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Volume 12, numéro 2, octobre 1983

Perspectives on Sports and Urban Studies

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1018958ar>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.7202/1018958ar>

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Éditeur(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (imprimé)

1918-5138 (numérique)

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Citer ce compte rendu

Bailey, P. (1983). Compte rendu de [Review Article: Sport and the Victorian City / H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780-c.1880*. London: Croom Helm, 1980. Pp. 222. £11.95 / R.Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*. Oxford University Press, 1976. Pp. X, 220. \$56.25 / P. Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in later Victorian England*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980. Pp. XXVI, 356. \$25.00 / T. Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980. Pp. X, 278. £15.95 / H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914*. London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976. Pp. X, 308. £11.95 / S. Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*. London: Croom Helm, 1976. Pp. XII, 426. £17.95]. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 12(2), 71-76. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1018958ar>

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Review Article: Sport and the Victorian City

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Victorian England gave the world its modern sports culture; Victorian England was predominantly urban. Why then, with social history still burgeoning, do we have no single scholarly work which seeks specifically to explicate this strong circumstantial connexion? Of urban histories for this period we have a good number, but mostly they have little or nothing to say of sport; of serious studies of sport there are a great deal fewer, but while they may acknowledge the city and urbanization as setting and variable, their interpretative priorities lie elsewhere.¹ Before considering such gleanings as can be made from the mixed bag of social history titles above, it may be helpful to speculate on the reasons for this neglect.

The disparate and disconnected growth of subject areas is to be explained by the particular trajectory of British historiography. In the last twenty years, the expansion and changing social composition of the academic profession had broken the long established dominance of political history and generated a variety of new specialisms, including that of urban history. The latter seems to have come as a by-product of the changes within the second-level orthodoxy of economic history which contributed to the emergence of social history as a distinct and vertebrate discipline in the 1960s. Among the sub-fields of the new social history, the study of leisure has generated some serious consideration of sports, both as part of the larger leisure nexus and through

a focus on particular sporting activities. It may be argued that the comparative saliency of urban history — with its established apparatus of specialist journal, conference circuit and university chair — reflects the greater generic significance of the city in history, but the delayed attention to sport can be explained on other grounds. For all the fervor of social history acolytes, academic legitimacy has only slowly been extended to phenomena which were for so long considered a mere appendix to the conventional hierarchy of human activities; moreover it was not until historians learned that what had previously been peripherally categorized as ‘morals and manners’ could be more meaningfully perceived as the organic or functional component of specific cultures that they began to treat such matters as significant.

The discovery of culture was one of the key shifts in the social sciences in general in the 1960s. In Britain its major impulse derived less from any new thrust of interdisciplinary scholarship than from a burst of critical energy on the Left where a handful of texts addressed what they saw as a crisis in contemporary culture.² Richard Hoggart’s retort to the proposition of a new classlessness in an affluent society was to reveal an authentic and independent living working-class culture under the spurious overlay of a commercially produced mass culture. Raymond Williams argued that the élitist tradition in education and scholarship had ignored the existence and achievements of a demotic culture, and he appealed for a more dynamic appreciation of the role of culture in general as a creative, critical force for radical change. The definitions of culture were social and anthropological and there was much here that was novel and stimulating, but there was little explicit attention to theory or method, for the mode of these critiques was primarily that of the sustained critical cum literary essay with much that was allusive and elliptical in the traditional fashion of English letters. There was little or no direct acknowledgement of Marx (Hoggart was in any case non-Marxian), and few readers then knew or probably cared about the rift in the New Left in which Williams and others were deeply implicated. What was plain was the urgent and committed tone of these writings. The influence of these texts in conjunction with the expansion and radicalization of higher education in the late sixties rapidly gave cultural studies a curricular and institutional bridgehead in the academy, while further concentrating attention on the centrality of class and class conflict as the prime determinants of cultural formation and experience.

For historians in this field the dominant text became E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) — genuflection — the work of a committed Marxist which

combined exceptional literary power with scholarly rigour in asserting the pristine vitality of an autonomous popular culture in the early nineteenth century and its embattlement with industrial capitalism. Thompson paid some attention to sports and pastimes as an integral part of this culture and this area was substantially opened up by his student Robert Malcolmson in his *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (1973), which reconstructed the world of pre-industrial or traditional leisure, explicating its rituals and social functions, and charting its dislocation and decline down to the climacteric of the 1830s and 1840s. This work bore the marks of North American models in its invocation of modernization theory and other interdisciplinary borrowings and its tone was more judicious than partisan, but as a sympathetic exercise in the recovery of popular experience it clearly owed much to Thompson's inspiration. It might thus be identified as an early example of a sub-Marxist culturalism which was to co-exist with an increasingly explicit Marxist scholarship in modern British social history. For Thompson meanwhile, the label of 'culturalist' has come to identify a more culpably delinquent failing in the eyes of several fellow Marxists. He has, they claim, neglected the primacy of the material base as historical determinant, and his humanist empiricism luxuriates in a theoretical vacuum. The intellectual melodrama of the culture versus theory debate as staged by English Marxists has become so clamant that it seems to have drowned out other interpretative issues, and there are times when Marxist preoccupations of whatever persuasion seem to have arrogated or engrossed the whole world of learning.³ Such of course is not true, for English scholarship still has many mansions, and there are many scholars comfortably and impeturbably settled within them. But the polar force of neo-Marxist historiography has become the most powerful presence in cultural studies and it continues to define and enliven the field in inescapable fashion.

The first of the books reviewed here, H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914*, bears little impress of these ideological preoccupations but is the only study which suggests direct engagement with the relationship between sport and urbanization. Meller is concerned with social adaptation to city life, concentrating on the specific role of the self-conscious human agency in shaping a new leisure culture in late-Victorian and Edwardian Bristol, a large provincial centre which, with some qualifications, she offers as a paradigm of the modern industrial city during the onset of mass urbanization. Thus Bristol faced problems both of aggregation and segregation — of number and insufficient amenity on the one hand, and of collapse of community of the classes on the other. The challenge was taken up by a cadre of the city's middle-class who set out to recruit their less fortunate fellows to a liberal capitalist ideal of "social citizenship" based on the common pursuit of the sweetness and light of Arnoldian culture. The proponents of the new ideal proved remarkably industrious in developing voluntary associations that enriched the leisure of a wide range of social

groups with varied programmes of music, literature, education — and sport. Here Meller does ask why the world's most urbanized nation should have initiated the modern revolution in sport but leaves the question unanswered, attributing the transformation to the missionary role of middle-class converts to muscular Christianity, and the rapid advance of technology in communications, transport and equipment. Despite impressive growth, in sport as in other activities, the ideal of the cultural consensus went unrealized. Cultural fraternity could not bridge the patent economic inequalities between the classes, and the bulk of Bristol's working people stayed unconverted. The continuing growth of the city diluted the efficiency of direct personal contact and voluntary association as mediums of cultural diffusion, and the bulk of the middle class were too jealous of their status to share their appreciation of liberal culture or the new athletics with social inferiors. In Meller's words, like much else, "the development of sport was trapped in the social context." "In some cultural aspects," she concludes, "the influence of the city superseded the class struggle," but the principal determinant of leisure patterns in Meller's Bristol seems ultimately to have been class rather than environment.⁴

With Tony Mason's book, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, we come to one of the first major studies in the social history of sport. Soccer rightly deserves sustained scholarly attention, for it commanded the greatest popular audience and participation while undergoing a remarkable structural transformation. Derived from the licensed brawl of folk football, soccer was reformed in the elite public schools and hence disseminated as a rational recreation appropriate to the moral and economic priorities of a modern urban industrial society. The occasion of modern football became strictly limited in duration and regularly scheduled within the legitimate free time of Saturday afternoon; players and spectators were clearly segregated, and the activities of both contained within purpose-built stadia, admission to which was governed by turnstiles and entrance charges; play was limited to a small, fixed number of participants policed by a referee in common acknowledgement of a standardized code of rules. Plainly the logistics of the game bore the imprint of a new urban ecology but Mason is only incidentally concerned with this. In considering the social geography of the game he is most exercised by the patent regional rivalries of North against South. He pays passing attention to the different pace of the game's development in large cities, noting for example how the specific pattern of employment and labour relations gave Birmingham, with its earlier adoption of Saturday half-holiday, a head start over Liverpool, but there is no sustained comparative analysis of this kind and urbanization remains a shadowy process.

But then Mason's analytical priorities lie elsewhere. Was football really the people's game, and if so what did it contribute to the quality of working-class life? And what was the relationship between the professional game and the

emergence of commercialized mass leisure? In these concerns Mason clearly connects with the mainstream of recent social history and echoes speculation on the Left that soccer has done much to dilute radical class consciousness among workers. In the outcome, though he writes from the Centre for Social History at Warwick, which was virtually Thompson's creation, Mason tackles the question with great caution and forbearance, painstakingly itemizing the social composition and behaviour of those involved in the game at all levels, demonstrating the extent and nature of its symbiosis with working-class culture while eschewing larger speculations about what he wryly labels 'the philosopher's stone' of working-class consciousness. This approach is nonetheless welcome in a field hitherto dominated by journalistic pot-boilers or uneasy compounds of second-hand information and less than grand theory, and the considerable substance of the book is interlarded with an agreeable wit.

Mason's book is one of the increasing number of studies in the social history of modern leisure, and the student can now draw on some good work on its component institutions, from football to horse-racing, from the fox-hunting man to the Blackpool landlady, from the Volunteer corps to concert-going, and from Sunday Schools to the pub.⁵ The field has already grown sufficiently to generate general survey studies and to provoke critical ambush — Hugh Cunningham's *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c1780–c.1880* provides both. For him the new history of leisure which has burst upon us is a mixed blessing, for while it has resurrected significant areas of social experience it has been badly flawed. In the first place, he maintains, despite self-labelling as social history it has failed to connect successfully with larger contextual issues and, second, it has been preoccupied with the transformation of leisure and thus failed to appreciate its significant continuities. Leisure, he comes close to concluding, is the new opiate of the intellectual. This is too dismissive, but the book as a whole does a valuable service in emphasising necessary correctives in the field. Cunningham argues against the concept of a vacuum or climacteric in popular recreation during the first half of the Industrial Revolution (cf. Malcolmson) and stresses the continuing strength of traditional leisure and its capacity for adaptation and innovation in these years. He argues too for strong continuities between country and town in the same period, taking issue with those who stress the inexorable force of modernization. He finds evidence for this in various recreations, but puts particular emphasis on the vigorous survival of brutal sports through the mid-century. Some, it is true, were forced underground, but others continued to flourish in the open. According to Cunningham, the Sayers vs. Heenan international prize fight of 1860 is not to be seen as a conveniently notorious anachronism against which to read the march of modernity, but as proof of the largely undiminished vigour of traditional pugilism and other sports of this kind.

Thus Cunningham finds urbanization a much less conclusive force than many historians of leisure have suggested

and is skeptical of its role as a major agent of change. In considering the contraction of space and amenity in the new industrial towns, for example, he echoes the Hammonds — an honourable exception to the previous scholarly neglect to leisure history — in attributing this to the new possessiveness of the property owning class rather than seeing it as a consequence of any impersonal process of urbanization or industrialization. We are back again to class as the prime mover. Thus much of the reconstruction of popular sports is here understood as the precipitate of a dynamic tension between a middle-class who move from a strategy of repression to one of reform and incorporation, and a working class who respond variously by resistance, adaptation and renewal.

This emphasis upon the class dialectic of sports and leisure reflects not only the inescapable 'social categories of experience in a class-based society, but the pervasive influence of the new Marxism. Many readers may find that the most arresting thing about Cunningham's book is less its assertive revisionism than the manner of its final argument, where the author feels compelled to declare his position in the ideological thicket of present-day British historiography by resorting to what he apologetically calls "the probably inexcusable form of intellectual biography." In the event, this is not an eccentric self-indulgence but a helpful and indeed courageous exercise. Cunningham takes up the middle ground between the Marxists and the rest, and must surely speak for a good number of social historians of radical sympathies who stand perplexed between an inheritance of liberal empiricism and today's aggressive demands for a more explicitly theoretical and politicized approach to history. He is impressed by the continuing force of Thompson's claims for the independent agency of ordinary people in cultural change and the making of their own history. He follows the Gramscian emphasis in Williams' later works in acknowledging the self-defining properties of culture and thus leisure as a significant form of creative social production, albeit within a complex and interlocking matrix of forces. What we have here is a cogent argument for the virtues of that non-doctrinaire yet engagé culturalism which seems likely to remain a prominent mode in British social history.

The three remaining works under consideration here must seem by their titles to have little in common among themselves let alone with the specific brief of this review, but they all address the question of cultural formation, within the focus of particular cities. Their concern with problems of class relationships and consciousness involves some attention to leisure and sports, and they each have a good deal to interest both the urbanist and the student of popular culture.

In an eclectic and somewhat stern blend of history and sociology, Patrick Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The Culture of the Factory in later Victorian England* looks afresh at the problem of the political and social neutralization of the working class after the heroics of the Chartist years, seeking an answer in the reconstruction of the daily life of

the workplace among the first factory proletariat of the northern textile towns. The social regime of the factory, says Joyce, preserved the unity of the single family economy longer than is generally acknowledged, and the patriarchal loyalties it engendered multiplied and converged into a larger allegiance to the employer and the company. The cash nexus was overlain by a dense and extensive mesh of worker deference, its lines centred on the paternalist factory owner, whose presence and authority irradiated not only the workplace but the congeries of voluntary associations — clubs, societies, lodges, churches, chapels and schools — that lay under the symbolic shadow of the factory chimneys. The crucial divide in much of the industrial north lay not between the classes but between neighbourhood communities which rallied like the clans to the standard of their capitalist chieftain, each bearing the imprint of his politics, his life-style and personality. Thus each factory and its neighbourhood formed a concept cultural unit which reproduced much of the affective homogeneity of an older traditional world. It is important for us to note here that this was in part due to the particular ecology of the northern factory town which did not conform to the rigid zonal segregation by class and the increasing distance between work and home that is our stereotype of modern urban life, but preserved something of the physical proximities and coherence of the village (Joyce excepts the big cities of Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool from his study).

The leisure life of these communities retained a strong traditional content, and there is much here to reinforce Cunningham's claims for the strength of continuity. Brutal sports still flourished in the 1870s, and the spirit of the carnivalesque suffused the fairs and feast days. Sporting tastes, like much else, conformed to the distinct cultural identity of the particular companies and their paternalist heads. The sporting exploits of the masters were often of value in mobilizing popular loyalties at election time, and sporting imagery provided a powerful motif in the ritual and rhetoric of the partisan politics of the factory towns. From a range of employer styles, it was the roystering bravado of the old fashioned Tory which had the most popular appeal — significantly its century-long symbol was the gamecock. Unlike Meller's urban middle-class in Bristol, the Lancashire mill owner of Joyce's account did not self-consciously seek to repair the gap between the classes, but simply performed the comfortable role of patron in a common cultural tradition.

For Joyce, the roots of middle-class hegemony and hence the deradicalization of the worker lie in the social regime of the factory and its permeation of the total milieu of everyday common life. In this (if not on other issues) he contests the Marxist explanation which attributes the relative stability of capitalism's mid-century breathing space to its selective co-option of a single stratum within the working-class — the group that forms the subject of Robert Gray's book, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*. Working in the form of an intensive local study, Gray is concerned with the elaboration rather than the defence of this thesis. While

locating the labour aristocracy firmly in the city's economic structure he examines the extent to which they shaped their own culture and the degree of reception or resistance to bourgeois ideology. Edinburgh's artisanat preserved a strong class identity but displayed an increasing appetite for respectability and improvements. This they satisfied at one level by the creation of distinct neighbourhoods. Thus here urban expansion and relocation not only made for residential segregation by class, but by stratum within a particular class. It also broke down the integration of work, leisure and home life that had characterized the occupational sub-cultures of the crafts. The voluntary associations that dominated leisure in the new working-class inner suburbs were a major site for the construction of a life-style that celebrated the dignity and confidence of the 'superior' artisanat rather than its constituent trade cultures.

Associations devoted to 'healthy sports' were of considerable importance in concerting the status aspirations of the respectable skilled worker, for whom they went hand in hand with 'mental improvement.' Swimming, golf, walking, excursions and seaside holidays, cricket and football were all growing pastimes in the 1860s and 1870s. Of these, however, it was football that drew the most passionate and numerous support, emerging by the 1880s as a mass spectator sport in Edinburgh, as in the rest of Britain. Thus whereas leisure pursuits in the third quarter of the century had reinforced artisan exclusivism within the working-class, the later development of football made for a more homogeneous working-class culture. We stand here at a critical juncture, for the transition to a putative mass culture in these years is still inadequately explored, though this was obviously a period of deep structural change in which working-class culture and much else was remade.⁶ This is not Gray's primary concern but he does offer that the origins of these changes may lie in the behaviour patterns of the urban community, as well as in the more often discussed economic and industrial changes of the period.

In *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, Stephen Yeo has written an ambitious and original book that seeks to explain the crisis of confidence and number in the declining fortunes of organized religion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, by setting it in the context of a whole range of voluntary and other organizations. The pattern of social development in these years, argues Yeo, is less to be explained by competing alternatives in popular taste — religion versus leisure, for example — than in broader changes in the practise and ideology of hegemonic capitalism. This he seeks to demonstrate through a detailed study of life in Reading (a medium sized 'average' town), relating the experience of its churches and chapels to that of its football club, hospital, university, political organizations and large, dominating biscuit factory which is read as a microcosm of capitalist production. In the middle years of the century liberal capitalism generated an ideal of progressive community (see Meller's 'social citizenship') realized in

a nexus of inter-locking voluntary associations which demanded active, continuous, participatory membership from a dutiful citizenry. There were however divergences within the ideal of associational life between the latterday paternalism of what Yeo calls the 'vice-presidential mode' under tactful middle-class control and a more fully democratic working class version. By the end of the century with the rise of monopoly capitalism the loose federation of localized yet mutually supportive and ethically conjunctive associations yields to more centralized, specialized, and profit-oriented institutions. Thus the active 'membership mode' gives way to the passive 'pay at the gate' mode, as the citizen is transformed into the consumer. The supply side increasingly dictated, providing *for* the people, rather than accommodating to the felt needs *of* the people. Not just organized religion, but all forms of collective life were affected.

Organized sport occupied a prominent place in the voluntarist ideal and its history in Reading bears the mark of what Yeo terms a general crisis for social activists of many different types and ideologies before 1914. He offers the particular case study of Reading Football Club, founded in 1871 as a hybrid product of cross-class initiatives and support. Following the controversial introduction of professionalization in the 1890s, control of the club became increasingly arrogated by directors and shareholders concerned with the commercial viability of the club. Though management was commercially unaggressive by today's standards (as Mason's evidence suggests, this was soccer's age of commercial innocence) sport was being commoditized, striving for a new 'brightness' and all-inclusive appeal for its product, just as Huntley & Palmer now strove to tart up its biscuits in the more competitive market of consumer capitalism in a mass society.

Yeo identifies other major contextual forces besides that of the growing and changing presence of capitalist ideology and organizational modes, but urbanization is not one of them. Nonetheless he does take account in passing of the changing ecology of voluntary associations in terms of town size and morphology, in such a way that the alert urbanist can make useful connexions. The realization of a voluntarist community in mid-century Reading was greatly facilitated by its manageable size and shape and the physical propinquity of the classes; it was thus less segregated than Bristol and Edinburgh, if less tribalized than Joyce's Lancashire milltowns. From the 1880s, suburbanization began to assert its centrifugal pull on the knowable, cross-class community of the inner city, and voluntary associations faced crucial problems of adaptation. In part the larger scale and centralization of some organizations — and Reading Football Club is a prime example — was in response to suburban dislocation.

For the historians reviewed above, whatever their ideological persuasion, urbanization is a mostly secondary and

inconclusive determinant of leisure and thus sports form and behaviour. Class, culture and capitalism are the primary explanatory categories. The cultural reconstruction of the mid-nineteenth century and beyond is interpreted in terms of class-based strategies and adaptations seen variously in conflict, negotiation and accommodation, convergence and divergence. The process is dialectical and complex. Sport was clearly an important area in all this, as a field of conflict in the early Victorian period of repression, as a nonetheless vital repository of a traditional popular culture which survived repression, as a prime field for experiment for that mix of missionary work and social engineering that was rational recreation, and as a would-be commoditized entertainment form in the bright new world of late-Victorian consumer capitalism.

The rise of cities may not have been a direct cause of the modernization of sport — or even a necessary pre-condition, if critical mass was the criterion, for London and arguably certain provincial centres had provided this for some time previous — but by more than one of the above accounts, the city did constitute a significant structural parameter in the transmission or intermission of the cultural imperatives of class. This is most clearly brought out in the studies of specific urban communities as in Joyce and Gray. Here the city is more than just a setting or arena; it not only patterns social relationships but affects their nature. A good deal of work suggests that locality or neighbourhood was more important to working-class culture than any larger context, and comparative case studies of sports in specific urban communities could assist a better understanding not only of the chronology and proportions of change and continuity in the history of nineteenth century sport, but of its distinct yet mostly unexplained social geography. Why is it that congeries of mining villages in the North East were a more fruitful source of soccer talent than many larger cities? Why is it that the North produced significant variants of the national codes for rugby football and cricket? Micro-studies could help too in tackling the larger question of the role of sports in homogenizing popular taste and overriding local and sectional or stratum loyalties, as suggested in Gray's work. In addition to his attention to the residential and cultural patterns of the neighbourhood we need to consider the neglected function of transportation, not only in the dispersion but in the reconcentration of the urban crowd that encouraged the growth of mass spectator sport. For example, a closer study of soccer's development in a specific community, which attended to these factors within the context of changing organizational modes in capitalism as suggested by Yeo, could be the kind of focussed, paradigmatic exercise that would make a fruitful connexion between urban and cultural studies.

To recommend community studies is perhaps to evade the question of what ultimately constitutes 'cityness' as a unique historical determinant and social property. Here we would do well to listen more closely to the Victorians themselves,

for on one level they were plainly convinced of the force of the city as a singular and powerful entity in the creation of culture. I refer to the city as metaphor, as a condensed symbol for society and its problems of poverty, crime, political discontent and moral degeneration.⁷ The new athleticism was promoted as much as an antidote to this chimera as in the positive service of the perhaps too readily invoked phenomenon of muscular Christianity. A closer investigation of the rhetoric and ideology of the sports missionaries might also help explain some of the anomalies of Victorian athleticism — part of the explanation for the promotion of cricket with its prodigal use of time in a time-thrifty society may derive from its embodiment of values and associations that preserved the myth of bucolic harmony amid the harshness of the big city.⁸

To talk of cricket reminds us again of how little of the history of Victorian sport has come under scholarly scrutiny, for it is not only soccer that deserves serious attention. In considering the notable deficiencies in this field, the historian would also do well to mark the neglect of the role of sports, in general and particular, in the making (and indeed remaking) of the Victorian *middle* class, a fat and challenging theme ripe for development. There are studies of muscular Christianity and athleticism in the public school, but relatively little on the important function of sport in the reconstruction of bourgeois culture after the mid-century, as the Victorian middle class sought to accommodate and legitimize the new bonus of leisure.⁹ What other factors account for that remarkable, telescoped process of reform and innovation that produced the new canon of modern sports that was soon as much a significant British export as her railway engines and machine tools? One of the interesting tensions here was between aspirations to gentrification and moral and economic constraints, which can be read in part as the search for compromise between the country-based ideal of lordly living and the logistics of city life. To take a modest example, it seems that one of the principal recommendations for the new game of lawn tennis in the 1870s lay in the fact that it could equip the suburban villa with some of the resources of the aristocratic country house, thereby reconciling flights of social fancy with the measurements of the back garden. The particular structure and culture of suburban life that produced this relative miniaturization are still underexamined and may well have left other distinctive marks on the new sports culture, with its important role in bourgeois life.

But the interest in popular or working class culture seems at present to hold the stage. This should mean that the history of popular sports will expand,¹⁰ but given the ideological thrust of current historiography it is unlikely that urbanization will be given any greater attention than before as one of the significant shapers of choice. Within the present limits of cultural studies there are signs that the new directions of research will increasingly attend to the little explored variables of gender and generation within the force field of class, though the focus on local studies is likely to continue. It is a

good many years now since Ruth Glass complained about British anti-urbanism, but the prejudice has been sustained and compounded by current distaste for modernization theory under which orthodoxy urbanization has most commonly featured in social history.¹¹ But as contemporaries might have said, the Victorian city was a Great Fact, and its significance for sport in particular not only awaits but demands attention.

NOTES

1. In the most monumental of recent urban studies, H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 2v., there is not a single index entry under sport or its particular components. For recent studies of sport, see below, n.5.
2. R. Johnson, "Culture and the Historians," in *Working-Class Culture: Studies in History and Theory*, ed. J. Clarke, C. Critcher & R. Johnson (London: Hutchinson, 1979), 41-71.
3. For a compact and intelligible review of the issues, see R. Samuel, "History and Theory," in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Samuel (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), x1 - 1vi.
4. For a work which overlaps in time though differs in interpretation, see P.C. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and The Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London and Toronto: Routledge, University of Toronto Press, 1978). This includes a running case study in local history, based on Bolton.
5. As well as Mason on soccer, see J. Walvin, *The People's Game* (London: Allen Lane 1975). See also W. Vamplew, *The Turf: A Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (London: Allen Lane, 1976); R. Carr, *English Foxhunting: A History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976); D.C. Itzkowitz, *Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of English Foxhunting, 1753-1885* (New York: Humanities Press, 1977); J. Walton, *The Blackpool Landlady: A Social History* (Manchester: The University Press, 1978); H. Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social & Political History, 1859-1908* (London: Croom Helm, 1975); W. Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris & Vienna* (London: Croom Helm, 1975); T.W. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and English Working-Class Culture, 1780-1850* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1976); B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians* (London: Faber, 1971); M. Girouard, *Victorian Pubs* (London: Studio Vista, 1975). See also J. Lowerson & J. Myer-scough, *Time to Spare in Victorian England* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1977) and Walvin, *Leisure and Society, 1830-1950* (London: Longman, 1978).
6. G. Stedman Jones, "Working-Class Culture & Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 7 (Summer 1974): 460-508; S. Hall, "Deconstructing the 'Popular,'" in Samuel, *People's History*, 227-240.
7. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: The University Press, 1971), *passim*, and R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973), ch. 19.
8. My colleague, K.A.P. Sandiford of the University of Manitoba, is working on a much needed social history of cricket.
9. J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1981). For the larger context, see Bailey, "'A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures': The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure," *Victorian Studies*, vol. 21 (Autumn 1977): 7-28.
10. See e.g., A. Metcalfe, "Organised Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland," *Victorian Studies* (1982).
11. Glass is quoted in P.H. Mann, *An Approach to Urban Sociology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 2. For a critique of the modernization school, see T. Judt, "A Clown in Regal Purple: Social History and the Historians," *History Workshop*, vol. 7 (Spring 1979): 66-94.