interdependency between an entrepreneurial capitalist, Hatton, looking for a speculative investment and the solicitor Boughton, which facilitated and expedited the land acquisition through their mutual involvement in Freemasonry.

Whilst the financial transactions with regard to the sale of the site and the mortgage were being completed, subscriptions for the £1 shares were being taken up. £1,400 was subscribed up to the 20th July, with the value of shares being taken up by December 1891 reaching £2,805. The aggregated data of initial shareholdings in the Gloucester Athletic and Football Ground Company Ltd., showing both the occupational status and the relative shareholdings of the original Directors of the company, are contained in Appendix 12. An analysis of the social composition of shareholders is set out below and draws on these data.

Middle-class groups took up a large proportion of the share issue. However there was a distinct pattern of share ownership within this group. The "lesser bourgeoisie" of shopkeepers, small contractors in the building trades, clerks and others, were amongst the most numerous shareholders, with forty-five, twenty-eight, twenty-seven and twenty-eight individuals respectively. The percentage of shares held by each of these was in turn ten, seven, five and four per cent. The largest number of shares held by an individual in each group was ten by a shopkeeper, twenty-five by a building contractor and fifteen by a clerk. Thus, it would appear that the lesser bourgeoisie in Gloucester subscribed in significant numbers, but generally held a small number of shares. In consequence, they comprised a relatively small, but significant, twenty-six percent ownership of the total shares issued. There is an exception to this pattern amongst those individuals categorised as being associated with the "Drinks Trade". Here, twenty shareholders purchased eleven per cent of the shares. However, closer inspection of the raw data reveals that within this group two individuals purchased fifty shares each, and A. V. Hatton, who, it will be remembered, was the vendor of

the Kingsholm site, purchased a block of one hundred shares. When the holdings of these individuals are accounted for, a similar pattern to that of the previously mentioned groups is established. On this basis it is possible to suggest that, in general, the purchase of shares by these groups was less of a speculative venture than it was a recognition of popular support amongst their customers, and of course themselves, for the club and the proposed scheme.

In contrast, the group comprising merchants, gentlemen and solicitors exhibit a different pattern of shareholding. Twenty-four merchants held fifteen per cent of the share issue, eighteen gentlemen nine per cent, and fifteen solicitors thirteen per cent. It is therefore to be expected that individuals in these groups held substantial blocks of shares. Boughton, a solicitor and founder member of the club, who purchased one hundred shares, with the Brethertons, the firm of solicitors who employed him, holding one hundred and fifty shares. In the group of merchants there are two holdings of one hundred shares. A. W. Vears, another founding member of the club was one of them. This purchase of shares by the founding members clearly signals their attachment to the club they were instrumental in forming and their commitment to the success of the grounds purchase scheme. The contributions by others in these groups reflected their wealth and status amongst the local middle-class, differentiating them from the lesser bourgeoisie in the city. Whilst it is reasonable to suggest that all shareholders felt a degree of civic pride in contributing to the development of the, by now, popular and successful Gloucester FC, this group had the means to signal an influential interest through the extent of their shareholding.

The only group that can be identified as from the working class are those on the shares register who gave their occupation as "labourer". There were six of these individuals, all holding a small number of shares which in total accounted for one per cent of the share issue. The interesting feature of this group is that five out of the six individuals lived in St. Catherine's Street, a working-class residential street very close to the Kingsholm site. In addition, one of these men purchased twenty shares; the other individuals holding only one share each. It is difficult to speculate on the basis of such scant information, but it is possible that, as St Catherine's FC was the first parish-based junior club to be set up in the city of

Gloucester, these men were enthusiastic supporters, and perhaps players, of rugby football. Other than this group, it would appear that middle-class groups in Gloucester funded a very substantial portion of the share issue. Seven women purchased shares in amounts ranging from £5 to £20, the average shareholding of 13 per person being amongst the highest for any group. These women appear to have been financially independent. Two were widows, three were spinsters and two are described as “wives of” alongside their husband’s names, none of whom held shares. Three Members of Parliament, Dorrington, Robinson and Vassar-Smith held twenty, fifty and one hundred shares respectively, reinforcing their support for a popular local sport. The relatively large shareholding by the House Agents group, six per cent, can be attributed to two holdings, amounting to one hundred and fifty shares, possibly acquired speculatively in anticipation of profits on share dealings.

The shares were initially offered at a 5% dividend, which may suggest that there is evidence of a profit-making motive. However, it was not the only motive that induced individuals to purchase shares in the Grounds Company. The shares rarely traded above their £1 face value, the highest price of £1¼/- being obtained in 1892 (*Share Transfers Book; 1892 to 1943*, Gloucester RFC archives). In summary, the shares in the Grounds Co. appear to have been purchased to support the development of the club and to register an affective attachment. There is also the possibility that some local traders might have anticipated improving their businesses through their association with the club. In any event, the outcome was a highly successful share issue that raised sufficient money to purchase the Kingsholm site. By 1892 the total capital of the club had reached £5,575, comprising the mortgage, revenue from shares and the sale of a portion of the land.

The tenancy agreement between the Grounds Company and Gloucester FC is illustrative of the initial relationship between landlord, the Grounds Co., and tenant, the club. There was no intention to extract surplus value from the latter, reflecting the aforementioned historical and social factors that led to this form of organisation as a means of securing playing resources. The tenancy agreement set the rent at an annual sum: “to be one third of the gross annual income which

shall be received from all sources during the Season but such gross amount of Rent not to exceed in any year the sum of two hundred and seventy five pounds.” The Grounds Company also took on responsibility for the development of the ground. Clause 4 of the tenancy agreement confirms that: “The Ground (is) to be levelled and turfed where required and adequately fenced so as completely to shut out the public view and such Grand Stands, Pavilions and other Buildings erected as the Company shall deem desirable, the cost of the whole of these works and the future maintenance and repairs thereof being borne by the Company” (*Directors’ Minutes*, 1891). In essence, the club was relieved of expenditure on capital items and maintenance. Also included in the agreement was a clause permitting the ground and the buildings to be purchased by the club.

The role of Vears and Boughton in structuring the tenancy reflects their personal attachment to the fortunes of the rugby club. The agreement did not place undue pressure on the financial status of Gloucester FC and, at the same time, it secured significant autonomy for the Grounds Company to control the development of what was, after all, its own property,. Nevertheless, they, and the other Directors of the company, were constrained by the need to raise sufficient annual operating revenues to cover the dividends on the shares, interest on the mortgage and other operating expenses. The full list of the Directors of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Company Ltd is set out below, with shareholdings in parentheses.

Table 3.1 Directors of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co. Ltd. 1891

| | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------|
| A. W. Vears | Merchant | (100) |
| C. H. Priday | Land Agent | (100) |
| A. V. Hatton | Brewer | (100) |
| A. Woodward | Gentleman | (50) |
| G. Cummings | Maltster | (50) |
| S. Davies | Haberdasher | (25) |
| T. Gurney | Builder | (20) |
| C. H. Dancey | No Occupation | (25) |

All the Directors were drawn from the local commercial and business class in Gloucester. Some of these men were also members of the rugby club and, in five

cases (Davies, Priday, Vears, Cummings and Dancey), also served as members of the committee in future years. It is reasonable to suggest that the Directors, whilst having the club's interest at heart, were also committed to ensuring that the Grounds Company was run as a profit-making commercial enterprise. The coincidence of interests and personnel between the Grounds Company and the club was further reinforced by the agreement to permit an elected representative of the club to sit as a Director on the Board of the Grounds Company. In order to formally maintain this link, Sidney S. Starr, Honorary Treasurer of the club and a Freemason at the Zetland Lodge in Gloucester, was the first to fulfil this function. Vears, as one of the largest shareholding Directors and prime mover in the organisation of the Grounds Company, was subsequently elected as Chairman of the Board.

The organisation of Gloucester FC and of the Grounds Company was firmly in the hands of the middle-class at the start of the 1890's. It was dominated by the higher status merchant/solicitor group, some with a strong association as founding members of the club in 1873. In addition, a lower middle-class group, largely composed of small businessmen, was beginning to increase its representation on the Board of the Grounds Company and, with greater influence, in the committee structure of the rugby club. These were men of rising social standing, acquired through their business acumen and prestige as members of local Masonic Lodges. Both these groups were initially bound together in a tightly knit interdependency based on their common association with the rugby club. At this stage there was a strong coincidence of interests but, as the rugby club developed, the relationship between these middle-class groups came to be characterised by increasing conflict. The balance of power moved more in favour of the lower middle-class members as their representation increased on the committee. Before dealing with this process, which reached its climax during 1923 and 1924, it is worthwhile reviewing the way the Grounds Company Directors developed what they had by now named the "Kingsholm" ground. This assists in moving towards an understanding of their relationship with the rugby club as landlords, the actions they took that contributed to the process of

commercialisation of Gloucester FC's operations, and the impact these actions had on the development and use of sports and recreational space in the city.

II

The Directors swiftly put themselves to the task of preparing the playing area for the start of the 1891/2 season. Tenders were obtained for levelling the ground and clearing it of the trees and houses that stood on it. Work was also undertaken to enclose the land with fencing with a "Directors' door" for this group's exclusive use and turnstiles for the public. With enclosure of the ground it was not long before trespassing became an issue and, in 1892, notices were posted that individuals who trespassed would be prosecuted. A "groundskeeper" was also appointed in this year at 18 shillings per week during the summer months, and 6 shillings a week during the football season, to be paid by the club. Eventually this latter sum rose to 15 shillings during the football season with contributions from the Grounds Company and the Gloucester "Thursday" Rugby Club. Within the ground, plans were made for the erection of a grandstand, a new pavilion and a flagpole. The grandstand was to include space for the press who, by 1898, were sufficiently numerous to take up all the front seats. In 1893 Gloucester FC also requested reserved spaces for their committeemen. On the back of the original correspondence requesting this privilege there is evidence that A. W. Vears did not think much of this desire for status exclusivity. "What nonsense this all is", he wrote, "We managed without all these stupid injuries, it will however cost little to have it done." A contract for the provision of "non-alcoholic" refreshments, was issued along with a lease for a "Cigar Box", a vending outlet selling tobacco.

Sources of revenue, other than the rent from the rugby club, were sought by the Directors of the Grounds Company. A tender was accepted for the letting of advertising space on the boundary fences as well as for sheep-grazing during the summer months. Other short-term lettings of portions of the ground were made to various cricket and sports clubs. Gloucester Athletic Club members, initially allowed to train on the ground for free, were later, like the Bicycle Club, required to purchase "Training Tickets". In addition, revenue was obtained from circuses, fetes, "school treats" and military drill on the ground. Local entrepreneurs also

took advantage of the availability of recreational space for fireworks displays, pony races and balloon ascents. A Stroud v. Gloucester polo match was held on the ground in 1895 and space was let for amusements and rides during the Barton Fair holiday festivities. Thus, up to the late-1890s, the Grounds Company provided social space for sport and recreation activities in Gloucester, subject to a suitably negotiated financial transaction. The section of the land laid aside for rugby was beginning to acquire the infrastructure of a bona fide enclosed ground. Other sections of the seven acres owned by the Grounds Company were the only other areas let for alternative purposes. In addition, the Grounds Company had gone some way to alleviating the problem of a lack of holiday entertainment in Gloucester by making its land available for this purpose. A. V. Hatton articulated this problem at the celebration dinner following the first match on the ground on Saturday October 10th 1891. He said he was pleased that:

the scheme had been carried out because during the 27 years he had been in Gloucester there had always been a complaint that there had been nothing in the way of amusements got up for the holidays... and(now)... there would be some successful holiday gatherings on the new ground (*Journal* 17.10.1891).

This early work in securing revenues enabled the Grounds Company to deliver a 5% dividend on its shares in 1893. Although it struggled over the next few years to achieve this target, as the expenses of developing the ground forced further loans and overdrafts that required servicing, by the turn of the century the company was consistently returning this level of dividend. After the First World War, a 2.5% dividend on its shares was the norm, in large part because the rent from the rugby club, a primary source of income, did not increase. By the onset of the Second World War the interests of the club and the Grounds Company had become synonymous, with the latter's shares being virtually wholly owned by the club. After the Second World War no dividends were paid on the shares of the Grounds Company; small annual surpluses usually being transferred to reserves. The 1993 Annual Return shows the company still to be in receipt of £350 as rent for the ground, there is no other operating income and there exists an outstanding, undated loan of £2,000 at 4% interest. The Grounds Company did,

however, have a role to play in the 1980s and 1990s, providing security for major sponsorship agreements.

The process of the club acquiring ownership of the ground, by purchasing Grounds Co. shares, commenced soon after the company began operating. The first record of share transfers occurred in 1892 with club officials Dennis Reardon and A. W. Vears being major purchasers (*Directors' Minutes* 1892). Other club members and officials also purchased large blocks of shares up to the First World War, in a number of cases using the club's financial surpluses to finance the transaction. In 1916 a large block of 1,011 shares was transferred to H. W. Grimes, J. T. Brookes and A. J. Fielding acting as "Trustees of the Rugby Club", for a nominal 5 shilling fee. In the 1920s, Fielding and Brookes continued to acquire shares on behalf of the club and in May 1928 transferred 3,047 shares to the club's Trustees, again for a nominal 5 shillings fee. As the total number of shares issued was 3,150, the club now had control of the Grounds Company. Small quantities of shares were transferred to enable individuals, usually past servants of the club, to qualify for a Directorship on the Grounds Co. board. The position of the Grounds Company in the club's organisational structure became an issue in 1996 as the rugby club attempted to restructure its operations after the legitimisation of professionalism of rugby football in 1995. In summary, the transfer of shares represented a shift in power in favour of the rugby club and away from the Directors of the Grounds Company. However, the process of obtaining control was more complex than the transfer of financial instruments. It was not a painless process.

Conflict began to emerge fairly early on in the relationship between the Grounds Company and Gloucester FC over the amount of rent to be paid for the use of the ground. This was the largest single item on the Expenditure side of the club's Revenue Account from 1891. This item had risen from £15 paid to the Gloucester Cricket Club in 1884 for use of the Spa ground, to £275 paid to the Grounds Company at the beginning of the club's tenancy of Kingsholm. In order to meet this charge the club was looking for sources of revenue other than from rugby matches. It approached the Grounds Company in 1893 and eventually entered into a supplementary agreement that permitted the club to take half the

gross proceeds of any events held on the grounds, other than football, during the period of their tenancy. At this time, this was confined to the winter months. The Grounds Company acceded to this request as the club was struggling financially. The Directors again offered further assistance in 1895 when £25 was granted to ease a financial deficit at the club. The offer was made despite the Directors being called "sharks" and "pound of flesh men" at the club's AGM by members who believed the rent charged by the Grounds Co. to be excessive. By 1899 the financial position of the club had recovered to the extent that the Grounds Company, itself under pressure from a loss of revenue as a result of the supplementary agreement, suggested its cancellation. A. W. Vears in the *Directors' Minutes* of a Grounds Company meeting held on March 1st 1899 clearly articulated the problem of the relationship with the club. He emphasised that:

The Company always had a warm corner in their hearts for the Football Club and wished to see them prosperous, in fact the one guiding wish of every Director had been, and was, that one day the Ground might entirely be in the hands of the Football Club. The Club now were moving on well in that direction, they were already very large shareholders and were still buyers of shares. The club, he felt sure, would remember that about the same time this agreement was made the Company granted some £25 or £26 to put right a deficit the club had on that year's working... He felt sure his brother Directors would agree with him that they - the Directors - had a duty to perform towards the shareholders who had not had too rosy a time of it in the way of Dividends.

The crux of the problem for the Directors was to balance the responsibility of the Grounds Company to its shareholders with the need of the club to remain financially secure. Both organisations were driven by commercial considerations, but both were constrained by the need to be profitable. Subsequent requests for reductions in rent were constrained by the same problem. The club, again under financial pressure in 1909, pressed for a review of its financial arrangements with the Grounds Company. The Directors continued to do as much as possible for the club by reducing the rent and permitting sub-lettings, but it was still the issue of the rent charged by the Grounds Company that was the driving force in the

relationship. This was recognised when, in 1918, a Director of the Grounds Company was elected to sit on the club's Finance Committee. This, it was hoped, would assist the Directors of the Grounds Company in understanding the nature of the club's financial operations.

The conflict in this relationship finally came to a head in the events surrounding the rugby club gaining control over the Grounds Company in 1923. A number of forces were at work. Firstly, there were continuing disputes over the level of the rent. Secondly, the increasing complexity of the financial relationship between the club and Grounds Company, particularly over the allocation of revenues from sub-letting and responsibility for fixed assets, was bringing them closer together. Thirdly, the club was increasingly becoming associated with the ground on a year round basis through Arthur Hudson, then Secretary of the club, who had acquired the lease for the summer months and virtually monopolised lettings on the ground as part of his own business interests. He also owned a sports shop in the city. Fourthly, the continued sale of portions of the site had reduced the amount of land the company held. The majority of the remaining land was used by the rugby club. Finally, and in conjunction with the above, there was a changing social composition of Directors on the Board of the Grounds Company, backed by the club's increasing ownership of shares (Appendix 13 identifies these changes).

These latter changes are worth studying in some detail. The change in power relations on the Board was, in the first instance, the product of an extension of the Board to ten members in 1920. This enabled J. T. Brookes to become a Director as the Trustee of the rugby club's shares, joining A. F. Fielding as the nominated club representative. (Fielding was to become Deputy Chairman of the Grounds Company in 1923). In addition, the buying up of shares by the club had left few people with sufficient shares to qualify them as Directors. With the purchase of the Bretherton and Bingle holdings in 1923, the number of Board members fell to eight as they were now disqualified from holding directorships. The death in 1917 of A. W. Vears, the Grounds Company Chairman, also severed the only surviving link with the original Board. The replacement of older members of the Board through death or sale of shares, increased the number of Directors who were detached from the social and historical origins of the Grounds

Company. Directors nominated from the club's committee were in some instances made up to full Directors when vacancies arose, examples being A. C. Williams and H. A. Dancey. It is also reasonable to suggest that W. G. Ayliffe, one of the original shareholders who was subsequently made a Director in 1921, would have been aware of the original aim of the Grounds Company and supported the actions of the club in acquiring the remaining shares.

In the early-1920s the representatives of the rugby club now felt they had an adequate power base to bring the Grounds Company under the control of the club and to achieve ownership of Kingsholm. The club precipitated conflict in January 1923 when it offered to pay a substantially reduced rent of £200 for the ground. This, it is recorded in the *Directors' Minutes*, occasioned "intense surprise" on the part of the chairman, Dancey, as this sum would not have covered the annual expenses of the company. In between this and the next meeting of the Directors, the club explored the possibility of acquiring the assets of the company and commissioned a report to appraise them of the costs and technicalities of this process. They ultimately decided this course of action would be too expensive. A cheaper way of securing the same end was through the acquisition of the remaining shares. By the 5th March, the date of the next meeting, Dancey acrimoniously resigned his position as Chairman. Dancey expressed his position strongly in the first of two letters to the club's committee (The full text of both letters is contained in Appendix 14). He wrote:

Whilst deprecating very strongly the method of procedure adopted by the Football Club to obtain the power, I am bound to admit that they now have it, and I have been told that, "we intend to use it" the result of this is that practically any resolution brought forward is bound to be carried, and my position as Chairman is therefore nothing more than a figure head.

In his second letter, Dancey reinforces his perception that there had been a transition in power relations between the club's officials and the Directors of the Grounds Company. Dancey's interpretation of events, was that the club was "secretly" buying up shares of "some of the Directors so as to disqualify them as such". This led him to the view that, although the objective of the rugby club

owning its own ground had been achieved, the process had involved behaviours which, "all who were originally connected with the Ground Company but who have now passed away... would have resented such action as strongly as I did". Dancey specifically mentions Hubert Boughton, a founder of the company and Harry Grimes, a past Secretary in this connection. Contained in these letters is a clear reference to the fact that the values of the originators of the Grounds Company scheme, and some of its early associates, were no longer coincidental with the group who, by now, had come to dominate the rugby club and also the Grounds Company. Dancey was originally nominated to the Board as the rugby club's representative in 1905. It is safe, therefore, to suggest that he was more closely attached to the values of the higher status social group led by Vears and Boughton. Their aim in setting up the Grounds Company, namely that it should be the vehicle by which the club came to own its ground, came to pass but not in a way that suited Dancey. The appointment of Arthur Hudson, Secretary of the rugby club, as a Director, and of Fielding and Brookes as Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively, confirmed a shift in power relations in favour of a middle-class group of "lesser businessmen" and industrialists.

The activities of the club and the Grounds Company soon became synonymous, the club agreeing to cover any deficit on the company's workings that year, after, ironically, increasing its offer of rent to £250. They also obtained an undertaking that any buildings erected belonged to the club as "Tenant's Fixtures". The interests of the club and the Grounds Company became so intertwined by 1944 that the auditor of the company, H. G. Kingscott, warned that the affairs of the company and the football club should be kept separate for taxation and legal purposes. A formal link of interdependence remained between the Grounds Company and the club. However, from around the 1920's onwards, the values and affective bonds of the early founders of the club and the Directors of the Grounds Company were much less evident.

There are three points that can be drawn from an analysis of the history of the Grounds Company. The first is that the increased interdependence of the rugby club with the Grounds Company was conflictual, in part due to the nature of the two organisations. On the one hand, the club was largely organised on a

committee/volunteer/amateur basis, whilst the Grounds Company was a more formally organised financial/legal organisation operating under constraints that were different from those experienced by officials of the club. Boughton's comments at the 1891 meeting to float the ground purchase scheme were astute in this regard. He said that:

It seemed to him much more satisfactory that the club should be the owners themselves, because there must always be to a certain extent antagonistic interests (*Citizen* 2.7.1891).

Secondly, the basis of the interdependency, although imbued with a great deal of emotional feeling regarding the well being of the club, was animated by what were fundamentally economic relationships. Initially they were manifested in the attitudes and actions of the higher status middle-class group comprising the early founders of the Grounds Company. These were largely entrepreneurial in nature. Later the gradual transition of power to members of a growing industrial/retail section of the middle-class led to an emphasis on management and administration skills.

The third and final point is an unintended consequence, associated with the development and commodification of sports space in Gloucester. The purchase of the Kingsholm site placed a significant portion of newly developed sports and recreational land into private ownership, with the public excluded during non-match days by enclosure and the use of trespass laws. Further, the Grounds Company was now involved in a financial transaction with Gloucester FC and other short-term tenants of the ground for the provision of recreational space. Eventually other sports came to be excluded, contrary to the original intention for the site to be used as a multi-purpose "Athletic Ground". These developments were features of a transition from the use of the Spa ground as relatively open and publicly owned recreational land - although there was middle-class control through the tenancies of cricket and tennis clubs as well as through the park-keeper - to the enclosed, private space of the Kingsholm ground.

There was beginning to emerge, quite noticeably during this period, a sense of "topophilia", a "love of place", as Kingsholm became the physical and

metaphorical home of rugby in the city and of Gloucester FC (Bale, 1994: 120-147). The position of Kingsholm as eulogised space and also as the “home” of rugby in Gloucester is illustrated by the cartoon in Appendix 7 and was reinforced by the use of Kingsholm for the Final Ties of local cup competitions. The gate money taken from the latter and other fixtures between local sides for which Kingsholm was used, was distributed to local clubs. There may well have been a strong collective identity with the Kingsholm ground, but this took place within a socially differentiated interior, achieved by reserved space for members, ladies, the Press, the Committee and the Directors of the Grounds Company. These groups were thus accorded exclusive places in the privatised space of the Kingsholm ground. This, along with lower entry prices to the “popular” sides of the ground, contributed to a territorialisation of space at Kingsholm to a much greater degree than had initially prevailed at the Spa.

As part of this process the Directors of the Grounds Company appear to have been highly motivated to develop the ground as a sports stadium to reflect the growing playing reputation of the club and as a manifestation of their business acumen. At the start of the 1900/01 season, the playing area was re-positioned to give the occupants of the Grandstand “a full view” of proceedings (*Citizen* 1.9.1900). In September 1905, a “New Gymnasium and Training Quarters”, designed by local architect Harry A. Dancey (also a Director of the Company) was built by the Grounds Company at a cost of £1,100. It was ceremoniously opened by the local M. P., Russell Rea, in the company of the Mayor, the City High Sheriff, members of the City Council, officials of the club and Directors of the Grounds Company (*Citizen* 23.9.1905). There was a great deal of civic and personal pride evident at the occasion. However, two related developments emerged from this innovation. Firstly, the Grounds Company increased the rent it charged the club to help cover the cost of erecting the gymnasium. This became a source of conflict between the club’s committee and the Grounds Company. Secondly, it increased the opportunity for the committee to increase their surveillance and control over the playing members who were now being required to train more assiduously than previously to maintain the club’s playing reputation. Here again there is further evidence that the officials and players at

Gloucester FC were not adherents to the purest version of the amateur ethos that regarded the instrumental nature of training as anathema to the gentleman amateur (Dunning and Sheard; 1979: 153-154). The club's committee arranged to meet on the same nights as the players were training, and to oversee their activities. As the President of the club, Councillor C. E. Brown, pointed out in a speech accompanying his acceptance of the tenancy of the new building:

The committee would be sitting in one room while the players would be training in another... Everyone present would recognise how very essential a well-trained team was to a club if they wished to compete with any success He hoped that by winning their matches they would make the club more popular during the ensuing season (*Citizen* 23.9.1905).

The gradual erection of covered stands on other sides of the ground, particularly on the sixpenny "popular" side in 1913, was justified as a means of preventing a loss of spectatorship on wet days. This completed the first phase of the development of Kingsholm as a central site in the complex of sports activities in Gloucester.

The Grounds Company development of the site occurred, in large degree, in conjunction with other aspects of commercialisation generated, supported and administered by the officials of the rugby club. This had a number of features. The ceremonial opening of the Kingsholm ground, on October 10th 1891, with a match against Burton, signalled some of these developments. On the day of the game bunting had been put up across the road leading to the ground and crowds had gathered at the Spread Eagle Hotel to catch sight of the visiting players who were to change there. The teams, we are told, were driven to the ground in "brakes" (horse-drawn transport) specially provided for the occasion. It was estimated that 4,000 spectators were present at the ground. Tom Robinson, the Gloucester MP who, in his own words, admitted to being, "not much of a football man", made a short speech to the assembled players, Grounds Company Directors and club members. He then started the game by ceremoniously "kicking off". The game was refereed by Rowland Hill (Secretary of the RFU), who had travelled from London for the occasion on the invitation of the committee.

The *Maggie* of the 10th October carried an artist's impression of the event, reproduced in Appendix 15. After the game, which Gloucester won, a celebration dinner, paid for by the Directors of the Grounds Company, was held at the Spread Eagle Hotel. Rowland Hill, during a speech at this dinner, took the opportunity to stress the role played by the RFU in providing referees to minimise "accidents" caused by rough play, and to elaborate aspects of the moral code of Rugby football, in particular that of accepting "defeat properly". He also hinted at the upward-looking and supportive relationship that the officials of the club, notably H. J. Boughton, had with the RFU in "these troublous days of football" with the advance of professionalism. S. Starr, the club Treasurer, also revealed the growth in membership revenues that season and the gate-revenues from the inaugural fixture, suggesting that the experience of the day recommended the introduction of turnstiles to regulate the flow of spectators into the ground (*Citizen* 17.10.1891). We are also told that:

A regrettable incident... occurred at the end of the evening's proceedings. Two individuals, well known on the football ground, came to strong words over an incident of the past, in which the personal honour of one of the disputants was involved. Epithets of a far from complimentary character were bandied about and an invitation to "come outside" was acted upon. Here reputations and persons were alike treated to indignity, and it is rumoured that legal proceedings are to follow. A further rumour, however, states that mutual sorrow at the occurrence prevails (*Citizen* 17.10.1891).

It is noticeable that the language used here de-amplifies the incident and stresses its unpleasantness. In addition the quotation concludes by reinforcing the internalisation of feelings of "sorrow" as a resolution to the affair, rather than recourse to legal remedies.

Early commercialising activities undertaken by the club centred primarily, but not exclusively, on spectator-related issues. The club made significant efforts to regularise kick-off times after complaints of late starts which meant that fixtures often had to be completed in virtual darkness. Turnstiles were soon installed at a number of locations around the ground. Excursion trains were regularly organised with the railway companies for away fixtures, particularly for those in

Wales and the Midlands. Improvement of spectator areas was also undertaken, mainly in the portions of the ground occupied by the members. Plans were being made in 1899 to cover the whole of the sixpenny "popular" side of the ground. These plans were postponed due to the cost. However, the club hoped that by obtaining an "International" fixture the proposed improvements could be undertaken from the profits obtained from this event (*Citizen* 15.6.1899).

The encouragement of spectators appears to have brought substantial financial benefits to the club. By the end of the 1897/98 season, the Secretary, S. Bingle, having already registered record gate revenues at the previous year's AGM, was able to record that financially, 1898 was "the very best in the history of the club". He explained that the "index to the handsome balance" was the playing record of the club. A clear link was made between playing success and the generation of spectator revenues that were now regarded as of crucial importance to the financial status of the club (*Citizen* 9.6.1898).

III

This early period at Kingsholm was one of sustained growth in spectator revenue. There were some temporary fluctuations. For example, the club was forced to cancel the last six fixtures of the 1895/96 season due to a smallpox epidemic in the City. In addition, the 1889/90 season was affected by a period of poor weather and the onset of the Boer War, a combination of events that reduced gates by 50% in this season. The acceleration of the commercialising process, brought about by emphasis on spectator revenues, was also curtailed by a formal "close season". An RFU circular was sent to clubs in 1894 canvassing opinion on this issue. The general intention was for the 1st May to 1st September to be designated the "close season". Gloucester FC, in spite of their commercialising activities, responded by suggesting a shorter playing season. One reason for this stance can perhaps be ascertained from the attitude to the match played against Devonport Albion on a hot day in April 1892. Readers of the *Citizen* were reminded that:

there is at least a doubt as to the wisdom of going in for an eight months football season... the football season is drawn out to the utmost extremities, simply on account of the supposed insatiable love of football in the public mind. There is of course the players' view of the question, and this...ought to weigh more with committees in arranging fixtures than it does at present (*Citizen* 16.4.1892).

It is also reasonable to suggest that the club wished to demonstrate that the values to which it was attached were congruent with those at the RFU. It has already been noted that, at the dinner given in 1891 to celebrate the opening of the Kingsholm ground, the club's officials were anxious to associate themselves with the policies and ethos of the RFU and that this was recognised and appreciated by its Secretary, Rowland Hill.

Within these constraints, Gloucester FC was now in a position where it was actively *managing* the generation of spectator revenues. This involved not only

the development of spectator areas within the ground but also the manipulation of entry prices, the level of subscriptions paid by members and control over costs. Appendix 16 contains summary data of selected items from the club's Revenue Account from 1891 to 1914 along with the percentage of games won in each season, and a bar chart comparing profit with spectator revenues. In three of the first four seasons at Kingsholm, from 1891/2 to 1894/5, the club made a loss. The first season at Kingsholm (1891/92) was marked by an increase in entry prices for "important fixtures", a policy the Treasurer subsequently justified as generating £130 in additional revenue. The high proportion of victories during this season also contributed to gate revenues. At the 1892 AGM, A. W. Vears disputed the size of the increase in revenue and, in doing so, expressed his concern over the impact increased prices had on the working-class groups from whom Gloucester FC drew a substantial proportion of their support.

At the start of the 1892/93 season admission prices were again increased to one shilling on the grandstand side of the ground and sixpence on the popular side for home games involving the senior side. This, as one correspondent to the *Citizen* put it, was "rough on the working man" (*Citizen* 9.9.1892). Admission prices were halved for the game against Bristol later that month, partly as a response to the concerns expressed in the *Citizen*, but also as an experiment to attract more spectators. By December the restoration of prices to their former levels caused some resentment. This was expressed in a letter to the *Citizen* in 1892 claiming that: "Football in Gloucester will surely die as a sport if conducted with the primary object of making money" (*Citizen* 9.12.1892). Contrary to this view, it was precisely because the club was being run as a business, the manipulation of entry prices to maximise spectator revenues being a key element, that the future of rugby football in the city was secured with Gloucester FC at the forefront of its development. In the event, gate revenues were lower as a result. The low gate revenue in 1893/4 was a consequence of the club's short suspension for a breach of the amateur regulations (the "Shewell Case"). This event will be discussed later in this chapter.

The conflict over increases in membership subscriptions was more intense and surfaced at the March 1892 AGM. Members who were eligible to attend AGM's

were able to offer substantial resistance to the proposal to double membership subscriptions to ten shillings. Class issues soon surfaced with accusations that the policy smacked of “class legislation” by excluding working men through a membership fee that they could not afford. According to the club’s General Committee, the increase was justified on financial grounds, in particular the need to cover the rent of the ground. There also appears to have been a motivation to exclude from the members’ grandstand, groups whose language at some games was reported to have offended both members of the committee and “the ladies”. In the end, memberships of ten shillings (entrance to all parts of the ground) and five shillings (entrance to anywhere excepting the enclosure and grandstand) were decided upon. Ladies tickets were priced at the lower rate but they were allowed the same access as full members. Five shillings members were excluded from serving on the committee and from attending General Meetings, a policy that generated tension amongst some of those present at the 1892 AGM. The outcome of this meeting was that the club retained, conflictually, a degree of social exclusivity as a members club. Essentially there was a two-tier membership with power located primarily in the hands of those able to afford the higher rate of membership subscriptions. Apparently, encouraging working-class spectators was one thing, their participation in the management of the club was another. Revenue from membership subscriptions fell substantially in the following season.

The period from 1895/96 to 1898/99 is characterised by growth in both gate and membership revenues largely as a result of the improving performances of the team. Consequently, profitability improved. The first item of interest is the substantial increase in gate revenues in the two seasons 1897/98 and 1898/99. In the first of these seasons, Gloucester lost only five of its matches, was beaten only once at home and provided two internationals, the brothers Frank and Percy Stout. The following season, for the first time in its history, the club defeated all four premier Welsh teams (Llanelly, Cardiff, Swansea and Newport), losing only six matches throughout the season (*Citizen* 16.4.1898; 15.4.1899). The drop in gate revenues in the 1899/1900 season was attributed at the time to the impact of the Boer War.

A major and prestigious event in the commercialisation process occurred in the 1899/1900 season when Gloucester FC secured the England v Wales international for the Kingsholm ground. Negotiations with the RFU had been protracted but, after an EGM in November 1899, the committee of the club, confident of its ability to manage such an event given the financial position to which they had brought the club, unanimously agreed to accept the RFU's terms. A great sense of pride was evident at the EGM, particularly as Kingsholm was chosen over the ground of local rivals, Bristol. The club's committee, anxious to acquire status in the rugby world, was determined to demonstrate its ability to organise and manage this large-scale and important event. The railways were contacted to co-ordinate the expected influx of spectators and new stands were erected, at a cost of £900, increasing the capacity of the ground to 28,670. The building company allocated the work was owned by one of the Grounds Company Directors, T. Gurney. Total expenses of over £1,600 were incurred, including £300 to cover the expenses of the RFU committee and the England team. (*Balance Sheet: England v Wales: 1900*, Gloucester RFC archives.) The game was promoted and marketed heavily in the locality with the club offering a discount package of twenty-one, one shilling tickets for a sovereign (one pound). The *Citizen* and *Journal* also played their part, publishing special editions on the day incorporating histories of the club and England v Wales games, along with photographs and biographies of the English and Welsh players.

Despite glowing press comment on the organisation of the event, the loss on the event of £650 came as a great blow to the morale of the organisers. Only 15,000 spectators turned up to watch the game. Poor weather prior to the game was partly responsible but much more significant, at least in the eyes of the press, was the lack of local support. This was hardly surprising, as there was no Gloucester player in the England side, a point made with some bitterness by one correspondent in the Football Edition of the *Citizen*:

If the RU committee really cannot bring themselves to admit the claims of the leading clubs and their players, is it too much to ask them to step aside and make room for men who... are good enough to retrieve our position boycotted by an obstinate bureaucracy (*Citizen* 13.1.1900).

In addition, the RFU had insisted on relatively high entry prices that ranged from five shillings down to the cheapest at one shilling. These were also regarded as affecting attendance. During the game a stand on the one shilling side of the ground collapsed, apparently without causing serious injury to its occupants (*"W.B.'s" Scrapbook*). The venture ended in commercial disaster for Gloucester FC and generated a financial position that proved difficult to retrieve. Subsequent appeals to the RFU requesting them to waive the £300 guarantee were refused.

A variety of schemes were devised to create additional revenue. These included a soccer match against Gloucester City AFC, the organisation of extra fixtures, a five shilling "subscription fund" and the designation of important matches over the next three seasons as "all pay". This required members to pay for entrance to "selected matches" over the following three seasons leading to a significant decline in membership subscriptions from 1899/00 to 1902/03. The fact that gate revenues rose in 1900/01 is explained by individuals who chose not to take membership subscriptions as a result of this policy, paying at the gate instead (*Citizen* 30.6.1900; 26.6.1901). One consequence of the loss on the International match was an intensification of commercialising activities as the club sought to recover the deficit. Poor results in the 1902/03 and 1903/04 seasons led to lower gate revenues and only modest growth in membership revenues and profits. The latter two items recovered rapidly in the 1904/05 season with the inauguration of a County Cup competition that Gloucester won, being fortunate enough to be drawn at home for three fixtures.

At the end of this period of rising profits, the club's officials were again sufficiently confident to arrange a fixture between Gloucester and New Zealand for Wednesday 10th October 1905. The club committee replicated the efforts made in organising the England v Wales game five years earlier and, supported by the local factories which closed early, accommodated an estimated 14,000 spectators at the ground. This provided a major source of revenue for that year, generating a record "gate" of £550 and a substantial profit of £150 on the undertaking. A development, undertaken in the interests of spectators, involved the players

wearing large numbers on their jerseys so that, in conjunction with an “official programme”, they could be readily identified. The game was also recorded on film using the “cinematograph” and the recording shown in the city’s theatres (*Citizen* 19.10.1905).

After this highly successful enterprise, the financial performance of the club deteriorated with losses made in five out of the next six years. In 1907, the County Union suspended the club for the first two matches of this season after spectator disturbances at the Cup Final between Gloucester and Bristol the previous year. This decline in gate revenues was exacerbated by the loss of a lucrative fixture against Swansea as a result of frost (*Citizen* 6.7.1907). Despite a variety of fund-raising initiatives profitability was severely affected, the club making a £290 loss on the 1906/07 season. Spectator interests were also becoming an important focus for attention as attempts were made to maintain gate revenues. In 1901, a band entertained spectators at the game against local rivals Stroud. An increasing number of fixtures were arranged over holiday periods, particularly at Easter, with the result that by 1911, the club was engaged in four fixtures in five days over this period.

However, there was some conflict over the playing of rugby on Good Friday. The protagonists were a group of older members, who opposed the idea, and some of the committee. The latter made it clear at the 1911 AGM that gate revenue of £40, from an attendance of between 2,500 to 3,000 people at a Good Friday fixture, “demanded that the fixture be played” (*Citizen* 10.4.1911). They reinforced this point by arguing that, “the club must be run on business lines” (*Citizen* 3.6.1911). A regular fixture on Mop Monday, a local holiday held in late September or early in October, was instituted in 1907, usually against local rivals Cinderford. One of the reasons given for the fixture was that the club needed more gate money to cover the increase in its running expenses (*Citizen* 27.9.1907). This was, in large part, a response to the £100 increase in rent charged by the Grounds Company two years earlier as a consequence of the building of the gymnasium. Local clubs also benefited from games held at Kingsholm. Gloucester FC allowed fixtures between local clubs to be played at the ground and arranged games between themselves and representative teams

from the locality, disbursing the gate money amongst clubs which were struggling financially. "Novelty" matches, such as a fancy dress match between club members, and one against the Red Riding Hood Pantomime Co., also added to the coffers (*Citizen* 3.3.1897).

The playing success of the club, as one would expect, was identified as having a major impact on revenues. After a poor match in October 1908, the *Citizen* pointed out that a better performance was required to draw the gates necessary for financial success, thus making explicit this link between performance and profit (*Citizen* 24.10.1908). W. T. Pearce, President of the County Union, speaking at the Club's Annual Dinner in 1913, also credited the club's administrators with an important role in the commercialising process. "Clubs like Gloucester," he said, "who existed on gates could not go far unless they had behind them on the Committee far seeing businessmen to look after their interests." A year later, at the 1914 AGM, the expertise of these "businessmen" in managing the commercial affairs of the club had managed to turn the £60 deficit of the previous season into a profit of over £112. This, along with a £40 grant from the County Union and over £50 from the *Citizen's* "Shilling Fund", a subscription fund set up by the paper, helped to cover the previous years deficit. At the end of the 1913/14 season, a "balance in hand" of over £200 was recorded, the highest since the late 1880's (*Citizen* 13.6.1914).

Initial conclusions from an analysis of the profit and gate revenue data presented in bar chart form, suggest that the level of profit was highly sensitive to changes in gate revenue. Relatively small changes in gate revenues appear to generate quite substantial associated changes in profitability. For example a 9.5% increase in gate revenues between the 1897/98 and 1898/99 seasons was associated with a 58% rise in profits. Similarly, a 34% decrease in gate revenues between the 1905/6 and 1906/7 seasons is associated with an approximately four fold reduction in profit (In fact a significant loss of £290 was made that year). Again in 1911/12 a sixty pounds reduction in gate revenues from the previous year was associated with a fall in profitability of £124. This helps to substantiate the contention made earlier that the officials of the club were increasingly sensitised to the need to sustain a high level of gate revenue by encouraging

spectators to attend home fixtures. These appear to have been of greater importance than revenue from membership subscriptions.

There were other influences on gate revenues, notably the growth of fixtures which had risen from twenty-six, prior to the move to Kingsholm, to in excess of forty by the 1912/13 season. Gate revenues were not particularly high in this year, suggesting that the gate-paying football-going public in Gloucester was discerning in choosing the matches they attended. The growth in the playing strength of local clubs (Cinderford, Lydney and Stroud), along with a growing number of fixtures against London clubs (among them Harlequins, Blackheath, London Scottish, Richmond), as well as Oxford and Cambridge universities, meant that spectators were more likely to select the potentially more exciting fixtures. Indeed, as the club's Secretary pointed out at the 1909 AGM, the game against Cinderford on Easter Monday of 1909 drew the highest home gate of the season. The new fixtures, particularly those against the London teams who insisted on a financial "guarantee", along with the sharing of gate revenues with opponents in Cup and League competitions, are influences increasing the share of gates to other clubs from 1900 onwards.

The increasing number of away fixtures with new teams increased the expenses to "out" games. As the status of the club improved, so they began to acquire fixtures against the more prestigious London clubs, for example Harlequins and Blackheath, and to take on challenges from other West Country and Midlands clubs. With the London clubs, it appeared customary to play an away fixture first before regular matches were formalised. An investigation of the *Accounts Ledger* of the club (1901-1922) shows that the railway fares of players and committee members were paid, the committee travelling by higher quality "saloon" accommodation. "Hotel expenses", the post-match food and drinks bills of the players, were also paid. This line of inquiry suggests two things. Firstly, in relation to railway fares, there was a degree of social differentiation between the committee and the players and, secondly, that the club was operating a "no-cost-to play" policy. This second point is confirmed by the existence in the club archives of records of kit supplied to players from 1907 to 1910. There is little

evidence that “out-of-pocket expenses” or “broken-time” payments were being made.

In summary, officials of the club were exerting a powerful commercialising influence at this stage in the club’s development. They were driven by a status need to demonstrate their financial capabilities and also, to a significant degree, by the financial relationship with the Grounds Company, which required them to find a significant annual rent for the Kingsholm ground. The key focus in the process was the need to develop and sustain growth in spectator revenues. This strategy involved moves to increase the number of fixtures played during the season, particularly at holiday times, and by entering Cup and League competitions. There were reservations expressed by club officials with regard to participation in these competitions. They centred on administrative matters, such as player registrations and the disbursement of gate money receipts, rather than on issues of player violence or spectator disorder. Other components of the revenue maximising strategy involved raising the standard of fixtures through games with prestigious London and University teams, and hosting important fixtures, for example the England v Wales International, a club match against New Zealand and County Championship games. There were also periodic manipulations of prices and membership subscriptions and supporting developments that maintained playing success, for example, paid “trainers” responsible for the players’ physical fitness. The club’s organisational structure was also affected by these commercialising activities. It is to this feature of its development, and the attendant conflicts, that attention will now be turned.

The structure of the club during this period was characterised by the formalising of honorary positions and a growing “professionalisation” of its management similar to that identified at national level by Dunning and Sheard (1979: 147-164). The first President of Gloucester FC, H. J. Boughton, one of the club’s founder members, was given the post in August 1892. He resigned from the position in 1896 in order to avoid giving substance to charges made against him that, as Chairman of the County Union, he unduly favoured Gloucester FC’s interests. The second President of the club, from 1896, was Sir Lionel Darrell. He was also President of the Gloucester Conservative Association. Honorary posts up to the

First World War reflected a mix of recognition of service to the club and a perceived need for association with high status individuals. In 1913, the Mayor of Gloucester, John Bruton, who it was noted in the *Citizen* (11.10.1913), "was not a football man... his numerous engagements might prevent him attending many matches", was elected, in his absence, to the Presidency of the club. Gloucester FC now had both the Mayor of the City as President and the City High Sheriff, H. W. Grimes, who had been a working member of the club, as a Vice-President. C. E. Brown, who held the office of President prior to Bruton, was also a long-standing member and had been a Town Councillor. These honorary posts, voted on by the membership, were thus commonly awarded to an elite group of high status individuals with strong links in the local political network. Life Vice-Presidencies and life memberships were extended to many ex-players and committeemen during this period as recognition of their efforts for the club. These positions were generally "ambassadorial" and not intimately connected with the day-to-day running of the club.

The management and administration of the club were being professionalised during the period in the sense that honorariums, in the form of financial rewards to officials, were now becoming formalised as annual salaries. As early as 1890 the question of appointing a paid Secretary to cope with the increased volume of work was raised. In 1892, a £20 honorarium was voted to the Secretary. The club's trainer, Harry Haines, was paid five shillings per week during the season. By 1914 the post of Treasurer was a paid one with a salary of £20. The Secretary received a salary of £35, and the combined annual salary of the club's two trainers was £35/15/6d. The club's offices were moved from the Spread Eagle Hotel, where they had been since 1900, to accommodation incorporated into the new gymnasium, thus centring the administration of the club at Kingsholm.

To cope with the increased volume and complexity of work the committee was enlarged in 1897, primarily to differentiate the functions of the Selection Committee from the General Committee. This enabled the former to concentrate on the "form" of the players and to scout for talented players in the local clubs. A Team Manager was appointed in 1900 to take charge of travel arrangements on

the day of away fixtures. It is evident that there was a growing specialisation of roles associated with the increased complexity of running a commercially orientated rugby club. Points of conflict between groups began to emerge as this pattern of development generated increasing interdependence and differentiation.

In the first instance, the growing importance of the club in the local community and the association of civic dignitaries, led to accusations that it was being used for political purposes. The issue was first raised in 1890 after Gloucester FC had organised a charity match in which gate revenues were donated to cover the cost of replacing tools lost by workmen in a fire at the local engineering works of Fielding and Platt. One correspondent, in a letter to the *Citizen* claimed that there was a "Trade Unionist" on the committee of the club who was influential in organising the match and that the amount raised far exceeded the cost of the tools. N. Phelps, the committeeman in question, responded to the allegations, strongly refuting them. The Editor of the *Citizen* also became involved, detailing the cost of the tools lost. Eventually the matter was dropped (*Citizen* 10.10.1890). The second accusation came from within the club itself when A. F. Hughes, a committeeman, also claimed, at the 1907 AGM, that the club was being used for political purposes. He alleged that one reason for the decline in the club's financial fortunes in 1907 was the "snubbings" received by individuals who, he suggested, would otherwise have taken up membership tickets. This suggests that there may still have been some, perhaps informal, exclusion from membership. Unfortunately for this research Hughes was prevented at the AGM from elaborating upon who was snubbed and why. Hughes' social background appears to locate him amongst the working class. He had played rugby for the club during the late 1880s and early 1890s. During part of this time, he was also employed as Gloucester Cricket Club's professional player. Furthermore the *Citizen* reported that the club was organising a "smoking concert" to raise money to support Hughes, his wife and eight children, following an accident at his work in which he was injured. Thus, he appears to have been occupied in manual work of some kind (*Citizen* 11.1.1908).

Some light can be shed on the Hughes' allegation through an investigation of the political affiliations of the club's Presidents and the composition of the club's committee during this period. H. J. Boughton, the club's first President, died in 1902 during his second term in this office. Politically, he appears to have had a strong association with the Conservative party in the city. Two pieces of evidence have assisted in generating this view. Firstly, a charity "Liberals v Conservative" rugby football match, played in 1886, reveals Boughton, along with others from the founding member group, lining up against the Liberals. Secondly, after resigning as President in 1886, Boughton maintained a link with conservatism by sponsoring Sir Lionel Darrell, President of the Gloucester Conservative Association, as his replacement. Hughes and Boughton were also connected through Gloucester Cricket Club. Boughton was captain of the club during the time Hughes was employed by them as a cricket professional. Hughes also played full-back for the rugby club during Boughton's presidency. It is reasonable to suspect that, during Hughes' association with both clubs, the dominant political values would have reflected an affiliation with Conservatism amongst some of the middle-class organisers. This is not to suggest that Hughes would necessarily have adopted these values simply because of his association with members of the older founding group and regard for the social status of his superiors. The only hint that Hughes might have been a working-class man with Conservative sympathies comes from his proposal in 1893 of John Hanman for the post of rugby captain. Hanman was later asked to stand as a Conservative candidate in a Town Council election. If Hughes did hold Conservative sympathies, and that others of similar persuasion were those being "snubbed", he may well have felt a little isolated at the 1907 AGM. By this time the club's President was an ex-player and Liberal councillor, C. E. Brown. A comparison of players in the 1886 "Liberals" team in Appendix 17 (they also comprised a significant proportion of the members of Gloucester's senior team that season) with the composition of the committee of the club in 1907, reveals that a number of these players later went on to become members of the committee. H. V. Jones, T. Bagwell, H. E. Cadenne, T. G. Smith, C. E. Brown, W. H. Fream, H. S. Simpson and S. S. Starr, over half the "Liberals" team, share this distinction. Thus, it can tentatively be suggested that there is some evidence that as the club

democratised, through both its playing and committee membership, that committee members in 1907 held, on balance, different political affiliations to those in the 1880s, a number of whom made up the "Conservatives" team. This suggests that, to a degree, the influence of the older founder members had waned. In a wider local context, the Liberals in Gloucester, broadly supporting the growing demands of organised labour, were facing increasing pressure at local and parliamentary level during the latter part of the first decade after the turn of the century. The Conservative Party gained control of the Town Council in 1909 and won the Parliamentary seat in 1910 (VCH Vol. IV: 200-201, 208). Against this background, it is possible to suggest that if the club was being used for political purposes, it was Liberal groups that were looking to benefit. Was this the basis of Hughes' complaint that Liberals at the club were denying their Conservative political opponents access to a source of popular association? Or, was he simply complaining about a failure to admit some of his working-class male colleagues to membership of the club? These questions still cannot be answered with any degree of certainty but, in the light of this inquiry, the available evidence would suggest that the first hypothesis is more supportable.

The professionalisation of the club's administration and the differentiation of roles for committee members brought this group into conflict with the players. The first significant manifestation of conflict occurred in the 1891/92 season. The problem arose between a group of three forwards, T. Collins and the brothers J. and C. Williams who, we are told, had formed a clique and, "had declared that if any one of their number is not picked, the others will not play". C. Williams was not selected against London Scottish and on this basis J. Williams and T. Collins refused to play. Ironically, the match was called off by London Scottish but the "split in the home ranks" by the "malcontents", as the *Citizen* (15.1.1892) reported the event, was now well established. The selection committee refused to concede and the three players were not chosen to represent the club in future fixtures (*Citizen* 18.1.1892). Two prominent officials threatened to resign if the players were reinstated and "Northerner", writing in the *Citizen*, lamented that "in the good old days, everything was worked as amicably as possible, and the players agreed as well as bees in a hive. Things are very different now..."

(*Citizen* 6.2.1892). There may well have been some nostalgic “mythologizing” by “Northerner” here. However, this example does offer some evidence of a quite serious conflict between the committee and some of the players, as the differentiation of roles of the two groups became more evident.

A further conflict arising during this period involved the status of players. At the level of the governing body, the RFU, “professionalism” was the issue. This will be dealt with in detail in the next section. At Gloucester FC conflict over the status of players manifested itself in another way. Ill feeling had been generated amongst the players as they had on occasion been refused free entry to the ground when they had not been participating in the day’s fixture. It was proposed in 1893 that they be given full member tickets and, for married men, a ticket for their wives as well. This option was deemed not possible under RFU legislation that prohibited “any money consideration” being offered players. The committee resolved the problem by ensuring that players could, in future, gain access to the ground in such circumstances. There were, however, problems at a later date as there was some dispute over the eligibility of players to vote at AGMs. Technically they were not club members, having paid no subscription (*Citizen* 19.7.1893; 22.6.1912). The potential for conflict between the committee and players was often recognised by club officials and at a number of AGMs during the late 1890s and early 1900s. The Chairman would often express the hope that the good feeling between the players and the committee would continue. In general it did, even over the issue of participation in the County Cup from which some committee members proposed the club should withdraw after the incidents of the 1906 final. The players were, however, unanimously in favour of entering the Cup competition in the 1906/07 season, a request to which the committee acceded. However the Committee resolved not to enter again in the following season.

One aspect of the commercialisation process that did provoke significant conflict within the club was a privately organised Easter tour to France in 1912. A. W. Gleave organised the event, recruiting players from local clubs including several from Gloucester FC who, it was pointed out, went without consulting the committee. This left the club short of players during the busy Easter holiday

programme of fixtures and generated much resentment amongst committee members. Conflict surfaced at the AGM in June 1912 when Gleave stood successfully for election to the committee. Club rules prevented any electioneering speeches and, as a consequence, resistance to his nomination could not be articulated from the floor of the meeting. When the result of Gleave's election was announced, committee members, Hanman, Fielding and Lane resigned immediately. Another three, Chance, Rasbach and Woolf resigned the following day, and two others, Leaver and Barnes intimated that they would not take up their posts. Two players, W. Johns and Gordon Vears, resigned. With other resignations pending, a crisis point was reached. Five days later the playing members passed a vote of confidence in the committeemen who had resigned, expressed themselves as being opposed to tours during holiday periods and resolved to leave the question of players going on tour in the hands of the committee. This appeared to defuse the situation. Johns and Vears withdrew their resignations, as did the other committeemen who met the day after the players' meeting. Thus, the commercialisation of rugby offered increased opportunities to players, in this instance an expenses paid trip to France, to play rugby. The issue at stake here was, who controlled when and where they played?

The answer to this question was given unequivocally the following year (1912) when Gleave organised another tour to France, this time for twelve days over Christmas. The only Gloucester FC player to go was W. Hall and, since he went without the consent of the committee, he was subsequently informed he would not be selected for future games. He left to play for Coventry soon afterwards (*Citizen* 22.6.1912; 28.12.1912; 4.1.1913). Although it was ultimately the players who defused the conflict, the committee had made a significant point that although power-ratios were changing as the commercialisation process gathered momentum, they had not changed that much. The committee also established the position, with the consent of the players, that it was they who were responsible for organising, and indeed, sanctioning, when and where players could play their rugby. These events can also be interpreted as a further phase in a process of formalising the roles and responsibilities of club officials and

players. A second area of conflict over the extent of commercialisation emerged over the aforementioned playing of matches on Good Friday, something that offended a group of older members (*Citizen* 16.6.1911). A motion to abandon Good Friday fixtures was lost after attention was drawn to their financial importance in bringing in upwards of forty pounds gate revenue. Business principles were thus deemed more important than the religious conviction of some of the membership. In summary, the “incipient” commercialisation of the club appears to have been characterised by a struggle for power over the resources that generated revenues, namely the players, as fixtures were extended as part of the management of spectator revenues.

The local press also contributed to the commercialisation process, reflecting and contributing to the local popularity of rugby football, and the Gloucester players. Special editions were printed for the England v Wales (1900) and Gloucester v New Zealand (1905) matches held at Kingsholm. The *Citizen* also set up a shilling “subscription fund” to help Gloucester’s finances when the club fell into debt. Incorporation into the club’s infrastructure was also advanced when the “Press Box”, a wooden hut variously called the “dog kennel” or “rabbit hutch”, was taken down. Journalists were offered superior accommodation in the main grandstand. The newspaper also developed regular features associated with the reporting of Gloucester FC. The format, for a number of years, was to publish a “Seasons Prospects” column prior to the start of the season. During the season, there were substantial match reports in the Saturday evening “Football Final”, eventually running to two editions, alongside a page of “Football Notes” containing comments on the previous week’s game and news from local and major clubs in England and Wales. These commentaries also included the local clubs of Cinderford, Stroud and Lydney who all had their own rugby correspondents contributing to the *Citizen*. At the close of the season a “Season’s Review” of Gloucester FC, and of the major local clubs, was published that included playing records, statistics on players’ appearances, their points scoring records and a summary of the club’s significant losses and victories. The AGMs of Gloucester FC and of the local clubs were also substantially reported,

and towards the end of this period the balance sheet of Gloucester FC was published prior to the AGM.

The *Citizen* also ran a "Football Skill" competition, the prize money for correct predictions of scores in specified matches rising from two pounds in 1897 to twenty pounds in 1905. On 10th October 1893, the *Citizen* held what it called a "plebiscite", issuing a coupon for respondents to fill in their selections of Gloucester FC players to construct, what was in essence, a "fantasy" team of old and current players. The *Citizen* thus both responded to and reinforced the local interest in rugby and in Gloucester FC in particular. This not only benefited the paper's circulation but also enabled it to market advertising space in the "Football Edition" to producers of well-known branded products. For example, for many years the "Football Notes" section was located under a large advertisement for "Pears" soap.

The popularisation of players was one of the more interesting developments. The "Special Editions" mentioned above contained biographies of the players, including details of their age, weight, height, playing position and features of their playing style. From the mid-1890s onwards, pictures of players and club officials, at first artist's sketches and later photographs, began to appear regularly in the "Football Edition" and other local papers. This, and the accompanying biographies, contributed to a growing elevation of the status of players. Spectators would, of course, have held their own opinions of players but the presentation of their attributes to a wider audience in the local press, and public affirmation of their abilities, was positive reinforcement of valued behaviours. This development was not without problems. The club's President, H. J. Boughton, complained bitterly at the 1895 AGM that non-playing members "treating certain players as heroes, paid for drink for them", suggesting that the "misplaced kindness" was one factor explaining the poor form of some players that season (*Citizen* 7.7.1895). The popularity of the players was further reinforced with the advent of the "cinematograph". The 1905 game against New Zealand, as well as Gloucester's game against Stade Toulousain in France during February 1911, were filmed and shown in a local theatre.

In addition, from the mid-1890's up to the First World War, a total of eleven Gloucester FC players were selected to play for England. The first Gloucester born player to play for England was Walter Jackson, who left to play for Halifax in 1893 before his selection for England. The request for his transfer was granted by the Gloucester FC committee who, prior to his departure, elected him a life-member of the club. It is worth noting that Jackson's move did not appear to generate animosity between himself and the club. This reflects not only Jackson's status as a player but also, at this stage, ambivalence to players moving to clubs who paid players. Jackson responded by making himself available for the Christmas 1893 fixtures against Newport and Cardiff. Thus, it was with some local pride that the *Citizen* noted his status as the first "Gloucester born" international when he took the field in the 1894 England v Scotland fixture (*Citizen* 22.8.1893; 30.7.1896). During the 1896/97 season the first Gloucester FC player, Frank Stout, the youngest of five athletically gifted brothers, was selected to play for England against Wales. This event had a number of features that reinforced both local identity and the increasing focus on the rugby player as local hero. Frank's father, William Stout, was a Director of the local Iron and Hardware Co. Ltd., owning and running an ironmongers shop in Westgate St. His father took a keen interest in local sports as a rower and as a committee member at Gloucester FC. He sent two boys, Frank and his elder brother Percy, to the local Crypt School. After Frank's debut against Wales, the *Citizen* ran a piece entitled *Frank Stout's Impressions of his England Game*, containing both personal and tactical details of the game. In all, he played fourteen times for England, was a member of two touring parties (to Australia and New Zealand in 1899 and to South Africa in 1904) and captained the national side against Wales in 1904. Reinforcing the family and local connection, his brother Percy played five times for England, appearing in four matches with Frank, both of them scoring tries against Wales in 1898. Both were decorated in the First World War, Frank earning the Distinguished Service Order and Percy the Military Cross (*Citizen* 12.2.1897; 16.1.1898; 2.4.1898; "W.B.'s" *Scrapbook*).

The attainment of international honours by Gloucester players reinforced and helped to construct local identity based on the reputation of the club as one of the

premier teams in England. This also permeated into the junior city clubs. Gloucester FC, as we have seen, drew its players from a strong local rugby playing community. It was inevitable, therefore, that some of these internationals began their careers in local teams. The Gordon League club in particular provided Gloucester FC with a number of players who subsequently became internationals or England trialists during this period. Finally, the example of the Stout brothers introduces another theme that feeds into the construction of local identity around Gloucester FC. It is the involvement of male family members, collections of brothers as well as fathers and their sons, in the playing and administration functions of the club. This feature will be explored more fully in the next section.

This section has shown that the growth in spectator interest in rugby was a motivating consideration in the search by Gloucester FC for a new enclosed ground. The event that precipitated the move was the application of salt to a frost-bound playing surface in order to play the lucrative fixture against Swansea. Efforts of middle-class men, such as H. J. Boughton and A. W. Vears, led to the formation of the Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co. Ltd. as a means of acquiring the necessary land. They were also responsible for structuring the relationship between the Grounds Company and the rugby club, both of which were now firmly in the hands of middle-class groups of relatively high local social status. The enclosure of the ground, a feature of the development of private ownership and the organisation of sports space, made Kingsholm a site for the social differentiation of spectator groups inside the ground and enabled the exclusion of others. The eventual transfer of ownership of the ground to Gloucester FC was conflictual. Newer "lesser bourgeoisie" members of the club clashed with the remnants of groups more strongly attached to the values prevalent amongst the founding members of the club and the Grounds Company, who were drawn from a higher status middle-class group. The dominant interests of the rugby club eventually led to the decline of Kingsholm as a multi-use sports and recreation facility for the community. This, it will be remembered, was part of the original intention of the founders of the Grounds Company. Thus, the often harmonious and co-operative early relationship between the two groups involved

in the management of the Grounds Company and the club, who initially shared common interests and common membership, dissipated as the social composition of the two groups began to diverge. Power-relations within the Grounds Company Board shifted as a consequence of growing representation of the club on the Board. Conflict repeatedly manifested itself over the issues of rent and ownership of revenues from other uses of the site.

The growing complexity of managing Gloucester FC, particularly in the context of an accelerating commercialising process driven, in large part, by the growth of spectator revenues led, in the first instance, to the structuring of entrance prices and the retention of membership restrictions. These features generated what was in essence class conflict as the club attempted both to maximise revenue from working-class spectator groups and to retain a degree of social exclusivity amongst its membership. A consequence was the territorialisation of space in the Kingsholm ground for different social groups.

In addition, the club began to organise its initially "volunteer" elected committee system on more functional, task-oriented lines, and later undertook a degree of professionalisation of its key administrative roles. Again, this development generated an increased differentiation of roles with a concomitant expansion, and changes in the nature, of interdependencies between individuals and within social groups. Conflicts that occurred between the committee and the players over selection and within the committee regarding the organisation of tours illustrate aspects of this development. Furthermore, increasing bureaucratisation involved the construction of the club's rules on rational constitutional-legal principles. As a means of structuring relationships it was inherently conservative. There are three reasons why the "amateur-volunteer, elected committee" structure generated this tendency. Firstly, the continuity of values was reinforced by committee members, who were often ex-players or members of the industrial and petty bourgeoisie, and later by the involvement of family groups in the administrative affairs of the club. Secondly, the specialisation of administrative roles, to deal with the complexities of an expanding figuration, meant that a significant part of the administration of the club was taken up by the management of differences of opinion amongst committee members rather than proactive

development. Thirdly, a feature of this form of organisation, observable in the management of the rugby club, was the attempt to reduce the indeterminacies of playing success and failure, financial performance and the impact of a variety of exogenous disturbances. This involved a further differentiation of roles through the growth and functional categorisation of sub-Committee work that reinforced and extended the process of bureaucratisation. In the late 19th century, this method of structuring the administration of the club was consistent with the trend towards rationalisation of action and planning in which bureaucratisation was seen as a normal, “common sense”, way of institutionalising power relations. Outcomes both on and off the field of play were contingent upon a constellation of actions by groups, organised within inherently conservative bureaucratic forms of organisation. The argument here is that during periods of rapid change, particularly in a sports context where game outcomes can never be guaranteed, such organisational forms and associated behaviours are ill-equipped to deal with the dynamism of expanding and changing interdependencies of the type accompanying the commercialisation of the club’s activities.

The first phase of the organisational development of Gloucester FC, from 1873 to around 1891, was in large part driven by the energies of high status middle-class men in the Gloucester community with access into local power networks. These individuals, more than a differentiated organisational structure that at this stage was still in its infancy, guided the club through a period of rapid development and change. The second phase in the club’s history encompassed a period of organisational development and refinement of structure which, after the turn of the century, saw a decline in the importance of influential individuals in the management process in favour of a structured approach to the organisation of power relations. This involved defining key positions of responsibility, for example those of Secretary and Treasurer, by financial reward, and key areas of individual power including the Chairmen and sub-committee Chairmen, legitimised by election.

Before closing this section it is worth highlighting two points that emerge from the professionalisation of administrative roles at Gloucester FC. Firstly, although the roles of Secretary and Treasurer were financially remunerated, they were

undertaken by individuals on a part-time basis and reflected the high level of affective association these men had with the club. At the 1897 AGM, F. Lovesey, the re-elected Secretary of the club, pointed out that despite the claims made on his time and the effect this had on his business, his association with the club "had been a case of football first and business after". Nevertheless, at the 1887 AGM, the increase in salary from £20, deemed by the club's Chairmman to be "quite inadequate for the services rendered", to £35 as recompense for the increased workload, does appear to have affected his decision to rescind his resignation and stand for re-election. At the same meeting, the Chairman also noted that the work of H. W. Grimes, the Honorary Secretary, was undertaken as a "labour of love" and that the favourable balance sheet produced by the Treasurer, S. W. Bingle "showed what stuff he was made of" (*Citizen* 5.6.1897).

These developments raised issues about the position of a paid official in an amateur sport. A. F. Hughes, at the 1907 AGM, questioned the eligibility of Bingle to sit on the General Committee, on the grounds that he was a paid official of the club. The Chairman, F. Lovesey, pointed out that a similar point had been made regarding his own involvement in managing athletic sports. He drew attention to a ruling by the Amateur Athletic Association which suggested that as the salary was not a means of earning his livelihood he was "as pure an amateur as if he received no salary at all". The same could perhaps be said of broken-time payments to players. These were however circumscribed by the amateur regulations.

Thus, there is evidence here that the professionalisation of administrative functions was generating conflict in the context of the amateur regulations in force at the time. The practice of applying them differentially to players and administrators, as seems to be the case here, suggests a reinforcement of role separation generated by the need to reward "amateur" administrators in an increasingly complex managerial environment (*Citizen* 6.7.1907). The increasing exigencies of managing a rugby football club were responded to by developing a partially remunerated "amateur-committee-volunteer" administrative structure. An emerging consequence of this was the construction of a more marked difference between the roles of players and officials. Significant issues, accompanying the

incipient professionalism in the sport, that tested this form of organisation and the nature of relationships between groups, will be dealt with next.

IV

The development of Gloucester FC during this period was accompanied by processes of bourgeoisification, democratisation and proletarianization in ways similar to those experienced by the 'open' clubs of Yorkshire and Lancashire (Dunning and Sheard, 1979: 130-144). The outcome of these pressures with regards to professionalisation was different at Gloucester FC. Whilst a convenient explanation would focus on the geographical distance between Gloucester FC and the Northern clubs, admittedly a contributing factor, this is insufficient in moving towards an explanation of the way in which the attendant issues were confronted. There were however significant similarities in the way rugby football developed in these Northern clubs and at Gloucester. A process of bourgeoisification can be identified through the increasing monetization of the game that accompanied the move to Kingsholm. Admission charges were regularised and structured according to access to locations within the ground, and the importance of the matches against Welsh teams who attracted large crowds was recognised. The growth of spectatorism and the increasing attachment of working-class groups to the rugby club as a sporting representative of the local community, are examples of proletarianization at Gloucester FC.

These were powerful processes involved in the development of the club and its location on the amateur-professional continuum. The key features of bourgeoisification identified by Dunning and Sheard (1979: 144) that defined professionalism, the use of rugby as a source of material rewards along with player payments and inducements to transfer between clubs, are of particular relevance here. In February of 1894 the RFU suspended the club from the 5th to the 24th of March for a contravention of the "Professional Laws" in what became known as the "Shewell case". The case was brought by the Stroud rugby club and was based on the allegation that the Captain of Gloucester FC, John Hannan, had induced a Stroud player, W. Shewell, to Gloucester with the promise of employment. Before examining the details and making an

interpretation of this incident, it is important to understand the position of the Gloucester club with regard to material rewards to players.

The evidence from balance sheets presented to AGMs around this period, and from its accounts' ledgers, suggests that the club operated a remuneration policy for players. This involved reimbursing rail fares ("Saloon" fares for officials), of covering the expenses of post-match hospitality (itemised for out matches as "hotel expenses" in the accounts), supplying playing kit (including boots) and insuring players against injury. In essence, and in common with other clubs who could afford to do likewise, they went to the limits of what was permissible under the regulations. There is evidence from the accounts' ledgers of this time that this support was extended to the club's second team, but was less generous. The gradual increase of recompense of players was sanctioned at various AGMs during the late 1880s and early 1890s as sufficient funds became available from gate-revenues. Although the availability of finance was a necessary precondition for this policy, it does not explain why it occurred. One reason appears to lie in the democratisation of the club's membership. Membership expanded during this period and, although exclusive to a degree as a result of the membership subscription fee and the "election" of members by the committee, the club drew in greater lower middle-class and upper working-class support. At AGMs there would have been a core of members, not particularly attached to the purest form of amateurism, who were prepared to mandate the committee to reimburse players for "out-of-pocket" expenses. A further motivation was the need to maintain a growing playing reputation through attracting new players. The reimbursement policy, particularly in the local context, was one incentive for individuals who were considering playing for the club.

Up to this point there were similarities with the 'open' clubs of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The differences between Gloucester FC and these clubs help to explain why they did not go further and push for "broken-time" payments. The geographical basis of rugby in the South-West was different. There was not the same degree of concentration of senior clubs of a similar standard to Gloucester FC in the area, as was the case with clubs in the North. Thus, although there were pressures for the formation of cup and league competitions in

Gloucestershire, there were insufficient clubs to warrant a viable league competition on the scale operating in the North. Those of a similar standard to Gloucester FC in the South-West, for example Plymouth Albion and Devonport Albion, were regarded as being too distant and too expensive to travel to on a regular basis. In addition, the Gloucester committee expressed some antipathy to participation in a County based league when the scheme was proposed in 1894, preferring to demonstrate a closer attachment to the stance of the RFU on this development. Other possible members of a "league", for example the Welsh clubs, were organising their own nationally based competitions. Clubs in the Midlands already had their own cup competition. Thus one of the pressures for broken-time payments was not evident to a significant degree at Gloucester. Although the club could have joined the Midland Cup competition, a second difference helps to explain not only why they did not join but also the position of influential groups on the question of amateurism.

In the early 1890s founding members of Gloucester FC were still influential and had not yet been totally displaced by men from the industrial middle class. A characteristic of the founding group was their heavy involvement in the organising of amateur sport in Gloucester. Men such as A. W. Vears, H. J. Boughton, William Stout, H. J. Berry, F. Lovesey and J. Dewey, all holding committee positions at Gloucester FC, were involved with the organisation of Gloucester Amateur Athletic Club and with the Gloucester Cricket Club. It is therefore to be anticipated that they would have been keenly aware of the difference between recompense for expenses incurred and remuneration for performance. There is however a paradox here, in that the Cricket Club employed a professional, A. F. Hughes, who, during the mid-1890s, also played full-back for Gloucester FC. This seems to indicate that there was little antipathy by this group towards professionalism provided it occurred in a context where this form of participation was legitimised by the laws of the game. Thus, with regards to the founding group's attachment to amateurism in rugby football, it is reasonable to suggest that a guiding principle involved conforming to the rules and laws governing each sport. This commitment was particularly important for H. J. Boughton who, around the time of the Shewell case, was actively working to obtain

representation on the RFU committee for the Gloucestershire County Union. Finally, members of the working-class did not yet constitute a significant element of the playing personnel at Gloucester FC. Thus, the question of broken-time payments and their legitimacy would not have been a pressing issue. In addition, it would appear that local employers may have been sympathetic to employees who played for the club, if the evidence of their willingness to close their factories for the mid-week game against Hull in February 1891 is anything to go by. The conclusion that can be drawn from this comparison of Gloucester FC and the open clubs of Yorkshire and Lancashire, is that Gloucester FC considered themselves a *bona fide* amateur club who conducted their business in accordance with the laws and regulations laid down by the RFU. Indeed, the *Citizen* went so far as to reprint a comment from the *Birmingham Daily Post* of January 1894 which stated that: "It is to clubs such as Moseley and Gloucester that football lovers look first to guard the honour and maintain the traditions of the Rugby Code". This ethical position was a product of the social composition of the dominant organising group and the lack of significant socially generated pressure to shift from this position. It was therefore a great shock to the committee and membership when the club was charged with breaches of the transfer and professional laws. These were laws that it was felt were in existence to regulate the behaviour of others, not the Gloucester club.

The notification that Stroud FC was to make allegations of breaches of the "Transfer" and "Professionalism" Laws came in a letter to the club received on the 5th of January 1894. (The original letter and the County Union's response were located in the club's archives). The Secretary of Stroud FC wrote to the Gloucestershire County Union that they had:

good grounds for believing that after the match on Thursday week, inducements in the shape of work were offered Shewell if he would play for Gloucester ... As this is a breach... of the Transfer Laws... (and) those relating to Professionals, my Committee would be glad - if it comes within the jurisdiction of the County authorities - if you will arrange for an enquiry to be made in the matter. Failing this... please advise me at once, that steps may be taken for notifying the fact to the General Body of the Rugby Union.

The underlying angry tone of the correspondence, as well as the intention to pursue the matter up to the level of the RFU, are both worthy of note. The aggressive response can be explained by two background factors regarding the relationship between Stroud FC and Gloucester FC. In the first instance, the emerging status of the Stroud club, only 8 miles from Gloucester, was beginning to threaten the local superiority of the Gloucester club. Stroud had beaten both the Gloucester second fifteen and the first team during the 1892/93 season. Rugby football had diffused rapidly in Stroud with nearly a dozen clubs emerging in the two years up to 1893. These provided the Stroud club with most of its players. Spectator interest at Stroud had also increased rapidly, with gates rising from between one and two hundred spectators to a club record of three thousand for the Easter Monday game in 1893 against Pilligenwelly. The emergence of Stroud FC also occurred at a time when Gloucester FC's playing record was in something of a decline. Thus, there was the possibility that Stroud FC could enhance its status by establishing itself as one of, if not the, principal club in the area. Secondly, Gloucester FC had previously antagonised Stroud FC by demeaning its mid-week side after it had been beaten by a Gloucester "Thursday" side and by refusing to include Stroud as regular first team opponents. In addition, the *Citizen* had complained of the biased and unsportsmanlike behaviour of Stroud's spectators (*Citizen* 10.4.1893; 11.9.1893; 20.2.1893; 6.11.1893). This suggests that there was a degree of antagonism between the two clubs prior to the "Shewell" incident and that rivalry between the two clubs, as sporting representatives of their respective communities, was high.

The cause of the complaint by Stroud FC is detailed in a lengthy letter to the *Citizen* by Gloucester's Chairman, William Stout (Appendix 18). Reservations need to be expressed here as Stout was closely connected with the Gloucester club and, coming after the RFU's suspension of the club, there is a tinge of bitterness in his letter. However, it is the only detailed record of the alleged "inducement" made to Shewell that can be traced. Some points made in the letter require clarification. The Gloucester "Thursday" club was a "casual" team drawing on a variety of players from other clubs as and when they were available.

The team played, as their name suggests, on a Thursday. Gloucester FC members had been instrumental in setting up the side some years earlier, the side becoming incorporated into the playing structure of Gloucester FC at the 1892/93 AGM. The Gloucester Thursday Captain, J. Hanman, appears to have been an upwardly mobile member of the middle-class, running a grocery business in the city. He was asked to become Conservative candidate for the Barton Ward in 1894 and is listed as a member of the Zetland Lodge of Freemasons in 1897. Biographical details and a reproduced photograph of Hanman are contained in Appendix 19. (It is also worth observing the placement of the advertisement for footballs on this page of the *Magpie*.) Hanman, as recently elected Captain of Gloucester FC, is clearly identified as a proficient sportsman in boxing and cycling. It is also noted that considerable expectations were placed on him to reverse the declining fortunes of the club. Kiddle, who along with another Gloucester player, Minahan, suggested that Shewell should move to Gloucester FC, is also listed as a member of Hanman's lodge in 1901. Thus it is possible to suggest that Kiddle and Hanman through their freemasonry contacts could have found work, the alleged "inducement", for Shewell in the city.

The text of Stout's letter does seem to suggest that Shewell had been "singled out" for an approach by Kiddle and Minahan. Further, that Kiddle was prepared to follow up this initial approach to confirm Shewell's intention to change clubs. It is reasonable to suggest that Kiddle and Hanman were keen to secure Shewell's move to Gloucester FC and that Shewell, unemployed for seven weeks, was keen to move. It would also appear that Shewell felt that his footballing talent would have assisted him in finding employment with a Northern club. This conjunction of interests, along with a premature decision to include Shewell in the Gloucester FC team to play Newport before his previous club had been consulted, combined to generate the conflict between Gloucester and Stroud. Given the concerns expressed by the RFU over growing "professionalism" in rugby football - concerns which in the following year would lead to the bifurcation of rugby football into Union and League forms - it was no surprise that the "Shewell case" became an important issue. The content of the resolutions passed by the County Union Judicial Committee that investigated the case can also be found in Appendix 18.

In summary, Minahan and Shewell were suspended from playing rugby for four weeks, Hanman was exonerated, and the club was fined £10 for what was regarded as an unintentional breach of RFU regulations.

There are some curiosities in this investigation. Hanman was one of the Gloucester FC representatives on the County Union committee and was also a member of the judicial committee investigating the allegation. How this potential problem was resolved is not minuted in the County Union records. Secondly, according to Stout's letter Hanman had offered to assist Shewell in finding work, but unlike Minahan and Kiddle was not deemed to have been in contravention of the regulations. In any event, the reaction of Gloucester FC was one of righteous indignation. An appeal was made to the Judicial Committee of the County Union a week later. It questioned, on "technical grounds", the authority of this Committee. The appeal was rejected. The club's committee then embarked on a course of action that proved to be a major error of judgement. It registered an appeal with the RFU, along with a deposit of fifty pounds. The grounds of the appeal were that the County Union had acted *ultra vires* in levying a fine and that the sentence on the club was unjust as the club had not sanctioned, and had no knowledge of, the alleged inducements made to Shewell. H. J. Boughton, Chairman of the County Union and President of the club, encouraged this interpretation of events. As a solicitor, his opinion would have carried some weight. In the meantime "friends of the club" agreed to pay the ten pounds fine on behalf of the club who adamantly refused to pay it from club funds, on the grounds that in doing so they would be accepting guilt. The appeal to the RFU was subsequently withdrawn. "The sole object" reported the *Citizen* in January 1894, being to "prevent ill-feeling between the club and the Union" (*Citizen* 31.1.1894). The fears of the *Citizen's* journalist were not without foundation. The RFU chose to set up its own committee of inquiry. This met in Birmingham on the 2nd of February and comprised Rowland Hill, Crane, Whalley, Miller and Cail (President of the RFU). After taking evidence from officials of both clubs, as well as Shewell, Hanman and Kiddle, the committee suspended "the Gloucester FC and ground" from the 5th to the 24th of March 1894, prohibited Hanman from playing for the remainder of the season and ordered the club to meet the

expenses of the inquiry. The basis of the committee's decision was that Gloucester FC had contravened the laws of the RFU relating to professionalism (Correspondence contained in Gloucester RFC archives; *Citizen* 5.3.1894).

The RFU's decision horrified the Gloucester officials. They felt the penalty was draconian and a contravention of the principles of natural justice as there was no right of appeal against the decision. The financial implications of closing the ground were also significant, the period of suspension covering lucrative home fixtures against Cardiff and Broughton Rangers. The action of the club committee in initially lodging an appeal against the County Union's decision was also being questioned, and not just in the city. An article in the *Athletic News*, quoted in the *Citizen*, pointed out that many Yorkshiremen believed that Gloucester FC should have paid the ten pounds fine and "put-up with it", adding that many innocent Yorkshire clubs would have paid such a light penalty "without a murmur!" The absolute confidence that the Gloucester FC had in its commitment, ethically and practically, to the principles of amateurism was challenged by this event (*Citizen* 5.3.1894).

The response to the judgement was two-fold. On a practical level Hanman, who appears to have accepted some responsibility for the club's ill fortune, threw himself into organising events that would assist the club financially. A soccer match was organised against Gloucester City AFC, the rugby club losing 6-1. Later in the season, after the suspension had been served, a Gloucestershire and South Wales XV versus Yorkshire game was organised at Kingsholm. It was followed by a "variety entertainment" at the Corn Exchange. The proceeds of all these events were donated to the club. Despite Hanman's efforts - he even participated in three rounds of "exhibition boxing" against the English Champion, Morgan Crowther, as part of the variety entertainment - there was a suspicion in some quarters that he was in part responsible for the club's position. H. J. Boughton, the club's President, accused some of the players, who apparently felt this way, of being disloyal to their captain at the following year's AGM. There was also some resentment that the planned testimonial for the popular ex-captain, Tommy Bagwell, had to be curtailed that year due to worries regarding professionalism in the wake of the "Shewell" case.

At the ethical level, the club and the County Union, in which Gloucester's officials were a dominant force, sought to re-establish their credentials as upholders of amateurism. Boughton's ambition to establish a Gloucestershire County representative on the RFU (not achieved until 1897) had received a setback with the overturning of the County's decision and the substitution of a more severe penalty by the RFU. This objective became apparent in the County Union's response, led by officials of Gloucester FC, to the resolutions on professionalism produced by the RFU in November 1894. These proposals - Delaney (1984: 57-61) has called them a "manifesto" - were circulated to English clubs for their approval. This proposed legislation was universally regarded as objectionable, on the grounds that those accused of professionalism or illegal transfers between clubs were required to prove their innocence rather than the accusers demonstrating that an offence had taken place. This shift in the burden of proof was regarded as contrary to the principles of natural justice and was contained mainly in resolutions 4 and 6 of the "manifesto". Gloucester FC agreed, as did most clubs, to sign the first resolution agreeing to abide by the spirit and letter of the Byelaws regarding professionalism. However, the amendments suggested by the club to be put before the next General Meeting of the RFU on the 28th December, in response to clauses four and six, left virtually all of the proposals intact. It required the RFU only to exercise discretion in its judgements. The amendments of the Gloucestershire County Union proposed by Gloucester, seconded by Bristol FC and Stroud FC, are set out below.

1. That this meeting recognises the necessity of stringent steps being taken by the committee to enable them to deal effectively with cases of professionalism, and considers that they have acted within their powers in passing Clauses 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of their manifest of November 1st last, but that with regard to Clause 2, this meeting is of the opinion that it is, as at present, worked too far-reaching in its effect, seeing that it necessitates the punishment of every offence, great or small with expulsion, giving the committee no discretion in the matter, and this meeting suggests to the committee that this Clause should be modified by the substitution for that portion of it which follows the word "ticket-holders", of the words, "shall, at the discretion of the Committee be punished either by expulsion or suspension, and the permanent or temporary suspension of all their members and officials. And, with regard

to Clause 4", it is the feeling of this meeting that it effects such a drastic alteration in the present mode of procedure that the Committee would do well not to insist upon its adoption until it has been fully considered and approved by the meeting.

2. That the admission or otherwise of representatives of the Press to meetings of the Committee be left entirely to the discretion of the Committee for the time being.

The Yorkshire and Lancashire clubs made it clear that they would oppose the Gloucestershire position as it virtually amounted to a reinstatement of the Union's original circular. The amendment was withdrawn when the RFU issued a revised manifesto acceptable to the Northern clubs. It is plausible to suggest that the relatively less conflictual stance taken by the Gloucestershire County Union, coming as it did in the season following the Shewell case, represents an attempt to curry favour with the RFU by aligning themselves more closely with the policy on professionalism. It was also a further, very public, display of their commitment to amateur principles.

There was, finally, one other very important consequence of these events. The Shewell case contributed significantly to the construction of local identity as it manifested itself through the rugby club. Members of the club, the committee who felt they were innocent of any offence, spectators denied important fixtures and players denied their sporting activity, came to feel that they were "local martyrs" (*Citizen* 10.3.1894). This status, confirmed in Stout's letter (Appendix 18), had even been conferred upon the club by the RFU. It can be suggested that what was beginning to emerge at Gloucester was a continuing commitment to abiding by the administrative rules of the RFU, in conjunction with a distrust of it as an authority figure. The interdependency between Gloucester FC and the RFU was based on the latter's authority as the governing body of rugby football. Gloucester FC was locked into this relationship through bourgeois behavioural norms of bureaucratic rule-adherence to the "laws" governing the sport and a desire to be accepted into the higher status RFU establishment. One aspect of the anti-authoritarian stance can be explained as emanating in large part from the growth of working-class groups as players and spectators. It was, after all, the RFU who had decided to intervene after the appeal had been withdrawn. Whilst

at this stage, these groups had relatively little power, there is evidence here of the genesis of future tensions between these two groups in the figuration. The “Shewell case”, and the subsequent conflict with the RFU over the contravention of the laws of “professionalism”, whilst precipitated by the action of individuals, became part of the terrain upon which collective identity was being constructed.

When the issue of professionalism came to a head at a national level with the bifurcation of rugby football in 1895, the impact on Gloucester FC was twofold. The first impact was the loss of fixtures with clubs from the North, who played against Gloucester FC, usually around the Easter period. Initially, fixtures against two other non-Northern Union clubs, Manchester and Broughton, were arranged. However, within three years, these were replaced with fixtures against Welsh clubs and with emerging local clubs, mainly from the Forest of Dean, Cinderford being the preferred opponent. The long-term effect on gate-revenues was marginal as traditional rivalries with the Welsh clubs were intensified and newer ones with local clubs were given additional emphasis during the financially lucrative Easter holiday period.

The second impact was felt in an increase in Gloucester FC players leaving for the Northern Union clubs. There is some evidence that this brought with it more of a shift in attitudes after the “split” than was evident in Walter Jackson’s move to Halifax in 1893. There was virtually no acrimony when Jackson left for Halifax in 1893. Ironically, his award of life-membership of the club put his England place in jeopardy for the 1894 international against Scotland because, after the RFU ruling in the Shewell case, Jackson was a member of a suspended club. The following year the *Citizen* reported that there was “poaching in Gloucester”, with the revelation that “emissaries from one of the crack Yorkshire clubs” had offered one of Gloucester FC’s backs, W. H. Taylor, employment if he would move north. The club pointedly stated that the transfer would not be granted without a “thorough investigation of the affair”. Tensions were becoming evident, particularly as one of the un-named emissaries was a former Gloucester player who, we are told, had played an active part in setting up the “Thursday” team. In January 1896, A. Stephens revealed that, having been out of work for some time, he was going to join Halifax who had offered him work and “something on the top

of it". The *Citizen* referred to this as a "defection" by Stephens. "Wholesale defections" was the term used to describe the move of three players, Goddard, Hall and Cook, to Hull during the 1902 close-season. The *Citizen* informed its readers that two of the men had been designated as "artists" at the Hull club, being employed to paint the stands. Hall and Goddard returned to the city during November 1904, allegedly to recruit players. Harrison, and another ex-Gloucester FC player at Hull, also came to the city in 1906 looking to sign one of the club's forwards. The *Citizen* informs us that Harrison was paid two pounds ten shillings per week, a thirty shillings win bonus, one pound for a loss and received a signing-on fee of between ten to twenty pounds. Oldham also recruited from Gloucester FC in 1908 when G. Cook joined them. They also offered Gloucester players Gent, Johns and Berry, two pounds per week and a twenty pounds signing on fee should they make the same move. In the event, they stayed at Gloucester FC, but their reasons for doing so are not known. It was not just the Northern clubs who were inducing players to leave Gloucester. Devonport Albion was actively recruiting from Gloucester FC with three players, W. George, W. Spiers and D. Holland (who later went to Oldham), leaving between 1907 and 1909 (*Citizen* 8.1.1894; 9.10.1894; 22.1.1896; 6.9.1902; 11.10.1902; 19.11.1904; 29.9.1906; 19.7.1908; 10.10.1908)

It appears that, in the light of a significant loss of players, attitudes to professionalism began to harden at Gloucester FC in the ten years after bifurcation. However, it may be suggested that this was more to do with an ethical position regarding rule adherence, than to professionalism *per se*. For example, the emphasis in the case of W. H. Taylor, prior to the split, was on whether or not the rules had been transgressed. After the split the annoyance at losing players was expressed partially in terms of resentment that the Northern Union was not subject to the same rules as Gloucester FC. This can be contrasted with the attitude to Devonport Albion's activities who were! The *Citizen*, on the fifth of December 1896, commented in relation to Spiers' move, "No one will blame the Gloucester player for endeavouring to better himself but this sort of business is rather inclined to cause trouble between the rival clubs." The response to the uncovering of a "footballers supply agency" in Newport in

1897, to which the club responded by claiming, “we do not see how it can be questioned as long as it is carried on openly”, highlights another aspect of the behavioural norm of rule adherence. In this instance, the visibility of these schemes may have offered the possibility of formalising relationships through regulatory control. There were other responses to the loss of key players. “W. B.”, the *Citizen’s* football correspondent, pointed to the increase in the number of games Gloucester FC lost in the two seasons (1902/3 and 1903/4) following the departure of Cook, Hall, Goddard and Lewis to northern clubs (*Citizen* 25.9.1887; 23.11.1946). Nevertheless, it does appear that the club’s ethical position regarding rule adherence was again the driving consideration in framing responses in these instances.

In conclusion, it is clear that the “Shewell case” was a significant shock to the members and committee of Gloucester FC. They felt themselves to be adherents to an ethical position regarding amateurism that should have insulated them from accusations of transgressing the “Professional Laws” of the RFU. The managerial response to the suspension of the club was to seek alternative sources of revenue to alleviate the problem of the loss of gate revenues. The impact of the bifurcation of rugby football into League and Union forms had only a marginal financial impact. It did, however, lead to a hardening of attitudes towards the professional clubs and particularly their representatives who came to Gloucester looking for recruits. The deepest opprobrium was reserved for those clubs within the RFU, such as Devonport Albion, who, it was believed, “poached” players from Gloucester FC, and thus contravened the normative system associated with membership of the RFU. Furthermore, the ethical position on rule-adherence, a stance that would be ever more important in the intensively regulated “post-split” period, was embedded in the value systems of those individuals who were administering the club. As previously noted, elected officials at Gloucester FC were, during most of this period, not strict adherents to the more pristine form of the amateur ethos, as commercialising activities required, at least, a semi-professional staff funded from gate revenues. Further, to maintain these revenues an increasing requirement was that players should train regularly and assiduously in order to enhance the team’s prospects of

victory. As a related development, cup and league competitions, along with spectator disorder and control over player violence, became issues as the importance of gate-revenues increased. These developments will form the basis of the following chapter, along with the continuing and intensifying, community identification with the fortunes of the club.

CHAPTER FOUR

1890/91 - 1913/14: Competitive Structures, Identities and Reputations: Contextual and Cultural features of the Development of Rugby football in Gloucester

This chapter reviews the development of cup and league competitions in Gloucester. The first section encompasses the participation of Gloucestershire in the nationally organised County Championship competition, the participation of Gloucester FC in regionally based cup and league competitions and the club's role in organising competitions for local clubs and schools. The second section investigates evidence of player violence and spectator disorders during this period of increasing competitive pressures. The third section reviews the techniques used by officials to control and dampen violent impulses and investigates the formation and development of the Gloucestershire County Football Union Society of Referees. These men were caught between the players' anger and spectator distrust, both of which, as will be demonstrated, could result in physical threat. This section concludes with an analysis of incidents of spectator disorder. The fourth section explores the specific constructions of collective and masculine identity evident at Gloucester FC. This encompasses a broader look at gender relations and the contribution that the playing and watching of rugby football in the local community made in this regard. The final section moves towards a sociological explanation of the events from 1890/91 to 1913/14, the period covered in this and the previous chapter. It will be suggested that this phase of the club's development was an especially intense and important one, laying deep rooted foundations of organisational structure and cultural values that would be prevalent from after the First World War until well into the 1980s.

I

Gloucester FC's officials were initially ambivalent about participation in cup and league competitions. On the one hand they were happy, through the County Union, to support the County Championship competition. The club was also instrumental in setting up and organising cup and league competitions for local

and schoolboy teams. On the other hand, there was, for a substantial period, resistance to the club's senior team competing in either type of competition. For example, a cup competition for schoolboys was set up in 1897 and one for local clubs in 1893. Both were initiated and run by Gloucester FC. However, the club's members and committee refused to allow the First and Second XV's to participate in cup competitions until the 1904/05 season. The reasons are complex. They involved ideological issues, financial considerations, distrust of spectators and players' abilities to control their behaviours in the face of increased competitive tension and a transition in attitudes within the club as the influence of the founder members waned. In order to explain these developments it is easier to deal with each level of competition in turn.

The County Championship was introduced by the RFU in 1889 to maintain interest in rugby football during a period when International fixtures were suspended. This came about after England had refused to join the international Rugby Football Board (IB) set up in 1887 to settle disputes arising from matches between the four "Home Unions": England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. This was a consequence of the lack of standardisation of rules and differing interpretations of them amongst these governing bodies. England's refusal to join the IB was based on their argument that, as they had the greater number of affiliated clubs, they should have a proportionately greater representation on the IB. As they were unwilling to accept the IB's authority and jurisdiction over international matches, Scotland, Wales and Ireland did not play international fixtures against England throughout the 1887/88 and 1888/1889 seasons. It was not until 1890 that England, awarded six seats on the IB as opposed to two each for Scotland, Ireland and Wales, rejoined international competition between the home nations. At the same time as England was isolated from international competition, Yorkshire, who were unbeaten in county matches during 1889 and 1890, suggested to the RFU in April 1880 that a number of counties be declared "first class" and allowed to contest a county championship. The RFU was receptive to this idea, given that the future of international competition between England and the other home nations was still in the balance. However, the southern counties pressed the RFU to set up a regionally based county league competition, dividing the counties into North-East, North-West, South-East and

South-West (including the Midland counties) regions; the North and South regions ultimately providing a team each to contest the final.

The competition was supported by Gloucester FC's representatives on the County Union for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was sanctioned and administered by the RFU, giving it status and legitimacy. Secondly, participation in, and possibly winning the competition would strengthen Gloucestershire's case for representation on the RFU General Committee. Officials of the club would also be registering their support for the RFU at a difficult time. Thirdly, as the number of member clubs in the County Union expanded, it became difficult for the Gloucester FC representatives to exercise the same degree of influence over participation in competitive structures. Thus, whilst still in a dominant position, based largely on Gloucester FC's playing status, there was growing pressure to accommodate to the opinions and values of other clubs in the County. The County entered the competition in the 1890/91 season and won the South-West division and the subsequent Southern championship, losing to Lancashire in the national final. In 1910, against Yorkshire, Gloucestershire finally won the County Championship. Seven Gloucester FC players played in the final at Kingsholm in front of a 6,000 crowd. Three years later Cumberland were defeated when Gloucestershire became Champions for the second time (*County Union Minutes* 1889-1914; *Citizen* 9.4.1910; 1.3.1913).

With regard to the development of league based competitions, there is evidence from local sources that a "league" system of ranking playing success was being constructed in the Gloucester press. On at least three occasions during the 1891/92 season, the *Citizen* produced a league table comparing the performances of English and Welsh clubs. An example of one of these tables, and the accompanying text regarding its construction, are contained below.

As the end of the... season approaches, interest in... relative positions of the big clubs of the country increases day by day, and we have accordingly prepared the following table to show what the present system is. Of course there are innumerable difficulties to be met in attempting to classify clubs. If the position depends on wins only, or on wins and draws, or on losses only, innumerable anomalies crop up. The most satisfactory plan... is to give a club credit for everything it does, and discredit for everything done against it. We have accordingly ascertained the position of the clubs in the table by

the following method. We have credited two points for every ten points scored for the club. From the total... obtained we have subtracted two points for every loss and one point for every ten points scored against. The most noted clubs of the country are given and the best of those met by Gloucester.

| | <u>Points:</u> | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|------|------|-----|---------|
| | Won | Lost | Draw | For | Against |
| Newport | 22 | 0 | 4 | 358 | 13 |
| Blackheath | 15 | 3 | 2 | 271 | 48 |
| Bristol | 16 | 4 | 0 | 270 | 57 |
| Swansea | 15 | 4 | 5 | 206 | 42 |
| Bradford | 20 | 5 | 3 | 205 | 97 |
| Gloucester | 17 | 5 | 3 | 201 | 51 |
| London Scottish | 13 | 2 | 1 | 172 | 35 |
| Cardiff Harlequins | 15 | 5 | 3 | 177 | 50 |
| Old Merchant Taylors | 12 | 3 | 5 | 134 | 22 |
| Oxford University | 13 | 5 | 1 | 180 | 52 |
| Swinton | 17 | 9 | 0 | 172 | 87 |
| Kensington | 9 | 3 | 4 | 101 | 34 |
| Old Edwardians | 12 | 4 | 1 | 120 | 62 |
| Cambridge University | 12 | 6 | 1 | 209 | 120 |
| Stafford | 9 | 6 | 3 | 143 | 63 |
| Coventry | 14 | 10 | 0 | 167 | 110 |
| Leicester | 10 | 9 | 2 | 135 | 87 |

This indicates that a degree of formalisation of the relative status of clubs was taking place and that constructions that generated accurate representations of relative status were given some attention. The importance of specific fixtures - for example, the game against Bristol in 1897, "for the Championship of the County" - was also being informally recognised (*C.H.Dancey's Scrapbook; Citizen* 23.10.1897). Status was important to clubs and their supporters and leagues were one way in which this could be gauged. The attitude of the club's officials to a league system ranged from outright hostility in the early 1890s to a general acceptance of the principle in 1913, provided suitable financial arrangements could be made. At the first attempt to introduce a County League in 1891, Gloucester FC's representatives were openly hostile. At the next attempt in 1893 "no opinion" was expressed at the County Union meeting where five of the nine

clubs attending registered positive, if cautious, acceptance of the idea. Again, in 1896/97, a league was suggested to counteract what were regarded as the "rapid strides of soccer" in the county, particularly in the Bristol area. As pressure mounted in the 1902/03 season, another reason for the introduction of leagues, that of increasing gate revenues, was dismissed. We are told that: "The experience of the City Club is that as long as the team plays attractive football and wins matches good gates are assured" (*County Union Minutes* 1891-1914; *Citizen* 10.1.1903).

Pressures for a formal league system in order to rank clubs in terms of playing status came from a number of sources. Key components that finally led to the formal introduction of a County League in the 1907/08 season involved widening membership of the County Union and the development of competitive structures to combat the rise in soccer in the county and generate additional gate-revenues. Gloucester FC's refusal to participate came after an acrimonious AGM in July 1907 which saw A. W. Vears threaten to resign if the club joined the league. The main reason for the club's refusal seems to have been the concerns expressed by the older influential members, such as Vears, backed by Reverend O. E. Hayden, regarding the "bad feeling" such a competition would engender. The inaugural season of the Gloucestershire Rugby League commenced in September 1907 amidst criticism of Gloucester FC's "holding aloof" from the competition and concerns about a potential loss of gate-revenue as a result of their non-participation. In the event, the league collapsed part way through the season due to conflict between participating clubs and the County Union over the management of the competition. The issues that led to conflict were the requirement to give the County Union two and a half percent of the gate-money from league fixtures and the perceived need to devise a system for registering players to prevent them playing or "transferring" to other clubs. At the 1908 AGM, the members of Gloucester FC, perhaps influenced by the presence of the President of the County Union, Mr Bostock-Smith from the Clifton club, voted to join a reconstructed league in the 1909/10 season. In the event, they joined the league in the 1908/09 season - the reasons for this are not recorded - and won the competition. However, the club withdrew from the following season's competition on the grounds that it did little to increase its gates and was not being successfully administered. In particular, the club's committee criticised the

County Union for not dealing with issues regarding late starts to games and the participation of unregistered players (*Citizen* 6.7.1907; 14.9.1907; 13.6.1908; 20.2.1909; 10.4.1909).

There were also moves to construct leagues on a national and regional basis around this time. An Anglo-Welsh league, consisting of Welsh clubs and the top clubs in the West of England, was mooted at the beginning of the 1908/09 season. It failed to materialise as a result of resistance by the senior clubs, largely over fears that the additional travelling involved would lead to "professionalism". It was felt that the working-men players would need to take more time off work to participate in this more geographically spread competition and that this might increase the pressure for open or covert "broken-time" payments (*Citizen* 12.10.1908). A more serious proposition for the formation of a Western League involving clubs from Devon (the prime movers of the scheme), Gloucestershire, Cornwall and Somerset was made in the summer of 1913. The principle of joining a league was, by now, a much less contentious issue. Nevertheless, the threatened resignation of the club's Honorary Secretary, J. F. Brookes, suggests some residual resistance to the principle of league organisation. Practical issues, particularly those regarding financial arrangements, were of greater importance.

The idea was that two clubs from each county would participate in the league. These would be Gloucester and Cheltenham from Gloucestershire, Camborne and Redruth from Cornwall, Weston and Taunton Albion from Somerset and Devonport Albion and Exmouth from Devon. Each would contribute ten percent of gate revenue to an "insurance pool" against losses in gate revenues that might result from clubs giving up other fixtures to participate in the League. Gloucester FC, as the premier club amongst this group, claimed first call on the fund up to a limit of £70. This arrangement reflected the importance of Gloucester's participation, particularly to the clubs from Devon and Cornwall who could anticipate an increase in their gate revenues when Gloucester visited. The preferential treatment demanded by Gloucester occasioned some resentment. They were even described as the "Harry Lauders" (Harry Lauder was a popular music hall comedian) of this new "public tickling scheme" (*Citizen* 21.2.1914; 28.2.1914; 14.3.1914; 28.3.1914). Martens (1993) has suggested that the RFU,

acting with renewed confidence as England's international rugby performance improved after the 1895 season, rejected the request for a "Western League". This research suggests that the league had been sanctioned by the RFU, provided it did not contain the ten percent pooling and preferential treatment agreements. These arrangements were critical to Gloucester's participation. Without them the club felt they could not participate in the competition and they subsequently withdrew. It is possible, of course, that the RFU chose to fight the detail rather than the principle of the scheme in order to make the scheme unworkable. In the event, the onset of the First World War diverted attention to more pressing matters.

A transition in attitudes is also evident in the response to cup competitions. At the first General Meeting of the newly formed County Union in 1878, J. F. Brown (Gloucester FC Captain and County Union representative) proposed a County Challenge Cup Competition. No doubt buoyed by Gloucester's premier position in the county, he may have been proposing a competition he knew his team stood a good chance of winning. However, his proposal was rejected. Unfortunately the minutes of this meeting do not record why. In 1889 a County Challenge Cup was again proposed, occasioning considerable correspondence in the *Citizen* from H. J. Boughton. He was adamant that a cup competition should not take place, expressing his fears that it would lead to rough play, ill feeling and partisanship. He claimed that the "ill-temper" which these contests generated was, "the step from which brutality is a very short one". Citing the withdrawal of the Welsh Clubs from a similar competition for these very reasons, he exhorted that "to play the game for the love thereof should be the desire of every footballer" (*Citizen* 17.9.1899). County Cup Competitions were run in 1898/99 and 1899/1900 seasons but without Gloucester FC's involvement. The competition collapsed in the 1899/1900 season as a result of Cheltenham's withdrawal and Clifton refusing to play Lydney because of the historically rough and violent nature of their matches. Gloucester participated in, and won, a revamped competition in the 1904/05 season, defeating local rivals Bristol in the final. The victory was invested with a great deal of local pride. The *Citizen* printed a "Special Edition" containing the history of the competition and interviews with the Gloucester players, who were later awarded "blazers" by the club as

recognition of their success (*County Union Minutes* 1878; 1889; *Citizen* 16.10.1889; 17.9.1889; 25.2.1905; 25.3.1905; 28.6.1905).

The euphoria over the cup win did not extend into the following season's competition when Gloucester again met Bristol in the final at Kingsholm. Not only did Gloucester lose, but the match was marked by spectator disorder. At the end of the game, a number of spectators encroached onto the field and mobbed the referee, Mr Games. We are told that, during the game, his actions towards highly partisan Gloucester supporters was, "needlessly irritating at times" (*Citizen* 24.3.1906). The referee alleged, at the subsequent County Union inquiry into the incident, that he was mobbed by spectators, was struck and kicked, and had to be escorted from the ground with the aid of the police and players from both sides. We are also told that, "One individual who presented a threatening attitude was promptly dealt with by a Gloucester forward, and he deserved what he got" (*Citizen* 24.3.1906). The County Union, after an inquiry into the incident, recommended a doubling of admission charges for the first four home matches of the following season and that half the net receipts from these games be paid to the County Union. They pointedly made it clear that they had no wish to interfere with admission charges for the Ladies and admission to the Grandstand. It would appear that this policy was an attempt to penalise that section of the crowd, the "rougher" element, who the County Union felt were responsible for the disturbance. After appeal to the RFU by Gloucester FC, the number of matches to which the conditions should apply was reduced to two (*County Union Minutes* 1906; *Citizen* 24.3.1906; 31.3.1906; 21.4.1906).

The financial penalty proved to be of little damage to the club with only £4/11/5 paid to the County Union. Fears about the behaviour of certain sections of the crowd, and the doubling of entrance prices, clearly demonstrated that the trouble was perceived to have come from working-class groups. Further problems regarding spectator behaviour will be dealt with in more detail in the next section. However, the immediate response of the membership at the 1906 AGM was to propose that the club withdraw from the competition in the 1906/07 season. They did not do so because the committee had already committed the club to the competition and did not wish to be charged with "bad sportsmanship" of withdrawing because they had lost the Cup. The players, it was noted, were

unanimously in favour of remaining in the competition. A motion to withdraw from the cup in the following season was passed. Nevertheless, sections of the membership continued to express concern over participation in cup competitions. At the 1909 AGM, C. Granville Clutterbuck proposed that the club should again withdraw from the competition. He suggested that it did not promote good football, entailed extra strain on players, did not add to memberships or receipts, disturbed the fixtures list and might again lead to spectator disorder. The club's President, C. E. Brown, responded that cup competitions "added interest" and financially benefited other clubs in the County. Clutterbuck's motion was eventually defeated. Serious disenchantment with the competition set in at the end of the 1909/10 season. Gloucester won the cup again on their re-entry that year, but requested that the County Union drop the competition because of friction over regulations regarding the eligibility of players, problems of re-arranging fixtures on account of cup commitments and poor gate revenues from cup ties. The Gloucestershire RFU abandoned the competition in 1910 and it does not appear to have taken place again before the onset of the First World War (*Citizen* 21.4.1906; 29.6.1909; 19.3.1910; 3.6.1911).

The transition in attitudes to cup and league competitions can be explained, in part, by the change in social composition of the club's membership and committee and, in part, by reference to the waning, but still powerful, influence of two founder members, Boughton and Vears. During the first fifteen to twenty years of the club, the founding group had been drawn from the merchant, professional and clerical segments of the middle-class. These men were "upward looking" to the RFU's administrators who they perceived to be of higher social status than themselves and guardians of the game's ethical code. The founding members of the club had not attended public schools and would not have been exposed, to a significant degree, to the purest form of amateurism. Their particular variant had been "diffused" through the first Captain of the club, Francis Hartley. It is reasonable to suggest that they wished to associate themselves with this ethos and felt the need to signify a high degree of conformity to it, particularly in relations with the governing body. At the same time, such groups distanced themselves from close relations with the club's working-class members through practices of social exclusion, for example, the cost of membership subscriptions and vetting procedures for potential members. The analysis is, however, not this

simple. Attention has already been drawn to the influence of Vears, who was consistently sympathetic to the condition of the “working man”, acting as the sponsor of Bagwell’s captaincy and resisting increases in admission prices and season ticket prices when he felt they disadvantaged working-class groups. However despite mounting evidence of the local popularity of formal competitive structures, Vears appears to have drawn the line at this level of sympathy for the interest of working-class spectator groups. This high status group initially prevented the introduction of cups and leagues through their dominant position on both the club and County committees. They even felt it necessary to resist the proposal of the club’s second captain, J.F. Brown, for a county-based cup competition. Brown, it will be remembered, was a Post-Office clerk. Although of rising social status, both at the club and in his employment, it appears that he was not yet integrated into the higher status middle class group and did not fully appreciate their values regarding competitive structures. From around the mid-1890’s, there is evidence of an increase at the club of local men running small businesses and industrial/supervisory groups, both on the committee and in the membership. These groups were more closely acquainted with, and sympathetic to, what they perceived to be the needs of working-class groups for increased participation and competition in sports. Significantly, it was the local Licensed Victuallers Association and the owner of the Palace of Varieties who assisted the club in raising revenue, from athletic events and entertainments respectively, in 1907 when gate-revenues fell.

The behaviour of both these middle-class groups was characterised by an adherence to the principles of rational-legal authority and they demanded that others should do likewise. However, with regard to cups and leagues, the major concerns are clearly encapsulated at the 1908 AGM. The Reverend Hayden, shifting his position from resistance to a proposed league expressed at the previous AGM, argued that should the club participate. He suggested, “it was imperative they should stick out for strong competent and impartial referees, and neutral linesmen and the observance of the transfer laws” (*Citizen* 13.6.1908). In other words, it was not the type of competition *per se* that was problematic but the way in which it was administered. The response was becoming characterised less by resistance and more by regulation. The adherence to, and impartial application of, rules was a key element in their value system. A breakdown in

such regulation was seen to be a contributory factor in “ill-feeling” between clubs, player violence and spectator disorder. In addition, the founding group, particularly Vears and Boughton, had something more to offer. Their status as founder members, and as “sportsmen”, meant they could be relied on for advice and to “do the right thing”. This status was waning. Boughton died in 1902 and Vears’ threat to resign at the 1907 AGM reflects a diminished power to persuade other members of the committee, thus forcing him to draw on his status in an attempt to coerce a decision. At the 1908 AGM, the President of the County Union, Bostock-Smith, stressed his desire for unity and consensus amongst the County clubs who, he said, should move with the times. The expansion of this specific figuration was clearly accompanied by conflict over cups and leagues, largely between the older, established clubs, like Gloucester and Clifton, and newer clubs joining the County Union. Thus, an isolationist stance was problematic for Gloucester, under increasing pressure to conform to new patterns of competition.

In summary, officials at Gloucester were constrained in their relationships with the RFU by a perceived need, as one of the newer, non-metropolitan, non-public school origin clubs, to signify their attachment to the principles and ethos of amateurism. Relationships with other groups involved in the figuration, in particular with working-class groups and committee members increasingly drawn from an industrial bourgeoisie, made it necessary to avoid pressing the ethos of amateurism too rigorously. Pressure for formal competitive structures was growing, as was the need to increase gate revenues. The resolution of these conflicting imperatives was achieved through the adoption of, and attachment to, the notion of “rule adherence” as a guiding principle common to both sets of relationships. Locally, officials of Gloucester were in a position to influence the construction of rules and regulations and to administer them. At one and the same time they were able to accommodate to local pressures whilst retaining an ethical position with the RFU. It also confirmed and sustained Gloucester FC’s dominant role in the organisation of local rugby.

This process of accommodation to other groups can be seen in Gloucester’s position regarding the institution of cup and league competitions for local clubs and schools. Pressure from local clubs led to the setting up, by Gloucester, of a

Challenge Cup competition for the 1893/94 season. The competition was justified on utilitarian grounds. It was suggested that it would assist in “unearthing local talent” and would “add interest” to games between local clubs. Further it would counteract the growth of soccer in the city and aid local clubs financially by providing them with a source of income through gate-revenues from the fixtures they played at Kingsholm (*Citizen* 10.1.1894). The rules and regulations of the competition were constructed by Gloucester FC and were distributed to participating clubs. A copy of this document, found in the club’s archives, reveals that the club provided the trophy worth fifteen guineas (£15/15/-). It also lays down rules regarding player eligibility, the allocation of gate-money and specifies the club’s role as the “sole arbiters of all disputes”, except those that needed reference to the RFU. Gloucester FC therefore retained administrative control over the tournament. In addition, by not participating in cup competitions - indeed it was not until twelve years later that Gloucester FC participated in any cup competition - they were also setting themselves apart ethically from the city’s junior clubs. In the first final of the competition, Sandhurst beat Gordon League three points to nil, a game reported as being a “vigorous” affair but “without bad-feeling” (*Citizen* 10.2.1894).

The potential for player violence and spectator disorder was an ever-present undercurrent in the competition. The Barnwood versus Hucclecole game in 1901 was described as a “pugilistic contest” and, we are told, that a player who was sent off was “baited” by spectators. Gloucester FC was called on to exercise its authority predominantly with regard to administrative problems. The most significant of these arose in 1901 over the eligibility of players. The Gloucester “A” team (the club’s “second” team) drew players from local clubs. A regulation of the competition prohibited these players from playing for their clubs in cup competitions if they had been selected four times for Gloucester. In other words, they were deemed to be Gloucester FC players. Some players therefore declined to play for the Gloucester “A” team in order to qualify for the local cup competition. The club responded by resolving to prevent players from participating in the cup if they refused to play for the “A” team, again extending their administrative control over the junior clubs and its players. The West End club contested this level of control in the 1903/04 season. The local status of the club had increased rapidly over the previous two seasons, culminating in their

winning the Challenge Cup in 1902/03. At the start of the following season three of their players, G. Gough, H. Collins and E. Hall, refused to play for Gloucester and in consequence, they were barred from the competition. In protest, West End refused to participate in the competition. This, in conjunction with problems of transfers between clubs in the Junior League for 14-17 year old boys, along with adult clubs weakening boys teams by drawing on their older players, led to officials of Gloucester being asked to convene a meeting to resolve these problems.

A lengthy report was produced by a sub-Committee set up in 1903 to investigate these problems. The report suggested a structuring of relations between local clubs and Gloucester FC through a set of regulations backed by financial assistance. In order to retain a playing base in the locality, officials at Gloucester clearly recognised that local clubs required funds to remain operative and that the club was in a position to provide or facilitate access to them. An outcome of these developments, associated with the administration of the cup competition, was a further tightening of Gloucester's position at the centre of the commercial and competitive organisation of rugby in the locality. (*Citizen* 2.3.1901; 28.2.1903; 14.4.1903; 10.10.1903; 17.10.1903; *Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the relations of the City Club with the Local Clubs and the desirability or otherwise of continuing the Cup Competition*, 1903, Gloucester RFC Archives). The importance of local clubs is signalled early in the report. It states:

It is to the interest of the City Club to encourage Local Clubs... as they are practically the only means the City club has of recruiting its own players and that failing these clubs the City Club would have to run at its own expense an additional reserve team.

Two other issues are also evident in the report and both relate to the call made by Gloucester FC on local clubs' players. The first issue relates to "late calls" on players, usually on a Friday night or sometimes on a Saturday morning, that disrupted the teams of the local clubs. The second issue relates to the impact the use of local players had on their respective clubs. As the report put it:

inasmuch as it (Gloucester FC) draws from them their best men and thereby attracts most of the football spectators to its

own games, from which cause the Local Clubs must, to some extent suffer.

The nature of this disadvantage whether financial - which would imply that the best local clubs charged entrance for spectators - or in terms of playing status in the city, is not made clear. To overcome these problems it was felt necessary to institute a system of registration of those local clubs whose players were likely to be good enough to play for Gloucester. These clubs would then be eligible for a £2/10/- grant and a capitation fee of 2/- for each player used. It was also suggested that Gloucester should pay the annual subscription to the County Union of any of the "unsubsidised" lesser local clubs.

The report represents a formalising and structuring of the influence exerted on the development of local rugby by Gloucester FC and its officials. It is a product of the uncertainty involved in managing increasingly complex relationships with the city's junior clubs. The dominant driving force sustaining the structure of relationships between Gloucester and local clubs involved financial transfers in return for access to players. There is here some evidence of an emerging economy of sports development. There was also an ethical component. Once this structure of relationships had been agreed to, the report was at pains to point out that the rules of the agreement, "be most strictly adhered to". It is also to be noted that there were also social objectives to be gained from encouraging participation and spectator interest in a major winter team sport in the city. The cup competition diminished in importance after the production of the report, which hinted that the competition had done little to improve the standard of local rugby and had therefore been of little benefit to Gloucester FC as a means of improving the quality of locally recruited players. It was, however, replaced by a league competition in 1912. This became known as the Gloucester and District Rugby Combination. It was won in its first year by the Gordon League club. It subsequently became the North Gloucestershire Combination in 1913, the St. Marks club being the first champions (*Citizen* 18.12.1911; 21.9.1912; 22.3.1913; 20.9.1913; 18.4.1914).

Gloucester FC was also at the heart of the process of the adoption of rugby football in local Elementary Schools. Association football was the preferred team game of the schoolmasters in these schools up to 1904, when they universally

switched to the playing of rugby football. The reasons for this switch of codes were threefold. Firstly, Gloucester was now firmly established as a rugby-playing city. Secondly, competitions had been established locally to attract boys to rugby football. A cup competition for boys up to the age of fifteen was established by Gloucester FC in 1897 and a "Junior League" for fourteen to seventeen year olds, (elementary education finished at fourteen years of age at that time) was run in the 1902/03 season. Thirdly, financial assistance from the RFU, administered and added to by Gloucester FC, enabled the purchase of boots, balls, hosiery and kit for school teams. Thus, on October 22nd 1904, the *Citizen* reported that, "after seven years football under the Association code the Gloucester schoolboys met for the first time this morning to play league matches under Rugby rules" (*Citizen* 9.10.1897; 2.9.1902; 25.10.1902; 24.9.1904).

In this first season, two Gloucester boys, Barnard and Rigby, were selected to represent England Schoolboys. H. Barnard from the British School was captain of his school cricket team and academically had attained first place in his class. The other boy, F. Rigby, was described as a "good all round boy". We are also told that he was captain of the Deacon School rugby team, was first in his class, and had not missed an attendance at his school in eight years. The *Citizen's* journalist clearly did not miss the opportunity to reinforce the connection between academic and sporting achievement. In the following 1905/06 season four more Gloucester schoolboys were selected to play for England schoolboys against the Welsh schoolboys. Further successes came in inter-town matches against Bristol, Stroud and Cheltenham, and in 1907/08 the Gloucester Schools team won the national County Cup Competition for schoolboys. Aided by these successes the popularity of rugby football amongst boys grew rapidly in Gloucester and was proselytised as "teaching them discipline and fair play". It was also noted that rugby football, in contrast to soccer, "appealed more to the natural wild tastes of boys". (*Citizen* 27.2.1905; 10.3.1906; 6.3.1909; 15.9.1906). Thus, by the end of this period, there was a structured system of progression in the city from schoolboy rugby through to the senior city club, with cup and league competitions to determine the relative status of local clubs and to add to the sport's spectator appeal. There also appears to have taken place, at least in Gloucester and the county, a decline in the popularity of cup competitions in favour of leagues (*Citizen* 18.12.1906). Although the former type of competition

may generate greater levels of excitement due to their “all-or-nothing” nature, a league system offered the potential for more consistent revenue generation from gate-takings. In addition, in the context of what Dunning (1986c: 205-223) identifies as achievement-striving in modern sport, a league system offers a better indicator of relative status than do cup competitions.

II

Attention will now be turned to issues of player violence and spectator disorder. The methodological approach to the issue of player violence during the period 1890/91 to 1913/14 has involved a content analysis of the *Citizen* for reported incidents of what were regarded as excessively rough or violent matches involving Gloucester FC's senior XV. A chronological list of these fixtures, including those that involved a player or players being sent off for violent play, is contained in Table 4.1. (The references from the *Citizen* are shown alongside the opponents. An asterisk (*) indicates a fixture where a player (or players) was sent-off.)

Table 4.1 Fixtures of Gloucester FC first XV involving “excessive” levels of violence reported in *The Citizen* 1890/91 to 1913/14.

| <u>1890/91</u> | | <u>1900/01</u> | | <u>1907/08</u> | |
|--------------------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Swansea | (10.1.1891) | Richmond | 10.11.1900) | Coventry | (8.2.1908) |
| | | Newport | (8.12.1900) | | |
| <u>1891/92</u> | | Llanelli | (16.2.1901) | <u>1907/08</u> | |
| | | Newport | (9.3.1901) | | |
| Swansea | (12.12.1891) | Swansea | (13.4.1901) | Swansea | (10.10.1908) |
| London Scottish | (18.1.1892) | | | Pontypool | (17.10.1908) |
| Moseley | (3.1.1892) | <u>1901/02</u> | | Coventry | (5.12.1908) |
| | | | | | |
| <u>1892/93</u> | | Newport | (12.10.1901) | <u>1909/10</u> | |
| | | Bristol | (19.10.1901) | | |
| Coventry | (10.10.1892) | Pontypridd | (26.10.1901) | (Cinderford | 19.3.1910) |
| | | Richmond | (9.11.1901) | | |
| Tyldesly | (3.4.1893) | Leicester | (25.1.1902) | <u>1910/11</u> | |
| | | Swansea | (12.4.1902) | | |
| <u>1893/94</u> | | | | Cheltenham | (11.1.1911) |
| | | <u>1902/03</u> | | Stade Toulousain | |
| Moseley | (13.1.1894) | | | | (4.3.1911) |
| | | Blackheath | (4.10.1902) | Bristol | (11.3.1911)* |
| <u>1894/95</u> | | Cardiff | (15.11.1902)* | | |
| | | Leicester | (7.3.1903) | <u>1911/12</u> | |
| Salford | (15.4.1895) | | | | |
| | | <u>1903/04</u> | | Cinderford | (4.11.1912) |
| <u>1895/96</u> | | | | Cheltenham | (10.2.1912) |
| | | Newport | (10.10.1903)* | Bristol | (17.2.1912) |
| No significant instances | | Blackheath | (19.12.1903) | Newport | (30.3.1912)* |
| reported. | | | | | |
| | | <u>1904/05</u> | | <u>1912/13</u> | |
| <u>1896/97</u> | | | | | |
| | | Penarth | (15.10.1904) | Cinderford | (28.9.1902) |
| Cardiff | (24.10.1896) | Devonport Albion | (21.12.1904) | Oxford University | |
| Moseley | (13.2.1897) | London Welsh | (27.12.1904) | | (30.12.1912) |
| | | Leicester | (22.4.1905) | | |
| <u>1897/98</u> | | | | <u>1913/14</u> | |
| | | <u>1905/06</u> | | | |
| Devonport Albion | (31.1.1897) | | | Northampton | (27.9.1913)* |
| Devonport Albion | (31.1.1897)* | Swansea | (7.10.1905)* | Pontypool | (7.2.1914) |
| | | Cardiff | (28.10.1905) | | |
| <u>1898/99</u> | | | | | |
| | | <u>1906/07</u> | | | |
| Swansea | (4.2.1899) | | | | |
| | | Swansea | (7.10.1906) | | |
| <u>1899/00</u> | | Swansea | (8.12.1906)* | | |
| | | Exeter | (23.3.1907) | | |
| Swansea | (13.1.1900)* | | | | |
| Penarth | (1.4.1900) | | | | |
| Cinderford | (8.4.1900)* | | | | |

Several points need to be made regarding these empirical observations. Firstly, the levels of violence reported were of varying degrees of seriousness from minor and isolated incidents of "rough play", to games that were reported as having consistently high levels of violence throughout. Therefore, a significant degree of discretion has been exercised in selecting matches for inclusion. The criteria settled on have been where the language used by the *Citizen's* journalist indicates that instances reported are towards that part of the spectrum of behaviours regarded as unacceptable in rugby football; where the general level of rough play is reported as being high; where injury has resulted as a direct consequence of a violent act and where incidents were regarded by the officials of Gloucester FC as being sufficiently serious to warrant the cancellation of fixtures with other clubs. Matches where a player or players were sent-off have also been included, even though the game itself may not necessarily have been excessively rough. Secondly, the journalist who reported on Gloucester FC's fixtures during the whole of this period was William "W.B." Bailey. This advantage of continuity of reporting has to be set against his selectivity in reporting incidents which, necessarily, reflected his values and interpretations of events. There is also no way of knowing whether or not his sensitivity to player violence changed during this period. Thirdly, and relatedly, there may have been amplification of the issue of player violence, particularly during the periods when the introduction of cups and leagues was being proposed. Conversely, there may have been de-amplification, perhaps to defend the reputation of a club or maintain cordial relations between the press and the club. Notwithstanding these difficulties, some interesting patterns emerge from the data.

Using the above criteria, fifty-five games, from a total of approximately six hundred played during this period, have been identified as involving "excessive" violence by players. Of these, twenty-four involved games against Welsh clubs. There were eleven matches in which players were sent off, six of these involving Welsh teams. The first point to emerge, therefore, is the high proportion of incidents that occurred in fixtures against Welsh clubs. In part, this can be explained by the frequency of contact between Gloucester FC and the Welsh teams against whom Gloucester played approximately a third of their fixtures each season. Additionally, these encounters would have been intensified by inter-community rivalry, tinged with nationalist sentiment. This background

aspect to the relationship between Gloucester FC and Welsh clubs will be explored in the next section as part of an exploration of the construction of collective identity. One feature of the data that stands out in relation to the Welsh clubs, is the apparent increase in the intensity of encounters with them from around 1899 onwards. Two contributory factors may help to explain this phenomenon. Firstly, during the 1898/99 season Gloucester defeated the four major Welsh clubs, Cardiff, Newport, Swansea and Llanelli, an achievement noted with substantial pride at the club's AGM (*Citizen* 15.6.1899). This intensification of rivalry occurred at the beginning of what has been identified as the first "golden age" of Welsh rugby (Smith and Williams, 1980; Williams, 1985). It is plausible to suggest that the upsurge in violence against Welsh clubs, some of whom were long-standing opponents, was a product of the conjunction of these status-orientated developments. Secondly, around the mid-to-late-1890s, Gloucester FC appears to have been developing a reputation for rough play. "Welsh Athlete", writing in *The Western Mail* regarding Welsh clubs who dropped fixtures against other clubs with a reputation for roughness, suggests that these clubs, "are no worse than Gloucester" (*Citizen* 19.12.1898). Swansea players were also critical of their Gloucester FC opponents in February 1899, claiming that the Gloucester players regularly indulged in foul play by using "their feet and fancy fisticuffs" (*Citizen* 4.2.1899).

In a number of cases the *Citizen* reported that violent incidents took place mainly amongst the forwards. Of the ten Gloucester players sent off during this period eight were forwards, the others being a half-back and a three-quarter. Nine of these players were sent off for fighting, the exception being the half-back who was sent off for kicking an opponent. The Gloucester forwards at this time appear to be developing a reputation based on their physical capabilities. In 1901 a Northern Union club, Bradford, sent agents to Gloucester allegedly to recruit eleven forwards who "could take some knocking about" (*Citizen* 12.1.1901). Comments made by Gloucester's opponents, and journalists working for other newspapers, reproduced in the *Citizen* offer further confirmation. The *Bath Chronicle*, in 1898, claimed that there was, "not a small or seedy man" amongst the Gloucester forwards. The *Newport Argus*, in the same year, complained of wilful roughness by the Gloucester pack, describing them as a "big, lusty, vigorous lot". This reputation seems to have been firmly established

by the first decade of the 20th century. "Dromio" wrote in the *Newport Argus* in 1903 that, "It goes without saying that the Gloucester forwards were strong in the scrummage, vigorous in the open and hard to stop once they got going". By 1908 the forwards were described by the *South Wales Daily News* as a "typical Gloucester pack...playing throughout with any amount of vigour" (*Citizen* 12.1.1901; 30.9.1899; 8.12.1901; 31.1.1903; 26.10.1908). The reasons why this particular form of aggressive masculinity should have come to the fore during this period will be explored later.

The growing status of the club also appears to be an explanatory factor in incidents with other clubs. For example, one very rough encounter, in 1898, against Devonport Albion was given the status in the *Citizen* of the "Club Championship of the South-West". Two players, C. Williams of Gloucester and Berry of Devonport, were sent off in this match (*Citizen* 19.2.1898). It is interesting to note that during this period there was only one reported incident of excessively rough play in a cup or league fixture involving Gloucester. This was in 1910 in their fixture against near neighbours Cinderford. However, it is possible that this was a product of the growing status of Cinderford and the frequency with which the two teams met, in some cases up to four times in one season. Likewise, games against Stroud became much sterner contests for local supremacy. In the 1906 fixture two players from each side were dismissed (*Citizen* 19.3.1910; 5.10.1912; 8.12.1906).

As Gloucester's status and reputation as a leading club in the country grew, they would look to drop weaker fixtures and replace them with better quality opposition who would also have had either growing or established reputations. Tension levels may well have been raised as sides met with the intention of "establishing their credentials". This seems to have been the case against Coventry who, largely through the recruitment of players, were acquiring a reputation as a top Midlands club (*Citizen* 5.12.1908; Smith, A. 1994). This outcome was not always the case. Early games against prestigious clubs Watsonians and Harlequins were praised as being examples of "sporting spirit" and "clean play". It can only be suggested, speculatively, that the intensity of rivalry with Coventry may have been a consequence of the similarity in social composition of this team with that

of Gloucester and the emphasis placed on a vigorous, aggressive style of play. In contrast, the greater former public school personnel predominant in the Watsonians and Harlequins clubs may have placed greater emphasis on athleticism and skill (*Citizen* 23.12.1911: 29.1.1912).

Another emerging pattern appears to be a shift, albeit small, in the balance between expressive and instrumental violence. Dunning, Murphy and Williams (1988: 236) suggest that:

Violence takes an "instrumental" form when it is chosen as a means for securing the achievement of a given goal. It is "expressive" when it is engaged in as an emotionally pleasurable end in itself or when it takes place under the impact of a powerful negative emotion such as frustration and/or anger.

On the understanding that these forms are always mixed in human behaviour and, that an act of instrumental violence can spark off an outburst of expressive violence, there are three significant incidents during this period that suggest both the existence of an instrumental use of violence. There also appears, from the way they were reported in the *Citizen*, to be concern about its existence. A game against Moseley in 1897, was characterised by "extreme roughness" and "ill-feeling" between the players. J. F. Byrne, a Moseley player, suggested that the Gloucester players had singled him out for a "ragging" and violent attacks because, as an international player, he was regarded as a key member of his team (*Citizen* 13.12.1897). In 1910 against Stroud, a Gloucester player, C. Cook, is alleged to have perpetrated a deliberate foul on a Stroud player to prevent a try. It was also pointed out that the Stroud player took no further part in the game as a consequence (*Citizen* 3.12.1910). Finally, in a game against Cheltenham in 1911, the *Citizen* reported that many violent incidents involved the "paying off of old scores". A Gloucester player, Wyburn, also appears to have taken on the role of "avenging angel", punching Bennett of Cheltenham who had twice kicked Gloucester players. Wyburn, it was reported, had evidently warned Bennett what would happen if he caught Bennett kicking players again (*Citizen* 11.2.1911). There were other less serious instances noted in the *Citizen*. For example,

against Newport in 1900, Gloucester players were accused of “wilful roughness” and “spoiling tactics” (*Citizen* 8.12.1900). Similarly, in a cup game against Cheltenham in 1909, allegations of “un-sportsmanlike tactics” and deliberate rule infringements were made against the Gloucester players (*Citizen* 17.3.1909). Farmer (1995: 53), drawing on reports in the Swansea press, confirms a “win at any cost” attitude was perceived to exist amongst Gloucester players involved in the 1899 fixture against Swansea. Finally, a Devonport player in the November 1904 fixture against Gloucester admitted deliberately “aggravating” a Gloucester player, who punched him at the end of the game. The Albion player offered his apologies for provoking his opponent and hoped that the player, “would not get into trouble over it” (*Citizen* 17.2.1910). The evidence here would suggest that the instrumental use of violence did exist and, at times, was part of the behaviour of some of the Gloucester players. It seems to have occurred when tension levels were raised in fixtures where there was a history of bad feeling between the players or in games invested with a strong element of community pride, for example against Welsh clubs or other “regional” champions. The intensification of rivalry with local and Welsh clubs and, to a lesser extent competitive pressures associated with cup and league competitions, suggests that conditions existed that may have encouraged an increase in the instrumental use of violence. In addition there appears to have been some deliberate breaking of rules to prevent an opponent gaining an advantage. This feature, in contemporary terms, might be described as a “professional foul”.

Finally, a number of other “miscellaneous” factors may have contributed to outbreaks of violence amongst players. These indicate the difficulty of relying on broadly based explanations of what might be changes in patterns of behaviour. For example, incidents of roughness in the 1892 fixture at London Scottish were the product of a perceived lack of courtesy by their officials who did not meet the Gloucester team from the train (*Citizen* 18.1.1892). Roughness in the 1903 game against Blackheath appeared, from the comments made in *The Sporting Life*, to have been invested with elements of class conflict, couched in terms of the “rough provincial team” against the “educated metropolitans” (*Citizen* 26.12.1903). In the opinion of the *Citizen* journalist, poor refereeing was

identified as a contributory factor in five of the fixtures noted in Table 4.1, either through inconsistent application of the laws or weakness in controlling undisciplined behaviour. The inchoate nature of some of the laws of rugby union could also create problems at this time. For example, the composition and formation of the front row of the scrummage were still not formalised. This led to problems when the scrummage was formed with players wrestling to achieve the “outside head” position, a tactical advantage enabling the player who secured this position to drive through and disrupt the opposition scrummage. In the 1912 game against Oxford University it was this tactical ploy that was regarded as the root of the rough play during the match (*Citizen* 30.12.1912).

The actions of spectators were also seen as contributing to outbreaks of violence amongst players. Whether or not this was the case is open to debate, but the *Citizen* journalist “W. B.” repeatedly believed it to be a contributory factor and appeared to become more concerned about it towards the end of this period. In the 1912 match against Bristol, he claimed “the conduct of spectators had much to do with provoking bad spirit amongst the players”, also blaming the “partisan shouts” in the 1912 Cinderford match for encouraging rough play (*Citizen* 11.3.1912; 28.9.1912). “W. B.” went so far as to reinforce his belief in the relationship between this interaction in the *Citizen* in 1913. He quoted the claim of Percy Bush, three times captain of Cardiff and a former Welsh International, that spectator behaviour, “can urge players on to violence”.

It is evident that a variety of factors could contribute to outbreaks of player violence. Those identified here are by no means comprehensive and do not take account of other factors such as the mood of players on match days, or the weather which, if wet, can unintentionally lead to rougher contact between the forwards. In addition, personal “duels” between players competing for international selection can raise the intensity of individual contests. However, the broader explanations based on the evidence presented do seem to offer at least an understanding of the conditions where player violence might be anticipated, along with its changing forms (*Citizen* 11.3.1912; 28.9.1912; 11.10.1913).

III

Club and county officials used a variety of techniques in attempts to control and dampen any proclivity towards violent behaviours by the players. Firstly, there was the threat not to select violent or “unsportsmanlike” players. This threat was made explicit in 1899 by a member of the selection committee, Percy Stout, at a supper held by Councillor Reardon to celebrate the club’s defeat of Swansea earlier that season. It was reported that he felt Gloucester “now had a team which could play a fair and sportsmanlike game, and for this the committee deserved every credit.” Although perhaps a little optimistic he clearly believed that the selection committee exercised a substantial degree of control by excluding violent players, thus signalling to others the consequences of any lapses in self discipline. Concern over violent play appears to have intensified during the early part of the 1900s and with it the interventions of club officials. A particularly rough game against Cinderford in November 1911 so incensed the Chairman of the Gloucester committee, J. Hanman, that he came onto the pitch during the game to speak to the referee.

Secondly, in the 1913/14 season, the disciplinary role of club officials was extended. Gloucester, following the lead of the clubs in the Welsh Union reacting to a particularly “violent and worrisome” 1912/13 season, agreed not to select dismissed players until after the results of a County Union disciplinary hearing. In effect they were instituting a “club ban” on players. This led to conflict with some clubs who did not adopt this policy. Of the two players sent off during the 1913 game against Northampton, Mumford of Gloucester received a six week ban (two weeks from the club and four from the County Union), whilst Smith of Northampton was given a two week ban by his Union (*Citizen* 22.2.1899; 4.11.1911; 27.9.1913). Club officials were also prepared to cancel fixtures, some of them financially lucrative, against clubs who they felt were guilty of excessively rough play. At various times during this period major fixtures against Newport, London Scottish, Moseley, Devonport Albion, Stroud, Llanelly and Cinderford were dropped by the club on these grounds.

Thirdly, "W. B.", writing in the *Citizen*, was not averse to singling out players who he felt breached the boundaries of acceptable violence. One such Gloucester forward, Hawker, who it was alleged "foul charged" a Newport player in the December 1900 game, was offered the advice by "W. B." that he "would do well to take warning as to his future conduct". The advice was apparently not heeded. In November 1902, Hawker was sent off for fighting (*Citizen* 8.12.1900; 15.11.1902). "W. B." also strongly deprecated Wyburn's self-appointed "avenging angel" role in the 1911 fixture against Cheltenham (*Citizen* 11.2.1911). It was also expected that the team captains should intervene, as both the Gloucester and Penarth captains were required to do during the October 1904 game between the two clubs, to prevent players from fighting each other (*Citizen* 15.10.1904).

Fourthly, there appeared to be a growing sensitivity to a widening gap between the levels of violence permitted on a rugby pitch and those permitted in other areas of social life. Such concern was being expressed as early as 1894. In the match against Moseley that year it was reported that:

At one point of the game, after a pugilistic encounter which raised the indignation of not a few onlookers, a constable seems to think that if football law permitted the violence which was being practised, it was about time the civil authorities interfered.

Gloucester actively sought this intervention against the Pontypool player, G. Vater, sent off after punching and knocking out Lawson of Gloucester in February 1914. The Gloucester committee discussed the possibility of police proceedings against Vater. Although none was taken, the committee wrote to the Pontypool club requesting them to drop Vater from the playing list and to meet the doctor's bill for treating Lawson's injuries (*Citizen* 15.1.1894; 11.2.1914).

During this period, control over the behaviour of players was being exercised, to a greater extent, by a formalisation and extension of the powers of referees. Martens (1996: 38) claims that this development corresponded with the growth of the game in the North and associated criticisms of the style of play of members of the working class. Barlow (1993), in his study of the diffusion of rugby football in

Rochdale, offers some clues as to the origins of such concern. He identifies a transition from the ethics of fair play towards a greater emphasis on a “quest for victory”, fuelled by increased community identification with local teams. A similar point is made by Dunning and Sheard (1979). There are some similarities between Rochdale and Gloucester with regard to the diffusion of rugby football in their localities. Gloucester FC was “socially open”, although the diffusion occurred at a slower pace as a result of the influence of the founding members. Local adoption of rugby football led to the emergence of working-class teams in the city, admittedly not to the same extent as in the Rochdale area. Civic pride in the performance of the senior side also developed early on in the history of Gloucester FC and was evident at parish level. As Barlow (1993: 56) points out in the Rochdale context:

as the players began to recognise their collective status as an important form of communal interest... neutral officials were increasingly required to maintain order as the desire for victory superceded the ethic of ‘fair play’.

Taking account of this and the growing power invested in referees by the RFU to deal with foul play and administer the laws of the game, attention will be turned to the responses of the Gloucestershire County Union in organising and developing refereeing in this local context.

Control over player violence, as will be demonstrated later, was one important function of referees. Two other issues, impartiality and “efficiency”, also appear to have been motivating elements in the formation, in 1892, of a County-based Gloucestershire Society of Referees. This dual requirement was clearly articulated when, in 1891, the “services of a thoroughly impartial and competent referee” were requested for a game against Cardiff (*Citizen* 12.11.1891). In 1905, it was even suggested that neutral touch judges should be used in cup games and for other fixtures where competitive rivalry was high (*Citizen* 14.10.1905). The problem of the partiality of referees arose in large part due to the practice, common up to the 1890’s, for the home club to provide a referee. On occasion this may have been a club member. The problems this caused seems to have been recognised at governing body level. In 1893, the Secretary of the RFU, G.

Rowland Hill, responded to a letter from Gloucester FC on the subject by pointing out that members should not be allowed to referee games in which their clubs were involved. Gloucester FC commonly used outside officials for their senior games, drawing on men “approved” by the RFU. They also contacted the opposition club to confirm the suitability of the referee (*Citizen* 3.2.1894; 10.12.1891; *Secretaries Notebooks*, 1889-1892; Gloucester RFC archives).

In November 1891, the first steps were taken in Gloucestershire in the formation of a County-based Society of Referees. The principal reasons given at the County Union meeting were that in some cases referees were unqualified to act, suggesting that they were not fully acquainted with the laws of the game or, more seriously, that players “would not listen” to them. It was also suggested that referees sanctioned by the County Union would have the power of reporting any club or player to the Union, thus enhancing its control over violence and other rule infractions. Administrative positions in the Society were dominated by officials of Gloucester FC. In an attempt to ensure referees were “competent” they were “examined”, this initially involved being “observed” for two matches by members of the Society. This method of qualification does not appear to have been altogether successful as, in 1906, Gloucester FC requested that “inefficient”, i.e. incompetent, referees be struck off the county list. The status of the referees was reinforced by the setting up of a County Union “Judicial Panel”, formalising the procedure for determining the punishment of players sent-off during games (*Citizen* 12.11.1891; 7.7.1906; *Society of Referees Minutes*, 1892-1903). These measures helped, to a large degree, to establish the authority of referees in Gloucestershire and the city.

There are two possible implications of this development. Firstly, control over violence was being passed to a greater extent to an “outside” authority thus placing less emphasis on the internalisation of controls over the use of violence by the players themselves. Whilst there were constant exhortations to adhere to the principles of fair play, its administration was increasingly undertaken by referees and disciplinary committees. Secondly, although measures to ensure the impartiality of referees may have had some success, their establishment as an external authority brought them into conflict with partisan working-class

spectators. These groups resented the referee not only as an authority figure but because decisions against their team were often viewed as an attack on their community (Holt; 1989: 174; Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1988).

Players, it seems, had difficulty in accepting the authority of the referee during this period. The evidence for this is derived from an analysis of the types of offences for which players were sent off and the frequency with which such offences occurred. The data in Table 4.2 have been compiled from the *Minutes of the Gloucestershire County Football Union* Judicial Sub-Committee from 1892/93 to 1906/07 seasons.

Table 4.2 Types and frequency of offences for which players were reported by officials of the Gloucestershire County Football Union Society of Referees; 1892/93 to 1906/7

| <u>Season</u> | <u>Fighting and Rough Play</u> | <u>Swearing:</u> | |
|---------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------|
| | | i) <u>at the referee</u> | ii) <u>general</u> |
| 1892/93 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1893/94 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| 1894/95 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| 1895/96 | 7 | 5 | 0 |
| 1896/97 | 6 | 7 | 1 |
| 1897/98 | 4 | 6 | 0 |
| 1898/99 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| 1899/00 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| 1900/01 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 1901/02 | 8 | 2 | 0 |
| 1902/03 | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| 1903/04 | 16 | 4 | 1 |
| 1904/05 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| 1905/06 | 13 | 11 | 1 |
| 1906/07 | 12 | 5 | 1 |

Notes: Records for 1907/8 to 1913/14 seasons cannot be traced.

(Compiled from *Minutes of Gloucestershire County Football Union 1892-1907*, Gloucestershire Records Office. Document reference D7035. 1/3; D5821 2/4)

The County Union set up a Society of Referees in 1892, issuing "certificates" to those men deemed to be competent to referee by virtue of having passed an "examination". The incidents from which the table has been constructed were those reported by these official, County-appointed, referees. They were only appointed to officiate at matches involving clubs who were members of the Gloucestershire County Football Union. The table does not record incidents that may have occurred in other matches outside its jurisdiction. When players were sent-off by County Union appointed referees they were automatically "reported" to the Judicial Sub-Committee who would take evidence from the referee and the player or players involved. It is from these reports that the nature of the offence has been ascertained.

Certain points about the compilation of these data need to be made. The "Fighting and Rough Play" category includes the offence of "kicking" another player. The specific nature of "rough play" has been difficult to ascertain and appears to have involved a significant degree of discretion being exercised by the referee about what, in his opinion, constituted this offence. There is also some "double-counting" in that there are instances where players who had been sent off for rough play then took the opportunity to give vent to their views on the referee's action by swearing at him. As both incidents were reported, and were often regarded by the disciplinary body as separate, this distinction has been maintained in the data. The figures also include players sent off for bad language, either for swearing at the referee or at other players. With regards to "Swearing: at the referee", other related offences are also included, for example disputing the referee's decision and refusing to leave the field of play after being sent off. The general swearing category includes offences of swearing at other players and reported "bad language". There were other incidents of note, for example three cases where the captains were reported for taking their players from the field in protest after they had had members of their team sent off. These

have not been included in the data but they do represent, to differing degrees, examples of challenges to the authority of the referee.

At first glance the number of reports for fighting appears to represent a general increase in this category. However, during this period the number of County Union referees increased, in part a response to a growth in the number of clubs becoming members of the County Union and, with it, the number of matches to which referees were appointed. For example, "official" referees covered one hundred and ten matches in 1892/93, by 1894/95 this had risen to over five hundred. Therefore, it is to be expected that more offences would be reported as the number of matches coming under the jurisdiction of County officials increased. This makes it difficult to accurately identify whether or not there were changes in general levels of violence in rugby football matches in Gloucestershire. Additionally, cup and league competitions were inaugurated mainly for junior clubs during this period. It has not been possible, within the confines of this research, to identify which of the fixtures in which offences were committed were part of the numerous cup or league competitions held in the rugby playing areas in Gloucestershire, such as Stroud, Lydney, the Forest of Dean, Cheltenham and Bristol. It is, therefore, not possible to establish any pattern regarding the incidence of levels of violence in cup or league competitions. What is clear is that an increasing number of players were being subject to the authority of a qualified, impartial referee and the disciplinary structure and procedures that supported him. There does, however, appear to have been some increase in the number of Fighting and Rough Play offences in the early 1900s. A number of new referees were appointed during this period. Some of these were responsible for a number of dismissals, perhaps as they attempted to establish their individual authority. This suggests that the data may not in fact represent a real increase in this type of offence.

The significant proportion of offences involving swearing at the referee seems to indicate that, during this period, there was a significant problem with regard to establishing the authority of the referee. The resistance of players to such authority took a number of forms. Firstly, in some instances this involved attempts to hit the referee. In two cases these attempts were made in the

changing dressing rooms after the game. Secondly, as previously mentioned, dissatisfied captains were prepared to take their players off the pitch. Thirdly, the impartiality of the official was questioned. In one case a referee, F. E. Jones, was accused by the sports writer of the *Cheltenham Mercury* of cheating and prejudice in Cheltenham's game against Stroud. The County Union defended the referee, issuing a libel writ on his behalf - Jones was also Honorary Secretary of the County Union General Committee - a course of action prompting a public apology from the proprietor of the newspaper. Thus, referees could be supported not only through the disciplinary procedures of the County Union, but also through recourse to civil law.

Up to around 1900, the proportion of "swearing" offences relative to those involving fighting, was high. From 1900 onwards this proportion became lower and, given that more matches were controlled by referees, it would appear that the authority of the referee, and the control players were expected to show with regard to their interaction with him, had, to a significant extent, been established. The 1905/06 season provides an exception. The high figure is accounted for by two players, already sent off for foul play refusing to leave the pitch, two players reported for disputing the referee's decisions and one incident of a captain refusing to give the referee the name of a team member sent off for fighting. Although an exception to the general trend, further investigation reveals that, at the beginning of this season, the County Union appointed nine new referees and that three of these new appointees were involved in the above incidents. This offers additional support for the view that there was a continuous, if diminishing, struggle for referees to establish their authority, the legitimacy of such external control becoming more accepted by players.

The data from 1892/93 to around 1900 suggest that it was during this period that the struggle was most intense. It was a period that involved a significant transfer of responsibility to referees over the control of matches. Prior to this, in Gloucestershire at least, clubs could appeal to the County Union Judicial Sub-Committee to overturn referee's decisions regarding the awarding of a try or penalty goal if it was felt that an incorrect decision had been made. In some cases, if the appeal was successful, this involved changing the result of the

game. However, with the increasing differentiation of roles, County Union officials were now much more involved in administrative and management functions and referees were accorded greater responsibility for arbitration in playing situations. One way of “encouraging” players to accept this expanded role of the referee was to permit referees to send off players who disputed their decisions whether or not swearing was involved, and to support this action through suspending the player for a number of matches. This, of course, had to reflect the relative seriousness of this in relation to other offences. For example, the fortnight’s suspension given to a player found guilty of this offence was on a par with that for fighting. Instances where players threatened to hit the referee were treated more severely, particularly at the end of the period under investigation. In the 1904/05 season, one player was suspended from October to the end of the season for this offence. This reflected the view that this type of transgression was regarded as extremely severe in a context where some degree of respect for the referee was regarded as having been established with offences of this type largely eradicated.

It is much more difficult to identify a pattern with respect to suspensions given for instances of violent play. Different sentences were given for similar offences throughout this period, ranging from issuing a “warning as to future conduct”, to one month’s suspension. This may have reflected the variable nature and intensity of the physical conflicts between players with leniency being shown where incidents were brief and little physical damage was inflicted. A standard period of suspension for fighting appears to have been two weeks for the instigator of the fight. Persistent offenders, for example Nutt of Dings FC and Westbury of Gloucester FC, both of whom had been sent off in consecutive seasons, were treated more severely. They were suspended *sine die* and six months respectively (Society of Referees, *Minutes* 1892-1903; *Disciplinary Committee Minutes* 1903-1908).

Thus, during the period up to the First World War, a disciplinary structure was being established and precedents were being set to remind players of the consequences of physical and verbal assaults. Players often expressed regret for their actions and these are recorded at the disciplinary hearings. They may

well have been trying to elicit a light sentence. Nevertheless, it appears that these players recognised the growing sensitivity of County officials to a loss of emotional control on the playing field. However, despite these and other reminders of their obligations with regard to self-control, the institutionalisation of a Referees Society and the clarification of their roles and responsibilities abrogated some of the responsibility for control over the emotions to an “outside” agency. It also sanctioned a level of legitimated violence. In other words, emphasis was being placed on institutionalising as well as internalising these two features of affect control.

Another phenomenon associated with the increasing popularity of rugby football in Gloucester, and increasing partisanship, was spectator disorder. The analysis of this particular “problem” will be structured in the following way. Firstly, the nature of the incidents that took place will be described. Evidence will then be presented on the composition of the social groups who were perceived to be responsible. Finally, the actions taken to deal with spectator disorder will be identified. The first feature of crowd disorder, a relatively minor one but which nevertheless occurred on a number of occasions, was verbal abuse of the referee, touch judges and players. This ranged from “hooting and whistling” to abusive language. Similar patterns of behaviour have been identified as occurring around this time at association football matches (Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1988). It has not been possible to ascertain whether instances in Gloucester increased or decreased over time, although it is clear that it was a persistent problem occurring throughout the 1890/91 to 1913/14 period.

More serious incidents involved assaults and attempted assaults on match officials by spectators. One such incident occurred after a match, in 1892, against Coventry. It was refereed by the Reverend Loy, the curate of a local Gloucester parish church, St. Mary de Lode. Emotions at the game ran high after Loy disallowed a Gloucester try that would have given the club victory. Coventry were, at the time, the Midlands “Champions” and Cup holders. We are also told that, throughout this encounter, the crowd was in an “excited state” and “disregarded good manners” towards both referee and players. At the end of the game Loy, with police help, was smuggled out of a side entrance of Kingsholm to

avoid an irate crowd who, we are told, were "making use of very threatening language" towards him. A flavour of the incident, represented in cartoon form in the *Magpie* (15.10.1892), is contained in Appendix 20. In 1906 at Kingsholm, at the end of a cup final against Bristol, a serious assault on the referee by a spectator was avoided only by the intervention of the players. Touch judges, probably regarded as being more partial because they were usually representatives of their clubs and in closer proximity to spectators, were also the subject of assaults. During a 1902 fixture against Lydney at Kingsholm, Lydney's touch judge was punched, from behind, by a spectator. In the game against Devonport Albion in November 1904, the touch judge, E. J. Vivyan an ex-international and Devonport Albion player – he was also the *Daily Mail's* "special correspondent" at the game - was on the receiving end of "bad language" and of missiles thrown at him. He was saved from a potential assault by Gloucester FC committeemen intercepting spectators who attempted to approach him. The common feature in both of these incidents was the perceived bias of opposition touch judges, particularly in the context of intense rivalry. In the case of Lydney this was locally based. In the fixture against Devonport Albion, regarded at that time as English "Club Champions", it involved a struggle for national sporting status (*Citizen* 1.2.1902; 28.9.1912).

Incidents involving attacks on officials were not uncommon at other venues. At the close of the 1892 Wales v. Scotland international at Swansea, which Scotland won, Welsh players had to ward off blows aimed at the English referee by Welsh spectators. At Penycraig, in 1901, the referee reported that he had been stoned, punched in the head and kicked by spectators. In 1906, a referee, the Secretary of the English Rugby Union no less, was assaulted at Leicester. One incident in 1912 in Wales resulted in the death of a referee after he was assaulted by a Wattstown player. The referee's widow subsequently made a claim against the Welsh RFU for £300 compensation. A serious incident also occurred at Cheltenham in 1896 when the referee, already having been threatened by a Cheltenham player, was followed after the game for three-quarters of a mile and threatened by some of the home supporters (*Citizen* 23.4.1901; 13.1.1913; County Union, *Minutes* 1896).

Attacks by spectators on players were less common, probably due to the perceived physical hardness of players that would most likely have made a direct assault unsuccessful. One instance was reported, and again it involved a game against Devonport Albion, this time in 1898. After the match, a particularly vigorous encounter for the unofficial "Club Championship of the South-West" during which two players were sent off, we are informed by the *Citizen* that a missile was thrown at the Devonport Albion players travelling from the Kingsholm ground. There does appear to have been some additional provocation here as a Devonport Albion player is alleged to have deliberately "expectorated in the face of a person who was conversing with him, at the same time using some disgusting remarks" (*Citizen* 19.1.1898).

Instances of crowd intrusion onto the playing area at Kingsholm during a game, deliberately to disrupt play, also appear to have been rare, possibly as the result of the fairly rapid development of enclosed spectator areas at Kingsholm. Only one significant "pitch invasion" is reported. This was in 1902, when Bristol were awarded a penalty try that subsequently won them the game. In 1912 fighting between spectators at Kingsholm during the game against local rivals Cinderford is the only record of this type of incident during this period (*Citizen* 25.20.1902; 28.9.1912). There are similarities here to aspects of crowd behaviour associated with Association Football identified by Dunning, Murphy, Williams (1988: 55-73). The language of the crowds, attacks on officials and, to a much lesser degree, fighting between supporters and pitch invasions are all present. By way of contrast, no incidents of vandalism in the ground, or significant related disorderliness outside the ground, have been found. This is not to suggest that this type of spectator behaviour did not occur, it may simply have gone unreported. However, it does appear that, in the rugby playing enclave of Gloucester and areas of the South West, a similar pattern of spectator disturbances was present to that evident amongst crowds attending Association football matches. However, despite keen inter-community rivalry, there is little evidence to suggest that this took place between collectives of young males on a regular basis.

One further aspect of spectator and player behaviour that was the subject of comment in the *Citizen*, was that of gambling on the outcome of matches. There may well have been concerns, underpinning these reports, regarding the supposedly ruinous gambling behaviour of the working class (Clapson, 1992). This moral concern was evident in the correspondence of "Season Ticket Holder" to the *Citizen* in 1911, who claimed that betting on football and horses was taking place at Kingsholm, "with no reserve whatsoever", a practice that he regarded as "worse than Good Friday football" (*Citizen* 8.4.1911). Other concerns involved the potential "corrupting" of players and the "over-excitement" of the gambler. "Northerner", writing in the *Citizen* in 1892, claimed that certain of the Gloucester forwards had been "got at by that universal bug-bear in all sport - the betting man" and that evidence of this could be provided by a gentleman, "well - known in Gloucester football circles". Who this gentleman was, and what action was taken, is not known but it does appear that, according to "Northerner", the gambling "clique" was broken up (*Citizen* 30.1.1892). The other incident involved a spectator who, it is alleged, had "laid something" on the outcome of the 1896 fixture with Stroud. It is reported that he was ejected from the ground as a consequence of his directing "opprobrious epithets" at the players, presumably because he was losing money (*Citizen* 17.10.1896).

In the main, it was groups of working-class men who were identified as the perpetrators of instances of spectator disorder and other contested behaviours. Identification of this social group was made explicit in the *Citizen* and can be further inferred from the references made to spectator disorder on the "sixpenny side" of the ground, the cheapest of the spectator areas, where the majority of working-class spectators congregated. Only two exceptions to this pattern can be found. The first involves young boys who were regarded as the principal offenders in the hissing and hooting of the referee in October 1896. The second comes from a correspondent to the *Citizen* in 1892. The individual, who signed himself "Ex-Captain", was particularly critical of, "loud-mouthed individuals standing on the pavilion". This latter group would almost certainly have been Gloucester FC members who would have been drawn, at this time, largely from the middle-class (*Citizen* 31.10.1896; 12.3.1892).

A number of techniques were used in an attempt to exercise a measure of control over these behaviours. In the case of the boys, adult “senior supporters” were urged to exercise their authority. With regard to working-class adults, the courses of action were more varied. Messages regarding what the Gloucester committee regarded as appropriate behaviour were transmitted mainly through the local press. At the 1892 AGM, knowing that his remarks would be reported in the *Citizen*, A. W. Vears took the opportunity to remind spectators to, “act in an impartial manner” and, “applaud good play” of either side (*Citizen* 6.5.1892). This was not a particularly hopeful request given the lack of resonance these values would have had with the highly partisan, working-class sections of the crowd. Amongst these, and indeed middle-class groups, there was a strong desire to see a team of predominantly local men, as representatives of civic identity, achieving victories in an increasingly competitive sports environment. It is no surprise that the club consistently struggled with this problem. In 1896, the Gloucester Captain, C. Williams, strongly condemned the actions of spectators who disputed referees’ decisions. He warned, in a reference to the RFU ban on the club in 1894 after the “Shewell Case”, that a failure to heed his advice might lead to the club being brought to the attention of the RFU again. The club’s committee was more specific at the start of the 1896/97 season, making an appeal, “to the large body of their supporters”, the working men, in an attempt to discourage, “all unfair and unsportsmanlike remarks” (*Citizen* 24.1.1896; 10.10.1896).

In addition to these largely unsuccessful persuasive efforts, other more coercive and punitive measures were employed in attempts to reduce spectator disturbances. Criminal law was increasingly used against individual offenders. After the aforementioned incident in 1898, involving a missile being thrown at a Devonport Albion player, the club offered a two pounds reward for information on the assailant that led to a conviction. The man who struck the Lydney touch judge in 1902, Charles Hamblin, was charged with assault, convicted and fined three pounds and sixpence. A year later, another assailant of a Lydney touch judge, this time in a fixture against Cheltenham, faced a similar punishment. He subsequently refused to pay the fine and was imprisoned. In 1902, after the encroachment onto the pitch by spectators during the Gloucester versus Bristol

game, extra police were stationed on the "sixpenny side" to maintain order. The County Union also imposed penalties on clubs with errant supporters. Stroud's ground was closed in November 1897 after spectators had jostled the referee at the end of the game against Bristol. In 1905, Cheltenham's ground was closed for a month after a seventh complaint regarding spectator behaviour. The County Union, it will be remembered, also ordered a doubling of admission prices for "popular" sections of the ground at Kingsholm as a punishment after the 1906 cup final incident against Bristol (*Citizen* 19.2.1898; 1.2.1902; *County Union Minutes* 1897; 1905; 1906).

This section on player violence and spectator disorder reveals a shift in ethical values associated with interlocking features of the continued diffusion and organisation of rugby football in Gloucester. These included the growth of working-class involvement as players and spectators, increasing commercialisation and an increase in community identification with the club that cut across class distinctions. At the same time as the recreational and moral qualities of rugby playing were being stressed, increased emphasis on winning led to additional control being exercised over the methods that might be used to secure victory. A number of persuasive and coercive techniques were deemed necessary as attempts were made to exercise a degree of control over player and spectator behaviours. The evidence suggests that initially the emphasis was on the use of coercive techniques, at least until the worst excesses of expressive violence were under a degree of control and the principle that individuals should adopt greater self-restraint over their emotions was established to a significant degree. There is evidence here of "top-down" control mentioned by Elias and Dunning (1986). Policy makers were drawn from middle-class groups and it was subordinate groups, drawn mainly from the working-class, who were felt to be in the greatest need of assistance in controlling their emotions.

These external attempts to dampen violent behaviour, as a precursor to a greater internalisation by spectators and players of control over their emotions, were being undertaken at the very time when levels of tension-excitement were consistently being raised. Winning was important to sustain the national and local reputation of the club and for the generation of spectator revenues. The

competitive environment was also becoming more intense with the introduction of cups and leagues and the growth of Welsh national identity expressed, in part, through its rugby culture. These developments were occurring in conjunction with a growing involvement of working-class groups and a declining influence of the older founder members as lower middle-class groups took up positions of authority in the club's administration.

The club's administrators accordingly found themselves in something of a dilemma with regard to spectators. On the one hand, they were a valuable source of revenue but, on the other, spectator disorder of the type that occurred at the 1906 cup final against Bristol, had to be guarded against. The level of control the club administrators and members of the County Union could attempt to exercise had to be finely balanced. Working-class groups may well have patronised the shops and businesses of the men who ran the club, or were supervised and managed by them in places of work. Responsibility for player behaviours was to a large extent passed to the referee who was supported by the Judicial Committee of the County Union. In addition, it has been shown that, towards the end of this period, the club was prepared to take on part of the disciplinary function. The club's officials were committed to the amateur regulations, perhaps with greater sensitivity after the Shewell affair of 1893/94. However, with the exception of A. W. Vears, they were relatively less interested in enforcing, amongst players and spectators, the ethics of pure amateurism. As Holt (1992: 19-22) points out, this ethos:

was more a matter of being a gentleman than of strict compliance with the principles of amateurism. Many working-class amateurs, who accepted rules and did not take money or gamble, ignored or rejected this wider set of values, which were articles of faith amongst those who ran amateur sport.

What the club's officials did seem to be relatively more interested in, constrained as they were to cover the rent of the Kingsholm ground, was the successful management of the financial opportunities, and associated consequences, generated by the increasing involvement of members of the working-class as players and spectators.

IV

In the preceding sections attention has been drawn to the growing importance of playing and watching rugby football as part of the popular sporting culture of Gloucester and, through this, its emergence as a focus of collective community identity. It has been suggested that Gloucester FC was at the heart of this development. This section will investigate in greater detail the features of identity construction through which the rugby club came to be accorded the status of symbolic defenders of community. The period 1890/91 to 1913/14 encompasses a continuation of this process. In Chapter One, it was suggested that the earlier stage in the club's history involved a period of social hiatus where civic identity, whilst emergent, was not strong. In addition, the "moral remaking" qualities of recreation would have had some appeal to reforming middle-class groups. By the 1890s Gloucester's economic and social development contributed to a need for some form of local identity and civic pride. The city did have a Cathedral but, as demonstrated earlier, Protestant Non-Conformism had a strong hold in the city. The Cathedral was unlikely to provide a focus or symbol of collective identity except as an edifice. As a centre of high culture supported by the aristocracy and the landed gentry, the city's position was secondary to that of Cheltenham. The city's dock's trade was overshadowed by that of Bristol, and its position as a railway junction was eclipsed by that of Swindon. Around the beginning of this period, the economic structure was based on a mix of agricultural/market, engineering and retail industries. There was little in the way of an homogeneous industrial structure on which a socially encompassing local pride could be established. There were no great educational institutions in the city and its reputation for corruption, profanity and drunkenness was not an appealing one to middle class reformers. Sport offered an opportunity for national recognition and, for males, a sense of civic pride and individual identity constructed through involvement with rugby football as a game and, in particular, through association with Gloucester FC. This section is structured to investigate the key components in this process. It will identify the factors contributing to a strong popular association with the club. Secondly, it will evaluate the impact the proximity to, and interaction with, Welsh clubs had on identity formation. Finally, it will

investigate how the construction of masculinities associated with rugby football articulated with the growth of Gloucester FC as a symbolic representation of local community. These will be located in the wider context of the contribution made to the construction of gender relations.

Five quotes selected from the *Citizen* at various points during this period help to demonstrate the first component of popular association with Gloucester FC, that of the emphasis placed on a policy of recruiting players from the local community. At the 1892 Annual Dinner of the club, A. W. Vears, in his role as Club Chairman, made it clear that he wanted to:

impress upon the club, and especially upon the executive committee, to make in future the most strenuous attempts to cultivate local talent (Applause). They should try to encourage and promote a team entirely of home growth, for he was certain that there was plenty of good material in Gloucester to work upon.

He went on to claim that if they had to rely on “outside assistance” to achieve victories, “then the pride of the club, to some extent, was humbled” (*Citizen* 6.5.1892). It is no coincidence that Vears made these comments at the end of the first season at Kingsholm. The club now had its own “territory” and it seemed logical to entrust its defence to local men. As already noted, a structure had been set in place that provided a practical basis for recruitment. In 1897, at a “Smoking Concert” held to celebrate Gloucester FC’s first victory over Llanelly, the club’s President, H. J. Boughton, said that he was “proud of the Gloucester football team, because it was comprised mostly of working men” from the locality (*Citizen* 5.4.1897). Not only was local talent being used but it was also being drawn predominantly from working-class groups in the city. Boughton was, it will be remembered, one of the founding members of the club and, as such, would have felt a strong sense of “ownership” of it. However, there is evidence here of a clear reinforcement by him of the policy of incorporating working-class men into the club’s playing membership. However, once Boughton had retired from playing, his status at the club, in the County Union and with the RFU, was bound up with the successes this new playing group could achieve. External

reinforcement of the club's policy of local recruitment came a year later. In 1898 "Oval", in the *Morning Leader*, quoted a correspondent who suggested that "the City team is a model to almost every club in the county ... every man in the fifteen is born and bred in Gloucester" (*Citizen* 8.12.1898).

The above points suggest a sensitivity to, and protection of, the principle of using local players. This is evident in events after the 1905 game against New Zealand. Two members of the side, Macgregor and Mynott, who had been staying in Gloucester after the end of the tour, were selected to play for the city club against Leicester. The committee of the club assured the readers of the *Citizen* that, "no local player had been excluded" (*Citizen* 13.1.1906). In the event Macgregor, who we are told was mainly responsible for the points scored in a 20-0 victory over Leicester, appears to have been awarded honorary "Gloucestrian" status, being hoisted shoulder high and carried to the dressing rooms by the spectators. The policy of using local men appears to have been firmly established at this time although it was clearly relaxed when it was anticipated that "outsiders" could make a substantial contribution to playing success.

This raises an important aspect of this policy of local recruitment and one that came home to roost in the 1913/14 season. The success of the club was dependent upon a strong local base of players. Once this declined, towards the end of this period, as local city clubs began to fold and local town and village teams increased in status, the playing strength of Gloucester FC also declined and there was pressure to relax the policy of using only local men. "W. B." in his 1913/14 pre-season assessment of the club's prospects reluctantly admitted:

I am sorry Gloucester had to go outside the city for players, for I question if there is another club in the country which has so consistently played local talent. I know there are some members who would stick to local men under any circumstances, but I am afraid the gates would dwindle considerably if Gloucester were continually on the losing side (*Citizen* 6.9.1913).

This again raises the emphasis on winning to sustain gate revenues from what appears to have been perceived as being a fickle spectator group whose loyalty could only be relied upon should the team be consistently victorious. The

processual nature of this element of identity formation is evident here. Born initially of local pride, the continuation of this policy was contingent on success. Whilst it was thought preferable to use only local players, the need for the club to retain its growing status meant that there could be compromise.

Phillips (1996: 85) has suggested that New Zealanders, particularly after their 1905 tour of England and Wales, came to view success at Rugby football "as the very essence" of New Zealand identity. So in Gloucester key periods of status enhancement through prestigious victories came to contribute substantially to the club's growing position in local popular culture. There were, of course, many emotionally charged victories over rival clubs, too numerous to mention, that assisted in this development. However there were three key events worthy of note for the ways in which they were celebrated, and the contribution they made to constructing and reinforcing civic identity. The first, occurring fairly early on in the club's history, was the 1882/83 "invincible" season when, of the fourteen matches played, eleven were won and three drawn. The second, and embedded with greater cultural meaning, was the 1898/99 season when Gloucester beat the best four Welsh clubs, Llanelly, Swansea, Cardiff and Newport. This feat, the *Citizen* (21.3.1899) claimed, was one that, "no other English club can boast of." This prestigious achievement occurred at a time when Gloucester's team was exclusively recruited from within the City and its environs. The victory over Llanelly, who had not been defeated at their Stradey Park ground for the previous three seasons, occasioned great excitement in the city. The report in the *Citizen* of the team's homecoming gives a "flavour" of the feeling at the time:

Though it was past midnight before the Gloucester team returned home, a great crowd... between 3,000 and 4,000, assembled at the railway station to welcome the victors. On the arrival of the train... fog signals were discharged, the band played "See the conquering hero comes," and the crowd cheered vociferously. There was a rush to the saloon in which the players travelled, and all were made the recipients of the heartiest congratulations on the splendid triumph. A few of the more enthusiastic admirers persisted in shouldering some of the team, and Walter Taylor, Dicky Goddard and Bert Parham, despite their endeavours to get away, had to submit to the ordeal. On the appearance of the players outside the station terrific cheers rent the air, and were continued for some few

minutes. After some difficulty a... procession was formed, and then followed a triumphal march to the Cross. Crowds of people lined each side of Northgate street and the demonstration was of a most enthusiastic character. Red and blue fires were lighted at several places which... added to the effectiveness of the scene. At the Cross a halt was made. Walter Taylor was the centre of attraction, and cheers were again and again renewed. The band played "Auld Lang Syne" and "God Save the Queen," and after a further outburst of cheering the crowd gradually dispersed. Not since the memorable victory over Cardiff - on March 16th, 1889... has such a demonstration by football enthusiasts been seen in Gloucester, and the general excitement appeared to be greater than on that occasion (*Citizen* 14.1.1899)

The victory over Swansea at Kingsholm was greeted with huge cheers and "hats and sticks being thrown wildly in the air". The *Citizen* informed its readers that, "Gloucester had beaten their famous opponents at their own game and to this fact must be attributed the great triumph which all Gloucestersians - and in fact Englishmen too - ought to be proud" (*Citizen* 4.2.1899). Later in the week, Councillor Reardon entertained the players to a complimentary supper at the White Hart. When Newport were beaten in March the feat of defeating the four major clubs was accomplished. Special "mourning cards" (a popular practice amongst football crowds at this time was to present these cards to opposition supporters) were produced by Gloucester supporters. These are reproduced in Appendix 21. We are also told that copies of a new football song "Sons of Gloucester", composed to celebrate the victories, found a ready sale in the city (*Citizen* 28.3.1899; 21.3.1899).

As well as civic pride in the club's achievements, there may well have been an extra element of national pride in addition to that characteristically attached to games between English and Welsh clubs. The English national team had been weakened after the bifurcation of rugby into the Union and League forms in 1895, significantly affecting their success against the other "home nations". Gloucester's victories against the Welsh clubs may have been accredited with extra significance as defenders of national pride on the rugby field. Although this feat was not repeated the following year, the club was able to boast that, at the

end of the 1899/1900 season, they were undefeated by any English club. The final examples of success contributing to civic pride occurred during the 1909/10 season. Gloucester won the County Cup competition beating Lydney in the final, Gloucestershire beat Yorkshire at Kingsholm to win the English County Championship with seven Gloucester FC players in the side and the 2nd Gloucestershire Regiment won the Army Cup, defeating the 1st Leicestershire Regiment in the final. In addition, four Gloucester FC players were selected to play for England, all four playing in the match against France, and three playing together in the games against Wales and Ireland. Thus, key points of success against Welsh and English clubs, and wider national recognition, came at regular intervals for Gloucester FC. All of these events fed into popular support for, and association with, the club.

A punishment, particularly when felt to be unjust, can also contribute to the construction of identity. It is reasonable to suggest that the judgement in the 1893 "Shewell case" had such an impact on the members and supporters of Gloucester. They felt that, as adherents to the regulations of the amateur code, the suspension for alleged professionalism, by a perceived draconian RFU, was a slur on their honour. Club members and officials certainly accorded themselves the status of "local martyrs" in this instance. There is an undercurrent here, seen also in the failure to make a profit from the 1900 England v Wales international held at Kingsholm, of blaming "outsiders" not intimately connected with the club for its misfortunes. The RFU was certainly apportioned part of the blame for the loss made on the match.

Local association with the club was also reinforced with the emergence of family involvement. H. J. Boughton and his brother, W. A. Boughton were both members of the first Gloucester FC team formed in 1873. The sons of A. W. Vears, Lionel and Gordon, also played for the club prior to the First World War. Seven brothers of the Hall family, six Cook brothers and four of the Collins family, were amongst those players most notable for being drawn from single families. Prior to the First World War, the brothers, Frank and Percy Stout, both gained international honours. "W. B.", writing in a *Citizen* "special" on this theme in 1948, identified no less than twenty-two sets of brothers who played for the club

between 1873 and 1914. Later in the club's history, there were a number of instances of father and son involvement with the club. For example, Arthur Hudson, Captain of the club for five seasons during this period, held the post of Club Secretary for twenty-five years after his retirement from playing in 1913. His son Gordon captained the club during the 1940's and later became Club Chairman. The pattern of local association and management of Gloucester FC by men who were clearly insiders, attuned to the cultural centrality of the club in the sporting life of the city, was continued and sustained for long periods in Gloucester FC's history .

One final point needs to be made with regard to the evidence concerning identity formation. There are sufficient data to suggest that, whilst this was a process that cut across class groups, it had additional political and cultural elements for some middle-class groups associated with the club. The growth in membership signalled the existence of substantial middle-class support. This appears to have been reinforced by an event in 1894 when the starting time of the game against Morecambe was set at five o'clock, "to secure a better attendance of business and working men" (*Citizen* 17.3.1894). The involvement of middle-class businessmen in the administrative affairs of the club was driven not only by local pride in the successes of the team but also by pride in their role in the financial and commercial development of the club. The acquisition and development of the Kingsholm ground, along with the management of the club's financial position under the constraint of a perceived high rent, were sources of satisfaction as well as perhaps a means of self-actualisation. The commercial vibrancy of Gloucester as an expanding retail and industrial city in the 1890's provides a backdrop to the club's development. Despite Boughton's reservations as to the club's ability to undertake the purchase of the Kingsholm site, the more commercially minded men with business backgrounds felt confident in their abilities to press ahead with the scheme. The foundation of the Gloucester Old Boys club in 1904, comprising former pupils of Kings College, The Crypt and Sir Thomas Rich's schools, whilst socially exclusive, formalised this group's potential access to Gloucester FC as another local source of players. Civic dignitaries also became increasingly involved with Gloucester FC as the status of the club and popular support grew.

Local councillors regularly entertained the team and officials to complimentary suppers, especially after significant victories and successful seasons. The MP for Gloucester between 1900 and 1910, Russell Rea, regularly entertained the team to supper and booked tickets for them to the theatre or the music hall after a London fixture. In contrast to other less prestigious individuals berated at the 1900 AGM for buying drink for the players, Councillors and MP's appear to have been exempted from criticism for providing something similar (*Citizen* 11.6.1900).

In this exploration of local identity formation there are sufficient data to support Jarvie's (1993: 76) suggestion that there are at least three components that assist in forming collective identities. There are examples of two of these. Firstly, "a sense of continuity between the experiences or examples of succeeding generations" and, secondly, of "shared memories of specific events and personages which have been turning points...". In this latter connection, "W. B.", in his long tenure as sports reporter for the *Citizen*, regularly transmitted his recollections of past players and events. Oral transmission of events and comparisons of past players amongst supporters would also have been a feature in the tightly-knit Gloucester communities. Other identifiable opportunities for the sharing of memories include players becoming committeemen at the end of their playing careers and the preponderance of families involved with the club. In addition, the practice of awarding caps and testimonials to players, and "honours boards" erected in the clubhouse celebrating club captains, international players from the club, and club officials, are mechanisms that enhance recollection of important events or individuals. Again following Jarvie (1993: 14), this quest for identity may have involved varying degrees of mythologising, romanticising and invention, as well as accurate factual recollections. What is clear in this context is the rich menu of events and experiences from which a diet of collective local identity could be chosen. Class-consciousness could always be appealed to in this connection. It was not too far below the surface when the *Citizen's* sports correspondent opined that if Willie Hall, a Gloucester half-back during the early 1900s, "had been a public schoolboy and represented a London club, he would have walked into the England team".

There is also some evidence of nostalgia being used to season collective recollections as early as the 1891/92 season. With regard to the conflict within the club already mentioned regarding the “malcontents” who refused to play unless their friends were selected, we are told that, “in the good old days, everything was worked as amicably as possible, and the players agreed as well as bees in a hive. Things are very different now” (*Citizen* 16.3.1892). The incident does highlight how nostalgia can be used as a weapon to confront challenges to the position of dominant groups and valued behaviours, suggesting that current patterns of behaviour are somehow worse than when these groups exerted a greater degree of control. After the turn of the century, the expression of nostalgia was formulated more in terms of an inability to compete on the same level as the Welsh clubs and the numerical decline of local men in the team (*Citizen* 2.3.1908; 11.10.1913).

The third component of identity formation suggested by Jarvie, “a sense of common destiny” (1993: 76), is much more difficult to pin down. It can be tentatively suggested that the playing reputation of Gloucester FC, and with it a sense of territoriality, was sufficiently established during this period to allow use of the concept of “defended neighbourhood” (Dunning, Murphy and Williams, 1988: 201-203). In the context of Gloucester FC, this pattern of behaviour manifested itself not so much against groups of opposition supporters - there is little evidence of fighting between groups of supporters at Gloucester during this period - but against what were perceived to be biased and/or incompetent touch judges and referees, and against opposing teams. Kingsholm was becoming what Bale (1994: 120-147) has described as “eulogised space”. The defence of it was more the responsibility of the local men of the Gloucester team than groups of spectators fighting for territory. The cartoon in Appendix 7 indicates the intensity of this responsibility, and the “fortress” quality of this site. Two examples may illustrate the topophilic qualities of Kingsholm, at least for the Gloucester players. The first is the observation made at the end of the 1900/01 season that Gloucester FC produced better results at Kingsholm than when playing against the same clubs in Wales (*Citizen* 22.4.1901). At the same time as this was being established, those associated with the club were attempting to

differentiate Gloucester FC on the basis that they were a club from a strong rugby-playing community. After travelling to a fixture in Stratford in 1891, the *Citizen's* journalist recounts how, on their arrival at Stratford station, they were asked, "Is there much football in Gloucester?" The report continues, "Our reply with a laugh was that football is about the only thing Gloucester people go mad upon" (*Citizen* 12.3.1891). The interdependence of these features of the construction of local identity, a sense of defended community, topophilia and status differentiation based on local recruitment, seems to offer a coherent explanation of a "common destiny" invested in every player who represented the club. It also brought with it an obligation to sustain this collective representation of community.

Identity is also constructed in conjunction with, and in contrast to, significant others. For Gloucester, nowhere was this process more keenly felt than against Welsh clubs. These were mutually reinforcing relationships, viewed in large part as community virility contests, against a background of emerging identities. High immigration in Wales, with around forty per cent of it from the South-West of England, including many from Gloucester, the Forest of Dean and Somerset, had led to a socially heterogeneous population (Smith and Williams, 1980: 103; Williams, 1989: 316). With no soccer playing tradition imported into Wales, it has been argued that rugby football, as part of the cultural realm, was used to assist in the construction of a Welsh national identity (Holt, 1989: 247; Andrews, 1991: 335). The nationalist ambitions of an industrial bourgeoisie were instrumental in the attempts to create a nation which would both contrast with and complement England. This is a feature of Welsh identity formation that Andrews (1991: 349) succinctly describes as a, "distinct Welsh nation within the confines of a predatory British Imperial structure". This "duality of condition", he claims, was a product of actively seeking a position of prominence in an Imperial structure dominated by the hegemonic influence of British capitalism. The adoption of rugby football was therefore part of an emergent rather than a solidifying element in the construction of a national identity during this period. The period 1890-1914 represented the zenith of the modern Welsh nation and ensconced within it,

between 1900-11, was what has been described as Welsh rugby's first "golden age" (Andrews, 1996: 53-61).

In 1890 at Dewsbury, Wales beat England for the first time and, by 1892/93, they were the Five Nations Champions. The "Arthur Gould affair" of 1896/97 did for Wales what the "Shewell case" in 1893/94 did for Gloucester FC in terms of identity formation. The Welsh Football Union (WFU) withdrew from the IB in late February 1897 after the international governing body had refused to sanction a national testimonial for the famous Welsh international, Arthur "Monkey" Gould. As a consequence there were no international fixtures between Wales and the other "home nations" from January 1897 to March 1898. Under pressure from English clubs, including Gloucester who were reluctant to lose lucrative Welsh fixtures, the RFU in September 1897 "professionalised" Gould, but allowed him to play against English clubs. The IB ultimately readmitted Wales in February 1898, confirming the assertion by the WFU of their relative autonomy in the cultural realm of rugby football (Smith and Williams, 1980: 92-97). The 1905 victory against Gallagher's touring New Zealand side, the only game the New Zealanders lost, has also been identified as a defining moment in the incorporation of rugby into Welsh national identity (Williams, 1989: 317-318; 1988: 129-143). This victory reinforced the status of Wales in the British Empire and led to a mythologising of the physical capabilities of the "Celt" in an attempt to create a brand of Welsh patriotism built on supposedly racial characteristics. As Williams (1988: 130) points out, such ideas had a "special resonance in an Edwardian Wales of political self-confidence, cultural creativity, national self-awareness and material prosperity."

It was against this background of identity construction, both Welsh and Gloucesterian, that struggles on the rugby field took place. Intense competition and sometimes open hostility, were characteristic of many of these encounters. It has already been shown that, after the turn of the century, the number of incidents of excessively violent play involving Gloucester FC and the Welsh clubs increased, as the process of identity formation intensified. However, this was more than a fundamentally antagonistic relationship based on a community virility contest with rugby as the battleground. Firstly, Gloucester FC felt that they had

played a role in transmitting the “short-passing game” to Wales. Secondly, the relationship with Cardiff over the development of what came to be called the “four three-quarters” system which Gloucester claimed they pioneered - albeit in a different formation - is evidence of mutual respect between the two groups. Thirdly, Gloucester FC was also learning from, and adapting to, an emerging “Welsh style” of playing rugby football that placed emphasis on vigorous work amongst the forwards to provide ball for the “clever passing” manoeuvres of the backs. The nature of this mutual respect is aptly summed up in a quote in the *Citizen*. It came from the *South Wales Daily News* and claimed, “Although we of Wales hate to be beaten by an English club, we take it a trifle better from Gloucester than any other English team” (*Citizen* 2.12.1911).

There was also a financial relationship binding these groups together based on spectator revenues. In this instance, it is likely that Gloucester needed the Welsh clubs more than the Welsh clubs needed Gloucester. There are three features that offer some support for this hypothesis. Firstly, the “Gould Affair” demonstrated that the WFU was quite prepared to surrender established international fixtures with England, Scotland and Ireland and, at one point in the dispute, fixtures between Welsh and English clubs were threatened. Whilst the Welsh clubs were confident of their ability to survive on gate-money generated by fixtures purely between Welsh teams, the response at Gloucester FC bordered on the apoplectic. The cancelling of attractive and lucrative fixtures with the Welsh clubs was regarded as “a very serious thing financially”. The ability of the club to “maintain its prestige as a first-class club” was threatened and of course there was the issue of the rent of the Kingsholm ground: “Take away the Welsh games and where should we be in regard to the £275 rent for the Kingsholm ground?”, one prominent supporter worriedly asked (*Citizen* 28.1.1897). The club’s position was made clear in the *Citizen*. They were prepared to side with the Welsh clubs even if it meant breaking from the RFU. As was pointed out: “Whatever step Gloucester took would no doubt be followed by the majority of the clubs in the County, and if Devon and Somerset also went with the Welshmen there would not be much to fear” (*Citizen* 23.2.1897). The accommodation achieved between the WRFU and the RFU appears to have averted another

potential split in English rugby football. The confidence of the Welsh clubs in their collective power was again felt by Gloucester FC in 1901 when the club attempted to cancel fixtures against Llanelli on account of the five hours of travelling this match entailed. The threat by other Welsh clubs to cancel their fixtures with Gloucester quickly led to a change of policy (*Citizen* 22.4.1901). Finally, in order to retain these fixtures, the officials at Gloucester would have had to accept the “blindsides remuneration” of Welsh players that Williams (1988: 317) suggests was common amongst Welsh clubs at this time. Although ethically opposed to this aspect of professionalisation, the Gloucester officials probably felt that this was an issue for the Welsh RFU to deal with and resist. In summary, the emergence of rugby football as a cultural feature of “Welshness” shifted the balance of power between Gloucester and the Welsh clubs further towards the latter. Financial considerations constrained Gloucester to maintain this relationship and to accommodate to the growing confidence of the Welsh in their collective identity. The mutual respect which characterised relationships between these groups was of great benefit in this regard. Thus, the cultural identity of Gloucester FC was in part both defined by relationships with Welsh clubs and played a part in defining Welshness through fixtures in which both local community and national rivalry were deeply embedded.

The playing of rugby football in Gloucester, valued as a source of collective identity, was also an important expression of masculine identity. This was not confined simply to participation but also extended to, and incorporated, groups of officials and spectators. It was, therefore, a significant cultural element contributing to the construction of a local identity built around rugby football. The analysis will explore the nature, extent and subtleties of the construction of masculine identities as they articulated with the playing, spectating and administration of rugby football associated with Gloucester FC. A number of assumptions have been made, and a particular descriptive approach has been taken, in developing this theme. It is assumed that gender construction is a social process. That is, it is historically and socially variable, and is influenced by, and can generate, fluctuations in power-relations between groups.

At this point it is worth elaborating on a “figuralist” approach to the relationships between gender relations and sport. It is argued that modern sport emerged as part of a “civilising process” involving a “sportization of pastimes” that, it is suggested, occurred in two main phases:

An 18th century phase in which changes in the personality and habitus of the predominantly landed ruling classes took place largely in conjunction with “the parliamentarization of political conflict”, leading these groups to develop more regularised, controlled and civilised forms of hunting, horse racing, boxing and cricket; and a 19th century phase which saw the emergence of more regularised forms of track and field athletics and mountaineering (Donnelly 1982), but, above all, the early development of more civilised ball games such as soccer, rugby, hockey and tennis (Dunning and Maguire 1996: 301).

Accompanying this “incipient modernisation” of sports there was as, Maguire (1986: 269) puts it, a:

transformation in the ideal of gentlemanly behaviour - more civilised conceptions of violence control and manly conduct were emerging and found expression in the organisation, regulation and playing of these games.

The relevance of this historical analysis of the development of sport to the construction of gender relations is as follows. It opens up the potential for sport to become a focus for the “inculcation, expression and perpetuation of masculine habituses, identities, behaviours and ideals” particularly where, as a consequence of increasing state control over other forms of violent masculine behaviours, they may be circumscribed (Dunning and Maguire, 1996: 295). In addition, stages in this process of pacification are accompanied by corresponding images of masculinity and femininity concomitant with an equalising of power chances between the sexes (Dunning, 1986a). Thus there should be, observable in the social construction of sport at any historical moment, manifestations of the structure of gender relations based on prevalent notions of masculinity and femininity. Maguire (1986) points out that these notions associated with civilising

processes, need not be, and in fact were not, universal across all social classes. Competing ideals of masculinity were evident in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain differentially affecting class groups. Even so, for many male groups at this time, sport was a primary masculinity validating experience. The empirical issues to be investigated in the context of rugby playing and spectating in Gloucester are the forms of masculinity that are being validated and the ways they contribute to the structuring of social relations between males and females and within groups of males.

Sheard and Dunning (1981) identify the period between, roughly, the 1850s and 1870s as one in which rugby football began to be established as a game for upper and middle-class adults in Britain, mainly through its adoption by the public schools. The bifurcation, in 1863, of football into "Rugby" and "Association" variants, essentially over the issue of permissible levels of violence, underpinned the adherence of the advocates of "Rugby" football to a conception of manliness that stressed, to a greater degree than Association football, courage and physical strength (Dunning and Sheard, 1979). In addition, Sheard and Dunning (1981) point out that, in the second half of the 19th century, rugby football began to emerge as one of the principal enclaves where traditional upper and middle-class norms of masculinity could, often in extreme form, be expressed. They suggest that the rugby club came to function as a male preserve for this group of adult males. These males were increasingly finding it difficult, in the industrial-urban conditions in which they lived, and as a result of the growing pressure by women drawn from their social group who were involved in the suffragette movement, to find expression in their everyday lives for their traditional masculine behavioural norms. One extreme form of behaviour in the social enclave of the rugby club was the ritualised objectification, mocking and vilification of women, primarily through the singing of obscene songs. Empirical evidence in relation to events at Gloucester FC suggests a partial refutation of this hypothesis.

Between 1890 and 1914, a number of male only events, in the form of Annual Dinners, Smoking Concerts and celebration concerts, were organised by club officials. These events traditionally involved club members and players being asked to sing songs as part of the musical entertainment of the evening. The

nature of this musical programme was contained in the *Citizen's* reports of these events. For example, we are told that, on April 26th 1894, following a match between a Gloucestershire and South Wales team and Yorkshire:

The first item... was a selection on the Fairy Bells, by Mr J. Blatt, which was well received, then Mr Brandon gave a robust rendition of "The Vagabond" (*Molloy*), after which Mr J. B. Jones sang "The Last Watch" (*Pinsuli*) with sweetness and vigour.... Mr Hubert J. Langford in a humorous musical sketch entitled "The Silver Wedding", showed no mean imitative and farcical powers, particularly in one recital, "The Dustman on the Stairs", an amusing and clever parody of the stage-struck gentleman, which convulsed the audience. Then followed a comic song... "The Shop Walker", ably rendered by Mr G. Belcher, which elicited applause. Then,... Mr Tom Hay gave his comic song in character, "How I played Football". The exaggerated grotesqueness of the "make-up" was sufficient to send the assembly into roars of laughter, which was continued as the song and amusing patter (with local allusions) was unfolded.

Other events reveal a similar pattern of comic songs and recitals, as well as renditions with a sporting and military flavour. It is reasonable to suggest that these events were a celebration of masculine activities. Indeed, in the event mentioned, an exhibition of boxing was incorporated into the programme. There may well have been some mocking of women, as well as of other men as seems to be the case with the items, "The Silver Wedding", "How I played Football", and "The Dustman on the Stairs". There is, however, in all of the reported events that can be found, little evidence of the objectification and vilification of women to the degree suggested by Sheard and Dunning. However, it must be taken into account that these were publicly reported events. Whilst, in private, less savoury behaviours may have been the subject of greater tolerance, in these instances, a specific form of "gentlemanly" behaviour appears to have been prioritised. Furthermore, a process of democratisation of the playing members of the club was evident during this time, following a period of rapid diffusion and adoption of rugby football by local working-class groups. The concerts and dinners may have provided a vehicle for a display by the influential middle-class organisers of the events, of what constituted "gentlemanly" behaviour at Gloucester FC. Thirdly,

the social composition of the local middle-class suggest that it was unlikely that many of them would have attended the prestigious public schools as boarders where the more traditional norms of masculinity identified by Sheard and Dunning (1981) may have been more prevalent. Finally, in many rugby clubs at this time, Gloucester FC included, players changed and had their post-match tea and entertainment at local hotels. It is unlikely that obscene songs and the behaviours identified by Sheard and Dunning would have occurred in these relatively more public spaces, even if private rooms were used. It is more likely that the rugby club as an enclave for the ritualised vilification and objectification of women would have been initiated when clubs had acquired sufficient financial resources to provide their own clubhouses. In conclusion, it is reasonable to suggest that, at this stage in the development of rugby, the rugby club was emerging as a male preserve. However, the singing of obscene songs and "taboo-breaking" probably did not form as significant an element of behaviour as has been suggested. At the very least, there were local variants as dominant groups, usually middle-class, attempted to exert sufficient influence to restrict its occurrence.

Sport is also a site where gender is constructed and reaffirmed. Dunning (1986a: 282) suggests that, with regard to the production and reproduction of masculine identity, "sport appears to be of only secondary importance", playing only a "reinforcing role". Primary socialisation, he suggests, takes place at an early age mainly through the family and in the context of the level of violence and insecurity in the wider society - although community variations may be evident - commensurate with the stage reached in a "civilising-process". Whilst it is not to be doubted that this can and does occur, sport may well have a more powerful role in the generation of a structured pattern of male domination based predominantly on the physical capabilities of the male body relative to that of women. This is a complex point and requires some elaboration to clarify the argument. Sports do signal, and powerfully reinforce, socially constructed differences between males and females. Most sports are, after all, constructed to demonstrate what are traditionally regarded as male physical qualities of speed, strength and power, but they also create differences. Rugby football is a case in

point. It is arguably one of the more heavily masculinised sports regarding the use of the body, with substantial value placed on the giving and taking of physical punishment. This element is a key one in the construction of masculinity in the context of rugby and, as a corollary, the construction of a difference between men and women. The adoption of rugby as the major winter sport can be expected to have generated an additional component to constructions of masculinity. Given that a significant cultural attachment to rugby football emerged amongst groups of males in Gloucester, it can be anticipated that association with the game would be deeply imbued with traditional and locally negotiated notions of masculinity. It is also likely that these changes would have been implicated in the structuring of gender differences. Background developments to the changing construction of "manliness" in sport during this period, and in rugby football, are noted by Chandler (1996: 14). He claims:

by about 1880 the dominant elements of the concept of manliness had also changed from the serious, self-denying rectitude of the early Victorian period and the moral manliness of the "Age of Equipoise", to the stylised robustness, persevering stoicism and the almost "ungentle" manliness of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras which was typified by the Darwinian notion of "strength through struggle" What began as Christian manliness was transformed through muscular Christianity to become "muddled - oafishness" by the end of the century.

Thus, if the construction of what it was to be a man, at least in sport, can change, it is to be anticipated that the construction of what it meant to be different from a woman changed with it. An outcome of this was a growing separation from women. This "separateness" is evoked in a quote used by Jock Phillips (1987: 130), to conclude his study of the role of rugby football played in the construction of male identity in New Zealand.

"You do not love me?" he cried, rubbing his hands till his 15-carat gold-plated ring bit his finger. "You will not be my wife?" That is your final answer! Then goodbye." He turned to the door, his great frame shaking with bitter sobs.

"Stay, where are you going?" she screamed, fearful lest he might do something desperate.

He folded his arms and raised his eyes ceiling-wards. "I am going," he said firmly, "to join a football club." Her worst fears were realised.

However, the incorporation of women into a heavily masculinised sphere such as contact team sports, can challenge the physical basis on which masculine identity is constructed in the wider social structure. As Hargreaves (1994) points out, the social history of the development of female sports and physical education in the U. K. from the late nineteenth century until the Second World War reveals how women contested popular definitions of their biologies. They also challenged, with varying degrees of success, patriarchal relations built on this basis. In short, the process of constructing masculine identity through sport appears to involve something more than simply a reinforcement of gender differences.

The final assumption draws on the work of Messner and Sabo (1990: 11-12), specifically their view that sport is involved in the construction of a "gender order" based on dominant notions of masculinity, what the authors identify as "hegemonic" masculinity. It is, of course, the case that the reverse is true in that the prevailing gender order has also been involved in the "social construction" of sport at any given time. They argue that the structuring of power relations between men and between men and women, the outcome of which is a "gender order", is a dynamic process. Also, that at any historical moment, there are competing masculinities, some of which are dominant, some marginalised and others stigmatised. Hegemonic masculinity is therefore related to other forms of masculinity and importantly to femininities, encapsulating a culturally idealised form of masculine character. The implication here is that power-relations are crucial in determining what comes to constitute a dominant masculine culture. In addition, the polymorphous and mutable characteristics of what constitutes "masculinity" can provide the basis of identity for different groups in different ways.

In exploring the process of constructing masculine identities, and the role rugby football played in the specific social context of Gloucester during this period, a

particular descriptive approach has been taken that it is anticipated will shed light on the contested nature of this process. It will identify the impact of rugby football on groups of males as they made the transition from boyhood, through their schooling to adolescence, to manhood and to the age when participation in a rough contact sport such as rugby was deemed to be inadvisable. Woven into this will be the similarities and differences experienced by males from different social classes and the position of males, who although perhaps they did not play rugby themselves, were intimately involved with the management of the club. The investigation will conclude with some products of the research that illustrates the position of women in this context.

Young males in Gloucester appear to have been regarded as something of a problem during this period. Evidence has been presented in this and preceding chapters with regard to the concerns expressed over their unsupervised leisure activities. These included the playing of football and use of bad language in the park, naked bathing in the canal and as elements contributing to mild forms of spectator disorder at Gloucester's home fixtures. Public concern was also expressed in the *Citizen* over their commercial activities at Gloucester's railway station, where groups of enterprising lads allegedly pestered travellers into having their boots cleaned. The response of the city's administrators to what were called the "Bootblack Boys" was to formalise this activity by offering them membership of a "Shoeblack Brigade" identifiable by, we are told, a "special cap, tunic and belt" to be provided by the City Corporation. This suggests a preference for policies of incorporation and control rather than prohibition (*Citizen* 30.1.1886). The prevalence of large families, small domestic accommodation in the working-class areas, along with the relative lack of open space, were background factors that meant that this group of male youths sought recreational activities outside the home and with other boys from the locality in similar circumstances.

Attempts to influence their use of leisure time and participation in sports was most powerfully exerted through the schools. For boys attending the local working-class Elementary schools, opportunities to play rugby were organised by schoolmasters. These were voluntary activities undertaken outside school hours

on Saturday mornings. By this time, the playing of rugby football was well established amongst the local community. This makes it likely that the schoolboys' fathers and older brothers may have been playing the game which, with its alleged suitability to the "wilder tastes" of the boys, would have added to its ready adoption. It may also have been that the masters believed rugby football to be more intimately associated with manliness and moral qualities, relative to soccer with its attendant "professionalism". However it was not long before rugby playing schools in Gloucester became incorporated into the competitive structure of local rugby through cup and league competitions. A number of factors contributed to the growth and incorporation of working class boys into the local rugby playing fabric. They include the regular reports of fixtures in the local newspaper, formal organisation in the County Union, the success of the Gloucester Schools team in a County Cup competition and the selection for international honours of Gloucester schoolboys. It was also the case, as demonstrated earlier, that an attempt was made to equate the sporting success of the working-class schoolboys selected to play for England, with moral qualities associated with their school attendance and academic performance

The local middle-class Grammar schools, on the other hand, switched to or retained the playing of soccer. Association football was the code initially chosen by the masters. The transition to the playing of rugby in these Gloucester schools only occurred at the beginning of the 1904/05 season. The initial choice of soccer may have reflected the use of this sport as a badge of social differentiation in a community where rugby was gaining a strong foothold amongst the working class. Whilst this may have been a deliberate policy on the part of these schools to assert their identity, it cannot be discounted that the working-class schools also adopted this strategy. Furthermore, as this was initially the only organised sport for schoolboys, it may have contributed to a notion of masculinity that soccer was a game for boys, and rugby one for men.

At this early stage in the sporting development of young males, there appears to be a degree of social differentiation bound up with notions of masculinity embedded in the different sports the boys played. The cheaper entry prices for boys at Gloucester FC, and the financial assistance given to schools' teams by

the club, confirms the status of these boys as not yet ready, economically or physically, to take a place in the adult male world.

At the end of their compulsory schooling at fourteen years of age, adolescent working-class males could go on to join teams set up specifically for fourteen to seventeen year olds. These teams were formed two seasons prior to the middle-class schools adopting rugby. They were organised around a league, and later a cup competition. The boys' eligibility for teams, and the competitive structure, was constructed on a district residency basis, again reinforcing attachment to locality. Schoolboy and "junior" teams played on Saturday mornings. This had the benefit of taking up what would have otherwise been unsupervised leisure time. For many of these boys from working-class backgrounds, employment in the docks or in the industrial or agricultural sectors, usually involving manual labour, awaited them. Physical toughness would have been valued by these young men, and status amongst their peers could have been acquired on this basis.

This, then, was part of the social world that young adults were being initiated into as rugby players. They may have moved on to play in parish or workplace teams as they got older where, again, competitive rivalry was encouraged through cup and league competitions. Gloucester FC used these as "feeder" clubs, recruiting players into what one official at the 1895 AGM called the "nursery" of the clubs "A" team (*Citizen* 14.6.1895). The trials for new players at the start of each season also employed a descriptor of immaturity, calling them "Colts" teams to locate the social position of these players in relation to the club's senior first team players.

Should a young man have been good enough to be selected to play for the club on a regular basis, he would have found, particularly if his recruitment occurred in the last decade of the century, attitudes regarding the acceptable levels of violence in a state of flux. Up to the mid-1880s, the tradition bequeathed by Francis Hartley with regard to the use of violence - he came from a club which played under Rugby's rules but without "tripping" and "hacking" - appears to have gained a strong hold on a socially homogeneous group of lower middle-class men. As rugby football diffused into working-class communities and Gloucester

FC began to recruit from local clubs, conflicts began to emerge over the extent to which physical force could be used as a representation of masculinity. Also, incorporated into the notion of masculinity held by middle-class groups, was a moral code often associated with the tenets of "Muscular Christianity". Amongst the social attributes that were to help construct a "manly" character were notions of the social equality of players on the rugby field, an understanding of one's fellows, the virtue of co-operation in conjunction with personal responsibility, loyalty and pride. These features, liberally interpreted, were often espoused at General Meetings, Players' Suppers and other events connected with the club. These were essentially bourgeois notions and whilst, in the early days of the club, they may have been used to celebrate the moral worth of its players, by the 1890s they were being articulated in a more evangelical tone. The incorporation of a greater number of working men into the club required, at least in the minds of the controlling middle-class group, a periodic reaffirmation of these values to counter the less desirable elements of male working-class culture identified as drinking, gambling, swearing and fighting.

Another technique used to assist in the adoption by working-class recruits of the moral qualities of manliness espoused by the club's officials, was an invented concept of an "ideal working-man" player. "W. B." articulated this concept in the *Citizen* in his descriptions of players. Two examples illustrate this point. In his appreciation of the Gloucester half-back, J. Stephens, in 1910, he said of the retiring player:

In every respect Stephens has been the ideal of a working man player and his conduct on and off the field has earned for him the highest respect of players and spectators wherever he has appeared (*Citizen* 10.11.1910).

Tommy Bagwell, captain in 1890/91 and 1891/92, was also promoted as a role model for working-class players of what could be achieved by hard work, training and a sober lifestyle. When these behavioural expectations were transgressed, as in the case of the "malcontents" of the 1891/92 season where loyalty to friends was greater than loyalty to the club, retribution was visited upon the miscreants. They were denounced in the local press and often dropped from the team. Even

the highly regarded England international forward, Sid Smart, experienced this treatment when "W. B." claimed that, if the player took up an offer to turn professional at the end of the 1913/14 season, "I shall have lost all faith in the sporting qualities of the artisan footballer" (*Citizen* 18.4.1914).

The power of the founding group of middle-class members, whilst still sufficient to influence strongly what constituted the dominant culture at the club, was declining. Accommodation and negotiation was the order of the day if the club was to retain its playing status and its appeal to working-class spectators. Working-class players were required to curb their more aggressive tendencies and at least appear to adopt some of the bourgeois notions of manliness. However, as Maguire (1986: 266) points out, adherence to their notion of manliness may not have fundamentally altered. The roughness and physical demands of rugby football would, after all, have had some consonance with the physical demands of their work experiences.

For the middle-class administrators, the key to the problem lay in reconciling competing and overlapping views of masculinity in a way that accorded with notions of "internal coherence" and "external validity" (Mangan and Walvin, 1986: 3). Internal coherence involved a fusion of working-class values of aggressive competitiveness and predominantly middle-class views on the limits of physical violence and the moral qualities of a "manly" character. This proved difficult, particularly as "manliness" was at this time something of a confused moral concept, embracing a constellation of behavioural attributes (Mangan, 1981: 135). The mutability of this notion would have been helpful in this context. Aggressive competitiveness could have been valued alongside courtesy in triumph, success alongside victory within the rules, and ruthlessness with a gracious acceptance of defeat. The formulation of what was to constitute the "manly" character of the Gloucester FC rugby footballer was probably of greater concern to the definers than the defined! External validity rested on the continued achievement of success, not only against Welsh clubs where the test of masculinity was most intense, but also to gain national status amongst English clubs. To achieve this the club had to be seen as committed to the amateur regulations, remain within the bounds of socially tolerated levels of violence and,

in doing so, show some attachment to the ethical and moral values held by the national administrators of the game at the RFU.

It is clear that the use of the body was central to the construction of masculinity. In practical playing terms this was embodied in the giving and taking of "hard knocks". At Gloucester FC, the wing three-quarter Charles "Whacker" Smith, was renowned for, and derived his nickname from, his fierce tackling. In another example we are also told, by a *Citizen* journalist, that Tom Collins, a Gloucester forward, was "laid out" after a blow to his stomach from an opponent's knee and was moved to full-back. The report went on to point out that, "the job was too slow for the sturdy one, who was unable to contain himself there, and got into the squash again after an absence of duty of about ten minutes" (*Citizen* 14.3.1891). However there was more to working-class masculinity than simply physical strength and courage. As Martens (1996: 46) elaborates:

Feats of physical prowess were admired and encouraged, and the handling code offered many young men the opportunity to display their abilities and establish their reputations. Deception and trickery were also aspects of working-class male culture and players from the lower orders brought this to the game.

At Gloucester FC, there is evidence to support this blend of physical prowess and mental agility. R. C. Jenkins, a player in the mid-1890's, was reputed to have walked nine miles from Newent, played a hard game for the club, and then walked home again. "W. B.", in a 1913 edition of the *Citizen*, tells of Sid Smart who, returning to the city in the early hours of Sunday morning after representing England against Scotland, changed immediately into his working clothes to start work at six o'clock that morning (*Clutterbuck Lecture*, 26.9.1951). Tommy Bagwell, was renowned for both his physical accomplishments and his tactical awareness. Another working man, Harry Taylor, was praised for his "judicious kicking". These players clearly embodied attributes of working-class masculinity but also demonstrated that they, and others like them, were capable of greater mental creativity than their jobs allowed.

It is no surprise that the size and physical condition of the players became a subject of fascination in this environment. When the 1905 New Zealand "All Blacks" touring side visited Gloucester in October, the *Citizen* carried details of the players' height and weight. This was allied with comments on their physical condition. The Mayor of Gloucester expressed his belief, in a speech given at the commemorative dinner, that the physical condition of the New Zealanders was the product of the "freedom and fresh air" of their native land (*Citizen* 20.10.1905). Phillips (1989: 118) and Nauright (1991) confirm this feature of "outdoor life" as being one of a constellation of attributes that came to define New Zealand masculinity. The latter author also draws attention to the relational nature of different masculinities. Concerns were raised after this tour over the perceived physical decline of the British male in contrast to the abilities of the colonials. The message was clear, physical toughness in a man was valued and could lead to the individual being accorded superior social status. Furthermore, these essentially individual characteristics were readily translated into a collective nationalist rhetoric.

The local "Gloucester variant" was, through the playing of rugby, structured to reflect the physical maturity and capabilities at schoolboy, adolescent and adult club level. For working-class groups the dominant mode of physicality was based on the working life of many of the participants that often involved physical labour in the docks, industrial engineering and agriculture. Additionally, it is likely that those players drawn from local grammar schools, and their associated "old boys" clubs, would place greater emphasis on athleticism as a component of masculinity. The use of the body, and control over it through assiduous training, had the triple benefit of promoting sober and restrained lifestyles, the maintenance of collective identity by contributing to the success of the club, and the construction and maintenance of a physiologically based component of masculinity.

There was also an interesting local contribution to the construction of masculinity derived from the tradition of military service in Gloucester. The Gloucestershire Regiment was formed from an amalgamation of the 28th and 61st Foot in 1881. The 28th recruited heavily from the North of the county, with a large proportion of

the lower ranks being drawn from the labouring classes and factory workers in the city, becoming the 1st Battalion of the "Glo'sters" after amalgamation. As an infantry unit, this newly formed regiment drew on the historical traditions of physical hardness born from the privations experienced by infantry soldiers, and reputations based on their fighting qualities. These had become symbolised in 1801, after the Battle of Alexandria, when the regiment was given the honour of wearing two badges, one at the front and the other at the rear of their caps. This was to commemorate the "back to back" fighting of a section of the 28th Regiment who repelled French cavalry units that had broken through the ranks and attacked from the rear. In fact it was the action of a quick thinking officer, Lt. Colonel Chambers, who turned one of the firing ranks to the rear to repel the attack (Museum of the Gloucester Regiment, Gloucester Docks; Gloucester: Newbold and Beresford, 1982: 19; Daniell, 1978: 79-84). However, it appears that this action has been incorporated into local folk-lore and the two cap badges, still worn today by the "Glo'sters", are a symbol of the fighting qualities of local men. Secondly, one Gloucester player, Fred Goulding, who had been on the verge of selection for the England team, enlisted with the regiment to fight in the Boer War. The *Citizen* ran a special section reproducing letters he sent to the newspaper in which he described his activities in training camp (which involved playing rugby football) and later his experiences "from the front". These come to an abrupt halt when he was captured and held prisoner-of-war by the Boers. Thirdly, at the outbreak of the First World War, virtually the whole of Gloucester's playing membership joined the 5th Gloucestershire Regiment (*Citizen* 16.12.1914). It is therefore likely that the fighting qualities of local men, enshrined in local military tradition, were an additional component of local masculine identity.

Emphasis on the physical component of masculinity leads to the question of how male status is maintained, particularly in a sporting context, when physical powers decline, leading to retirement from the playing of sport. This is also pertinent where non-rugby playing males are involved in some capacity as administrators. At Gloucester FC this problem was reconciled through older or ex-players being given the status of "Father" or "G. O. M." ("Grand-Old-Man").

Occasionally this status was recognised through a “testimonial” (i.e. a collection to provide a gift) on their retirement, or the awarding of life membership of the club. Others seemed to have remained in a predominantly male environment by becoming local publicans (*Citizen* 26.10.1946; 3.1.1903; 11.1.1907). Administrators of the club, with little or no playing record, were in a more ambiguous position. Their status was gained primarily through their business acumen in managing the club's finances, or as guardians of its moral and ethical basis through the concept of being a good “sportsman”. Here the term was used in a paradoxical sense to accord status, not to their physical capabilities, but to demonstrations of their affective ties with the club. In speeches made at AGMs and dinners, the hosts, usually local M. Ps, councillors and other notables, were accorded this status along with long-serving committeemen on the basis of their voluntary service, generosity and fairness. It is instructive to note events when this “code” was transgressed. This was the case with A. Gleave who caused resentment on the part of some committee members in 1912 by organising an Easter tour to France using Gloucester FC players during the club's busy holiday programme. There was also conflict with the Northampton committee in 1911 over the alleged poaching of a Gloucester player, F. Hancock, by the Midlands club. Senior members of Gloucester FC reacted indignantly in both cases to what they perceived to be the violation of this behavioural code. In the case of Gleave, his actions were castigated at the 1912 AGM and occasioned the resignations of some committeemen. In the case of Northampton, the club threatened to sever playing links, even though the committee thought it would be “a thousand pities to break with Mobbs and his men who are thundering good sports” (*Citizen* 13.2.1911).

It is in this area that the intersection of masculine identity with increased role differentiation between players and administrators can be observed. The players were often prepared to leave matters of principle to the committeemen, for example, over playing tours and Good Friday fixtures. The senior committeemen were happy to take on this role since it was a key expression of their manly “sporting” commitment to the club. This separation of roles was further endorsed at the end of this period. Players, rather than the committee, elected their team

Captains. In this way, and in those previously mentioned, the construction of masculinity in the context of rugby playing in Gloucester involved multi-layered status differentiation, both within rugby and between it and other team sports. This was built around notions of masculinity that changed over the life of an individual. They were centred primarily, but not exclusively in terms of masculine status, on the use of the male's physical capabilities.

A key reinforcing element of this construction of masculinity was the success of the club, not only against other rugby clubs, but also relative to the local soccer club. The success of Gloucester FC was easily translated into civic pride. Collective identity and valued components of masculinity were fused in the inter- and intra-community virility contests. The playing of rugby, a rougher and more physically demanding game than soccer, was accorded greater social status in the community by both working and middle class males. In this way social significance was attached to the choice of sports participation. This was rooted in a specific form of masculine identity, centred on controlled physical aggression. Here, however, was the rub. The reciprocal relationship between middle-class and working-class groups concerned the way a male's physical abilities were to be used. To a large extent, the construction of masculine identity through the playing of, and association with, rugby football was held jointly by both groups. In addition, working-class players and spectators were required to demonstrate some attachment to the ethical position of the middle-class groups with regard to controls exercised over violent impulses. Nevertheless the aggressive, combative qualities of local players were a central feature of the club's playing success. Without this success, committee members would derive little status from their association with the club. The values that emerged at Gloucester FC were therefore both constituted by and constitutive of mutually reinforcing relations between groups of men bound together as "men", but differentiated by their constructions and representations of "manliness" and the status accorded to each of these constructions.

The question that now demands to be asked is, how were gender relations constructed in this context? Evidence presented earlier suggests that, in the early days of the club's formation, the watching of rugby appears to have been

popular among predominantly middle-class women associated with the founding members and players. Gender relationships, as they operated through the rugby club during this period, are characterised by three significant features. These are the expression by males of their perceptions of female sensitivities, the allocating of a "special location" for women at both the Spa and Kingsholm grounds and finally, preferential treatment accorded women by virtue of their husbands' or male associates' connection with the club. In the first of these, the perception of female "sensitivities", a number of features are evident in this local context. These include concerns about youths bathing naked in the canal, bad language used by young men playing impromptu games of football in the park, and sensitivity to violence. Some of these surfaced at Gloucester FC. Sidney Lane's accident, in 1876 when he fractured his thigh, was thought to be responsible for the lower attendance of women at subsequent fixtures. Additionally, the "filthy language" used by sections of the Kingsholm crowd in 1892 was believed to have caused discomfort amongst the ladies (*Citizen* 11.3.1876; 8.3.1892). With regard to reserved space for women at the Spa ground, the pavilion, along with specially provided seating, was thought to offer a degree of comfort more suited to their sex. Later, the front row of the grandstand was reserved for ladies. In one case, a correspondent to the *Citizen*, a J. Mills, requested that canvas screening be nailed up at the end of the pavilion to prevent the wind blowing in, an innovation which might "oblige the ladies" (*Citizen* 12.11.1890; 1.12.1890; 6.11.1893). It cannot be discounted that the males involved in some of these events also experienced similar discomforts and, by showing concern for women, could well have been advocating their own needs and comforts by reference to the apparent needs of others. At the same time, any questioning of their "hardiness" as males could be avoided and gender difference constructed through "chivalrous" behaviour.

Another aspect of gender relations, constructed in and through sport, is evident in a cartoon produced in the *Magpie* to record the seasonal change in sports participation (Appendix 22). This cartoon is a stylised representation of decorous behaviour towards women and the polite observations of courtship rituals as "Miss Sport" welcomes the sports and pastimes of the summer season. There is

also an element of sexualisation as "Miss" Sport, as a single woman, is eligible for courtship. At the same time a degree of fickleness, in her dismissal of the footballers and welcoming of the cricketers, is evident. There is also a reference to the experiences of industrial labour in the cartoon. The footballer on the left is dragging a "sack" - the "sack" would contain the tools of their respective trades - denoting the termination of employment amongst industrial labour. In all of the above, gender relations appear to be constructed on differences between males and females as perceived by males. Preferential treatment was accorded to women through cheaper membership, half that charged for males and, after the 1894 AGM, the "wives and sweethearts" of men holding first team caps were given free membership. Some women were actively involved at the periphery of the club's operations. Seven are recorded as taking up shares in the Grounds Company in 1891. In 1897 a Mrs Moffat added to the generosity of her husband, who had arranged a "complimentary dinner" for the players, by organising a picnic for members of the team and their "spouses and sweethearts" (*Citizen* 14.4.1897). The role of Agnes Waddy in financially supporting and organising the Gordon League sports clubs for young men in the city has already been mentioned. However, all of these examples are of women largely on the margins of the sport.

Construction of masculine identity in the male dominated enclave of participation in contact sports, was occasionally threatened by women. Two significant examples reveal how this potential challenge was resisted locally. The first concerns an exhibition match played between two teams of professional "Lady Footballers". These women were part of a commercial entertainment venture run by male entrepreneurs. The women played exhibition soccer matches around the country. Their tour, believed to have started in 1895, finally came to an end in 1896 when they ran out of money in Exeter. Full reports of the games they played in November 1895 at Gloucester's ground, along with a report in the *Citizen* of a game played in London earlier in the year, are to be found in Appendix 23. The following has been selectively quoted from the *Citizen's* report of the Kingsholm game. The report began:

When lovely woman stoops to folly there is no telling where she will end. We do not suggest that she has reached the nether most depth of her possible degradation upon the football field..... They were announced as the "original" lady footballers. Their football is certainly "original" enough to warrant the title and, it is to be hoped these aborigines may disappear before an advancing civilisation.

The author then went on to compare their play with that of men:

Of course, having regard to their sex, we must not expect them to come up to the standard of masculine form... They betrayed a natural anxiety to avoid hurting one another by charging, and a disinclination to fall in the mud.

An exception to this perceived natural incapability was a player, nicknamed "Tommy", who we are told:

was really clever with some of her dribbles and... much more agile and fast - if we may use the term without reproach in this connection - than her comrades, who trotted about in a rather aimless fashion, and indulged frequently and appropriately enough in "miss" - kicks.

Finally, in a comment on the appropriateness of football for women, the author expresses the opinion that:

There are many forms of exercise in which women can take part, and even excel, with benefit to their health and without sacrifice of their womanly dignity and charm. Football is emphatically not one of them. Women are all very well in their place. Football is all very well in its place. The two do not harmonise. They are hopelessly incongruous.

The content of these reports consistently reveals the focus on the physical inadequacies of the participants and their lack of skill. There is also evidence of a "masculinization" of players who show some competence for the game, for example in relation to "Tommy". Throughout the reports, there is evidence of gender stereotyping, sexualisation of women, explanations of female incapacity

couched in biologically deterministic terms and “puns” directed at aspects of femininity. An interesting stance taken by the author appears to be a dislike of the commercialisation of what he described as a “sorry sort of exhibition”, with the hint that the spectators could have done something more useful with their time. The paradox of women competing in sports that embodied notions of “manliness” appears to have been too difficult for most men who attended these matches to cope with. The fact that women may have shown courage, leadership, equanimity in victory and defeat and other attributes associated with male dominated sports appears to have escaped both the journalist and the spectators. Again the central component in the construction of masculinity, and one no doubt the entrepreneurs organising the tour had astutely observed, was the physical incapability of women compared to men participating in sports where male bias was built in to showcase male attributes. On this basis, women and football, as the *Citizen* journalist pointed out, were “incongruous”. Their place in the gender order constructed on the basis of these sports was to be located well below men, with notions of femininity used to offer reasons for their exclusion from such sports. The best these women could hope for in this context was, in the report of the game played at Crouch End, to be compared to boys.

The second example draws on the perceived attitude of women to the roughness of rugby football. We have already been informed that the ladies stayed away from the ground for a while after the incident in which Sidney Lane fractured his leg. A poem which appeared in the *Citizen* parodies this concern; in this instance of a mother for the safety of her rugby-playing son. This poem is reproduced below.

**A MOTHER'S OPINION
(After seeing her son play
Rugger)**

I think it is a brutal game
Why, Willie do you play?
Whenever you had the ball
They took it straight away!

And Oh! your smart blue
knickers dear-

Your little jersey too-
When first went upon the
field
No nice a lad as you.

A mother's heart was
beating then,
You looked so spick and
span,
No other players half so
neat
As mother's little man!

But ere the game was over
dear,
My heart was all forlorn,
Your knickers were a mass
of mud,
Your little jersey torn.

How could they, Willie, be
so rough?
My heart went pit-a-pat,
When on the nasty muddy
ground
They threw you down quite
flat!

A big man sat upon your
chest!
Another grabbed your hair!!
Oh that your mother could
have come
To take you in her care!!!

They caught you by your
little legs
And pulled you to the grass,
And when at last you got
the ball
The greedy things cried
"Pass"!

"A selfish player, Willie
Jones,"
A man beside me said;
I turned upon him, Willie
dear,

And made him blush quite
red.

"He's not- he is a dear good
lad".

Your mother said, my boy-

"He'll share nigh anything
he's got,"

"He's all his mother's joy"!

Now skittles dear, or

billiards,

Or even bagatelle-

Which game upon the

board at home

You know you play so well-

Would they not please you
just as much

As this most horrid game?

Since I have seen you play,
my boy,

I'll never feel the same!

I think another Saturday

I'll hide away, your boots,

And then you won't be able
dear,

To mingle with those brutes.

Think when you're playing,

Willie dear,

Of mother all alone,

Dreading to see you carried
back

With broken collar bone.

I think it is a brutal game-

Why, Willie do you play?

And risk your life the way
you do

When you've a holiday?

P.O.E. Ticus

(Citizen 23.11.1898)

Evident in the author's construction is not only the protectiveness of the mother with regard to her son's physical well being, but also of what she perceived to be

undue criticism of her son. The “joke” here is achieved by portraying her as having a lack of understanding of the game’s dynamics. Pride in her son is also extended to an ascribed feminine trait of concern regarding the neatness of “mother’s little man”. Throughout the poem there is no mention of the boy’s father, presenting a view that Willie was subject to feminising influences that would diminish his masculinity. This technique of exaggerating female behaviours, one that was also used in “Fancy Dress” matches played at Kingsholm, presents women as caricatures. It is reasonable to speculate that this solidified the construction of difference between males and females and encouraged the former group to sustain it through a continuing demonstration of their ability to withstand the physical discomforts that were a product of playing rugby. On this basis, men were prepared to damage other men and to suffer injury to position themselves against other males and, importantly, to reinforce a degree of separateness from women.

Hargreaves (1994: 208) draws attention to the understanding that gender relations, as they are constructed in and through sport, are:

relations of power which are hard to shift because they have strong connections with a whole range of other social practices - in particular, those in the family, the school the media and the state - and they permeate the structure and culture of sports organisations themselves.

Constructions of masculinity were key elements in attempts at ordering relations within and between genders. Sport perhaps offered an enclave where distinctions were less opaque than in other “social practices” mentioned by Hargreaves. This may well have been the case in Gloucester. Evidence suggests relations between groups of men and women appeared to be in a state of flux. The political power of middle-class women was growing during this period with the numbers of women eligible to vote in Gloucester rising from 687 in 1885 to 1,200 in 1890 (*Journal* 5.9.1895; 1.11.1890). They were also organising themselves along the lines of political party affiliation. The Gloucester Women’s Liberal Association was formed in November 1890 initially under male prompting and patronage. Later, they demanded, and exercised, greater autonomy over

their activities, particularly in promoting legislation concerning women and children. It was pointed out at the inaugural meeting that Gloucester was, "behind the times" in organising this type of women's association. Women elsewhere, we are told, were:

much in the various associations in England: they had made their mark on the school boards: had made excellent guardians of the poor: would do still more on the county councils: and there was a grand field opening out for them in our universities (*Journal* 20.12.1890).

There were also practical motives. The male section of the Liberal Party needed the women to counter the canvassing work done by a similar Conservative association for women during elections. From the outset, the women who joined the Gloucester Women's Liberal Association pushed for practical work rather than the "tea and toast" activities of the rival Primrose League who, they claimed, appealed to selfishness and fear to gain support. At both this and a subsequent December meeting, the women expressed a clear desire to differentiate themselves from their rivals by demanding a more "empowered" role. They also addressed the concerns of some males who thought that home life might suffer if the women took up political work. Interestingly, women allayed these fears, borrowing from a component of masculinity. They hoped that, just as males could be viewed as "good all-round men", they hoped that they could be regarded as "good all-round women" (*Journal* 20.12.1890). Middle-class women were also dominant in organising local charitable organisations for their sex, such as the "Home of Hope" for the reform of prostitutes, and a "Working-Girls Club" to occupy young working women during their leisure hours and to aid their moral and religious advancement.

To some extent, this shift in power relations percolated to working-class women, although their problems were somewhat different. The industrialisation of Gloucester had created substantial employment for women. Over 1,000 women were employed by Morelands matchmakers, mainly as "out-workers" making matchboxes in their homes, often with help from their children. The presence of large numbers of dock workers also provided opportunities for prostitution to

flourish (VCH Vol. IV: 209-211). Other moral concerns regarding drunkenness amongst women, and their use of profane language in the streets, attracted the attention of reforming groups of men and women, as well as the civil authorities. The Protestant work ethic, strongly advanced in Gloucester through traditional Anglican and Nonconformist groups, was being extended to women. If they were not working they should be supporting the work of their husbands. This, along with notions of what was acceptable social behaviour for women in an industrial-urban environment, probably accounted for the relatively harsher sentences given to female, compared to male, offenders against public order and decency. In October 1883, Mary Etkins was fined five shillings plus costs after being found guilty of drunkenness. In the same session, before the same magistrate, Joseph Chamberlain was given a two shillings and sixpence fine, plus costs, for the same offence. Three men also found guilty of drunkenness and the more serious offence of assaulting a policeman and damaging his helmet in the process, received the same fine as Etkins. A year later, Ellen Trapp of Mitre Street was given one month's imprisonment for being drunk and disorderly. It was, however, her twenty-third offence! (*Citizen* 29.10.1893; 6.9.1884)

In addition to this pressure on women from the civil authorities to conform to cultural values to which they may have felt at odds, they could also, given their domestic and employment conditions, be subject to domestic violence. In two instances of working-class women resisting their "domestication" - both were from the St. Lukes district - their male partners resorted to violence. The interesting features of both cases, one in 1888 and the other in 1890, was that it was other women, friends of the victims, who felt sufficiently empowered to ensure that a criminal action was brought against the two men. Both cases resulted in successful prosecutions (*Citizen* 29.10.1888; 6.9.1890). It is difficult to say on the basis of this evidence how pervasive the power shift in favour of women was. Middle-class women may also have been subjected to physical abuse, perhaps under-reported due to greater shame attached by this social group to such an occurrence. In two extreme cases where women appear to have resisted the "domestication" demanded by their husbands, these men committed suicide allegedly because one wife kept a "dirty house" and because the other was a

drunk (*Citizen* 17.10.1898, 27.4.1899). If the reasons given for their suicides are correct, it can be speculated that in these instances the degree of "powerlessness" experienced by these men, resulting in their inability to control their wives' behaviours, so threatened their masculinity that they had to resort to such a drastic solution.

More evidence needs to be gathered in order to disentangle the different impacts that changing power-ratios had on gender relations between groups and hence on the constructions of masculinity. However, there appears to be sufficient preliminary evidence to support the view that gender relations in Gloucester were in a state of flux, particularly during the last decade of the nineteenth century as power-ratios, whilst still uneven, shifted more towards women of all classes. In the context of rugby football it is tempting to suggest, as Sheard and Dunning (1981) and Dunning (1986a) have done, that it was one reason for the game's popularity amongst males. Sport, and rugby in particular, offered a retreat into an enclave where they could restore more appealing images and notions of masculinity. This would be an over-simplification. Whilst this may have been part of the appeal of rugby football, other factors are relevant. These include, for example, collective identity, civic pride and, importantly, the public expression of emotions generated through a sports contest embodying culturally resonant constructions of masculinity. These features also solidified the playing and watching of rugby football as a predominantly male preserve over this period. In concluding this section, it is worth speculating that the solidification of notions of masculinity through sports may also have structured relations with men of other sexualities, locating homosexual men in a specific place in the gender order.

Phillips (1996: 75-76) has suggested that, in early colonial New Zealand, rugby football offered the possibility of physical contact between males, thrown together for long periods in harsh environments, without being subject to concerns over their sexuality. The English public schools also saw in the cult of athleticism a means whereby the sexual impulses of boys, confined together for long periods, could be curtailed. Pronger (1991; 1990: 170-203) drawing on his own and other gay men's subjective experiences, develops the notion of a "homoerotic paradox". He suggests that orthodox masculinity, involving power strength and competition

can, in the segregated environment of male sports, contribute to the homoerotic appeal of the physical, gladiatorial struggle of a sports contest. This is not to suggest, as both authors point out, that all male participants in sport are latent homosexuals. Rather, that contact sports amongst males have specific qualities, for example, physical contact, nakedness before and after games and close male bonds, that articulate with aspects of male homosexuality.

There is some evidence that, in the late 19th century, this articulation took the form of placing a taboo around homosexuality and that sports were implicated in this development. The trials of Oscar Wilde, reported by the *Citizen* in some detail throughout 1895, are instructive in this regard. The initial libel suit brought by Wilde against the Marquess of Queensbury who had accused Wilde of homosexual practices, of being a "sodomite (sic)" with Alfred, Lord Douglas, the son of the Marquess, provides some insight into the developing relationship between sports and homosexuality. The Marquess was the quintessential sporting peer. He was a huntsman, amateur jockey and supposed initiator of the "Queensbury" rules of boxing as a young man (Sheard, 1992: 217-219; 262-263). This "moral solidity", derived from wholesome recreations, was counterpoised against Wilde's aestheticism involving the cult of beauty and sensation, insincerity, facetiousness, idleness and dilettantism. Wilde had also shown contempt for sports whilst at Oxford. His particularly virile form of homosexuality with the younger Lord Douglas, himself a participant in athletic sports at school and college, penetrated and debased constructions of masculinity. Wilde superseded one highly prized form of masculinity with another less highly prized form (Ellman, 1988; Croft-Cooke, 1972). The growing sensitivity to homosexuality during the mid-to late-Victorian period, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 (Section Eleven) was the first time that indecent relations between consenting male adults was prohibited, occurred in conjunction with the solidification of notions of masculinity. This may well have led to homosexual males becoming increasingly detached from the gender order of heterosexual men. Messner (1986: 224) suggests that this is likely. He points out that the late-19th and early-20th century was a period when the "emergence of the heterosexual occurred at precisely the time in history when modern sport was

being forged as a social institution", in essence making the links, "athleticism = masculinity = heterosexuality." Research has failed to unearth any examples of an interaction between homosexuality and participation in sports in the construction of a gender order amongst rugby playing males during this period in Gloucester. This is perhaps not surprising in the context of the intensifying taboo around the subject. Whilst there might have been a degree of acceptance, indeed perhaps a requirement, of homosexuality amongst thespians and artists, it was not something that it was felt should penetrate the masculine world of sporting activity.

In summary, this section has endeavoured to demonstrate the multi-faceted nature of identity construction. The development of a national, regional and civic identity was strongly influenced by the success of Gloucester's rugby football club. It was supported from very early on in the club's history by the encouragement of local rugby to meet a key objective of providing sufficient local players to support Gloucester FC. The development of the city as a rugby-playing enclave was both constitutive of, and constituted by, local notions of masculinity. These notions contributed to differentiation between males, between females and males, and between males of different sexualities. This manifested itself in the construction of a gender order that had, as a key but not exclusive component, an assessment of the physical capabilities of individuals. It also contained, often conflictually, moral codes of manliness. The period from 1873 (the founding year of the club) to the onset of the First World War was a period of transition in these notions. A relatively greater of emphasis was being placed on the physical rather than the moral components of the code as the popularity of playing and watching rugby in the local context grew.

The emphasis on physical manliness was not simply a response to increasing working-class participation, it was part of a changing social construction of masculinity taking place within the middle class. Bourgeois gentlemen may well have given a similar emphasis to physical capabilities to that of the working class groups involved in the playing or watching of rugby football in Gloucester. However, the evidence does seem to offer support for Holt's (1986; 366) contention that middle-class groups, and it is to be remembered that they were

still influential at Gloucester FC, “overlaid notions of masculinity with moral consideration of uprightness and gallantry towards women.” Class and gender values had indeed meshed together to create, what was at this stage, a socially distinctive way of playing. This change was accompanied and mediated through an intensification of competitive pressures and the development of rugby football as a commercialised entertainment for the Gloucester population. Thus, by the end of this period a dominant form of masculinity had emerged that valued competitiveness, speed, strength, and physical toughness alongside skill, cleverness and trickery.

V

This final section establishes the links between this and the previous chapter. The intention has been to indicate the pace, breadth and complexity of change occurring during this period. A major stimulus accelerating the social development of the club was the acquisition of the Kingsholm ground. The venture was overseen by middle-class groups utilising a limited liability company, its ownership being determined by the purchase of a share issue amongst the local population. However, this form of commercial organisation constrained Gloucester FC. It now had to secure sufficient revenue to pay what was regarded as a high annual rent. Although the men who ran the Grounds Company were also closely associated with the club, they too were constrained to make a profit to pay dividends. Thus, the club needed to be profitable in order to pay the rent that allowed the Grounds Company to pay dividends to its shareholders. This profit-driven activity became less important in the late 1920s when the Grounds Company shares became almost totally owned by the club, dividends ceasing to be paid and the rent reduced.

In the meantime, the club's officials employed a variety of commercial techniques in their attempts to maximise revenue. These included price manipulation, membership subscription increases, and the extension of membership (season) ticket sales, at a cheaper price and with fewer rights of access to sections of the ground, to other groups. These commercialising techniques would have been familiar to the committee members, increasingly drawn from the retail and industrial sectors, well acquainted with the operation of market forces. This group of officials also demonstrated that they were prepared to go further than the older founding members in commercialising this aspect of the club's operations by organising cup and league competitions and fixtures during religious holidays. They also increased both the quantity and quality of fixtures. Excess revenues were used either for ground improvements or to support local clubs. Revenue generation was therefore the key strategic issue at this time. The associated increase in complexity in managing this feature of the club's

operations was, in large part, responsible for the partial professionalisation of the club's administration.

Revenue generation could, however, only be maintained through continuing spectator interest. This aspect of management became particularly acute as the local structure of rugby playing in the community matured and the sport emerged as an important component of civic and masculine identity. Success was primarily the responsibility of the players, the majority drawn from the locality, who were expected to produce winning results, particularly against the Welsh teams whose visits generated the biggest gate receipts. Increasingly, victories against English teams were prioritised in order to support the club's case for national recognition as one of the country's "premier clubs".

Players were "supported" in their endeavours by the club providing them with kit, insurance, travel and hotel expenses. The evidence indicates that the hotel expenses may have been "over generous" for first team players. It is likely that members and supporters would not have begrudged these "reasonable" expenses to the local men who, comprising the bulk of the team, were required to take an increasingly "serious" view of their recreation as the competitive environment intensified. The club committee may also have been sympathetic to players who were faced with growing demands on their time. It was confirmed at the 1894 AGM that many of the players "lost time" from their employment when required to play away fixtures. The level of financial support given to players stopped short of "broken-time" payments.

It is tempting to speculate that if the proposed Western League had gone ahead prior to the First World War, this type of payment may have become necessary for Gloucester FC and the other participating clubs as a consequence of longer travelling times to away fixtures. Likewise if the Gould Affair of 1897 involving the Welsh RFU had not been resolved in the way it was, Gloucester FC might have chosen to be "professionalised" by the RFU for continuing their lucrative fixtures against the Welsh clubs. This would have reduced a barrier to the further remuneration of the players as they would have been outside the aegis of the national governing body. With different outcomes to these events, "professionalising" influences would have had a far greater impact on Gloucester

FC than simply the suspension of the club in 1893, after the "Shewell Case", for a minor, and contested, contravention of the professional laws.

The introduction of cup and league competitions, after initial resistance from an older group of members, provided further opportunities for revenue generation. However, Gloucester's participation was contingent upon what they felt to be the successful administration of the competitions rather than concerns over spectator disorder and crowd violence. The club felt competent enough in its organisational abilities to institute competitions for local junior clubs and schools. Nevertheless, the 1906 Cup Final between Gloucester and Bristol at Kingsholm was a salutary lesson that no matter how well the competitions were administered, spectator behaviour was singularly more difficult to control. These competitions, intensifying competitive rivalry, also strengthened the organic links the club had with the local community. Players, spectators and administrators were bound into the club as a source of collective representation of the local community by a number of overlapping features. These included the incorporation of rugby into local popular culture and the associated recruitment of local men into the senior side. Contests involving traditionally intense rivalries with Welsh clubs, and emerging ones with local clubs from Stroud, Lydney and Cinderford, offered opportunities for periodic reaffirmation of community virility. Whilst, as Williams (1985: 249) suggests, "monetization... was an inevitable result of... increasing popularity and competitiveness", affective bonds of community identity weighed in as a heavily influencing feature.

The democratisation of the club's administrative structure and membership, as well as the recruitment of local players, brought with it strong cultural influences, in particular, changing and contested notions of masculinity. Whilst a common theme in the construction of manliness was the physical nature of the male body and its capacity to both receive and give "hard knocks", it was also bound up with an ethical position regarding a moral way of living. During this period, the construction of masculinity underwent a transition towards greater emphasis on the physical. Responses to this development involved attempts to curb the worst excesses of player violence through persuasion and coercion. The latter involved the generation of a formalised system to ensure that the impartiality and

competence of local referees was recognised by players and that quasi-legal procedures would be employed against those who disregarded his authority or transgressed acceptable levels of violence.

Rugby football contributed to, and was influenced by, constructions of masculinity used to order gender relations. These were predominantly, but not exclusively, based on the physical characteristics of adult males relative to youths, women and homosexuals and structured relationships between gender groups. Gloucester FC was positioned at the apex of this structure, its players demonstrating both physical toughness and tactical acumen, and its elected officials the rational qualities that enabled them to exercise a degree of foresight over increasingly complex interdependencies. Women, in general, found themselves on the margins of this figuration.

At the onset of the First World War many of the cultural features that would come to characterise Gloucester FC in the period between two World Wars and beyond, were evident. Although they would be subject to change and reformation, the core elements of financial probity and playing success were embedded in the cultural ethos of the club. Both features were the product of notions of masculinity that were believed to be appropriate to the locations of groups of males in the gender order. In simple terms, the “aggressive masculine” style of the players, particularly the forwards, was expected to be the basis of playing success and the business acumen of the older committeemen was expected to produce sound finances and to protect the ethical status of the club. These developments were symptomatic of trends towards greater role differentiation. In this instance roles were defined just as much by notions of masculinity that constructed a gender order for males, as they were by those defined under a system of capitalist relations. One powerful feature of the interaction of capitalism and masculinity was the equating of personal economic efficiency with sporting performance. Similar requirements of temperance, discipline exercised over the body and its impulses, the ability to work in teams and values associated with “fair play”, that is, being a “sportsman” in business and recreation, were common to both components of this interrelationship.

The monetization of rugby football at Gloucester was the product of interlacing and binding features of increasing popularity of the sport as an entertainment. This development encompassed growing competitiveness, community identification and the provision of a range of opportunities for men to demonstrate aspects of their masculinity in a context where working-class, and indeed middle-class, cultures were being increasingly conditioned by "urban living, commercial entertainment and industrialism" (Williams, 1985: 248). The period from 1890-1914 was a significant one in the social development of the club and one which, despite the intervention of the First and Second World Wars, would provide reference points for future development until they began to be challenged and reformulated in the early 1990s.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this conclusion is to draw together observations made in preceding chapters in order to move towards an understanding of the patterns that have emerged in the sociological history of the development of Gloucester RFC. Consistent with the grounded theory approach to this investigation, these conclusions will be bound together by the use of frameworks and concepts from figurational sociology, along with those drawn from hegemony theory. This, it is hoped, will assist in moving towards a reality congruent explanation of social phenomena through interplay between theory-guided research and research-orientated theory. The attempt is made to interweave and connect explanations drawn from both theoretical frameworks in a manner that emphasises the ways in which each contributes to the interpretation of particular social phenomena. At first sight this may suggest that there will be a separation of the explanatory contributions of each theory. However, the intention is to demonstrate that, by connecting the two theories, a symbiosis of mutually reinforcing explanations is possible. That is, whilst each is necessary, and both possess substantial explanatory power, neither on its own is sufficient in the context of this research. Indeed, adherents to each perspective would rarely, if ever, claim a monopoly of reality congruent explanations. This conclusion, therefore, attempts to bring together the way in which figurational and hegemony theory was used to illuminate this research.

I

The analysis of the early development of Gloucester RFC took as its starting point Holt's (1993: 364) agenda for researching sport as a tool of moral leadership by the bourgeoisie. Holt placed emphasis on a research agenda that would attempt to uncover the "agencies of hegemony", the sports in which these agencies operated, when and how they operated, and the degree of effectiveness dominant groups achieved in obtaining hegemonic influence. Chapters One and Two established that the dominant group in the formation of Gloucester FC was drawn overwhelmingly from the mercantile, professional and clerical classes.

This development was, in large measure, a product of the stage reached in the social and economic development of Gloucester; a stage that favoured this bourgeois group rather than an industrial bourgeoisie. Members of the former group were influential in the wide network of interdependencies that extended, through Gloucester's docks and associated distribution channels, across national boundaries into Europe and North America and, within the British Isles, mainly into Wales and the Midlands of England. There also appears to have been a strong "we-group" identification through a tight social network of residency in specific areas of the city, attendance at the local grammar schools, membership of Masonic and other business clubs, as well as through their participation in and organisation of, local sports. In these ways, this group established their distinctiveness from other groups within the middle-class and between themselves and working class groups. It is also worth noting that, in the sports they were instrumental in organising, and some in which they participated, for example cricket, tennis, water polo, athletics and rugby, the titles of the clubs invariably carried the city's name. This suggests an attachment to a symbolic "it" of civic status, reinforcing by association their members collective and individual status.

The pattern of commercialisation and municipalisation of civic life at the time of the rugby club's formation, offered a relatively uncontested operational domain for this group. Commercialised leisure activities in Gloucester were largely confined to the public houses, entertainment such as the theatre and music halls, and traditional festivals. Municipal activities focused on the provision of public spaces and facilities, for example, the Spa and Park areas and public baths, and included the regulation of their use. It needs to be emphasised that the civic authorities were unable to achieve effective regulation over behaviours in public that offended public decency. However, these behaviours were under pressure from liberal reforming groups and a reorganised and expanded police force. Whilst the civic authorities were prepared to make public space available to selected groups for particular sports, for example tennis and cricket clubs, the emphasis was on their voluntarist provision, organisation and management.

It was at this stage in the social development of Gloucester as a city that Gloucester FC was formed. Although there were reports of “games of football” being played in the Park in 1864, the early founders of the club, none of whom had attended prestigious public schools, would not have been particularly well acquainted with the rules of rugby football. Indeed, it was not until 1871 that the RFU produced a set of “Proposed Laws of the Game” that became generally accepted by clubs. Thus, it was the arrival from London of Francis Hartley, to work as a solicitor in the city, that enabled access to the cultural capital of rugby football, not only to its techniques and rules but to ways of playing which involved manly endeavour and gentlemanly behaviour. Hartley brought with him detailed knowledge of the Laws of Rugby Football that he, with others, had been instrumental in creating in 1871. The adoption of rugby football as a winter team sport for this group, facilitated by Hartley, enabled associations made in other team sports, notably cricket, and in their school-life, to be continued. It also differentiated this group from players of the rougher and unorganised “games” of football being played in the Park. Thus, they were in a dominant position in respect of their knowledge of how to play the game of rugby football. This was allied with access to playing facilities and the skills of voluntary sports organisation possessed by this group.

In this early stage of the club’s development, this small group of middle-class men had established themselves at the centre of Gloucester FC’s playing and administrative operations. Accompanying this development was an increase in social interdependencies which helps explain the behaviours of these men and the values that underpinned their behaviour. The cementing and enhancing of individual and group status was a significant behavioural component. The figuration at this time was sufficiently small for individuals such as Boughton and Vears to exercise a significant influence and, through the exercise of this influence, to develop and enhance a strong “I” or personal identity. Boughton, it will be remembered, extended his influence into the development of the Gloucestershire County Football Union and became the county’s first representative at the RFU. In this sense an enhancement of personal identity in the context of increasing collective associations is observable, as individuals

such as these were centrally located in the increasing web of interdependencies. However, an interpretation of this development that relies solely on an ego-driven desire to gain and exercise personal power would be inadequate. Specific aspects of the value systems of these men, operationalised in their social relationships, were of significant influence in this phase of the development of the club.

It was established in the early chapters that members of the dominant group who were active in the early stages of the development of Gloucester FC aligned themselves as “Conservatives”. Incorporated into this political ideology is a strong paternalistic tradition. This paternalism is based on the notion of an organic society in which interdependence in and between social groups is accompanied by bonds of duty and social obligation, and that “freedom” is manifested in a willing acceptance of these obligations. The initiation and administration of business and sports clubs in Gloucester by these men reflects not only their belief that individuals cannot be separated from society and that their incorporation into groups is a key component of what gives individuals security and meaning, but also their notion of social obligation. The amateur, voluntarist organisational structure of sports clubs offered opportunities to exercise this duty and to be instrumental in the leadership and management of such clubs. As Heywood (1998: 78-79) points out, for conservatives “leadership”, in what they believed to be an organic society that inevitably contained leaders and followers, was a vital ingredient in providing direction and inspiration for others. In the late-19th century this paternalistic tradition of “one nation conservatism” was associated with Benjamin Disraeli, UK Prime Minister in 1868, and again from 1874 to 1880. Thus, it is reasonable to suspect that the young middle-class men instrumental in the formation of the club in 1873 would have been forming and adopting such notions in this context, and that these views may have contoured their social interactions.

Additionally, it is possible to draw on another aspect of this political philosophy to explain why the club had, to a degree, become “socially open” by the early-1890s. For the first ten to fifteen years of the club's history, playing and social membership was dominated by middle-class men, largely through the high cost of

membership. However, spectators were encouraged to attend so that they might witness a manly and honourable exhibition of sporting skills and a way of playing which would have aided the diffusion of the game to the lower classes. It was also believed that “manly” sports contributed to the eradication of some of the socially unacceptable excesses associated with high levels of drinking and “incivility” in the city. The setting up of clubs amongst the working-class communities was also encouraged through religious, usually Anglican, or reforming groups. Pragmatism was added to this sense of social duty contained in conservative philosophy. Once a substantial diffusion of rugby football had taken place in working-class communities, the opportunity for them to represent the city, should they be good enough, could not be denied. If it were, then the dominant position of Gloucester FC as the city’s “premier club” could have come under threat from other locally formed clubs. There does not appear to have been a substantial public school educated middle-class elite in the city that could have supported a socially “closed” membership policy. Thus, in order to retain a dominant position, it was recognised that a willingness to “change in order to conserve” was a prudent response to shifts in power balances (Heywood, 1998: 66-69). Pragmatism, allied with a sense of duty, drawn from a conservative ideology that also viewed religious observance as providing an essential “social cement”, appear to have contoured the social interactions of the early founders of the club.

One further component is evident in the social actions of this group. There was an observable proclivity among them favouring the monetisation of relationships in the context of the development of rugby in Gloucester. This was a product not only of a necessity to ensure the continuance of recreational opportunities, but also of the everyday circumstances of their lives. This is evident in a number of financial “initiatives” that they undertook. These accompanied an institutionalisation of the club’s operating functions in a volunteer committee framework as a means of managing its affairs as well as utilising and accounting for expenditure of revenues. Membership fees and subscriptions introduced a degree of rational capitalism by establishing financial imperatives that would secure the club’s continuance as a recreational opportunity for, initially, middle-

class men. This also enabled them to generate a degree of differentiation from others in lower status groups, in the sense that they were organising their activities for themselves rather than, as was the case in the more commercialised provision for working-class groups, for others. In other words, for the middle-class group of founder members, the rugby club was organised by themselves and for themselves. Nevertheless, they were quick to experiment with gate-taking as an opportunity to raise additional revenues. To some extent this was driven by the economy of an amateur sport which required the expenses of visiting teams to be met, and financial "guarantees" to be made to new clubs added to the fixture list. Alongside this lay a recognition of the value of encouraging spectators to attend fixtures as a means of social control, by offering a sports entertainment as an alternative to the public house and as a participatory alternative to less socially acceptable patterns of roughness and uncivil social relations.

The end of the 1883/1884 season saw the importance of gate receipts established when, for the first time, revenue from this source exceeded that from membership subscriptions. These gate revenues contributed to a growing economic power. The club's committee used these funds to buy off resistance from their landlords, Gloucester Cricket Club, who were concerned about the encroachment of the football season into that of cricket. They were also used to reduce resistance from the Town Council who were concerned about a private club generating substantial sums of money from municipal facilities and the damage caused to those facilities. These revenues helped to establish a financially supportive, symbiotic, relationship with emerging local clubs who would come to be major providers of players. Gate revenues supported a "no-cost-to-play" policy by covering the expenses of its players, establishing a further point of differentiation from local clubs as well as imposing informal behavioural and performance obligations on them. Excess funds were also used to make charitable donations to local causes, establishing further the "social worth" of the rugby club. Finally, the growth of gate revenues was instrumental in the decision to acquire an enclosed ground, that would offer both psychological and social advantages associated with individual and collective identity formation, based on

the ownership of material assets. There is evident in this early phase of the club's development a strong economic component to the structuring of interdependencies. However, it is important to note that status-seeking activities were also contoured by a sense of collective identity. In particular there was a desire to enhance the status of the club, as a sporting representative of community, in regional and national settings.

This middle-class group of founding members became the "established" group in this specific figuration (Elias and Scotson, 1965), playing a central role in the formation and early administration of the club and the development of rugby in Gloucester. Competencies had been established by consistently laying claim to, and acquiring, organisational roles in the city's other sports clubs. Thus, the founding group, through repetition of similar roles at Gloucester FC, added to what Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) have called the "invention of tradition", in this instance with regard to their dominant position as organisers of local sports. As networks of interdependencies expanded and became more complex, the success of these men in guiding the development of the club powerfully reinforced their dominant role as administrators. These men were nevertheless constrained by the nature of a "members club" and its associated elected, volunteer committee management model, to meet expectations of their competence by submitting themselves for periodic re-election as its officials.

The managerial activities within this organisational structure can be conceived of as contributing to a mutually reinforcing cycle of interdependencies within the club, and between the club and its operating environment. The management of Gloucester FC, after the acquisition by the Grounds Co. of the Kingsholm site in 1891, was increasingly driven by a market rationality that required greater attention to the generation of revenue. There was an emphasis on actively managing gate-taking activities, alongside an additional priority of managing escalating costs, primarily due to the increase in rent charged by the Grounds Co. over that charged by the Gloucester Cricket Club for the Spa field. The club was also incurring additional costs associated with the geographical extension of fixtures and the decision to provide post-match hospitality to both home and visiting sides in matches played at Kingsholm. Structurally, the increasing

complexity of running the club led to the expansion and refinement of the committee system along rational-legal-bureaucratic lines, and the prioritising of the “accounting” function. There was also the partial professionalisation of some “volunteer” activities, notably those of the club’s Secretary and Treasurer, through the payment of an “honorarium”. These payments signalled the status attached to these activities. Thus, the expansion of the organisational infrastructure was a response to, and facilitated the management of, growing interdependencies. The increasing complexity of managing the club required men who possessed commercial, “business” specialisms of treasury, marketing, operations and fixed asset management. In addition interpersonal skills associated with teamwork and the management of relationships with players, officials of other clubs and the RFU, were also important. The organisational structure put in place, by specialising administrative functions, also created the capacity to develop and manage a wider network of relationships at local and national level.

There is also evidence of a shift in the power balance amongst groups involved in the administration of Gloucester RFC which appeared to facilitate the commercialisation of the club’s activities. Middle-class men drawn from an industrial-retail background gradually replaced members of the professional-commercial founding group. It is to be expected that industrialists with a focus on “production” would have had closer contact with working-class groups and would have placed a different emphasis on relationships with them. Operating with a more liberal ideology that emphasised the benefits of competition in economic and social life, there appears to have been a shift away from the paternalistic approach of the early founders, who stressed the protection of individuals from the emotional excesses and physical dangers of intense competition. If this interpretation is correct, it goes some way to explaining the success of pressures from within the club’s administration to participate in local cup and league competitions and the conflicts generated between the older founding members led by A. W. Vears. It is also worth noting that those who proposed participation in cup and league competitions did so on the grounds that it would increase gate revenues and membership. When these did not materialise, this was amongst

the most common reasons cited for the withdrawal of Gloucester FC from such competitions.

In essence, from around the 1890s onwards, an industrial-retail group were driving the operation of a market mechanism for sports entertainment that included the introduction of cup and league competitions and an increase in fixtures against prestigious clubs. This group were also prepared to extend financial support to players as far as the amateur regulations (which only defined what was not permitted) would allow. With regard to the purchase and development of Kingsholm, there is some validity in the point made by Holt (1993: 282), who, drawing on evidence provided by Mason and Vamplew regarding soccer clubs, concludes that: "clubs formed themselves into limited liability companies not to speculate in the entertainment business but to make legally secure the cost of providing facilities." This also appears to have been the primary motive in this case of Gloucester FC.

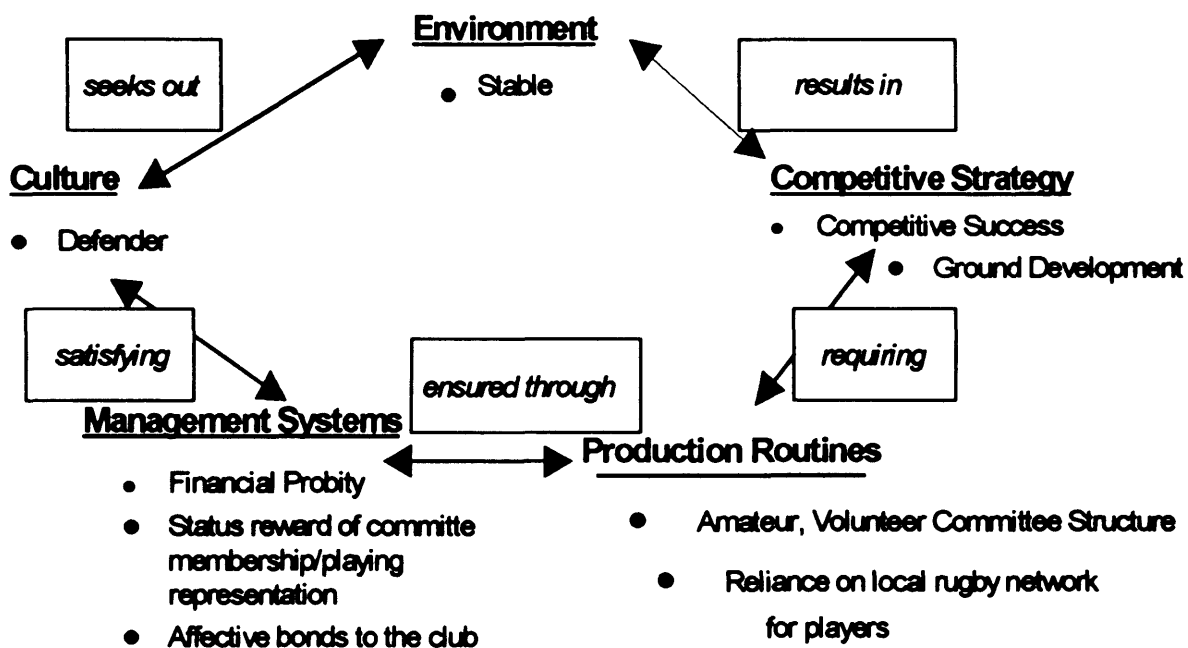
Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that ownership of an enclosed ground was a necessary condition for the management of gate-revenues and that such management went well beyond a "break-even" objective to secure the existence of the club. A "healthy balance sheet" was important, but when opportunities arose to develop revenue over and above that required for this purpose, they were willingly taken. During this period of the maturation of industrial capitalism, Gloucester FC were increasingly enmeshed in capitalist relations in the sport entertainment segment of the leisure industry. The management of gate-revenues, in essence, involved extracting surplus value in the form of spectator revenues and channelling them into the development of material assets, the Kingsholm ground, as a sign of status. There was a nexus of capitalist relationships that encompassed a willingness to extend the commercialising activities of the club to take advantage of the growing local interest in rugby football as an expression of a collective civic and masculine identity.

The growth in interdependencies, and the shift towards a greater emphasis on economic relations that underpinned this growth, was accompanied by an increased structural differentiation of roles between players and administrators. In the simplest form of volunteer committee organisation of amateur clubs, a

significant number of players also serve as elected officials, or undertake other volunteer functions. This simple form was evident during Gloucester FC's early years. Later, the growing complexity of managing the club, and the requirement that players train assiduously to achieve competitive success, were key developments that forced a distinction. In short, the committee members were more concerned with managing economic relationships whereas players were more concerned with "physical" relations of work on the body and the development of playing skills.

The dominant operating paradigm that had emerged by 1914, and as it existed until the mid-1990s, is shown diagrammatically in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. The Dominant Organisational Paradigm of Gloucester FC: 1914 to mid- 1990's.



(Source: Model adapted from Johnson and Scholes, 1997: 441)

The "Defender" culture (Miles and Snow, 1978: 31-47) is one predominantly involving protection of the *status quo*. It was, in this instance, supported by a bureaucratised, simple structure characterised by a number of features. These

were, centralised decision-making and accountability, functional areas delegated to sub-committees, attempts to standardise roles of elected officials and emphasis on predominantly task-based activities, for example organisation of fixture lists and weekly matches (Mintzberg, 1979: 305-313; Theodoraki and Henry, 1996: 186-7). The development of local rugby was also addressed but, over time, the management of the club was increasingly prioritised. Strategic decisions made by Gloucester's committee were confined largely to the refining of systems of financial control, formalising relations with local clubs to ensure a continuing player base, and ground improvements. These "traditions" of sports administration, and the operating structures that accompanied and supported them, enabled bourgeois groups to further draw class lines with working-class groups and players and generate a degree of exclusivity that lay alongside occupational distinction and residential segregation. They were also in a position to proselytise amateurism and its guiding voluntarist ethos. However, they were less likely to observe this particular tenet with regard to club officials who were occasionally rewarded with honorariums and small salaries for their efforts.

With regard to relations between Gloucester's officials and the RFU, it was the latter who were the "established" group. The values the club's early administrators adhered to were clearly not generated in isolation. There is substantial evidence to suggest that this group was "two-way facing" from early on in the club's history. The club's officials were concerned with relationships with growing working class interest in playing and spectating and with higher status groups at the RFU. Members of the founding group who were instrumental in the founding of the Gloucestershire County Football Union, later dominating its administration, were actively seeking incorporation into a wider national rugby network. By founding a County Union they could press for representation at governing body level on the Committee of the RFU. It was perhaps perceived as necessary to demonstrate a set of values consonant with the group to which they wanted to be incorporated. These were, in simple terms, a demonstrable adherence to the principles and ethos of amateurism. The problem for the dominant group associated with Gloucester FC was that the monetising of relationships brought them close to the regulations guarding the principles of

amateurism. As a gate-taking club they would always be under some suspicion. Additionally, the local pressures for cup and league competitions, a product of the diffusion of rugby football into the local community, would have to be carefully managed if the ethos of amateurism was not to be transgressed. The social and educational background of the club's founding members meant that they would not have been well versed in this ethos. They may, therefore, have felt a pressing need to establish and signal their "*bona fides*" in this regard, whilst at the same time accommodating to local conditions.

These tensions came to a head in 1894 with the suspension of the club for "professionalism". This failure to adhere to the amateur regulations was a source of great embarrassment. The RFU, by overturning the decision of the County Union and imposing a more draconian sentence, was interpreted as suggesting that the club's officials had yet to assimilate fully the principles and legislative requirements of amateurism. The loss made on the 1900 England versus Wales international held at Kingsholm under the auspices of the RFU, was a further source of embarrassment and dented the committee's deeply internalised belief in their commercial competence. It may well have been accompanied by feelings of shame amongst a social group for whom financial probity was a key value. In Eliasian terms, these incidents can be seen as partial evidence of an increasing "psychologization" of social relations. This is, as Mennell (1992: 102) explains, a transition in mutual identification involving consciously taking greater account of how behaviour will be interpreted by others accompanying increasing interdependence between groups of individuals. This appears to have been the case, from the early 1880s onwards, in relations between the club's officials and the RFU. The formation of the club, and the subsequent development of gate-taking, meant that the club's officials were increasingly enmeshed in new sets of relationships. An important one was with the RFU. Power ratios substantially favoured the RFU and the desire of the club's officials for incorporation into the governing body's representative structure was strong. The shame and embarrassment accompanying both the "Shewell" case and the loss on the international match signify the powerful status of the RFU as an "established" group, a "significant other", in this figuration. It was, therefore, a relationship that

had to be carefully managed and developed if the goal of incorporation was to be achieved. Similarly, the exercise of greater foresight also appears to have been evident in relations with working-class groups to whom founding members initially displayed and proselytised a specifically bourgeois way of playing. It is to this aspect of "established-outsider" relations that attention will now be turned.

II

The analysis thus far has identified the social characteristics, behavioural values and supporting actions of the social group at the centre of the early development of Gloucester RFC. This group actively encouraged spectatorship and the diffusion of rugby football amongst working-class groups as both a pragmatic response to the need to recruit players and to proselytise the benefits of participation in sports. It remains therefore to offer explanations as to why working-class groups of males in Gloucester adopted rugby football as a winter sport and the degree of influence the founding group were able to exert over their behaviours and values.

The attraction of rugby football in Gloucester for working-class men may be linked to the stage reached in the development of the city and surrounding areas. During the last half of the 19th century, the city was undergoing a process of transition associated with the growth of an urban-industrial structure. Dunning (1986d: 232-240) has suggested that there are changes in the nature of social bonding associated with this transition. He suggests that "segmental" forms of bonding are gradually replaced by "functional" forms of social bonding. He goes on to provide a list of twelve "structural correlates" that define the boundaries of the continuum between segmental and functional bonding, suggesting that where segmental bonding is the dominant type that this may be conducive to the use of physical violence in social relations. Evidence presented in the first chapter suggests that components of what were regarded as "uncivilised" behaviours that included drunkenness, fighting, profanity and prostitution were prevalent amongst sections of the working-class. The use of Dunning's structural correlates of segmental bonding offers some illustrative explanations of this phenomenon. Firstly, the nature of working-class employment in Gloucester appears to be occupationally differentiated to a significant degree. In the docks there was differentiation between those involved in the timber and the corn trade, the latter requiring greater heavy manual labour. In heavy engineering, skilled artisans and unskilled and semi-skilled manual labourers were functionally grouped into work teams. The building trades were also characterised by a similar grouping of skilled and unskilled work teams. Substantial numbers of women were also

employed in jam-making and pickling and at Gloucester's match-making factories, with a significant number of the latter working at home making match boxes. Secondly, residential areas in the city reflected this occupational distribution and, it is to be suspected, contributed to strong we-group identities that may have been conducive to inter-group rivalry. This was often manifested in outbreaks of fighting when these groups met in their leisure hours. Thirdly, it would also appear that a weak local police force was unable to exert significant control over forms of "incivility" in civic spaces, suggesting that, at this local level, an effective monopoly over the use of violence had yet to be established. Fourthly, given the long hours of both male and female employment it is to be suspected that parental control over young and adolescent males would not have been particularly strong. It is not evident, from the research, as to whether or not relations between parents and children in these groups were characterised by the use of relatively violent socialisation techniques. The best that can be suggested is that the degree of control exercised by parents over their children outside of the home appears to have been weak.

There is insufficient evidence to make a convincing case for suggesting that segmental bonding was dominant amongst this social group. However, the existence of these empirical "indications" assists in explaining the parish-based development of local clubs, the later diffusion of rugby football through the local Elementary schools, and the appeal of this rough team sport in establishing masculine and community identity. It may appear to be contradictory that rugby football, with its relatively high emphasis on physical force, was promoted by reforming groups in communities where violence was prevalent. However, it needs to be remembered that, incorporated within rugby's ethos, there were components which stressed ways of playing that required participants to exercise relatively greater self control over violent impulses than other sports. The adoption and diffusion of rugby football into Gloucester's working-class communities, under middle-class control, can thus be attributed to "locally produced" factors possibly associated with longer-term transitions in patterns of social bonding.

Working-class groups, in the context of the regularisation of the Saturday "half-day" and the commercialisation of entertainments in Gloucester, were also actively seeking to watch and participate in sports. In their attempts to offer rugby football as one model for behavioural reform, the early proselytisers of rugby football at Gloucester FC - consistent with their beliefs that moral and behavioural imperfections were the consequence of natural instincts and appetites rather than social conditions - were to some extent "pushing at an open door". It is reasonable to suggest that working-class groups wanted to play as representatives of parish-based communities and to display, in front of their peers, and perhaps their social superiors, athletic skills and a vigorous and muscular use of the body consonant with their particular construction of masculinity. The first three "working men" to play for Gloucester, Taylor, Coates and Bagwell, were all three-quarters and their speed, skill and tactical appreciation of the game were highly valued as well as their physical toughness. Rugby football provided an example for working-class men of a team sport that could be adopted for their own purposes of individual and collective identity. This research broadly confirms Holt's (1992: 26) view that working-class players played, "because they wanted to and in their own ways". Working-class groups, as did those from the middle class, clearly wanted to play and spectate. Nevertheless, it was the middle-class who facilitated the diffusion of rugby football amongst Gloucester's working class and at the same time structured relationships in ways that reflected their own attachment to a specific set of values.

There were tensions accompanying this mutual reciprocity. In Eliasian terms, players drawn from working-class groups were "outsiders". However, power-ratios were shifting in favour of working-class groups, not only in terms of their contribution to the playing success of the club but also concomitant with the emergence of Gloucester as an industrial-urban community. The central tension in the development of rugby in Gloucester lay in the relative balance between the assimilation and integration of working-class ways of playing and spectating. The compromise had to work in such a way that the physically aggressive competitiveness of players did not transgress bourgeois norms of socially

acceptable violence, whilst at the same time playing rugby for, and watching, Gloucester retained its appeal to groups of players and spectators on whom the club depended. There were two key components to this compromise. The first related to the type and level of physical training and the second to levels of roughness and violence employed by players. There was a perceived need to refine the way of playing of these recruits for two reasons. Firstly, the low levels of skill and fitness amongst locally recruited players could threaten gate-revenues through lack of playing success and secondly, a reputation for violent play could lead to ostracism from wider networks of power and competitive associations with more prestigious clubs.

With regard to training regimes there was constant exhortation, expressed at committee meetings and in the local press, to train and prepare for matches, particularly those against Welsh and Midlands' clubs where competitive rivalry was high. The employment of a "trainer", and the building of a gymnasium at Kingsholm, provided both the personnel and physical structures that raised the potential for increased surveillance and control over this aspect of players' preparations. This particular development represents a shift in the instrumental view of physical training to one where preparation to achieve success is prioritised over the benefits of healthy exercise. The committee also established control over when and where its players could play. Gloucester FC did not enter into the Gloucestershire County Cup competition until 1904 and placed restrictions on local players who had played more than a specified number of games for Gloucester, usually for the second XV, returning to their local clubs to play in local cup competitions. In 1913 this level of control was reinforced when the club's committee resolved to prevent players participating in privately organised playing tours during holiday periods, usually around Easter, when potentially lucrative club fixtures had been arranged. These actions can be seen as eroding the voluntaristic component of sports participation. The committee was, in effect, establishing a degree of "ownership" over players.

Local rugby in Gloucester was structured to provide opportunities for schoolboys, ex-scholars from working-class Elementary schools and middle-class Grammar schools, and local clubs representing districts and workplaces. This facilitated a

supply of local players sufficiently acquainted with the skills, laws, physical demands and tactics of Rugby Union football. However, drawing on a predominantly working-class source of players also presented problems. Increasing competitiveness amongst local clubs and at Gloucester FC, as the club extended its fixture list to include the best clubs in England and Wales and joined the county's cup competitions, represented a potential threat if it led to excesses of physical violence. Attention therefore needed to be paid to establishing a degree of pacification at the local level where the problem of excessive roughness was perceived to be most acute. This was to be achieved primarily through the initiation of a Gloucester Referees Society backed by a County Union Disciplinary Committee. Evidence presented in this research suggests that a degree of success was achieved in limiting aspects of verbal "incivility" and physical violence as the authority and competence of the referee as an outside agency became established. There would still be incidents of violence but, importantly, they were being punished and were being seen to be punished.

At this point comment can be made on two dimensions of hegemony with regard to these developments. These are firstly, the extent of incorporation, "where sports stand in a particular hegemony" and secondly, "the mode of compliance worked out by subordinate groups" to a dominant ideology (Hargreaves, 1982a: 16). Jarvie (1993a: 267), in his analysis of hegemony, reminds us that:

while they may represent various social ideas that guide the political practice of various social groups, including sporting groups, the dominant ideology is never given but struggled with, challenged and the object of intense negotiation.

This conflict, he points out, is centralised in Gramsci's work on hegemony and involves understanding not only how particular classes or groups come to achieve positions of dominance but also how that position is maintained through constant and repeated struggles. For the founding members and players of Gloucester FC the inherent pragmatism in conservative ideology, the willingness to "change to conserve", was conducive to the maintenance of a dominant position. Having been instrumental in the establishment of the club there was

“something at stake”, something to preserve as, of necessity, they presided over and encouraged the diffusion of rugby football in the city and the democratisation of the club.

Hargreaves' (1982a: 16) makes the point that: “the strategies of incorporation pursued by dominant groups vary according to the types of institution in question and the moment in time”. It is possible to observe, in the context of this research, a variety of tactical components to this particular dimension of hegemonic control exercised by the dominant group at Gloucester RFC at this stage in the club's development. The extent of incorporation of working-class groups of players and spectators was contingent upon the adaptation and relaxation of components of the amateur ethos. These were broadly, a recognition of the partisan nature of participation and support as part of the construction of collective identity and the importance of winning in a way consistent with prevailing constructions of masculinity that valued courage, strength and physical robustness. Provided there was no significant resistance by the dominant group in these areas, the mode of compliance of working-class groups of players and spectators appeared to be one of tacit acquiescence to the authority of middle-class administrators. In this context, there appears to have been a pragmatic acceptance of the conditions under which they played and watched rugby football. It should also be noted that, for Gloucester's players, loyalty to the club was also contoured by status rewards, psychological rewards and financial rewards (limited to assistance with kit, insurance and the provision of free post-match food and drink) to be gained by association with the club. In conclusion, it appears that, whilst amateurism was the organising principle, aspects of its principles and ethos had to be surrendered if middle-class organising groups were to maintain their moral leadership, particularly over the use of excessive violence and the associated emphasis on exercising control over the emotions.

Against this background the public exhibition of rugby as a rough sport and the diffusion of the game amongst groups who were perceived to have a higher proclivity towards engaging in and witnessing violent acts were factors central to tensions between groups over variations in behavioural norms. For the dominant group there was work to be done to modify, dampen and exercise a degree of

influence over those individuals whose behavioural norms, in particular their standards of control over the emotions, were inconsistent with their own. A variety of methods were used in this struggle. Firstly, in the instance of serious injury, the fracturing of Sydney Lane's thigh, the club's committee and the local press were at pains to persuade potential critics that the injury was purely accidental and not due to any unnecessary roughness. Additionally, by appropriating the perceived sensitivity of the women present at the game to the incident, and by cancelling the following week's fixture, they signalled what they regarded as an appropriate response to witnessing such an event.

Secondly, the successful encouragement of working-class groups to adopt rugby football generated pressures from local clubs for the formalisation of competition through cup and league competitions. These pressures were accommodated provided their organisation and administration remained under the organisational control of Gloucester FC's officials. However, it was deemed that Gloucester's participation in similar competitions was inappropriate. This pragmatic response was underpinned by a view that accommodation, accompanied by organisational control, was deemed a potentially more fruitful response than outright resistance. In this way, the club's officials could exert direct influence over the running of any such competition and by refusing to allow the club to participate, generated status differentiation between themselves and local clubs. To some extent this was based on a relatively greater attachment to the recreational component of the amateur ethos, or at least a willingness to exhibit an attachment to it, at a time when the dominant group was beginning to look for recognition by, and incorporation into, the RFU. Participation in tension-raising competitive structures, and the accompanying provocations that might prove too difficult for players and spectators to ignore, could threaten attempts to gain status through recognition by the governing body.

Thirdly, Gloucester's officials were attempting to raise the playing status of the club at regional and national level by extending fixtures to include the best clubs from Wales, the Midlands and, to a lesser extent, the North of England. This attempt to improve the status of the club paradoxically raised competitive pressure based on an "informal" ranking, in the press and amongst clubs, of the

relative status of clubs. When these tensions generated excessive levels of violence the club's officials were prepared to cancel fixtures and, in one case, refused to participate in the second half of a fixture unless their opponents, in this instance Moseley, reduced the level of roughness in their play. Furthermore, the local press reinforced this stance and was prepared to admonish players, both at Gloucester and amongst their opponents, who they felt had indulged in acts of excessively rough play.

Fourthly, an incorporative set of values intended to bind together members, officials and players of Gloucester RFC, regardless of social background, was proselytised at AGMs, Annual Dinners and celebratory suppers. These involved appeals to maintain what were regarded as the "inherent" virtues of sport, namely its manliness, temperance, courage, honour and role in the construction of national identity. This reification of sport, and "the club", as a repository of these "inherent" virtues, disguised the socially constructed nature of sport, its practice and social uses, by suggesting that it possessed these characteristics in and of itself. Given the expansion of the local network of interdependencies, and the increasing social differentiation accompanying this aspect of a civilising process, the adoption of such notions would enhance the ability of the dominant group at Gloucester FC to exert influence over increasingly disparate groups.

These activities are indicative of the changing nature of interdependencies and tensions accompanying the expansion of this figuration as "outsider" groups, of players and spectators drawn from the working class, increased and intensified their association with Gloucester FC. From around the mid-1880's the club moved away, quite rapidly, from its original founding purpose of providing a winter recreation and means of association for a tight network of middle-class men. The transition involved a shift to one where collective civic identity, expressed through the playing status of the club at regional and national level, gained importance. The officials and early founders of Gloucester FC played a significant part in increasing the web of interdependencies and changing the nature of relationships by encouraging local clubs, monetising relationships and instituting technical, administrative procedures to control the local development of cup and league competitions. They were also sufficiently powerful to initially

resist the encroachment of formal competitive structures into Gloucester's fixture list whilst at the same time widening competitive contacts with clubs representing other towns and cities. Compromise between the "established" and "outsider" groups in this specific figuration was thus characterised by the retention and adaptation of core values by both parties. This would appear to be consistent with an equalising of relative power ratios as players and spectators drawn from working-class groups became increasingly important to the playing and associated commercial success of the club.

The most significant points of resistance to the development of rugby football in Gloucester came not from working-class groups associated with local clubs, but from other middle-class groups. These were a consequence of the club's expansion of gate-taking activities and involved, in 1879, the Town Council banning the club from playing on the Spa ground and, in 1891, Gloucester Cricket Club withdrawing the winter lease of its portion of the Spa ground from the rugby club. The growth of Gloucester FC as a gate-taking club brought to the fore tensions with other groups. These were generated by the structural contradictions, essentially over property rights, that emerged as a result of a conjunction of processes involving the municipalisation of civic life and recreational areas and the commercialisation of entertainments, in this case sport. The events in 1879 and 1891 had at their root concerns over damage to civic property, particularly as it was occasioned by the pursuit of private financial opportunities involving the use of public land. Although the Town Council were less involved in the 1891 eviction of the Gloucester FC, the Gloucester Cricket Club, as guardians of municipal land, were in a position where failure to act might have threatened their lease with the Town Council.

The increase in commercially driven interdependencies lay at the heart of such tensions. In Gramscian terms, the conjunctural crises of 1879 and 1891 were the largely unintended consequences of structural contradictions, as the operations of the club moved towards those of a private, commercialised, sports entertainment on municipally owned land. The 1879 crisis was resolved by the mobilisation of a powerful network of bourgeois associations and by the refinement of gate-taking activities. In 1891, the acquisition of the Kingsholm

ground was an acceleration in the transformation of Gloucester RFC as a privatised, gate-taking sports entertainment through the establishment of a corporate, capitalist organisation structure, the Gloucester Football and Athletic Grounds Company Limited, to support its operations. In these ways the dominant bourgeois group, in the absence of any serious opposition at these conjunctural moments of crisis, were able to conserve and defend existing patterns of action. Both outcomes contributed to a relatively greater emphasis on economic relations.

III

This section draws together the evidence presented in the previous chapters with regard to one aspect of the Eliasian model of the European civilising process. It draws on the observation that accompanying this process there is a long-term decline in the propensity of individuals to obtain pleasure from directly engaging in and witnessing violent acts. This entails firstly, an advance in the threshold of repugnance regarding physical violence and secondly, the internalisation of these changing thresholds so that feelings of guilt are aroused whenever they are breached. Furthermore, this also involves a long-term shift in the balance of violence from the expressive to the instrumental. Given that this research spans just over 40 years, involves one of the rougher team sports, and has focused on aspects of player violence and spectator disorder, it is possible to offer some comment on this aspect of the theory of a European civilising process.

Developments from the club's origins until the Inter-Wars period offers some evidence of a change in the pattern of violence. It has been demonstrated that the early development and diffusion of rugby football in Gloucester took place within the context of a shift in sensitivity towards the witnessing and occurrence of acts of violence. This appears to have been the case whether they were undertaken on behalf of the state, for example public hangings, or by individuals in a civic setting, for example fighting, profanity and drunkenness in the streets. There were also other developments that contributed towards a stricter control over the emotions. Firstly, the industrialisation and urbanisation of Gloucester involved, as one of its features, a routinisation of urban-industrial living. Agricultural roots and the expressive exercise of the emotions were still celebrated at the annual "Mops", the Barton Fair and the Gloucester races, but these were becoming relatively more ordered and controlled. Secondly, middle-class reformers were exerting significant pressure on specific social groups, through the tenets of Protestant Non-Conformist and Anglican religious observance, to exercise control over their emotions. In addition, men drawn from

middle-class groups were in a position to legislate at the civic level against aspects of “uncivil” behaviour.

The initial phase in the development of Gloucester FC was dominated by middle-class men. As players and members they were, in addition to being part of these processes, also in positions to proselytise and demonstrate behaviours consistent with exercising a higher degree of control over the emotions than other sections of Gloucester’s population. They had shown distaste for excessive levels of violence in their own participation by refusing to “come out” for the second half of a particularly rough game against Mosely. Further, they could rely on the support of the local press to diffuse the values underpinning such actions to a wider audience. They had also demonstrated a sensitivity to the injuries - albeit often accidental - that could occur through participation in a rough physical contact sport.

These sensitivities and behavioural expectations were turned into social actions designed to influence their adoption by others as a product of three major, emerging interdependencies. These were, firstly, the diffusion of rugby football into Gloucester’s working class communities, amongst whom it was perceived that there was a lower propensity to exercise control over the emotions. Secondly, and relatedly, there was a desire amongst the dominant middle-class organising group to establish a relationship involving integration into the game’s governing body, the RFU. During a period of increasing inter- and intra-community rivalry associated with the expansion of the club’s fixtures and status, and the growing rivalry amongst local clubs, it was important for the organising group to demonstrate a commitment to both the legislative principles and aspects of the ethos of amateurism. This also involved attempts to exert effective control over violent play. A reputation for violent play would not have enhanced the prospects for integration. A third interdependency involved the encouragement of women to the ground to witness the early fixtures. This can be interpreted as both confidence in the ability of the early middle-class participants to avoid excessive violence and offensive language, and also that the presence of women was a reminder of the need to maintain that ability. Thus, as “civilised” men they encouraged increased association of women with the club, as spectators, to

witness displays of robust, athletic, masculinity. Accompanying this was there was believed to be a need to modify behaviours in order not to offend the perceived sensitivities of women to bad language and violence. To some extent, and particularly with the diffusion of rugby to the working-class, these sensitivities were used by the dominant group to reinforce their attempts to persuade other men to control their emotions. It is to be noted that, in each case, these social actions involved status-seeking activities over groups positioned lower in the social order who were perceived to be less able to exercise control over their emotions. This status-positioning was constructed by middle-class men through the exhibition of a particular form of masculinity, involving both physical and affect-control criteria. In all of these cases the emerging interdependencies were being significantly influenced by members of the middle-class.

This influence over the way in which rugby was to be played was institutionalised with the formation of the Gloucestershire Referees society. In the early years of their operations the main concern was over the more expressive forms of behaviour involving fighting and the use of "bad language". Over time, they achieved some success in pacifying these activities through the imposition of external controls vested in the authority of the referee and backed by a Disciplinary Committee with the powers to limit the participation of an offender. It appears that it took some time for the authority of the referee and the Disciplinary Committee to be established amongst some players. The reductions in levels of violence amongst working-class groups of players are likely to have occurred only to a level where they did not threaten valued components of their specific construction of masculinity. Nevertheless, it does appear that the threat of expressive and instrumental acts of violence being noted, reported and punished had some influence in leading such working class men to internalise a degree of control over such behavioural dispositions. Additionally, the organisation, by middle-class volunteers, of rugby for boys attending Gloucester's Elementary Schools and for adolescents who had left school, also contributed to this process. These groups of boys were believed to be amenable to socialising influences that encouraged self-restraint through rule-governed behaviours, the diversion of sexual energies, a respect for authority and an emphasis on character

development that could readily be translated from a personal to a collective set of “national” identity characteristics.

The evidence suggests that there was, at this stage in the development of Rugby football in Gloucester, an association between increasing interdependencies and the exercise of greater control over the emotions amongst social groups with respect to engaging in what appear to have been predominantly expressive acts of violence. It has also been observed that these interdependencies were dominated by the organisational influence of middle-class groups and involved attempts to reform and modify the social behaviours of their social subordinates. This influence, through the imposition of external control, appears to have been partially successful. The extent to which these behaviours were internalised and transferred into other aspects of social life is difficult to establish. Additionally, the evidence regarding the degree to which a pacification of the emotions was internalised by working-class players drawn from the locality is inconclusive and requires more research regarding the relative balance between this and externally imposed forms of control. Nevertheless, it has become clear that middle-class groups considered themselves to be able to exercise greater control over their emotions, at least in public.

In addition, the “civilised” middle-class men who took on organising and administrative functions were at pains to demonstrate their ability to exercise foresight over the expanding web of interdependencies associated with the development of the club by successfully bringing to bear “rational” business principles to bear on its operations. Also involved in this process was a centralising and tightening of control over players using the available “technology” associated with the increasing scientification of player performance. This took the form of increased surveillance over their fitness regimes, particularly after the building of the gymnasium, skills development and tactical initiatives.

Evidence of a “civilising process” with regard to increasing control over the emotions amongst the spectators at Gloucester FC is less clear cut. This period was characterised by a growth in spectators, in particular of groups not fully acquainted with the ethos of the game. Two major incidents of crowd disorder at

Kingsholm have been identified, the first against Coventry in 1892 and the second, a cup game against Bristol in 1906. Both involved close results in which the referee was believed to have significantly influenced the result. Neither resulted in physical violence to players or the referee although aggressive verbal and physical postures were taken. The raised tensions associated with a "knock-out" cup competition were clearly a contextual factor in the Bristol game. However, a consistent factor in both incidents was the perceived partiality of the referee. Partiality was seen as an abrogation of the referee's responsibilities and an offence against community. It was interpreted, along with a host of other "slights" - for example, non-selection of Gloucester FC players for international duty, adverse press reports and criticism of Gloucester's playing style and support - as a general dislike of the "club" by others. This was particularly acutely felt when it emanated from groups who regarded themselves, or who were regarded, as being drawn from higher status social groups. Incidents such as these contributed to and reinforced an "oppositional" component of collective identity.

IV

This section gathers together the research evidence of the ways in which constructions of masculinity in sport have, over different periods of time, contributed to the structuring of a gender order between males and between males and females. It also attempts to assess the extent to which a hegemonic form of masculinity, that is a culturally idealised form of masculine character in a given historical context, can be observed. Where possible comment will be made on the ways in which these constructions influenced, and were influenced by, changes in the pattern of gender relations. Evidence for the existence of an equalising of power ratios between males and females hypothesised by Eliasian theory, in particular the part played by functional democratisation, will also be commented upon (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 13; Dunning and Maguire, 1996).

It has been demonstrated that, in the early phase of Gloucester FC's development, the construction of a gender order was evident and to some extent reflected the social structure and associated behaviours and values of male groups in the city. Middle-class versions of masculinity were proselytised and displayed. This was not because this group was necessarily the strongest or fittest. Sports practice by these men showcased athleticism and skill, the ability to give and take "hard knocks", the benefits of temperate and sober behaviours, and the ability to exercise control over the emotions in a rough and vigorous team sport. The adoption of this "superior" form of masculinity by other males was encouraged through the playing of rugby football. A key audience for these displays, and for the diffusion of associated values, was groups of working-class males where greater emphasis appeared to be placed on a more aggressive use of the body honed by physical labour and used as a source of pleasure. Thus, there was persistent struggle over competing forms of masculinity. Dominant middle-class groups attempted to define the components of a "superior" form of masculinity and, through a combination of encouragement and control, exercise a degree of influence over its adoption by lower status social groups.

The male body, as the source of athleticism, skill and physical robustness in sport, was a central component that cut across class groups in the construction of

a gender order. The evidence would seem to suggest that, at this stage in the development of Gloucester FC, rugby football did indeed, as Dunning and Maguire (1996: 308) suggest:

represent an enclave for the legitimate expression of masculine aggression and the development and expression of traditional masculine habituses involving the use and display of physical prowess and power.

As a “masculinity-validating experience”, it involved dominance primarily over other men. This could be achieved by employing acts of physical aggression as well as higher levels of skill and tactical acumen in sport. Class differentiation was achieved by attempts to marginalise a relatively more unrestrained use of physical power rather than by an attack on this component *per se*. Age was also incorporated into this construction in two ways. Firstly, the organising of schoolboy rugby initiated boys into traditions of masculinity shared by men. Whilst this may not necessarily have been the primary form of socialisation of “boys becoming men”, it was a powerful one and a process specific to males. Secondly, for older males who no longer played sport, or those who did not participate, incorporation into a male hierarchy was achieved through direction of their mental energies to administrative support through the club’s committee. These voluntary activities entitled them to be recognised as “sportsmen”. Participation in sport, and in its administration, were masculinising practices that validated and legitimised sport as a fundamentally male experience. Further, in constructing relations between themselves they also constructed gendered differences between males and females.

Gender relations were structured and reinforced through sport and encompassed a variety of practices. Firstly, the growth of rugby as a participant and spectator sport in Gloucester was an additional source of predominantly male sociability. As Parrat (1998) points out, this would have increased the amount of time men were out of the home, reinforcing a “sexual division of leisure”. Additionally, the development of gate-taking along with associated drinking and gambling activities, would have diverted, for working-class families, meagre discretionary incomes to support male leisure. Secondly, the attendance of women at rugby

matches took place under the patronage of males who ensured that “the ladies” had preferential access to the most comfortable areas of seating. Women were encouraged to spectate not that they should learn how to play, but that they should learn how men played. Thirdly, the reporting of the “Lady Footballers” match, held at Kingsholm in 1895 as a commercial entertainment, clearly drew attention to their inability to participate in a “man’s sport”. The fact that they played association rather than the more vigorous physical contact sport of rugby football also added to the construction of a male hierarchy in sports by suggesting that women could more readily play soccer than rugby. Fourthly, the mocking tone evident in the above report is replicated in the poem entitled *A Mother’s Opinion* presented in Chapter Four. The poem, one might suggest, was primarily intended for consumption by men rather than women. The concerns expressed by the mother regarding her son’s participation in rugby were a clear statement of what masculinity was not. Finally, there are undercurrents of a sexualisation of male sports performers. The cartoon *Miss Sport* (Appendix 22) suggests that, albeit ambiguously and within the constraints of the time, males who play sport are sexually attractive to females. In all of these practices sport is implicated in differentiating men from women. In Eliasian terms the construction of a culturally idealised hegemonic masculinity contributed to the position of males as the “established” group in this figuration and, concomitantly, women as “outsiders”. Thus, notions that constructed an hegemonic form of masculinity in and through sport, also contributed to the structuring of male hegemony in gender relations.

The discussion of established-outsider group relations reveals a paradox with regard to identity formation. On the one hand, there were disparate, socially differentiated groups associated with Gloucester FC. This existed alongside a strong sense of collective identity centred on the rugby club to the extent that, towards the end of this period, “the club” was being described in essentialist, reified terms. During this research a matrix of interlocking components emerged that constituted the basis of what would become a robust and enduring source of collective identity, in essence an “imagined community of males”. Constructions

of masculinity were clearly a key component, along with other components such as:

- Symbols: the association with the city crest; the “cherry and white” playing strip; and Kingsholm as the “home” of rugby in Gloucester.
- Stories: match reports and comments disseminated through the local press by “W.B.” Bailey providing a common bond of intimacy; celebratory “souvenir” publications; and informal conversations between spectators.
- “Slights” and oppositional relationships: from referees, officials of the RFU and other clubs.
- Shared victories and defeats: particularly against Welsh clubs.
- Icons: outstanding players and industrious, effective committeemen.
- Traditions: of local recruitment and administrative competence.

As contextual factors associated with shifts in power-ratios changed, particularly those accompanying the transition to professionalism during the 1990's, some of these components would be marginalised and others fade and re-merge. Nevertheless, as socially and historically rooted components of collective identity they provided, and continue to provide, a “social cement” for a substantial group of males.

The aims of this final section are twofold. Firstly, to “round out” the analysis of the development of Gloucester FC with comment on the explanatory adequacy of organising theoretical frameworks, and secondly, to identify potentially fruitful areas for additional longitudinal research.

With regard to evidence of an Eliasian “civilising process” it has been shown that there was an observable lengthening of chains of interdependency and accompanying social differentiation. Commercialisation of rugby at Gloucester FC, initially through its development of gate-taking in the late 19th century and the subsequent financial and organisational support of the diffusion of rugby football into the local community, was a dominant driving force in this process of functional democratisation. Whilst it would appear that increasing interdependencies were predominantly structured by economic relations, they are nevertheless not reducible to them. Affective bonds have also been shown to be important for players and officials.

The development of Rugby Union football, as epitomised at Gloucester FC, and as a sport in general, is characterised by an interlocking matrix of balances and tensions. These are associated with its appeal as a mimetic activity, that is as a site for the pleasurable, controlled decontrolling of emotions in the setting of a mock contest. This, as Dunning (1994: 336) points out, comprises its “deep or basic structure that is fundamentally produced and reproduced by their written and unwritten rules and codes”. The construction of the rules of sport which, as Morgan (1994: 34) suggests, means that “the permissible means to attain the goal are always narrower in scope than the possible means to attain it”, also adds to its affective appeal. Sport, as a sociable activity for players and spectators, also encompasses possibilities for the construction of forms of masculinity and collective identity through participating in and witnessing physical activity. Whilst these features can be seen as components that generate a degree of relative autonomy from economic relations they are, paradoxically, features that make sport commercially exploitable.

An additional component of a "civilising process", an equalising change in the balance of power between social classes and other groups, has also been the subject of inquiry in this research. A critical observation in this regard has been the way in which both bourgeois and male hegemony have been maintained albeit in modified forms, throughout the period under investigation even in the context of equalising power ratios. In the early phase of Gloucester FC's social history, bourgeois groups dominated the playing and administrative personnel of the club. Rugby football was a means for displaying a set of social values and, through organising and structuring its diffusion amongst the local population, enabled attempts to be made to exert a degree of social control. Additionally, the dominant middle-class group at Gloucester FC monetised relationships through gate-taking activities to exploit the interest of local middle and working-class groups. The financial support of local clubs structured relationships in such a way as to sustain the status of Gloucester FC as the city's premier club. Once gate-taking became firmly established after the purchase of the Kingsholm ground in 1891, commercial imperatives significantly increased in importance and were addressed by individuals with appropriate business management and accountancy skills. This deeply embedded a capitalist, market driven logic in the operations of Gloucester FC.

Used in conjunction, "established-outsiders" theory and hegemony theory have proved to be potent tools in explanations of how groups became established and outsiders, and how relative positions were maintained or shifted as a consequence of changes in power structures. The analysis has illuminated ways in which dominant groups have negotiated with and accommodated to subordinate groups. This approach has been equally applicable to the analysis of both class and gender relations. This is perhaps not surprising in the former case. Elias is clearly sensitive to the issue of economic relations. Mennell (1992: 125) draws attention to the point made by Elias that access to economic power resources as a basis for group differentiation is, "in most cases quite indispensable to an understanding of established-outsiders relationships". With regard to gender relations, male hegemony formed the basis of established-outsider relations. Sport, in this instance rugby football, was implicated in the

generation and maintenance of notions of “maleness” central to the construction of and hegemonic masculinity, that contributed to a structured differentiation of males and between males and females. An implication of this observation is that, when the male body is centralised as a component of hegemonic masculinity, effective challenges to male hegemony are likely to come from other groups of males rather than from women.

Additional opportunities suggested by this research involve a continuation of a processual, theory-guided research and empirically guided theory approach to sports development. Firstly, changes in gender relations, as they are evident at Gloucester FC, can be tracked. The incorporation of women into the “clubhouse”, to provide voluntary domestic labour and opportunities for sexual liaisons, as paid administrators, as sponsors or guests of sponsors and as players, suggest opportunities for exploring the changing nature of the rugby clubhouse as a male preserve. Additionally, the transition to professionalism has entailed changes in the domestic circumstances of players and their partners by enabling the former to spend more time in the domestic sphere than would have been the case as an amateur. At the same time, the emergence of a pan-European and global transfer market for players shifts the relative power balance in favour of male partners as they search for increasingly lucrative employment and, in consequence, are required to relocate themselves and their families.

Secondly, in the periods preceding, and subsequent to, the legitimisation of professionalism in England, there has been an observable, and ongoing managerial paradigm shift at Gloucester RFC. This has involved a transition from a members club run by an amateur, voluntary, elected committee administrative structure to an investor-owned public limited company managed by a hierarchy of professional staff. These changes took place as the club moved from a £300,000 to a £3.5 million per annum turnover business over the four years from 1993 to 1997. It also involved, as part of what was a painful process, the termination of the contracts of two Directors of Rugby and two “chief executives”. There is, therefore, an opportunity to analyse this “process of changing”. As Pettigrew (1987: 655) points out with regard to management research, “there are remarkably few studies of change that actually allow the change process to

reveal itself in any kind of substantially temporal or contextual manner.” This research established the dominant operating paradigm as it had emerged by 1914. It has also been suggested that this remained the dominant paradigm during the period of “shamateurism” in English rugby union football that preceded the subsequent legitimization of professionalism in the sport in 1995. It can thus provide the starting point for further processual analysis.

Additionally, the analysis can be informed by the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). They observe that periods of rapid and intense change often give rise to a paradox of decay and revival of traditions. That is, some components of the “invented traditions” are no longer appropriate in new contextual settings, whilst others are revived and distilled as a nostalgically recollected “essence”. Preliminary indications suggest that, at Gloucester RFC, aspects of decay include a decline in traditions of financial probity; a reappraisal of the appropriateness and effectiveness of an amateur, volunteer committee structure; and a decrease in recruitment of players from the locality. These are accompanied by a loss of ownership of the club by its members to an owner-investor holding 98% of share capital in the club. Elements of revival are emergent, but there appears to be a revival of ways of spectating with emphasis focused on the popular side of the ground known as “The Shed”. Its traditions of hard, masculine humour stand in contrast to the attraction, particularly by other clubs, of a more gentrified, family-based group of spectators attending as part of their portfolio of leisure entertainments. Members of these groups are regarded as lacking a longstanding attachment to the sport or a club. This “traditional” style of supporting the club is also evident in the unofficial, and highly popular, “fanzine” entitled *Shedhead*, currently in its fifth season of publication. It is also evident, to a lesser extent, in material contained on the club’s website www.kingsholm-chronicle.org.uk (Initially this website was “unofficial”. Recently, it has been adopted by the club as their official site.) An essentialist construction of “Glos’ness” has also been revived in these products, a “nostalgia binge” that may, as Davis (1979: 107) points out, “be a means for holding onto and reaffirming identities which have been badly bruised by the turmoil of the times”. Drawing on local traditions of physically robust, aggressive masculinity, players recruited from

Australia, New Zealand, France, Morocco, Manu Somoa and rival clubs, are reminded in these products that their acceptance by spectator groups at Gloucester is contingent upon making contributions to club loyalty in these terms.

Recruitment from an increasingly globalised sports labour market, suggests a research agenda that can contribute to, and be informed by, Bale and Maguire's (1994) work on global sports labour migration. In conjunction with related themes in Maguire and Tuck's (1998) empirical study of the impact on identity politics of accelerating processes of globalisation in English Rugby Union football since 1945, the scope exists to explore the extent to which the recruitment by Gloucester RFC of players from a global market, has weakened, strengthened, or pluralised the construction of local identity, as it is expressed through support of the club (Maguire and Tuck, 1998: 106).

Extending the longitudinal analysis to current developments in professional Rugby Union football in England, may make it may be possible to comment on the changing nature and degree of affect control exercised by players over the use of violence. *A priori* indications suggest that there has been both a general decline in overall levels of violence and excessively rough play, and a shift along the continuum of expressive-instrumental violence towards the latter. Gloucester RFC's success in the 1970s and 1980s was built on a reputation for an aggressive physically-hard style of play that occasionally went beyond the bounds of what was acceptable, even in a sport such as rugby football. This tradition appears to have generated tensions as the market for rugby, as a sports entertainment, expanded to audiences less acquainted with this robust form of masculinity. These tensions, should they prove possible to uncover and study in depth, may serve as indicators of resistance to levels and types of violence in Rugby Union football in England, and make possible comment on the degree of pacification achieved in the sport by the end of the 20th century.

The possibility of testing another aspect of the Eliasian theory of a European civilising process has emerged from this research. Elias has suggested that accompanying a civilising process, encompassing a long-term changing balance between external constraints and self-constraints, there also occurs a change in

the “We-I” balance in favour of the latter (Mennel, 1992: 265). Elias (1991: 156) explains it thus:

It is characteristic of the structure of the more developed societies of our day that the differences between people, their I-identities, are valued more highly than what they have in common, their we-identity. The former outweighs the latter.

Mennel (1992: 265-266) observes that the construction of a “we” identity is therefore relative to “they” identities. Also constituted in identity constructions there are:

“it” functions: social actions... often performed and justified in the service of a symbolic “it” - a creed, a flag, the honour of a family the glory of a nation. In the end, “it-functions” refer back to people, but the force of the appeal of such symbols should not be discounted.

On this basis some tentative remarks regarding the nature of professional sport as a particular source of group habitus can be made. Again, *a priori* evidence suggests that “I-functions” of professional rugby players are increasingly prioritised and are influenced by a number of factors. These include; the need to maximise incomes from performances over a relatively short career; short-term playing contracts; the attention of agents and the media; the use of civil and criminal law forcing greater personal responsibility for control over violent impulses; the “remasculinisation” and sexualisation of rugby players and the application of developments in sports science, sports psychology and medicine to the bodies and behaviours of professional rugby “athletes”. In conjunction with a growing transfer market, this would suggest that players’ attachment to a we-identity, which at Gloucester RFC was historically associated with civic identity, is likely to diminish. Contemporary indications suggest this may be the case. Professionalism, as Morgan (1994: 146-147) points out, exposes the paternalistic nature of relationships under amateurism that contributed to and extracted a sense of loyalty, replacing them with an employer-employee relationship. Nevertheless, this type of loyalty may be replaced, to varying degrees, by a re-

emphasising of collective identity based on loyalty and performance *on behalf of* the team rather than *for* the club. A possible shift in favour of individual identity is also mirrored, to some extent, in the shift from amateur, volunteer committee structures of organisation, collectively representing the membership, to a professionalised management structure. In the latter case, individual performance is more intimately bound to career development than was the case for amateur administrators. These preliminary observations clearly require empirical investigation to establish their validity and thus potentially contribute to this aspect of theory.

With regard to “it-functions”, the legitimisation of professionalism was the product of eroding affective bonding to the ethos of amateurism as a symbolic “it”. In marketing the sport to new groups of spectators, and to limit the reduction in affective bonds by spectator groups with a longer term attachment to the sport, sociability and the distinctive form of “maleness” associated with rugby have been distilled from the ethos of amateurism. This has come to form the post-professionalism “essence” of Rugby Union football. An analysis of the marketing strategies of the elite clubs, particularly to new groups of spectators, may well shed some light on this “re-invention” of tradition.

Regardless of the ways in which this research might develop, it remains the case that a multi-paradigm, multi-method approach to the research task is indispensable if the subtle, incremental, historically and socially rooted changes in the ways groups of individuals, as *homines aperti*, behave are to be fully appreciated. This analysis of the early development of Gloucester RFC is indeed only a beginning.

APPENDIX ONE

GLOUCESTER RFC ARCHIVES 1873-1900 (BOX 1)

List of Members 1895-1900
Memorandum and Articles of Association 1891
Receipts (Western Mail and Daily Argus)
Bank Payments Book
Gloucester and District Cup Competition 1893
Invoice for International Tickets
Correspondence re. Shewell case 1894
W.B. BAILEY's Scrapbook (1873-1949)
Secretaries Handbooks, 1st Team 1879/80-1896/7 (incomplete)
2nd Team 1890/91-1898/9 (except 1895/6)
Voting Paper, AGM 1899
Share Receipts Books (1891) x3
Cash Book (1887-1889)
Ledger (1891-1893)
"100 Years of the Cherry and Whites". 1873-1973 Souvenir.
Jubilee Souvenir 1873-1923.
History of the Gloucester Rugby Club. Transcript of Lecture
given by C. Granville Clutterbuck in the Wheatsheaf Hall,
Brunswick Road, Gloucester. (26th September 1951)

GLOUCESTER RFC ARCHIVES 1900-1920 (BOX 2)

Secretaries Handbooks 1st Team 1900/01-1919/20 (incomplete)
2nd Team 1901/02-1904/05, 1912/13
Kit Supplies to Players 1907-1910
Secretary's Notebook 1912 (notes and draft correspondence)
Season Ticket Books (1912/13)
Season Ticket Sales Records 1902/03-1909/10
Balance Sheets v. New Zealand Oct. 19th 1905
v. South Africa Nov 3rd 1906
Tax Return 1906
Gloucester RFC League (for local clubs)
Report on relations with local clubs (1904 sub-committee)
Accounts Ledger (1901-1922)
Lease of ground and sub-letting (1907)
Receipts; England v. Wales (1900) and Cash Book
Gloucester v. New Zealand (1905)
Bank Book (1908-1920)
W. "Billy" Johns Collection (photo's, programmes, obit., England
selection papers) Glos. Captain 1905/06

GLOUCESTER RFC ARCHIVES 1920-1930 (BOX 3)

Secretary's Handbooks 1st Team 1924/25-1926/27
Accounts 1921/22
Letter re. ground improvements
Correspondence (use of ground, rent, taxation)
Insurance Documents
Bank Books
Minute Book; Stan Bayliss and Sid Brown Memorial Funds (incl.
cuttings)
Ledger (1922-1932)

Notes on procedure to wind up Football Ground Co.Ltd. (1923)

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1930-1940 (BOX 4)

Secretary's Handbooks 1931/2-1933/4
Minute Book Sept.23rd 1930-Sept 10th 1940
Purchase of shares in Football Ground Co.Ltd.
Annual Accounts 1931/32,1932/33 and 1934
Insurance Policy Documents
Map of alterations to River Twyver
Cutting of England v. Wales (Kingsholm)
Ledger 1932-1948
Warwickshire v.Gloucestershire Programme 1931

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1940-1950 (BOX 5)

Record Book 1945/46
Minute Book Sept 10th 1940 to 31st Jan. 1950
Schedule of Repairs Feb.1946
Insurance Documents
Ledger 1948-1960

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1950-1960 (BOXES 6 and 7)

BOX 6.

Minute Books, Jan. 1950 to June 1956
July 1956 to June 1965
Diamond Jubilee Programme x4
Match Records 1954/55
Trust Fund Documents (Memorial Fund for Playing Fields)
Correspondence (telephones, insurance)

BOX 7

Programme sales record 1959-1962
AGM.Report 1958/59
Accounts Book 1950/51-1958/59 (in box 8)

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1960-1970 (BOX 8)

Minute Book July 1965-June 1973
Cuttings 1960-1961
Team Book 1962/63
Box of miscellaneous items (RFU regs. re. Sunday fixtures and 7-a-side)
Bar Stock Ledger 1967/68
AGM.Report 1960/61
Box of receipts 1960/61

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES. (LARGE METAL BOX)

"Gloucester Athletic and Football Ground Co. Ltd." (formed 1891)

Correspondence;

1892 to 1900 incl.
1920's, 1930's, 1940's (various and limited)
Share Transfers Book, 1892 to 1943 and certificates
Share Certificates Receipts Books x3

Dividends Payments Ledger

Assorted Bank Books

BOX FILE (in metal box)

1891+ Mortgage Deeds, Indentures and Conveyances re. Kingsholm
1891+ Leases to Gloucester RFC.
1892 to 1945 AGM's and Accounts of Co.

OTHER DOCUMENTS (re. Grounds Co. Ltd held elsewhere)

Ledger 1891+
Minutes of Directors Meetings (1891-1899)
(held by John Hudson)

Minutes of Directors Meetings (1899-1990)
Minutes of Co. Ltd. AGM (1892-1990)
(held by Ken Jackson c/o Gloucester RFC)

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES

A.J. WADLEY Collection (various items of personal and club memorabilia) Captain 1932/33 to 1934/35

ARTHUR HUDSON Collection, 1903+ (held by John Hudson, Hudson Sports, St. Aldgate Street, Glos.) Substantial and varied collection of local newspaper cuttings, personal memorabilia, photo's, International honours and menu's.

GORDON HUDSON Collection, 1943+ (also held by the above)
Substantial collection similar to above, includes Inter-Services fixtures, International honours, photo's etc.

APPENDIX TWO

Linden Grove, Gloucester, 8th October, 1891

Dear Sir,

Mr Bryan has handed me your letter of the 3rd instant asking for the views of the Cricket Club Committee upon the notice to quit the Spa Field, which has lately been served on the Club by the Finance Committee of the Corporation.

We would respectfully call your attention to the fact that we have for nearly, if not quite, a quarter of a century rented the Spa Field as a ground for the use of the Gloucester Cricket Club, and during the whole of that time we can honestly say that no annoyance has been caused to the occupiers of the houses adjoining the field, all of whom I feel sure would be alarmed at the proposal to throw the field open to the public. The Committee of the Cricket Club are of opinion that the retention of the ground in its present condition, and with its present tenants, would be of more advantage to a larger number of the younger citizens of Gloucester than if the contemplated alterations were carried out. We give a few facts in support of this contention:—

The Gloucester Cricket Club has about 120 members.

The ground is sub-let to:—

- (a) Sir Thomas Rich's School with some 300 pupils for cricket and football.
- (b) The Crypt Grammar School for the playing of their cricket matches, their own ground being only large enough for practice.
- (c) The Gloucester Lawn Tennis Club, numbering 50 or 60 members.
- (d) The St. Luke's Sunday School (free of charge) for the holding of their annual treat.
- (e) To the Volunteers (also free of charge) for their annual review.
- (f) The Gloucestershire Cricket Club for the playing of a County Cricket Match once, and in some seasons twice, a year. We have had for years past a difficulty in getting a County Match, and if we are deprived of the ground Gloucester may as well bid good-bye to County Cricket for ever.
- (g) To the Athletic Club for the holding of their annual sports.
- (h) To the Oddfellows and other kindred societies for mustering for Church parade.
- (i) The Gloucester Rounders Association (a club composed entirely of working men) for their annual shield competition.

If the Club is to be deprived of the use of the ground it will have to play at Kingsholm, and this will be a source of great disappointment to other clubs who are applying to rent that ground, whilst Sir Thomas Rich's School and the Crypt School may as well give up cricket altogether, as

they certainly cannot obtain any other suitable ground in or near Gloucester without going to an enormous expense in the matter of levelling, &c.

We would respectfully call your attention to the fact that we have locked up in the erection of the Pavilion upwards of £800, which we did under the impression that so long as the Cricket Club of Gloucester was in existence, so long would the Spa Field be their headquarters.

The action of the Finance Committee is the less justifiable in our opinion, because at some pecuniary sacrifice by ejecting the Football Club, and after labour, expense, and incurring considerable responsibility in finding a new ground for the popular game of football, we endeavoured to act up to the suggestions contained in your letter of 16th June, written at the request of the Park Committee, to improve the condition of the Spa Ground and in every way to meet the wishes of the Lessors.

We trust that these few facts will be considered of sufficient importance to induce the Committee not only to withdraw the notice to quit, but to give us an assurance that we shall not be disturbed for years to come, as, if this is not done, we say that we should prefer to go at once and take our pavilion with us than be kept in suspense, with a chance of being dismissed in a year or two's time, when the pavilion will have become the property of the Corporation.

I might mention, in conclusion, that the notices given to the several clubs who play tennis in the smaller field were received by them with the greatest surprise, and they are waiting anxiously to know what decision the Finance Committee come to as regards the Cricket Ground.

I am, yours faithfully,

HUBERT J. BOUGHTON

Geo. Sheffield Blakeway, Esq.,
Town Clerk

P.S.—I shall be pleased to wait on the Finance Committee to-morrow if they think it desirable.

RESOLVED:—

That the Town Clerk be instructed to write Mr Boughton, and also the Lessees of the Spa Cricket Field, explaining that notice to quit was served upon the Lessees under a misapprehension as to the length of notice required to terminate their tenancy and without knowing some of the facts mentioned in Mr Boughton's letter; and stating that, if the Lessees approve, the notice may be regarded as withdrawn.

APPENDIX THREE

This sketch, reproduced from a paper published at the time—Nov. 21, 1891—represents the team after one of their stiff tussles at Cardiff. Many of the figures will be easily recognised by old footballers, Captain Tommy Bagwell, who brings up the rear, is unmistakable.



The return to the "Angel," the Gloucester boys beaten by one try, Capt. Bagwell (*loq.*) "Wait till we get 'em on Kingsholm, we'll give 'em Taffy-whack."

1897

FOOTBALL EDITION.

FOOTBALL COMPETITION

£2 PRIZE.

TEN SHILLINGS CONSOLATION PRIZE.

We offer a prize of £2 to the competitor who gives on the coupon below the names of the winning clubs, and the actual number of points scored by the respective teams, in the matches named.

In case of general failure to secure this prize, a Consolation Prize of 10s. will be awarded to the competitor who gives the largest number of winning clubs and correct scores. In case of comparison of equal merit, the prize will be equally divided.

(TO BE DETACHED ENTIRE.)

"CITIZEN" FOOTBALL COUPON

For Playing Day, December 27th, 1897.

Strike out losing club. For a draw strike out neither club, but insert points, if any. Points.

| | | |
|---|----------------------|--|
| 1 | GLoucester | |
| | Old Merchant Taylors | |

| | | |
|---|------------|--|
| 2 | Cheltenham | |
| | Newport H. | |

| | | |
|---|-----------------|--|
| 3 | Stroud | |
| | Gloucestershire | |

| | | |
|---|------------------|--|
| 4 | Cinderford | |
| | Thrupat Athletic | |

Name

Address

CONDITIONS.

Coupons, bearing name and address of sender, written on must be cut entire from the paper, one folded, and forwarded in a sealed envelope directed—

FOOTBALL COMPETITION.

"CITIZEN."

GLOUCESTER.

More than one coupon may be enclosed in one envelope, but if none are sent the envelope must be sufficiently stamped, or it will be refused.

All coupons must be in our hands not later than Thursday evening next, if delivered by hand, or by first post on Friday morning next, if sent per post.

No employee of the Proprietors of the "Citizen" will be allowed to compete.

The successful competitor will be announced in our issue of the Thursday following the matches.

Competitors may, if dissatisfied, demand a scrutiny as demanded in G.L., which will be insisted if the objection is reasonable. Any objections should reach our office not later than the Saturday following the announcement of the results of the competition. The decision of the Editor in all cases will be final.

1905

FOOTBALL EDITION.

FOOTBALL SKILL COMPETITION.

£20 FIRST PRIZE £20

£10 CONSOLATION PRIZE £10

The Proprietors of "The Citizen" will give £20 to the Competitor or Competitors who succeed in predicting on one line the actual number of points scored by each club in the two matches given below.

The Coupon below contains 13 lines; the first line is for the first match, and if competitors wish to ascertain their club more than once they must indicate names and correct order on the runs of half-penny for each line filled up after the first.

The correct results must be all on one line. In the event of no one winning the first prize, £20 will be given to the competitor naming the next correct results and correct scores.

Should more than one competitor prove successful the prize will be divided.

It is only necessary to state the number of points under the name of each club, and they must be clearly written in ink.

| | Fourth v. Gloucester | Cheltenham v. Stroud |
|----|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | | |
| 2 | | |
| 3 | | |
| 4 | | |
| 5 | | |
| 6 | | |
| 7 | | |
| 8 | | |
| 9 | | |
| 10 | | |
| 11 | | |
| 12 | | |
| 13 | | |

Name

Address

Coupons, bearing the name and address of the sender, MUST BE CUT ENTIRE from the paper, and forwarded in a sealed envelope directed—

FOOTBALL COMPETITION.

"CITIZEN."

GLOUCESTER.

If one has sent the envelope must be sufficiently stamped, or it will be refused.

All coupons must be in our hands not later than Thursday evening next, if delivered by hand, or by first post on Friday morning next, if sent per post. If from any cause whatever the coupon is not delivered on the above date, or is delayed after the same is in our hands, it will not be considered and will not be admitted to the competition. The coupon is at the risk of the sender until actually received at this office, and the competitor will not be entitled to any prize in respect of it until actually received, and in case of dispute referred by the Editor or having actually been so referred.

No employee of the Proprietors of the "Citizen" will be allowed to compete.

The successful competitor will be announced in our issue of the Thursday following the matches.

Competitors may, if dissatisfied, demand a scrutiny as demanded in G.L., which will be insisted if the objection is reasonable. Any objections should reach our office not later than Saturday following the announcement of the results of the competition. The decision of the Editor in all cases will be final.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

In the event of neither of the matches being played, the Proprietors reserve to themselves the right to deal with all correspondence received in the manner they deem most equitable.



T. BAGWELL, Captain Gloucester Football Club
(From Photograph by Mr. G. Colles)

THE GLOUCESTER CAPTAIN.

The popular captain of the Gloucester team, T. Bagwell, whose portrait we give on the opposite page, commenced his football career about fourteen years ago, with the St. Luke's Red Cross, and his connection with the Gloucester club dates back to the season of 1886-7, when Frank Brown captained the team. He at that time played centre half, and sometime afterward, when W. A. Houghton threw up the sponge, he took his place on the right side of the scrum and at a later date, when H. V. Jones left Gloucester for London, he filled the gap caused by his departure at three-quarter, and this position he has filled ever since. He is at the present time thirty-two years of age, his playing weight is ten stone, and his height about 5 ft. 4 in. For some four years he has played in almost every county match and in 1886, when at his best, as a half-back, he was considered by competent judges to be second only to Rothwell in England; and there is no doubt that had the club at that time gained the name which it now enjoys he would have secured international honours. Although he has played for a longer number of years than most footballers are enabled to maintain the dash and daring necessary to the game, Bagwell, as all our readers know, is still fresh, and well able to hold his own. In 1889 he was elected to captain his team, and that he has done so with success is shown by the long list of successes of which the club can boast. We are glad to learn that there is a young Tommy coming on who, if the boy is father to the man, gives promise of being equal to his father in course of time; as at the present moment we learn his mind is already centred on the game; and we may hope in the seasons to come he will take a prominent position between the goals.



A. CROMWELL, Forward Gloucester Football Club



HON. TREASURER GLOUCESTER FOOTBALL CLUB



"Charley" Hall.

Played for England v. Ireland, at Dublin, on Saturday, Feb. 2nd, 1901. Had to disengage of the Gloucester Club, and to a long player, this position is reserved, where his object (to be) and weight (that, etc.) being that he is 25 years old.



The sixth and youngest member of the Hall family to play for Gloucester. Played Soccer at school, and was a little hero amongst his schoolfellows. Gained his first medal in 1899-00 for Deacon-street, champions of the local Schools Association. Started Rugby with Deacon-street Continuation, and in turn assisted West End and Gloucester A. A really clever centre, with a big future. Age 19; height 5ft. 5ins; weight 10st. 7lbs.

Photo by H. E. Jones, Northgate-street.



Gloucester's International.

W. JOHNS.

(Photo by H. E. Jones, Northgate-street.)
W. Johns, who was honoured with a place in the English team against Wales to-day, played his first match for Gloucester against Cheltenham in a mid-week fixture in 1901-2. He secured a regular place in the city team the following year, and captained the side in 1903-4 and 1904-5, proving one of the most popular leaders the Club ever had. Gained his county cap last season but had appeared for Gloucestershire in several matches prior to earning the coveted head-gear. During the past two seasons Johns has shown grand form, but was overlooked for any of the important trials until this season, when he appeared for the West v. London and the Midlands. His selection for the highest honours on the football field was thoroughly well-merited, and congratulations have been showered on the Gloucesterian from all parts of the county. Johns is 25 years of age, height 5ft. 9ins., and turns the scale at about 12st. 6lbs. It is interesting to note that Johns is an old Sir Thomas Rich's boy, and the School is naturally very proud of the fact that one of their old boys has gained his International cap. George Romans, it will be remembered, was reserve full back on several occasions, but never succeeded in gaining honours. Johns was captain of the School XI. for two seasons (1894 and 1895). He played half-back, and he attributes his dribbling abilities now solely to his school training. After leaving school the International played for two seasons with Rich's Old Boys.

Famous Footballer.

The first of the great International Rugby football matches of the present season is taking place to-day (Saturday) at Cardiff, when the representatives of "Gallant Little Wales" meet the pick of the clubs of "Old England." Great interest is centred in the contest in football circles generally, and locally that interest is enhanced by the fact that on the English side will appear Charles Smith, of the Gloucester City club. He is playing right-wing three-quarter, and has a difficult task set him to stop the Welsh backs from scoring. Defence is his chief forte, however, and "Whacker," as he is familiarly called, is expected to shine in that department more than on the attack. At the same time, he is a most resolute player under whatever conditions face him, and Gloucester football enthusiasts are naturally proud of their man. "Whacker" is fairly fast, kicks well, and tackles magnificently, and when near the line is difficult to stop. Though only of average height—about 5ft. 7in.—he is sturdily built and it is safe to say that there will be no more closely-criticised player in to-day's great match than this "auburn-haired" son of "good old Gloucester." That "Whacker" may help to "whack" Wales is the hearty wish of his admirers. It is interesting to note that Smith is the third 'Cestrian to gain International honours, his predecessors having been the brothers Frank and Percy Stout. Our photograph is by Mr. Fred Pickford, of Gloucester, himself a keen enthusiast at the winter pastime.



APPENDIX FOUR

GLOUCESTER FC List of Players (reprinted from *Gloucester Citizen* 23.3.1887)

| Name | Birthplace | Date of Birth | Age last birthday | Year when first played |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Tom Graves Smith (Capt.) | Willingham, Cambridgeshire | September 1st 1860 | 26 | 1880 |
| Henry Edward Taylor | Leominster, Herefordshire | June 1st 1857 | 29 | 1881 |
| George Walter Coates | Rodborough, Glo'stershire | November 25th 1860 | 26 | 1882 |
| William Henry Frenn | Gloucester | December 2nd 1860 | 26 | 1882 |
| Henry Benjamin Sloman | Dulverton, Somersetshire | February 24th 1853 | 29 | 1882 |
| Ernest Daniel Tandy | Gloucester | April 3rd 1864 | 22 | 1883 |
| Harry Lacy Broughton | Brixton, Surrey | March 15th 1860 | 27 | 1883 |
| Henry Archibald Sanders | Gloucester | January 1863 | 24 | 1883 |
| Thomas Bagwell | Gloucester | September 3rd 1859 | 27 | 1884 |
| Richard Henry Oakley Banks | Much-Birch, Herefordshire | March 1860 | 27 | 1884 |
| James Nevitt Oswell | Gloucester | October 28th 1865 | 21 | 1885 |
| Charles Edward Brown | Gloucester | June 3rd 1866 | 20 | 1885 |
| Samuel Albert Ball | Gloucester | April 12th 1867 | 19 | 1886 |
| Emmanuel Ellis | Gloucester | September 17th 1863 | 23 | 1887 |
| Arthur Frederick Hughes | Gloucester | February 5th 1866 | 21 | 1887 |
| Thomas Taylor | Gloucester | May 1867 | 19 | 1887 |

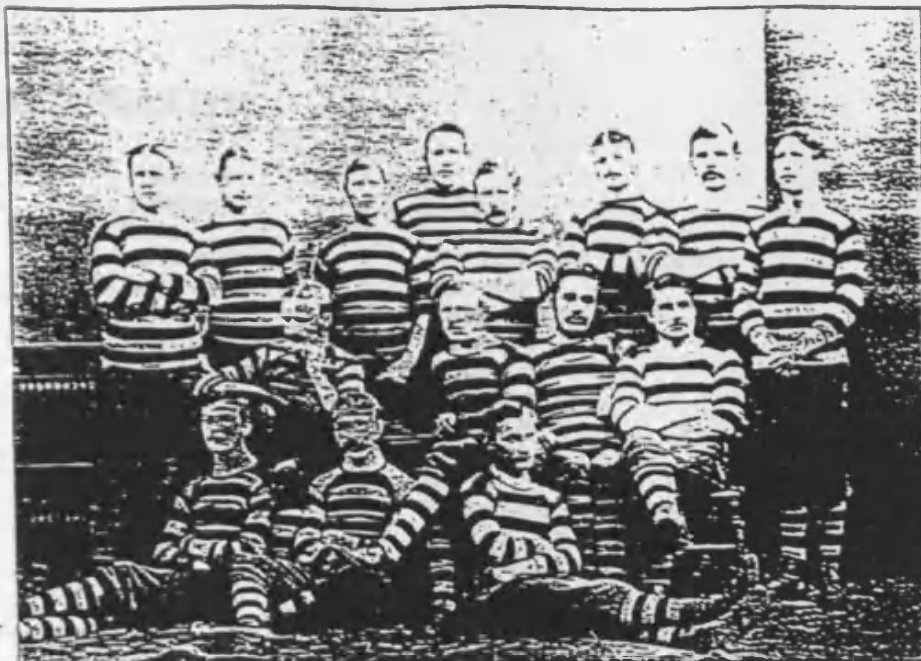
APPENDIX FIVE



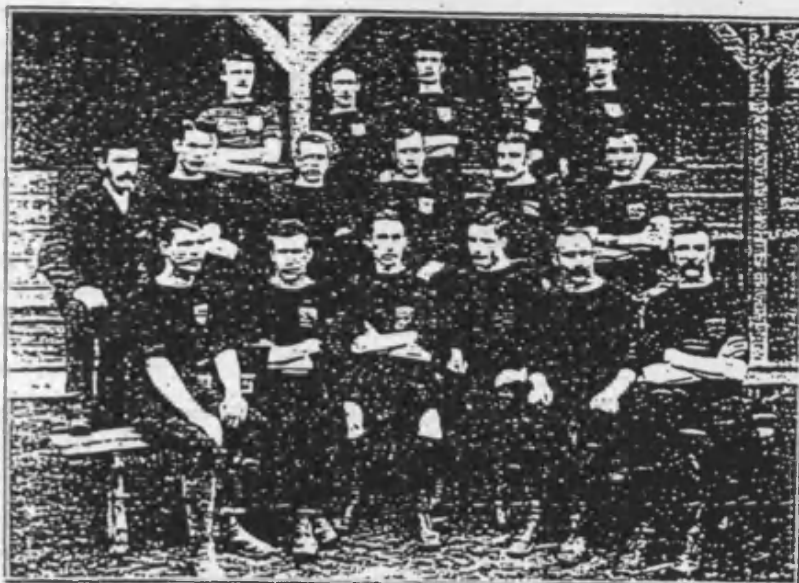
THE GLOUCESTER R.F.C.

APPENDIX SIX

ONE OF THE EARLIEST TEAMS (ABOUT 1876-77)



J. W. Bayley, J. Bennett, W. A. Boughton, P. B. Cooke, —, H. J. Berry,
F. Billett, H. J. Boughton.
J. F. Brown (Capt.), W. Snushall, F. Tandy, L. Bubb,
G. J. Dewey, W. Brown, J. F. Grimes.



GLoucester's RUGBY FOOTBALL TEAM OF 30 YEARS AGO.

Above is a photograph (kindly lent us by Mr. W. Lea, of Gloucester), of the Gloucester Rugby Football Team in season 1883-4. They played on the Spa ground, where the photograph was taken. During the season they played 19 matches, won 15, lost 2, and drew 2.

Top Row.—H. E. Cadence (back), H. J. Boughton (capt., 4), G. Coates (2), W. A. Boughton (1), H. V. Jones (1).

Middle Row.—A. W. Vears (umpire), H. L. Boughton (1), H. E. Taylor (2), J. W. Bayley (1), H. J. Berry (back), E. D. Tandy (1).

Bottom Row.—B. Sloman (1), H. Fream (1), T. G. Smith (1), H. A. Sanders (1), W. Brown (1), G. J. Dewey (1).

1. 1883/84 Team

| | |
|----------------|--|
| H. G. Cadenne | (**) |
| H. J. Boughton | Solicitor |
| G. Coates | Labourer |
| W. A. Boughton | n/a brother of H. J. Boughton |
| H. V. Jones | Journalist |
| A. W. Vears | Timber Merchant |
| H. L. Boughton | Not known |
| H. E. Taylor | Plumber and Glazier |
| T. W. Bayley | Wine Merchant |
| H. J. Berry | Hotel Keeper |
| E. D. Tandy | Innkeeper |
| B. Sloman | n/a |
| H. Fream | Builder's Assistant (***) |
| T. G. Smith | Clerk |
| W. Brown | brother of J. F. Brown (1876/77 Captain) |
| G. J. Dewey | Accountant |

(**) Cadenne is listed in the 1881 census as a "scholar". His father was a retired civil servant.

(***) Fream's father was a Builders' Employer suggesting he ran his own building business and that his son helped in this business.

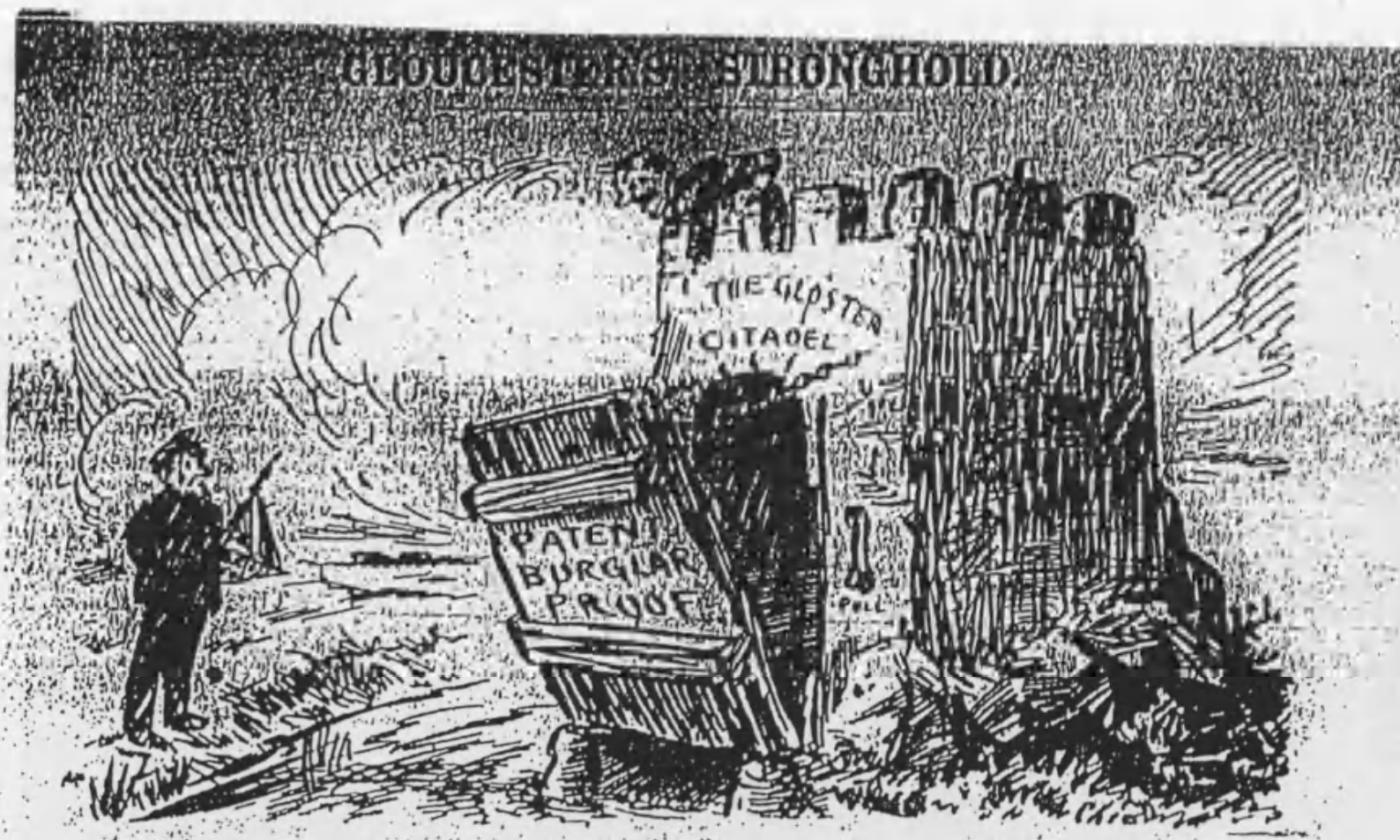
2. 1876/77 Team

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| J W Bayley | (*) |
| J. Bennet | n/a |
| W. A. Boughton | (*) |
| P. B. Cooke | Articled clerk |
| H. J. Berry | (*) |
| F. Billet | n/a |
| H. J. Boughton | (*) |
| J. F. Brown | Post Office Clerk (Captain) |
| W. Snushall | Clerk (in timber) |
| F. Tandy | Brickmaker |
| L. Bubbs | n/a (ex-Crypt School) |
| G. J. Dewey | (*) |
| W. Brown | brother of J. F. Brown |
| J. F. Grimes | Timber Merchant |

(*): See 1883.84 Team

Sources used: *Gloucester Citizen* obituaries. "W. B.'s" *Scrapbook*, Gloucester RFC archives. The *Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Company Ltd* (1891). *Summary of Capital and Shares*. (this document lists the shareholder's name, address and occupation. Although this information is eight years in advance of the 1883/84 team it is useful in identifying the occupational backgrounds, albeit at an early stage, of those players who held shares in the company.)

APPENDIX SEVEN



BRISTOL: Here! I want a few words with you. Just let me in, will you!

GLOUCESTER: Well, come in, by all means,—if you can!

[Gloucester has so far maintained an unbroken record in home matches against English teams.]

APPENDIX EIGHT

THE LAST SEASON AT THE SPA (1890/91)



S. S. Starr, A. Cromwell, R. C. Jenkins, G. J. Witcomb, A. E. Healing, C. Williams, J. Williams, A. Ward,
T. B. Powell.

A. Collins, A. F. Hughes, W. H. Taylor, T. Bagwell (Capt.), T. Collins, H. V. Page, T. G. Smith.
W. George, S. A. Ball, W. Jackson.

APPENDIX NINE



MR. H. J. BOUGHTON,



A. W. VEARS, ESQ

APPENDIX TEN

— GLOUCESTER FOOTBALL CLUB —

BELL LANE, GLOUCESTER,

20th July, 1891.

PROPOSED NEW GROUND.

DEAR SIR,

An opportunity has arisen of purchasing the Castle Grim Estate, situate at Kingsholm, Gloucester, comprising 7a. Or. 21p., as a Football and General Athletic Ground for £4,400 (of which sum about £1,000 will be borrowed on Mortgage) and a Limited Liability Company, with a Capital of from £2,500 to £3,000 in Shares of £1 each, is to be formed for the purpose of carrying the scheme into effect.

The property comprises (in addition to the house and buildings in the centre of the ground, which will be pulled down) two houses and a builder's yard fronting Worcester Street, at present bringing in a rental of £39 a year, and which can be sold off without in any way injuring the ground from an Athletic point of view. There will also be a considerable quantity of land, with frontages to Worcester Street and Dean's Walk, which could at any time be sold off for building purposes if thought desirable.

The Ground is in every way adapted for Football, and with a comparatively small outlay can be made ready for play by the beginning of the coming season. It is only eight minutes' walk from the Cross and Railway Stations, and will have two entrances, one from Worcester Street and one from Dean's Walk.

An Agreement has been prepared and is proposed to be entered into between the Company and the Football Club, whereby the former will receive as a rent from the Club one third part of the GROSS ANNUAL INCOME of the Club, such aggregate amount, however, not to exceed in any one year £275, and in addition to this source of income the Company will let the ground for Cricket, Cycling, Athletics, and other objects of a similar nature, during the summer months.

The gross income of the Gloucester Football Club last year amounted to £560, and it is estimated that with a ground entirely enclosed, the income will not be less than £1000 during the coming season, especially when taking into consideration the excellent List of Matches which has been arranged; and it is further estimated that with the amount to be received from the Football Club and its income from other sources, the Company will be able to pay to the Shareholders a dividend of certainly not less than £5 per cent. per annum.

The Company is not being floated for the purpose of paying large profits, but for securing a permanent and suitable Ground for the use of the Football Club; and it is because of the interest you take in Football, and in the Gloucester Football Club in particular, that we address this Circular to you, in the hope that you may be able to assist the undertaking by subscribing for Shares. We may mention that 1400 shares have already been subscribed for in numbers varying from 1 to 100.

If you are desirous of taking shares, will you kindly fill up and return the annexed form to us at the above address on or before Monday, the 27th day of July, instant.

Yours truly,

HUBERT J. BOUGHTON.

A. W. YEARS.

P.S.—A Draft of the proposed Agreement between the Football Club and the Company, and a plan of the Property, can be seen at the offices of Messrs. Bretherton, Son, and Boughton, Solicitors, Bell Lane, Gloucester.

To MESSRS. BOUGHTON AND YEARS.

I hereby agree to subscribe for..... Shares of £1 each in the Company proposed to be formed for the purpose of purchasing and laying out The Castle Grim Estate as a Football and Athletic Ground.

Name (in full).....

Address.....

Occupation.....

APPENDIX ELEVEN

The information presented below has been gleaned from original documents and conveyances held in the Gloucester RFC archives. They are, as far as can be ascertained, an accurate representation of the early legal and financial arrangements of the Grounds Co.

Stages in the Purchase of the Kingsholm Ground

1. Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity sold the Castle Grim Estate to A V Hatton for £3,600.

notes: *A V Hatton was a Gloucester Brewer and Freemason (Master of the Royal Lebanon Lodge in 1879). He also purchased £100 of shares in the Grounds Co.
*conveyance undertaken 11.11.1891 although the purchase agreement was made earlier in 1891.

2. A V Hatton agreed to sell the Castle Grim Estate to Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co Ltd for £4,400 in July 1891.

notes *a "hitch" in the sale was reported in The Citizen on July 14th owing to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners refusing to convey the property to Hatton on the grounds that he had offered it for sale before he had himself entered into a formal contract with them. Hatton held the lease on the land, owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners but had not yet exercised his option to purchase. This was resolved after an exchange of letters between the respective solicitors. Archdeacon Sherringham and the solicitor acting for the Dean and Chapter travelled to London to secure the sale for Hatton.

3. A V Hatton, C Paytress (a Worcester Grocer) and E Pates (a Cheltenham Coal Merchant) lent the Grounds Co £2,500 via mortgage at 4% interest on 12th November 1891.

notes *in essence these three men facilitated the purchase of the land by providing the mortgage. Hatton had already made £800 on the sale of the land and in addition would receive 4% interest on his share of the mortgage.

4. Grounds Co borrowed a further £500 from Hatton, Paytress and Pates at 3.75% 12th November 1896.

5. A V Hatton transferred mortgage to Paytress and Pates 15th March 1899.

6. Paytress and Pates transferred the mortgage to the Trustees of the City of Gloucester Working Men's Conservative Association Benefit Society 19th December 1899.

notes *H J Boughton was the solicitor to the Benefit Society and arranged the transaction. He was also a Freemason and was Junior Warden of the Royal Gloucestershire Lodge by 1901.
*The Benefit Society was essentially a Pension, Sickness and Insurance Fund run by the Conservative Association for working men. There was also a Working Men's Liberal Association Benefit society operating in the city.

7. During 1928 and 1929 after the rugby club had acquired ownership of virtually all of the share issue they made loans to the Grounds Co to enable them to repay large portions of the outstanding mortgage. By 1929 only £1,300 was outstanding. (It has not been possible to find when this was finally paid off.)

The club at this point effectively owned the ground through its position as Trustees of the majority of the shares in the Grounds Co.

notes *This gave rise to the position whereby technically the land was owned by the Grounds Co but other assets, buildings etc were owned by the rugby club.

Sources:

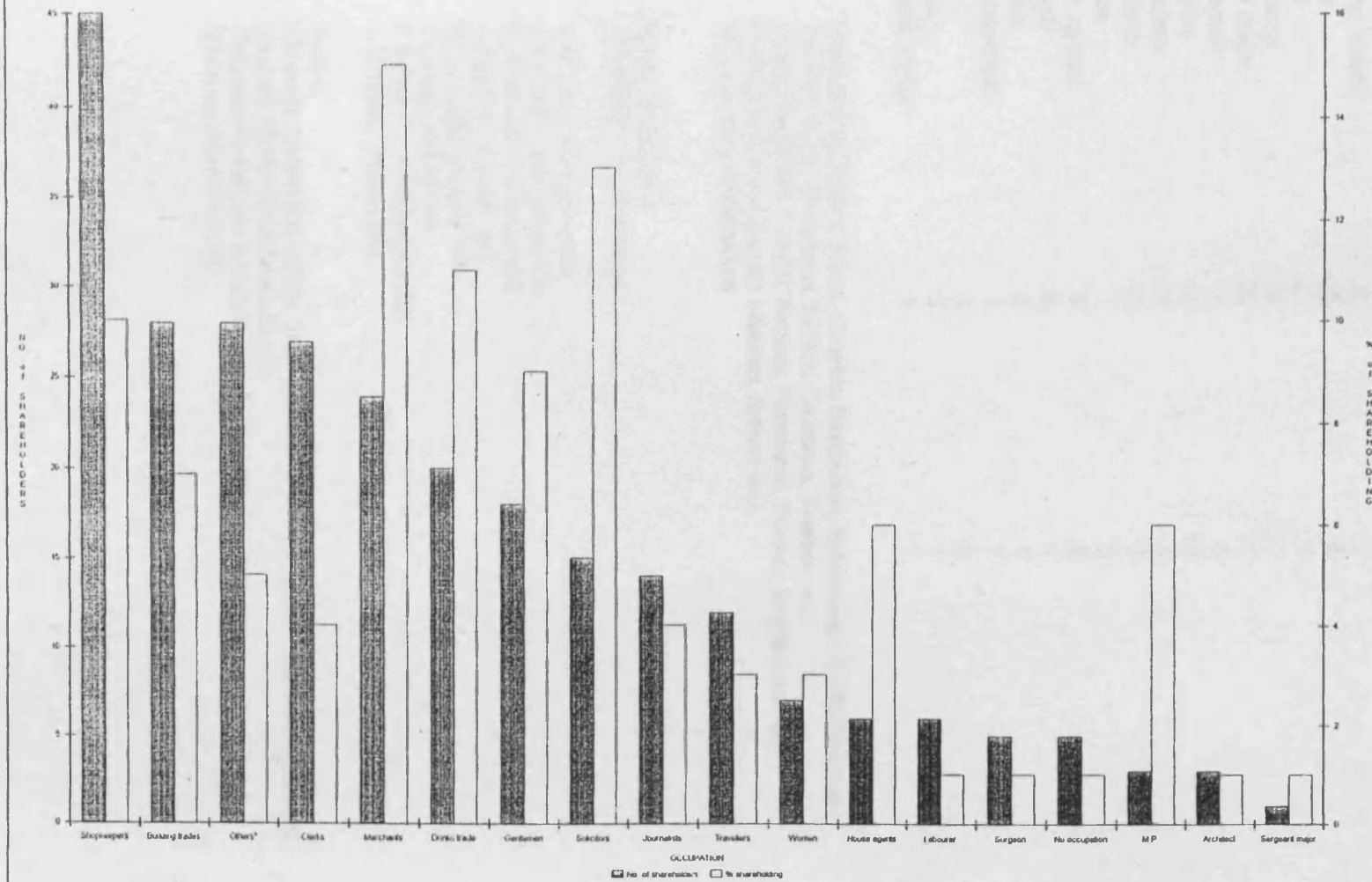
Original documents:

Gloucester RFC archives, Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co Ltd *Directors Minutes*
Masonic memberships: *History of the Royal Lebanon Lodge* The Gloucestershire Collection, Brunswick Rd, Gloucester (ref no GRO D 3358/10) and the *Gloucester Citizen* 9.5.1901.

APPENDIX TWELVE

GLOUCESTER ATHLETIC and FOOTBALL GROUND

CO LTD 1891



COMPOSITION OF SHAREHOLDINGS.

(notes to appendix)

SHAREHOLDERS.

| <u>Occupation</u> | <u>No. of shareholders</u> | <u>Percentage shareholding</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Shopkeepers | 45 | 10 |
| Building trades | 28 | 7 |
| Others | 28 | 5 |
| Clerks | 27 | 4 |
| Merchants | 24 | 15 |
| Drinks trade | 20 | 11 |
| Gentlemen | 18 | 9 |
| Solicitors | 15 | 13 |
| Journalists | 14 | 4 |
| Travellers | 12 | 3 |
| Women | 7 | 3 |
| House agents | 6 | 6 |
| Labourer | 6 | 1 |
| Surgeon | 5 | 1 |
| No occupation | 5 | 1 |
| M.P. | 3 | 6 |
| Architect | 3 | 1 |
| Sergeant major | 1 | 1 |

Shopkeepers; (Drapers, Bakers, Chemists, Hairdressers, Haberdashers, Confectioners etc.)

Building Trades; (Bricklayers, Builders, Decorators, Plumbers etc.)

Others; (Coachmen, Farmers, Foremen, Elocutionist, Postman, Engine Driver etc.

Drinks Trade; (Hotel Keepers, Maltsters, Brewers etc.)

M.P.(Members of Parliament)

DIRECTORS.(1891)

(Shareholding in parenthesis)

A.W.Vears; Merchant (100)

C.H.Priday; Land Agent (100)

A.Woodward; Gentleman (50)

S.Davis; Haberdasher (25)

G.Cummings; Maltster (50)

T.Gurney; Builder (20)

C.H.Dancey; No Occupation (25)

A.V.Hatton; Brewer (100)

Sources:

Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co. Ltd. *Summary of Capital and Shares*, Dec. 1891.

Companies House Postal Search Service.

Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Co. Ltd. *Directors Minutes*.

Gloucester Journal 9.5.1901

APPENDIX THIRTEEN

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF DIRECTORS OF THE GROUNDS CO. 1891-1923

| | 1891 | 1893 | 1894 | 1898 | 1899 | 1901 | 1904 | 1905 | 1908 | 1910 | 1913 | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1919 | 1920 | 1921 | 1922 | 1923 |
|-------------------|--|----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|--|
| CHAIRMAN OF BOARD | A.W. Yates (builder) | | | | | | | | | | | | did | T.A. Walsh (merchant) | H.G. Nor- man (over merchant) | resigned | W.T. Warner (surveyor) | | |
| | C. Polday (land agent) | did | D. Rardon (commission agent) | | did | | T.A. Walsh (merchant) | resigned - ill health | S.W. Hingle (ex-FC sec) | | | | | | | | | | sold shares to club |
| | A. Wood- ward (gentleman) | old | Cornway Jones (decorator) | resigned | H.J. Berry (Lanc. New Inn) | | | | | | | | | | | | did | H.J. Berry (son) | |
| | S. Davis (haberdasher) | | | | | | | | did | H.A. Dancy (made to full director) | | | | NEW CHAIRMAN | | | | | RESIGNED UNDER PROTEST refused to sell shares and stand as director |
| | G. Cummings (smith) | | | | | | resigned | F.H. Broth- erton (colliery) | | | | | | | | | | | sold shares to club A. H. Brown As Sec to club offered to buy up (approx) remaining shares (qualifier) |
| | T. Curney (builder) | | | | old | T. Powell (clerk) | resigned | F.W. Lavery (grocer) | | | | | | | | (sold shares to club) | W.G. Aylliffe (game dealer) | | supported transfer of ownership (shares sold to club on death in 1930) |
| | C.H. Dancy (in occupation) | | | | | | | | | did | A.C. Williams (made to full director) | | | | | | | | |
| | A.V. Hutton (brewer North- gate brewery) | | resigned | W. Stout (Trustee of FC shares) | C.E. Brown (sack com- pactor) | | | | | | | | did | F. Tandy (brick- maker) | (sold shares to club) | A. Winfield (seed merchant) | | | sold shares to club |
| IRON FC. REP. | S. Starr | T. Smith (ingenerat) | H.W. Glines (colliery) | | | H.G. Brown (clerk) | | H.A. Dancy (architect) | A.C. Wil- liams | W. Johns | A. Fielding | | | | | | | | R.W. (replaced Dancy) CHAIRMAN |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | J.T. Brookes (Trustee of FC shares) | | | DEPUTY CHAIRMAN |

NOTES. 1. 1901; T.D. Powell was nominated by the Gloucester Athletic Club who held 78 shares

2. 1913; W. Johns was an ex-captain of the club.

3. 1920; The no. of directors was increased to ten (as permitted in the Articles of Association). This enabled the rugby club to increase its representation on the Board.

4. 1920; J.T. Brookes was the new club rep. as a trustee of its shares. He was employed at the Wagon Works in Gloucester eventually as works manager.

5. 1928; Directorships were reduced to six.

APPENDIX FOURTEEN

Telephone No. 881

HARRY A. DANCEY,
Architect,
1, Barton Street,
Gloucester.
Hendons,
Midland Road,
Gloucester.
S. S. Starr Esq.,
Secretary,
Kingsholm Ground Co.

Telephone No. 881

1, BARTON STREET,

March 1st 1923.

HARRY A. DANCEY,
Architect,
Gloucester.

1, BARTON STREET,

November 25th 1924

"Woodlands,"
Midland Road,
Gloucester.
S. S. Starr Esq.,
Secretary,
Kingsholm Ground Co.

Dear Sir,

After very careful consideration I have definitely made up my mind to resign the position of Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Kingsholm Football & Athletic Ground Co., Ltd. This I regret after so many years of hard work freely given in the cause of sport, but it seems to me that it is an impossible position to hold under existing circumstances.

Whilst deprecating very strongly the method of procedure adopted by the Football Club to obtain the power I am bound to admit that they now have it, and I have been told that, "we intend to use it" the result of this is that practically any resolution brought forward is bound to be carried, and my position as Chairman is therefore nothing more than a figure head.

The object that the ground "should be the permanent home of the Gloucester Rugby Football Club" has been the ambition of every Director who has served upon the Board, but this could have been obtained I venture to think in a far better way if the Club had taken the Directors into their confidence, as I am certain they could have done all that they possibly could to bring it about, in the more friendly way they have always dealt with the Club. I feel that I cannot be a party to what is now being done and that is my reason for resigning.

I send with this the Deeds re Powell which have to be stamped and signed at the next meeting of the Board, so that you may deal with them, and I shall be pleased to deliver up my Chairmans key of the Official Stamp to my Successor in the exchange for a receipt for the same.

Yours faithfully,

Harry A. Dancey

Dear Sir,

In reply to yours to hand this morning, it seems to me that the question you ask is one for the other Directors to decide themselves.

I am bound to admit that I felt very acutely the treatment I received some time ago, and I considered it most unkind, after devoting a great part of my life in trying to help the good old Club, and struggling hard to carry on and bring about what men like Hubert Boughton, Harry Ormes and others always had in their mind from the very first, viz; to see the Club in a position to purchase the ground and get it entirely in their own hands.

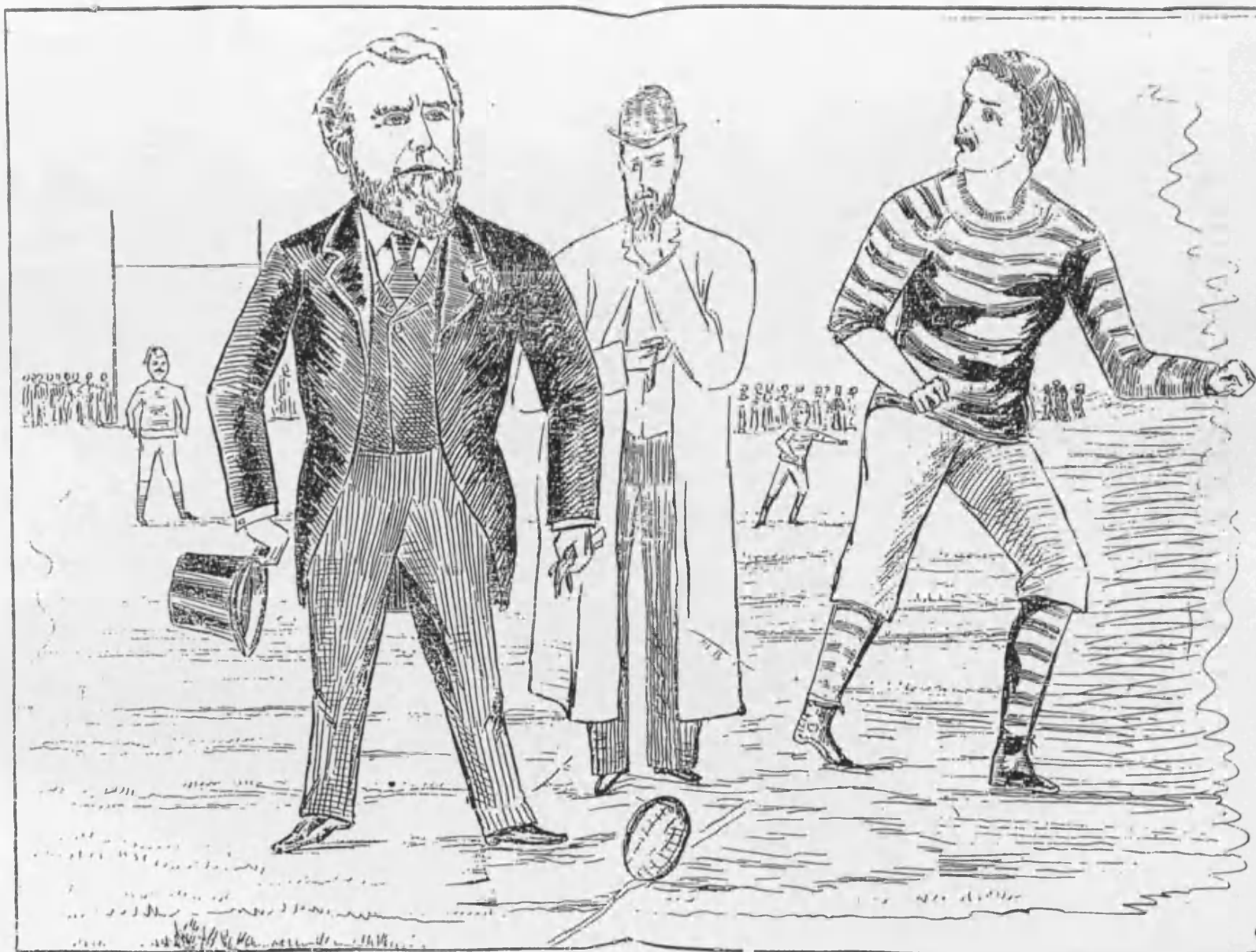
You personally know, that I told you long ago what was secretly going on, but you rather ridiculed my views. I was personally delighted to find the Club in a position to buy up so many shares, but for all this to be done in the manner it was done, purchasing the shares of some of the Directors so as to disqualify them, as such, and then after others had been elected to fill their places, to be told, as I was at a meeting in my Office, "we have the power now and intend to use it" was, in my opinion, to say the least unjustified and unkind, and I am certain that all who were originally connected with the Ground Co. but who have now phased away would have resented such action as strongly as I did, and that is the reason I have not attended a Meeting of the Directors since.

Whatever happens, I do not intend to sell my shares, and if not a Director, shall have the opportunity, if necessary, of expressing my views at the Annual Meetings of the Company.

Yours faithfully,

Harry A. Dancey

APPENDIX FIFTEEN

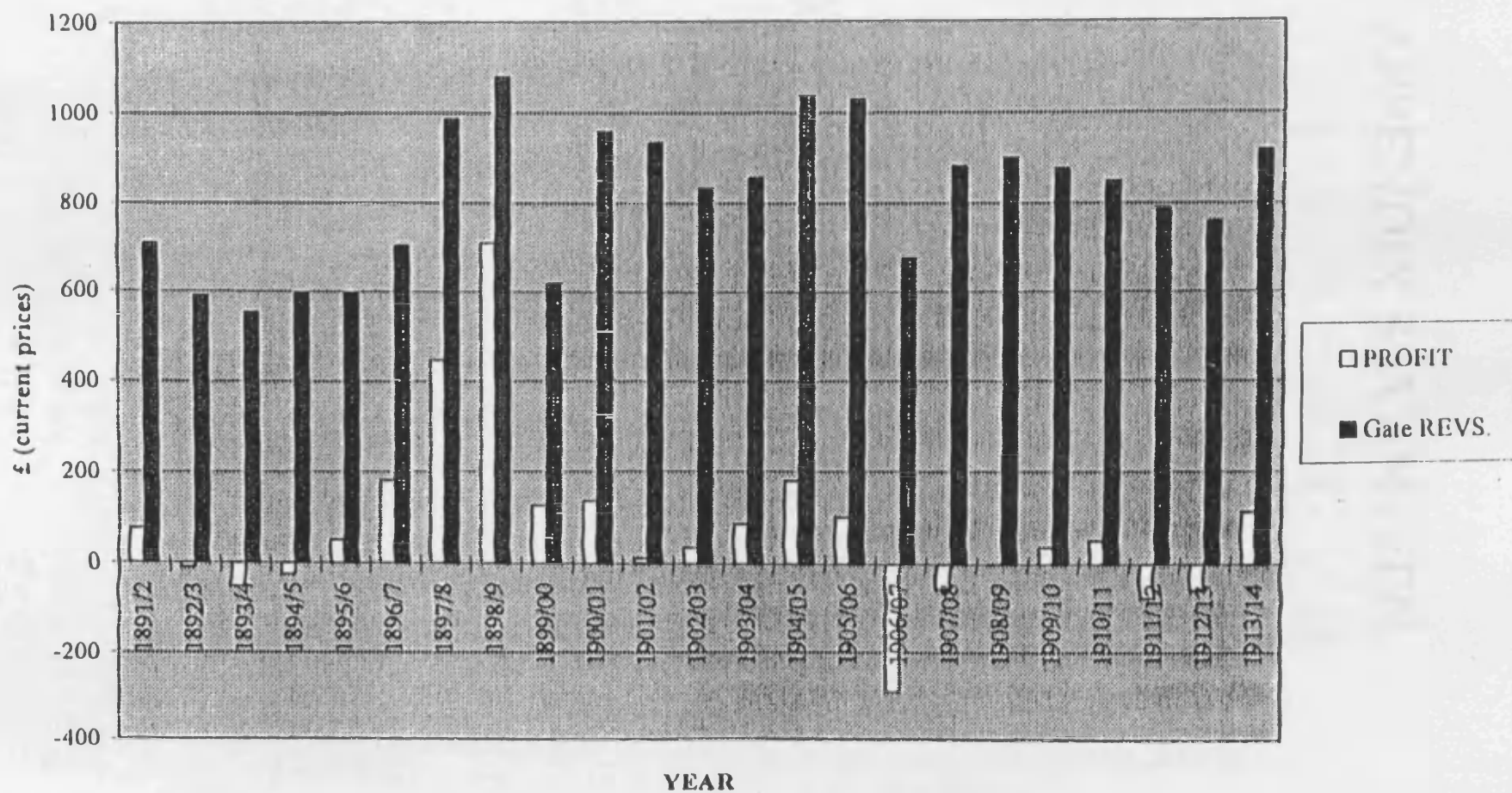


T. ROBINSON, Esq., M.P., SETS THE BALL IN MOTION ON THE NEW GROUND.
 Drawn in anticipation by our artist who is slightly out of form

APPENDIX SIXTEEN

| Selected items from Gloucester FC. Revenue Account; 1891/92 to 1913/14. | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|-------|---------|----------|----------|------|------------|---------|
| | | Gate | Members | Expenses | Expenses | | Gate share | % games |
| YEAR | PROFIT | REVS. | SUBS. | OUT | HOME | RENT | to CLUBS | WON |
| 1891/2 | 75 | 708 | 243 | 180 | 74 | 275 | 88 | 71 |
| 1892/3 | -11 | 590 | 321 | 197 | 81 | 275 | 102 | 53 |
| 1893/4 | -53 | 553 | 230 | 140 | 69 | 275 | 116 | 62 |
| 1894/5 | -25 | 595 | 224 | 126 | 49 | 275 | 110 | 50 |
| 1895/6 | 48 | 595 | 217 | 151 | 49 | 275 | 110 | 31 |
| 1896/7 | 179 | 704 | 204 | 161 | 53 | 275 | 60 | 58 |
| 1897/8 | 447 | 986 | 272 | 222 | 64 | 275 | 87 | 69 |
| 1898/9 | 709 | 1080 | 352 | 228 | 79 | 275 | 94 | 87 |
| 1899/00 | 126 | 618 | 402 | 231 | 83 | 275 | 71 | 71 |
| 1900/01 | 137 | 957 | 248 | 238 | 50 | 275 | 66 | 71 |
| 1901/02 | 9 | 934 | 250 | 257 | 60 | 275 | 135 | 77 |
| 1902/03 | 33 | 833 | 229 | 259 | 42 | 275 | 97 | 54 |
| 1903/04 | 85 | 857 | 245 | 255 | 60 | 275 | 55 | 52 |
| 1904/05 | 180 | 1036 | 265 | 247 | 62 | 275 | 62 | 64 |
| 1905/06 | 100 | 1029 | 376 | 258 | 83 | 375 | 107 | 70 |
| 1906/07 | -290 | 677 | 240 | 267 | 65 | 375 | 109 | 62 |
| 1907/08 | -58 | 880 | 299 | 231 | 60 | 375 | 126 | 68 |
| 1908/09 | -1 | 900 | 301 | 214 | 74 | 375 | 171 | 62 |
| 1909/10 | 33 | 876 | 209 | 209 | 67 | 325 | 144 | 61 |
| 1910/11 | 47 | 848 | 251 | 251 | 62 | 325 | 73 | 63 |
| 1911/12 | -76 | 788 | 348 | 285 | 66 | 325 | 103 | 60 |
| 1912/13 | -60 | 760 | 379 | 245 | 66 | 325 | 68 | 53 |
| 1913/14 | 112 | 918 | 321 | 237 | 74 | 325 | 110 | 68 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

GLOUCESTER RFC. Profit and Gate Revenues, 1891/2-1913/14



APPENDIX SEVENTEEN

Easter Football Club, match for the benefit of the unemployed of Eghoster.
 CLUBS: "Liberals" versus "Conservatives"
 Played at The Spa Date Sat March 30th
 TIME: 3-30

| Goals | For | The | Lib | Con | GOT BY | KICKED BY | PLAYERS' NAMES | | | | | | | | | | GOT BY | KICKED BY | PLAYERS' NAMES |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|------------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----------|----------------|----------------------|
| | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | | | |
| 1 | | | | | Coates | H.W. Jones | | | | | | | | | | | Broughton | H.J. Broughton | J. Oswald (Goal) |
| | | | | | Starr | H.W. Jones | | | | | | | | | | | | | H.E. Taylor |
| | | | | | H.W. Jones | H.W. Jones | | | | | | | | | | | | | H.J. Broughton (Cap) |
| | | | | | Baquer | H.W. Jones | | | | | | | | | | | | | R.G. Dere |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | H.A. Broughton |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | E.D. Jandy |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | R.H.O. Bannell |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | A.T. Bannell |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | H.L. Broughton |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | M.G. Moore |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | E. Killman |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | J.W. Bailey |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | W.L. Bailey |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | A.H. Brown |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | T. Marshall |
| 1 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total Score | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Total Score |

UNPIRE— A.Y. Barnes
 REMARKS— Well contested game. Liberals scored first & Conservatives soon after.
 Better condition of Liberals told after half time, & Conservatives were beaten at all points.
 Coates played splendidly.
 Gate-money £20
 UNPIRE— A.W. Vears
 REFEREE— E. Lawrence.

APPENDIX EIGHTEEN

THE SUSPENSION OF THE GLOUCESTER FOOTBALL CLUB

(To the Editor of The Citizen)

Sir, - As many exaggerated and untrue statements are in circulation as to the facts which led up to the suspension of this club by the Rugby Union, the Gloucester Committee think it well, in justice to themselves and in the interest of football generally, that the facts should be made public.

On Thursday the 23rd December, one of the minor Gloucester clubs, called the "Thursday," went to Stroud to play a match against the Stroud Club, for whom Shewell was playing. After the match two of the "Thursday" players, Minahan and Kiddle (who happen to be members also of the Gloucester Football Club) got into conversation with Shewell, one of the Stroud players in the course of which the latter said he had been out of work for seven weeks, and as he could not get any he was leaving Stroud and thought of going North. They then remarked to him, "Why don't you try Gloucester?" and he replied, he should like to do so and enquired if they thought he could get work there. They said they thought he might, and if he came they would try and find him some. On the following morning Kiddle met Mr Hanman, the Captain of the Gloucester Football Club, in the street, and informed him that he thought Shewell (of whom Mr. Hanman had never previously heard) would turn out a good man, and that he had told him he was going to leave Stroud, and he added, that he (Kiddle) was going over to Stroud that morning on business, and would, if Mr. Hanman liked, see Shewell and ascertain if he was coming to Gloucester. Mr. Hanman acquiesced in this and a telegram was accordingly sent to Shewell asking him to meet Kiddle at the Stroud

station. Shewell, however, misunderstood this telegram and came over to Gloucester, and later in the day saw Mr. Hanman at the latter's office.

Mr. Hanman remarked that he understood Shewell was leaving Stroud, and enquired if he would like to play for the Gloucester club, to which Shewell replied that he would, and Mr. Hanman then said that, if he came to the town, he would do what he could to assist him to find work. Nothing was said at this interview about his playing for Gloucester against Newport on the following day, as the Gloucester team (which had been selected in the usual way on the preceeding Monday) was fully made up. Mr. Hanman then gave Shewell (who felt he had been brought over to Gloucester upon a misunderstanding) to cover his railway fare to and from Stroud, and his tea and they parted. Mr Hanman not expecting to see him again. Later in the evening, as Mr. Hanman was standing at his door, Shewell passed and again entered into conversation with him, in the course of which word was brought to Mr. Hanman that Stephens, one of the Gloucester players, would be unable to go to Newport on the following day. Mr. Hanman knowing that the Stroud club had no match for that day then enquired of Shewell if they would object to his playing for Gloucester, and Shewell assured him they would not. On the following day Shewell accordingly went to Newport with the team and recovered his fare and tea as did the other of the team, and beyond this he received nothing.

These are the actual facts of the case as borne out by the evidence given before the Rugby Union Committee and, if the conduct of Mr. Hanman in telling Shewell (who was avowedly leaving Stroud) that if he came to Gloucester he would endeavour to assist him to find work amounts to professionalism, then I say that no sooner such professionalism is legalised the better for the interests of Rugby football. Looked at in the light of such a decision as this the amateurism of the vast majority of clubs is a sham and a delusion, and nobody can be better aware of this fact

then the Rugby Union Committee themselves. The Committee of the Gloucester Club also feel very strongly that the Rugby Union Committee, who are elected by the general members to carry out the laws of the Union, but who nevertheless arrogate to themselves absolute powers, and from whom there is no appeal, should in every case mete out absolute justice on the merits of the case before them, and should not make one club the scapegoat for the sins of many. That this was so in our case is evidenced by the President's reply to the representative of the club upon the latter's remarking upon the severity of the sentence. "You must consider yourselves martyrs to the interest of Rugby football generally."

I am, sir, your obedient servant.

WILLIAM STOUT

Ex-Amateur Champion Sculler and Chairman pro. tem. of The Gloucester Football Club Committee.

(*Citizen* 9.3.1894)

THE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE **GLOUCESTER CLUB**

THE CLUB FINED.

THREE PLAYERS SUSPENDED

A special meeting of the judicial committee of the Gloucestershire Rugby Union, was held at the Ram Hotel, Gloucester, last evening, to enquire into the charges of professionalism and contravention of the transfer laws proffered by Stroud against the Gloucester F.C. The allegations arose out of the playing by the city team against Newport of W.Shewell, whom the supporters of the charge stated, was offered some inducement to do so. The Committee instituted an exhaustive enquiry into the charge, several witnesses being examined on either side. In answer to the allegations the Gloucester Club denied that any inducement was offered Shewell, and added that the player mentioned, after the match between Stroud and Gloucester Thursday – when the alleged overtures were made – himself offered his services to one or two members of the City Club, providing a place could be found for him in the team. Shewell stated that he had been out of work several weeks, and had been advised to go to the North of England, but if possible, he would much rather stay in Gloucestershire. The proceedings lasted some four hours and, at the close of sitting, it was announced that the decision would be published today. We have accordingly received from the President (Mr. H.J.Boughton) the following official copy of the resolutions passed by the meeting:-

1. That John Minahan and A. Kiddle (members of the Gloucester Football Club), and W.Shewell (member of the Stroud Football Club), having acted in contravention of the rules of the Rugby Football Union relating to

professionalism, are hereby suspended from playing the 9th of February next.

2. That John Hanman, Captain of the Gloucester Football Club, committed a breach of the rules of this Union in playing the said, W. Shewell for Gloucester against Newport on the 30th December last without first obtaining the sanction of the Stroud Football Club, but having acted in the firm belief that Stroud had no engagements on that day, and on the positive assurance of the said W. Shewell that the Stroud Club would not raise any objection to his playing for Gloucester, this Union does not propose to inflict any liability upon the said John Hanman personally.

2. That the above breaches of the rules of the Rugby Football Union and this Union were not committed with the sanction or knowledge of the Committee of the Gloucester Football Club, but as all Clubs are, under the rules of the Rugby Football Union, liable to punishment in respect of the acts of their members, this Union calls upon the Gloucester Football Club to forthwith pay a fine of ten pounds to the Treasurer of this Union, which he shall hand over to the Treasurer of the Gloucester District Nursing Society for the benefit of the funds of that Institution.

(Citizen 13.1.1894)

APPENDIX NINETEEN



MR. JOHN HANMAN

CAPTAIN OF THE FIRST GLOUCESTER FOOTBALL TEAM.

FOOTBALL REQUISITES

SPECIALITIES:

The "JUNIORS," full size,
complete 5s. 0d.

"UNIVERSAL MATCH,"
marvellously cheap .. 6s. 6d

The "ECLIPSE," 7s. 6d



SPECIALITIES:

The "MATCH," unequalled
value, thoroughly warranted 8s. 6d

The "SWIFTSURE," Scotch
make, lapless, warranted .. 10s. 6d

"SPECIAL MATCH," the
finest ball ever made,
thoroughly warranted .. 10s. 6d

FOOTBALL CLUBS and PLAYERS, before purchasing their Requisites for the coming Season, should SEND FOR OUR LISTS AND SAMPLES: Unequalled Value.

Edwinson Green and Son,
Sports Manufacturers,

GLOUCESTER.

NOTES ON SPORT AND PLAY

MR. JOHN HANMAN.

THE HOPE OF THE GLOUCESTER FOOTBALL CLUB.

It is an open secret that Mr. John Hanman, the newly elected captain of the Gloucester Football Club, whose portrait engraved from a photo by Mr. G. Coles, is given in this issue, is looked to make the club this season—if it can be made; that under his generalship the team will either sail on to glory once more or be swamped. I feel confident it will be the former. So does the captain: If the football public give the team proper support.

Mr. John Hanman first saw the light in 1869, and is therefore now in his twenty-fourth year. He stands five foot six inches, and scales twelve stone four pound in his ordinary attire. When fifteen years of age Mr. Hanman left Gloucester, and passed the five years following in Birmingham and London, his favourite pursuit for leisure time being cycling. During this time he did some long distance riding—one of the biggest being a run from Birmingham to Gloucester and back—a distance of 125 miles, which he accomplished in a day, on a solid tired ordinary. For the last two years he has been devoted to the noble art of self-defence, and can lay claim to the distinction of being the best boxer in the county. His instructor has been Anthony Diamond, with whom he sparred regularly all through last season. On the occasion of the Grand Gymnastic display given by the members of the Gloucester Club at the Assembly Rooms Cheltenham,

during the Yeomanry week, he boxed with Morgan Crowther, who, after the set to acknowledged that he had never been hit so hard before with a full sized glove. Which is proof that he is what he looks to be—a hard hitter. To look upon he is an ideal footballer. And his play exactly tallies with his looks. As was abundantly proved on Saturday in the match against the Colts. He has given some good cycling exhibitions at the Gloucester Athletic Sports, but has put the cycle on the shelf since his selection to the captaincy of the football team, as cycling has a terrible effect on the running powers. It would be useless to attempt to gloss over the fact that the Gloucester team which once held such a prominent position, has for the last two or three seasons being getting into a rut. It is from this that I feel confident the new captain will pull them during the season just commenced, and again give the proud distinction of being one of the smartest in the kingdom.

THE YORK ROSE,

(The old WHITE PROVINCE), as used at the Royal Wedding

Strong Plants of the above rare old Rose; Standards, 1/6.
Dwarfs, 1/.

DANIEL PROSSER,

ROSE GROWER, &C.

MATSON, GLOUCESTER.

Floral Decorations of every description supplied at exceptionally low rates.

All Orders by Post promptly attended to.

APPENDIX TWENTY

Baggy being expelled



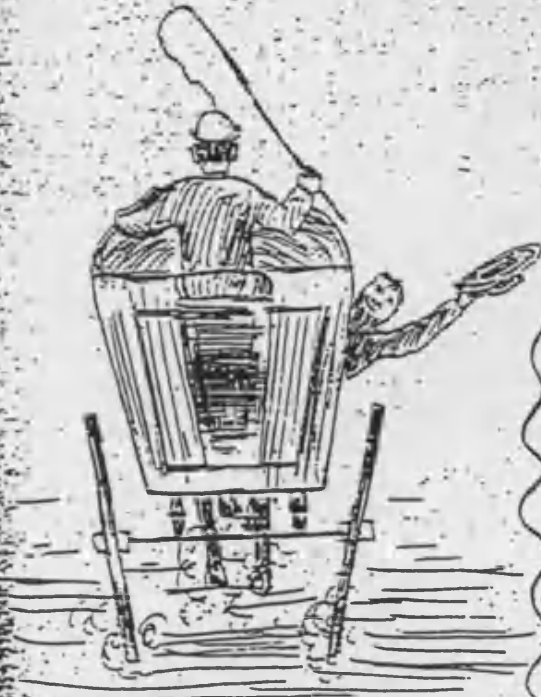
The Referee's decision comes as a surprise



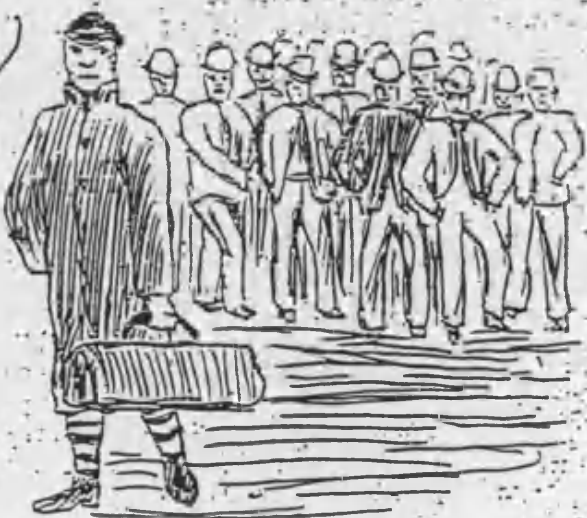
The Crowd become demonstrative



They linger outside to give him a reception.



But he doesn't come that way.



It is suggested that he may be in the bag

APPENDIX TWENTY-ONE

IN DOLEFUL MEMORY OF
Cardiff R.F.C.
 WHO WERE TAKEN DOWN BY GLOUCESTER
 FEBRUARY 18th, 1899.

5 TO 3

Of all the teams in Wales Cardiff are the Crack,
 But to-day Gloucester have nicely pegged them back;
 Gloucester have proved themselves a good team once again,
 And Cardiff, with Swansea, they have numbered with the slain.

NEVER COUNT YOUR CHICKENS BEFORE THEY'RE HATCHED!

IN DOLEFUL MEMORY OF
 Your Old Newport R.F.C.

WHO WERE BEATEN BY GLOUCESTER AT KINSHOLM

Saturday, March 11th, 1899.

Full Backs, LLANELLY and CARDIFF.
 (Chief Mouches, SWANSEA.)

But for good old Gloucester, champions of the Rugby game,
 Cardiff, Swansea and Cardiff they've numbered with the slain.
 Today they took Newport without the famous Brothers' Sign,
 But still they proved quite good enough to put poor Newport in.

LOST, BUT NOT FOR EVER!

Gloucester 11 Newport 0

In Doleful Memory of

NEWPORT

WHO WERE DEFEATED TO-DAY.

So back to Newport let 'em go,
 For the Gloucester boys have whacked 'em;
 We wonder what their girls 'll say,
 The little dears they left behind 'em.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE WELSH QUARTETT

LLANELLY

SWANSEA

CARDIFF

NEWPORT

In no dishonoured grave ye lie,
 Flower of Wales' chivalry,
 You could not help the sad disasters,
 All must bow before their masters;
 And that your masters we have been,
 Upon the face of it is seen.

So let the harp be muted,
 And your Bards in mournful strain,
 Tell how, in Gloucester City,
 Their doughty knights were slain.

P.S.—If you come to life next year,
 And in Gloucester you appear;
 Once again we'll hope to meet you,
 And again the same to eat you.

NEWPORT

In Doleful Memory of

WHO WERE DEFEATED TO-DAY.

So back to Newport let 'em go,
 For the Gloucester boys have whacked 'em;
 We wonder what their girls 'll say,
 The little dears they left behind 'em.

APPENDIX TWENTY-TWO



MISS SPORT IS OFF WITH THE OLD LOVES & ON WITH THE NEW.

Springs delights are now returning. Football is a going out.
Soon the willow will be handled and Lawn Tennis played about.

APPENDIX TWENTY-THREE

THE LADY FOOTBALLERS

"When a lovely woman stoops to folly" there is not telling where she will end. We do not suggest that she has reached the nethermost depth of her possible degradation upon the football field. It may be argued that the line we have quoted above does not apply to the females who disported themselves on the Kingsholm Ground on Monday afternoon because they are not love___ but no matter! They were announced as the "original" lady footballers. Their football is certainly "original" enough to warrant this title, and it is to be hoped that these aborigines may disappear before an enlightened and advancing civilisation. If they could play football some sort of excuse for their appearance might be found, though "the only art their guilt can cover" is not that of playing football. But with one or two exceptions they cannot, their notions of the game being elementary in the extreme and their attempts to play it equally fatuous. Of course, having regard to their sex, we must not expect them to come up to the standard of masculine form, though they invite comparison when they ask the public to pay for the privilege of seeing them perform. It must be remembered that the climatic conditions were all against a scientific exposition, pelting rain, muddy ground, and slippery, sodden ball being sufficient to test the stamina and skill of players made of much sterner stuff. But they evidently belong to the class known in football parlance as "piano players". Their movements were for the most part leisurely, their pace slow, their ability a *negligeable* quality. They betrayed a natural anxiety to avoid hurting one another by charging, and a disinclination to fall in the mud. Nor did their costume make very appreciable addition to the freedom and ease of their movements. And let it be said that, so far as modesty is concerned, the most fastidious could hardly take exception to their attire. The blouses and "bloomers" left nothing to be desired as regards decency, and would even have been picturesque had it not been for their stained and weather-beaten condition, which accorded well with the disheveled hair and general appearance of the

wearers, some of whose faces wore a look familiar to those who know what over-training, staleness and undue exertion will do for the features. We have made one or two exceptions to the charge of ludicrous incompetence. A noticeable one was the lady rejoicing in the *sobriquet* of "Tommy". She was really clever with some of her dribbles, and was much more agile and fast – if we may use the term without reproach in this connection – than her comrades, who trotted about in a rather aimless fashion, and indulged frequently and appropriately enough in "miss" kicks. The game would, perhaps, have been more exciting if the goalkeepers had not been two mere men-things who most ungallantly kicked the ball away whenever the respective goals were in danger; and there might have been more fun if three ladies had officiated as referee and touch judges. The next best thing, we suppose, to having ladies in this position is to have "ladies' men", though we do not for a moment suggest that this was the qualification of either of the gentlemen who acted in these capacities on Monday. Thanks to the exertions of the masculine custodians no goals were scored by either side. The first portion of the game lasted half an hour; and when the second had been in progress fifteen minutes the rain became so bad that even the lady footballers could not stand it. It was getting dark too and the people – there was a big crowd, £55 being taken at the gate – were leaving the ground in droves. Those who were left cheered the bedraggled specimens of femininity as they made for the welcome shelter of the pavilion, "Tommy" coming in for special recognition. Then the spectators dispersed, and probably agreed that getting wet served the players and onlookers right for being there. They had come to scoff, remained to do so, and did. Altogether it was a sorry sort of exhibition. There are so many forms of exercise in which women can take part, and even excel, with benefit to their health, and without sacrifice of womanly dignity and charm. Football is emphatically not one of them. Women are all very well in their place. Football is all very well in its place. The two do not harmonise. They are hopelessly incongruous. If anyone wanted convincing of that fact

Monday's display and Kingsholm can have left no room for doubt upon the point. People do strange things for a living sometimes. Facing a pitiless storm and showers of merciless chaff in "rational" costume, in order to kick a ball about for the amusement of the multitudes seems to me to be to us at once one of the most peculiar and irrational methods of gaining a livelihood.

Reproduced from the *Citizen* 12.11.1895

THE FEMALE FOOTBALLERS

A SCREAMING FARCE

The "Pall Mall Gazette" sent a scoffing reporter to Crouch End on Saturday, where the female footballers made their debut before 10,000 people. Here is a quotation from his report: Then the "lady" footballers burst into the arena. There was a roar of laughter that permeated the empyrean. Hundreds fell off the fence. Tears rolled down the cheeks of men who had never been known to weep in public. Other men who were incapable of deep feeling of this variety fell upon each other's necks and shoulders for mutual support. Small boys fell into paroxysms. Women smiled and blushed. The referee, a small man but brave, grinned and made desperate but ineffectual efforts to cover his face as well as his head with his cap. One of the Blues was built on Dutch lines, and was at once dubbed "*Fatty*". From all parts of the ground there were stentorian requests that she "shouldn't use her weight so much". Miss Clarence, the Blues' goalkeeper, was in trouble from the outset, and once calmly kicked the ball through her own goal, and immediately afterwards disturbed the equanimity of the referee by asking him if the goal did not count for her side. Some of the girls wore their hair in knots, some in tails that hung down their backs, while others wore their hair untrammelled, and were occupied much of the time in brushing it out of their eyes. Some of them wore shin guards, and some did not. This may have been because the shin guards did not improve the symmetry of the legs, and it may not; it is difficult to divine the reasons that actuate girls who play football in public. One of the Reds attracted immediate attention. This was Miss Gilbert. Her appearance created shrieks of laughter but this was more on account of her size and boyish appearance than for any other reason. In the first place, she looked ridiculously, even insanely, diminutive for a football game. Then she was

built like a boy, ran like a boy, and like a boy who could run very fast at the age of ten, and she seemed to know too much about the game for a girl of any size, her height being about three feet. The instant she appeared she was called "Tommy" and there were shouts of "Come out of that, Tommy; you're no girl". "Tommy" was a North forward, and he or she was all over the field and did more work than any other two players. "Tommy" was knocked down several times. Miss Obree, a South half-back, ran well for a girl, and had really very little of the waddle in her gait; but most of the girls ran just like ordinary girls, and as they had not skirts to cover the movements, the latter threw the crowd into convulsions. One girl wore auburn hair. She became known to fame as "good old Ginger". A frequent cry was "Now, Honeyball, back up there, old man". This always caused a roar, as Honeyball took matters generally in a delightfully leisurely way. Few of the girls seemed to know even the rudiments of the game. They had a fearful weakness for off-side and had a placid way of asking the referee for advice that made the crowd scream with joy. The ball must have weighed several ounces. It was not as large as an ordinary football, and it was so light that when it was placed for a kick, the merest zephyr would roll it yards away. Toward the finish of the first half when the score stood one goal to nothing in favour of the Reds, the girls were evidently dog tired. This delighted the crowd, and there were yells from all parts of the field to "Chuck on another scuttle of coals", "Put on more steam" etc. The second half was more farcical than, but not as amusing as, the first. The Blues were dog tired and none of the players could run a 100 yards in less than 30 seconds.

Reproduced verbatim from the *Citizen* 26.31895

PRIMARY SOURCES: Unpublished

GLOUCESTER RFC.ARCHIVES 1873-1900(BOX 1)

List of Members 1895-1900
Memorandum and Articles of Association 1891
Receipts(Western Mail and Daily Argus)
Bank Payments Book
Gloucester and District Cup Competition 1893
Invoice for International Tickets
Correspondence re. Shewell case 1894
W.B.BAILEY's Scrapbook(1873-1949)
Secretaries Handbooks,1st Team 1879/80-1896/7(incomplete)
2nd Team 1890/91-1898/9(except 1895/6)
Voting Paper,AGM 1899
Share Receipts Books (1891) x3
Cash Book (1887-1889)
Ledger (1891-1893)
"100 Years of the Cherry and Whites" 1873-1973 Souvenir.
Jubilee Souvenir 1873-1923.
History of the Gloucester Rugby Club. Transcript of Lecture given by C.Granville
Clutterbuck in the Wheatsheaf Hall,
Brunswick Road, Gloucester. (26th September 1951)

GLOUCESTER RFC.ARCHIVES 1900-1920(BOX 2)

Secretaries Handbooks 1st Team 1900/01-1919/20 (incomplete)
2nd Team 1901/02-1904/05,1912/13
Kit Supplies to Players 1907-1910
Secretary's Notebook 1912 (notes and draft correspondence)
Season Ticket Books(1912/13)
Season Ticket Sales Records 1902/03-1909/10
Balance Sheets v.New Zealand Oct.19th 1905
v.South Africa Nov 3rd 1906
Tax Return 1906
Gloucester RFC.League(for local clubs)
Report on relations with local clubs(1904 sub-committee)
Accounts Ledger(1901-1922)
Lease of ground and sub-letting(1907)
Receipts;England v. Wales (1900) and Cash Book
Gloucester v. New Zealand(1905)
Bank Book (1908-1920)
W. "Billy" Johns Collection (photo's,programmes,obit.,England selection
papers)Glos.Captain 1905/06

GLOUCESTER RFC.ARCHIVES 1920-1930(BOX 3)

Secretary`s Handbooks 1st Team 1924/25-1926/27

Accounts 1921/22

Letter re.ground improvements

Correspondence(use of ground,rent,taxation)

Insurance Documents

Bank Books

Minute Book;Stan Bayliss and Sid Brown Memorial Funds(incl. cuttings)

Ledger(1922-1932)

Notes on procedure to wind up Football Ground Co.Ltd. (1923)

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1930-1940 (BOX 4)

Secretary`s Handbooks 1931/2-1933/4

Minute Book Sept.23rd 1930-Sept 10th 1940

Purchase of shares in Football Ground Co.Ltd.

Annual Accounts 1931/32,1932/33 and 1934

Insurance Policy Documents

Map of alterations to River Twyver

Cutting of England v. Wales (Kingsholm)

Ledger 1932-1948

Warwickshire v.Gloucestershire Programme 1931

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1940-1950 (BOX 5)

Record Book 1945/46

Minute Book Sept 10th 1940 to 31st Jan. 1950

Schedule of Repairs Feb.1946

Insurance Documents

Ledger 1948-1960

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1950-1960 (BOXES 6 and 7)

BOX 6.

Minute Books, Jan. 1950 to June 1956

July 1956 to June 1965

Diamond Jubilee Programme x4

Match Records 1954/55

Trust Fund Documents (Memorial Fund for Playing Fields)

Correspondence(telephones,insurance)

BOX 7

Programme sales record 1959-1962

AGM.Report 1958/59

Accounts Book 1950/51-1958/59 (in box 8)

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES 1960-1970 (BOX 8)

Minute Book July 1965-June 1973

Cuttings 1960-1961

Team Book 1962/63

Box of miscellaneous items (RFU regs. re. Sunday fixtures and 7-a-side)

Bar Stock Ledger 1967/68

AGM.Report 1960/61

Box of receipts 1960/61

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES. (LARGE METAL BOX)

"Gloucester Athletic and Football Ground Co. Ltd." (formed 1891)

Correspondence;

1892 to 1900 incl.

1920`s, 1930`s, 1940`s (various and limited)

Share Transfers Book, 1892 to 1943 and certificates

Share Certificates Receipts Books x3

Dividends Payments Ledger

Assorted Bank Books

BOX FILE(in metal box)

1891+ Mortgage Deeds, Indentures and Conveyances re. Kingsholm

1891+ Leases to Gloucester RFC.

1892 to 1945 AGM`s and Accounts of Co.

OTHER DOCUMENTS.(re. Grounds Co.Ltd held elsewhere)

Ledger 1891+

Minutes of Directors Meetings(1891-1899)

(held by John Hudson)

Minutes of Directors Meetings(1899-1990)

Minutes of Co.Ltd.AGM(1892-1990)

(held by Ken Jackson c/o Gloucester RFC)

GLOUCESTER RFC. ARCHIVES

**A.J.WADLEY Collection. (various items of personal and club memorabilia) Captain
1932/33 to 1934/35**

**ARTHUR HUDSON Collection, 1903+, (held by John Hudson, Hudson Sports, St.Aldgate
Street, Glos.) Substantial and varied collection of local newspaper cuttings, personal
memorabilia, photo`s, International honours and menu`s.**

GORDON HUDSON Collection, 1943+ (also held by the above)
Substantial collection similar to above, includes Inter-Services
fixtures, International honours, photo's etc.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE RECORDS OFFICE

Minutes of:

Gloucestershire County Rugby Football Club

Gloucestershire RFU Society of Referees and Disciplinary Committee

Gloucestershire Schools RFU

GLOUCESTER LIBRARY (Gloucestershire Collection)

Maps of Gloucester: 1896, GL 65/21 and GL 65/43

COMPANIES HOUSE

Shareholdings of The Gloucester Football and Athletic Ground Company Limited, 1891.

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