A visual representation of the frequency of words in this year’s abstracts.
### Wednesday, 2 September 2015

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<td><em>Fulton House Seminar Room 2</em></td>
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<td>1.15</td>
<td>1. Lord Aberdare Literary Prize for Sports History Winner 2014</td>
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<td>David Snowdon</td>
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<td>Battling Against Sporting Tedium for a Prizefighting Nation: Pierce Egan’s <em>Boxiana</em>-Style Reporting</td>
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<td>6. Duncan R. Jamieson, 19th century Wales by Bicycle</td>
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<td>4. Graham Deakin, Up Close &amp; Personal: the changing media image of the 1960’s football hero</td>
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<td>7. Paul Wheeler, Teeing off on Golf Tourism’ – a review of the emergence of golfing holidays in the south of England</td>
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<td>9. Jeff Hill, How to play cricket: a transatlantic perspective</td>
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<td>11. Russell Holden, Sport and political expression: Moeen Ali, the wristband, the beard and the Save Gaza and Free Palestine campaigns</td>
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<td>9.30</td>
<td>Jeremy Lonsdale, A thirty year feud: the emergence of a representative county cricket club in Yorkshire in the 19th century</td>
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<td>10.00</td>
<td>Nigel Hancock, Cricket crowds in England in the 1920s</td>
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<td>10.30</td>
<td>Derek Barnard, The enduring power of Wisden and its impact on the game since 1864</td>
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<td>11.00</td>
<td>Coffee Break (Castle Room)</td>
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<td>11.30</td>
<td>Chris Bolsmann, ‘Joy the Corinthians are coming!’ The Corinthian Football Club on tour in Canada and the United States 1906, 1911 and 1924.</td>
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<td>12.00</td>
<td>Tony Mason, The Corinthians in a hot climate</td>
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<td>12.30</td>
<td>Dil Porter, Christmas with the Corinthians: English gentlemen on tour in the late 19th century</td>
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<td>Lunch (Fulton House Refectory)</td>
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<td>2.30</td>
<td>Joe Hall, Rugby Union and English Society: change and continuity in the post-war years</td>
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<td>John Harris, Everybody Loves Raymond: dominant, residual and emergent in Welsh rugby football</td>
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<td>Challenging historiographies</td>
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<td>4.00</td>
<td>29. Steven Gray, ‘As many men as can be spared from the fleet’: Sailors and sport in the empire 1880-1814</td>
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<td>30. Nick Aplin, Establishing the Singapore Sporting Club 1842-1847: Templeton and Jorrocks</td>
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<td>5.00</td>
<td>31. Dean Allen, Empire, War and Cricket in South Africa: Logan of Matjiesfontein</td>
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<td>5.00</td>
<td>32. Wade Cormack, ‘The Compleat Gentleman’: early-modern elite sport and physical education in northern Scotland</td>
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<td>33. Simon John Eaves, The history of statistics in sport: an examination of the ‘facts’</td>
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<td>34. Gary James, Football’s origins: a different perspective</td>
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<td>7.00</td>
<td>Conference Dinner (Cafe West, Fulton House)</td>
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### Friday 4 September 2015

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<tr>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>35. Julia Walsh, Basketball pioneers in Australia</td>
<td>38. Greg Ryan, Respectable Professionals: the apparent contradictions of wood chopping as a competitive sport in Australasia 1870s to 1914</td>
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<td>10.00</td>
<td>37. Mike McGuiness, “What’s the Bleeding Time”: James Robertson Justice and sport</td>
<td>40. Archie Jenkins, The weather doesn’t stop our boys in Flanders and the postponement discussion ended there and then: athletics and cross country running in north east of England, 1914-18</td>
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| 10.30 | Break | Sports history in education  
Chair: Iain Adams, Fulton House Seminar Room 2 |
| 11.00 | 41. Derek Peaple, What has sports history themed learning and related links to Higher Education ever done For us…? | 42. Rob Hess, Elite Sporting Organizations, practice integrated learning and sport history: case studies from Australia |
| 11.30 | | 43. The Sir Derek Birley Memorial Lecture  
Mike Huggins  
Gambling, Match fixing and Corruption in Sport (Imperfect Past, Problematic Present and Frightening Future) |
| 12.00 | | 1.00 Lunch (Fulton House Refectory) and Conference End |
ABSTRACTS

1. Lord Aberdare Literary Prize for Sports History Winner 2014: Battling against Sporting Tedium for a Prizefighting Nation: Pierce Egan’s *Boxiana*-Style Reporting

David Snowdon, www.pierce-egan.co.uk

Pierce Egan (c. 1772-1849) infused his prizefight commentaries with a theatricality that extended their appeal beyond the confines of the nineteenth-century London sporting set, and yoked prizefighting together with British national identity. In addition to providing an overview of this sport’s history, including its rise and decline in popularity, this paper examines prominent factors that rendered Egan’s reporting approach distinctive, and how it invigorated the sporting narrative. A major feature is Egan’s blend of inventive imagery and linguistic exuberance, which constituted an integral part of the *Boxiana* series. This can be identified as the ‘*Boxiana* style’. Egan’s commentaries accentuated the spectacle of a sporting event, and promoted a visualisation process. He also embellished, and sometimes displaced, the often mundane, anticlimactic reality of much-anticipated sporting events, as well as coping with repetitive features. Arguably, such approaches have been perpetuated by sports-writing successors.

2. Encounters on the dirt track: Polish-British speedway relations from 1955

Paul Newsham, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

The paper will examine the long and often troubled relationship between British and Polish speedway. Beginning with Manchester Belle Vue Aces’ ground-breaking tour of Poland in 1955, the paper will first discuss the influence of the significantly more advanced British speedway scene on the emerging Polish sport. The paper will then look at how the sport in Poland grew in relative strength through the 60s and 70s, and how this caused much consternation in British speedway circles. The paper will then describe how, in a reversal of the situation in the 1950’s, British speedway riders started to compete in Poland in the 1990’s, lured by higher wages, bigger crowds and an altogether more thriving scene. The paper will attempt to answer the question of why speedway in the two countries developed so differently, with attendances plummeting to minority sport levels in Britain by the 90's, while in Poland it was consolidating itself as the country's leading spectator sport. The paper will also try to explain one curious similarity - the decline of the capital and big city clubs, which in the 1950's had attracted huge crowds and the best riders, and the eventual dominance in both countries of provincial teams.

3. ‘Harmony not only on the field of sport but also in the place of work’: Company Sport and Workplace Relations in the Post-war Steel Industry

Bleddyn Penny, Swansea University

It has been suggested that the advent of the welfare state and the rise of a consumer culture signalled the retreat of employers from the sphere of workers’ leisure. This paper, however, will focus on the efforts of two Welsh steel firms, Richard Thomas & Baldwins and the Steel Company of Wales, who significantly expanded and renewed their commitment to employee
recreation in the immediate post-war period. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the field of company sport with both firms investing heavily in the provision of sporting facilities and promoting works teams and tournaments. It will be argued that company sport acted as part of a wider managerial strategy that sought to foster benign industrial relations and inculcate notions of an extended corporate community. Steelworkers’ attitudes towards works based sport will also be considered, revealing the often divergent interpretations that existed between employers and employees. New research gathered from company records and oral histories will be utilised to reveal new perspectives on employee participation in corporate sport and their attitudes towards it. Ultimately, this paper will argue that existing histories of works based sport fail to position it within its wider context and, in doing so, underestimate individual agency in the construction and interpretation of leisure.

4. Up Close & Personal: the changing media image of the 1960’s football hero

Graham Deakin, University of Central Lancashire

Given the intrinsic visual prescience of football, the study of image representation of the star player is limited, as Holt observes ‘the sporting public is too busy worshipping to reflect on the objects of its fascination and those for whose business it is to take an analytical view have been absorbed in other things’. This paper looks to redress this by interrogating player representations of the 1960’s, apposite as the decade of considerable change for player circumstance, media coverage and spectator consumption of the game.

It considers the effect of reduced primary consumption with declining match day attendance, the shift from verbal to visual media output – both print and broadcast, and with this the increased complexity in representation such mediated forms project onto the star players of the time.

Having considered how the evolution of media across the decade brought the hero player ‘closer’ to the fan, using visual content analysis it asks if said images can be ascribed to academic player typologies produced to-date.

5. Life on the road: itinerant pedestrians 1820-1845

Derek Martin, Manchester Metropolitan University

By the middle of the 19th century, with the introduction of enclosed athletic grounds and gate money, pedestrianism had become a major commercial enterprise, focussed on sprint races and betting, pillars of the sport since the 18th century or earlier. Some older varieties of pedestrianism were abandoned and gradually forgotten. However, they left traces that we can see in local newspapers of the period. From the 1820s to the 1840s (and outside the big urban areas into the 1850s) a small group of full-time professionals criss-crossed the country. They specialised in race walking, often over unfeasibly long distances, at ad hoc venues on turnpike roads, on streets in towns, on the turf of race courses - from a pub when they could, round a cricket ground, a bowling green, a military parade ground, or in a field if they had to. They occasionally competed for a wager according to pedestrian tradition, but mostly they got by on collections and subscriptions and living by their wits.
This paper reconstructs something of the lifestyles of these itinerants through biographies of Joseph Wright (fl. 1817-1825), Robert Skipper (fl. 1816-1842) and John Mountjoy (fl. 1839-1871).

6. **Nineteenth-Century Wales by Bicycle**

Duncan R. Jamieson, Ashland University, Ohio

Before books and magazines printed photographic images, lithographers like the American expatriate Joseph Pennell (1857-1926) provided the illustrations. Before Pennell achieved success as an artist, he was well-known in early cycling circles. With his wife, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, they lived in London and combined writing, cycling and art, first in an 1884 Century magazine article, “From Coventry to Chester on Wheels,” and then in their first book, A Canterbury Pilgrimage the following year. For the next twenty years the Pennells rode tandem tricycles and later separate safety bicycles through much of Europe as Joseph travelled to assignments. Together as well as separately they also vacationed awheel. In 1898 Joseph rode from London to Wales, traveling through much of the country which he used as the basis for his article in The Contemporary Review, “The Welsh Cornice.” Neither the first nor the last cyclist to write of their experiences in Wales, his is the only piece entirely devoted to the Welsh.

This paper examines the cycle’s importance for travel and sport. Not only did Joseph Pennell and several others write of their Welsh experiences, so too did their readers.

7. **‘Teeing off on Golf Tourism’ – a review of the emergence of golfing holidays in the south of England**

Paul Wheeler, University of Chichester

The golfing boom of the late 19th and early 20th century coincided with a growth in the UK travel and tourism industry. These developments when combined helped to take the boredom out of the conventional seaside holiday and were a catalyst for the emergence of golf tourism.

Golf at this time had become a very fashionable sport for the English gentleman but this paper will also consider the increased accessibility to golf for the professional and middle-classes.

With the spread of the railways, England’s south coast resorts took advantage of this demand to attract new kinds of holidaymaker. For the Isle of Wight the introduction of regular ferry services from the mainland brought an increased opportunity to cater for upmarket sports-loving holidaymakers with many excellent sports facilities, including golf.

This paper will proceed to investigate how golf became an important factor in growing visitor numbers for the hotels in the resorts and how the hotels and clubs used the written media to promote golfing tourism.

Finally some towns and cities also witnessed the creation of municipal golf courses which suggests there was a clear economic benefit to be gained from golfing tourists which the local councils were keen to invest in.
8. **Learning in modern English sport**

Mark Rowe, De Montfort University

We take learning of sport for granted. The cover of Richard Holt’s *Sport and the British* shows boys in Salford playing cricket on the pavement. Yet we know police chastised such street boys; and Robert Roberts’ memoir *The Classic Slum*, set in Salford, nowhere mentions sport. Learning sport is not natural, not necessarily welcome, and not done by all – only boys were in Holt’s picture.

We know why we learn sport – to express ourselves, to gain rank among others, and as an accomplishment. We know how: by watching (cognitive) and doing (behavioural). We know where (on the informal street, in school, by specialist coaching) and when (all our lives).

While some spoke of learning in terms of practice (but of what?), and experience, and that old favourite, ‘common sense’, learning was not straightforward. You might learn something faulty or unstylish; or forget. What was your goal – to learn to fit into a club (manners off the field), or to excel (match skills)?

That men saw a sport as an art, science, or craft, hints at tensions between master and apprentice, and within the learner: tensions between self-expression (artistic beauty), winning efficiency (science) and long apprenticeship (craft).

9. **How to Play Cricket: A Transatlantic Perspective**

Jeff Hill, De Montfort University

I’m reflecting on how games are actually played. In their efforts to explain the historical determinants and effects of sport, academic historians seem to have overlooked this. What happens on the playing arena is important because apart from the aesthetics of play, it’s also about power. Who decides the ‘correct’ methods and tactics that are deemed necessary for effective competition? And, further, in the case of ‘global’ sports, how are such precepts disseminated across continents? In this paper I offer some thoughts – no more than that – on these questions, foregrounding the case of cricket in the colonial West Indies in the pre-1960 era. The game in the Anglophone Caribbean acquired a mass following. Cricket, as almost all commentators have claimed, became a fundamental pillar of the colonial system. VS Naipaul once said that ‘cricket was more than a game’ in his native Trinidad. Some would add that, as a game, it expressed a particular West Indian ‘style’; and, perhaps, inscribed in that style were notions of race and national consciousness. How far can we take either of these propositions? What do they tell us about the power relations within the game, in the West Indies and possibly elsewhere?

10. **Unity in Irish Soccer during the Troubles?**

Cormac Moore, De Montfort University

A Shamrock Rover XI comprising of players from the Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland international football teams played a friendly match against reigning world champions Brazil in Dublin in 1973. Despite it being popularly perceived that it did not have the support of the Irish Football Association (IFA), the Northern Ireland governing body, it
was one of the catalysts that led to talks on potential soccer unity between the IFA and the Football Association of Ireland (FAI), the Republic of Ireland governing body.

The efforts to reach unity, an all-Ireland international team in particular, were explored through a number of meetings throughout the 1970s and early 1980s between the two Irish associations, some attempts coming very close to agreement.

It was extraordinary that such talks took place at all considering the backdrop to the talks, the Northern Ireland troubles.

This paper will look at the environment affecting life and soccer in Ireland at the time, will detail the meetings and topics discussed at the many meetings and analyse the obstacles and pitfalls which ultimately resulted in failure to reach agreement on one team representing the whole island of Ireland.

11. **Sport and Political Expression: Moeen Ali, the Wristband, the Beard and the Save Gaza and Free Palestine Campaigns**

Russell Holden, [http://www.inthezoneonline.co.uk/](http://www.inthezoneonline.co.uk/)

With the growing interest in sport as a tool of soft power, this paper addresses how, and to what end, sports-people can be involved in augmenting existing political and diplomatic campaigns.

In using the case of England cricketer Mooen Ali, a Birmingham born Muslim of Pakistani extraction, I consider the role of an international cricketer as a tool of public diplomacy. In this instance, the focus is on Moeen’s decision to wear a wristband during the third Test Match between England and India during the summer of 2014, declaring his support for the Save Gaza and Free Palestine campaigns.

Having considered the essence of soft power and how sport manifests itself as a key component of this perspective, my paper will be contextualised within a framework exploring the potential of respected sporting figures to galvanise public consciousness despite their reticence to speak, and in some instances, to grasp the link between politics and sport.

In conclusion the paper will demonstrate the potential of sports-persons to promote change (acknowledging the Flower/Olonga episode) and shifts in public attitudes via the medium of cricket.

12. **A thirty-year feud: the emergence of a representative county cricket club in Yorkshire in the 19th century**

Jeremy Lonsdale

Histories of Yorkshire County Cricket Club tend to see its establishment in 1863 as the crucial starting point. They also highlight the importance of Sheffield and the industrialising West Riding in driving forward cricket in the county, as well as Lord Hawke’s reforms in instilling a new discipline as a prelude to sporting success. They tend to emphasise continuity and downplay dissent. In fact, the club’s early history is characterised by 30 years of inter-
town and inter-riding discord, and only in 1893 was a fully representative committee formed. Only by examining the very distinctive trajectories of cricket in the three ridings and individual towns can the nature and timing of developments be understood. Throughout the intervening period, several major towns pushed for more say in Yorkshire cricket, allying at times with aristocratic representatives from the North and East Ridings, who also felt excluded. Repeated initiatives in opposition to the Sheffield-dominated committee ended only when poor on-field performances in the early 1890s, allied with the establishment of improved facilities elsewhere, meant the committee could no longer sustain the argument it alone could safeguard Yorkshire cricket’s reputation, and allowed reform. This paper analyses the forces shaping the slow emergence of one of the great sporting institutions.

13. Cricket Crowds in England in the 1920s

Nigel Hancock, De Montfort University

What are the characteristics and nature of cricket crowds and cricket followers and what does this tell us about a country’s history and society? Who attends matches and why? What has changed and what remains familiar? This paper, drawing on a range of contemporary sources, looks at how people watched and otherwise followed England and two contrasting Counties (Surrey and Leicestershire) in the 1920s, with a particular focus on the General Strike year of 1926. The presentation includes film clips from the period and brief comparisons with how cricket is watched and followed today.

14. The Enduring Power of Wisden and its impact on the game since 1864

Derek Barnard

The first Wisden Cricketers’ Almanack was published in 1864 and has been published every year despite the fact that production was nearly halted by the two World Wars. The 2015 edition, which was published on 9th April this year, was the 152nd edition and contained 1520 pages. The first edition in 1864 was a mere 112 pages in length. The largest edition to date was in 2003 which had 1760 pages owing to the sudden profusion of limited overs cricket in all its different formats.

This paper will trace the history of Wisden and then look at the impact of the almanack upon different facets of the game. The editor of Wisden has always been independent being able to comment upon the state of the game as he thinks fit and not having to worry about the wrath of the cricket authorities like the M.C.C or the England and Wales Cricket Board.

The most famous and longest serving editor was Sydney Pardon (1891-1925) who introduced the Notes by the Editor. Pardon edited 35 editions, although the father and son combination of Hubert Preston (1944-1951) and Norman Preston (1952-1980) served for 37 editions. All of these editors dealt at length with the problems of cricket in their days such as the LBW law (Pardon), abolition of the amateur and the D’Oliveria Affair (Norman Preston).

The Almanack is almost invariably referred to as the “Bible of cricket”- but never by Wisden, which lets others use the phrase.
15. **Aquatic Wagers: Swimming, Gambling and Civilizing Trends, c.1590s-1830s**

Steven Cock, York St John University

The emergence of early swimming-based wagers in the period c.1590s-1830s has generally been overlooked by most researchers to date. Instead, the development of competition-based forms of swimming has often only been examined from the point at which the first swimming clubs and societies were established in the 1830s. Whilst this has often provided a rather convenient starting point for researchers to describe the occurrence of some early swimming-based contests, it is important to examine the emergence of earlier antecedent wagers in order to provide a more adequate basis to understand the long-term development of swimming as a modern competitive sport. Drawing on data from a range of empirical source material, it will be argued that some people gradually began to wager cash sums on their swimming ability in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such events took place on a sporadic basis, in natural outdoor locations, often in the form of a challenge or contest, with terms agreed directly between participants. The emergence of such wagers will be examined in relation to wider civilizing trends, as gambling increasingly came to be viewed as a more ‘appropriate’ means of generating heightened tension-excitement.

16. **‘According to Cornish law:’ difference, accommodation and resistance in the West of England swimming matches 1863-1913**

Geoff Swallow, Manchester Metropolitan University

The construction of Brunel’s Albert Bridge in 1859, physically and symbolically spanning the River Tamar - the historic boundary between Cornwall and (the rest of) England - invited new spatial, temporal and cultural imaginings of the region. As Cornwall struggled with de-industrialisation, declining fisheries, mass emigration and economic and social stagnation, traditional identities of Cornwall and ‘Cornishness’ found themselves in conflict with notions of Empire, Britishness, and nationhood. This paper draws on newspaper archives to examine how those tensions were played out on the ‘West of England’ swimming match circuit. Taking as its starting point the controversy surrounding the defeat of professional champion of England and the World, J. J. Collier of Salford, by George Kistler of Penzance in St Ives in 1885, the paper argues that Cornish resistance to the tightening stranglehold of the amateur code after 1886 was the product of a historic sense of Cornish ‘difference’. Whilst this set Cornwall on a trajectory of marginalisation and isolation from the mainstream of British swimming that by 1912 left it the last outpost of professional competitive swimming in Britain, the paper concludes how, had war not intervened, Cornwall might have become part of a transnational professional swimming circuit.

17. **The Female Swimming Teacher in Victorian England: A Preliminary Analysis**

Dave Day, Manchester Metropolitan University

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, swimming remained primarily a male activity, although both sexes engaged in bathing, often at the seaside and under the supervision of local ‘bathers’. Over time, recreational swimming became more acceptable for women because it had a utilitarian value in saving life and it provided ‘feminine-appropriate’ activity in segregated surroundings. After the provision of swimming facilities expanded significantly following the 1846 Baths and Washhouses Act, the female ‘bather’ moved indoors and increasing numbers of women subsequently described themselves as swimming teachers or
swimming mistresses. This paper explores this career path by adopting a prosopographical approach to the census data collected at ten yearly intervals in England and Wales between 1841 and 1911. The author concludes that a moral imperative that demanded that women taught women, combined with the creation of segregated indoor swimming spaces, meant that the female swimming teacher became more visible as participation increased among all social classes. The initial evidence suggests that late nineteenth-century swimming mistresses were invariably lower middle- or skilled working-class women, often with family connections to a facility or to the sport, but that a much broader constituency of working-class women was being engaged by the Edwardian period.

18. ‘Joy the Corinthians are coming!’ The Corinthian Football Club on tour in Canada and the United States 1906, 1911 and 1924.

Chris Bolsmann, California State University Northridge

After successful tours to South Africa and various countries across Europe, the Corinthians embarked on the first of three tours to Canada and the United States in 1906. The club were invited by the Canadian and Philadelphian football authorities and funded by The People newspaper of London. The North American press saw the tour as educational, and hoped the Corinthians would demonstrate association football at its best and attract a new following to the game. Though relatively large crowds watched the matches, the tour did not generate the profits that had been anticipated. Despite this, the Corinthians returned in 1911 and were again watched by enthusiastic crowds. The club returned to North America for the final time in 1924. This was to be the club’s ultimate tour outside of Europe. The heyday of the Corinthian travels outside of Europe had come to an end. In this paper, we consider the three Corinthian tours in detail and evaluate their contribution to the development of association football in both countries.

19. The Corinthians in a hot climate

Tony Mason, De Montfort University

Who would have thought that a bunch of English gentlemen would play a significant role in the growth of football in Brazil? The famous men in white shirts went there twice in 1910 and 1913 and would have completed the hat trick of visits had not war broken out in Europe in 1914. In my paper I shall re-examine these visits and explore how the emerging football subculture of Brazil responded to the gentlemen in white shirts. In Sao Paulo a team was named after them. But perhaps these tours were as beneficial to the sporting ambitions of the British expats of Rio and Sao Paulo as it was to the Brazilians.

20. Christmas with the Corinthians: English gentlemen on tour in the late 19th century

Dil Porter (De Montfort University)

‘The great event, or series of events, of a Corinthian season was the Christmas tour in the north of England and the south of Scotland’ (C.B. Fry, Life Worth Living, 1939). As Fry’s recollection suggests, these tours were considered very important by those who took part in them, even though the matches played were only ‘friendlies’. The intention is to explore the significance of Corinthians FC tours in the 1880s and 1890s when the club, according to one sympathetic newspaper, saw itself as representing ‘all that is best in amateurism’ (Morning
Post, 21 March 1898). It will be argued that the touring Corinthians were ambassadors for a particular kind of socially-exclusive amateur football and also for a particular kind of Englishness. This ensured that the matches they played invoked inter-class and intra-class rivalries while simultaneously exposing inter-regional (North v South) and international tensions (England v Scotland). However, the tours also suggested that there were boundaries within which these rivalries could be contained.

21. **Blackpool’s Working Class Heritage: Sport, Leisure & Recreation**

Keith Myerscough, De Montfort University

This paper celebrates Blackpool’s decision to memorialise the resorts historically unique and ubiquitous contribution to working-class leisure pursuits over the last 200 years. The resorts response to the delivery of popular entertainments is examined through the impact sport, leisure and recreation has had on facility provision.

The town has recently gained Heritage Lottery funding to tell the story of Blackpool’s contribution to British and Western popular culture. Blackpool’s Heritage Museum will be based in the Blackpool Winter Gardens, a Grade 2* listed building and one of the town’s great iconic pleasure palaces of yesteryear. The resort’s success has been built upon its ability to reinvent and rejuvenate itself in response to trends fashioned by the British working-classes. The town’s whole raison d’être has been to provide ‘Health, Pleasure and Recreation’ to the urban masses. This has been reflected in an entertainments industry that has made best use of the resorts topographic and socio-economic landscapes. The resort has been inclusive: from sea bathing to promenading; fairground amusements to variety theatre; team-sports to crown green bowling; horse racing to brass band contests. When the Blackpool Heritage Museum opens its doors to the paying public in 2016 it will provide a research archive that tells the story of working-class leisure pursuits beside the Irish Sea.

22. **Six of the Best – winners and losers in English Heritage’s recent efforts to protect London’s sporting and recreational heritage**

Simon Inglis, Played in Britain

Until the turn of the new century the perception was that sports-related buildings received scant attention from those bodies tasked with protecting our historic environment. Obvious candidates such as the 17th century real tennis court at Hampton Court (listed Grade 1 in 1952), Thomas Verity’s pavilion at Lord’s (listed Grade II* in 1982) and Highbury Stadium’s East Stand (listed Grade II in 1997) brooked little debate. A seemingly disproportionate number of public baths were also listed. Otherwise the range of sports-related candidates suggested a piecemeal approach, tainted by elitism and with little regard for sporting history.

In this paper Simon Inglis explains how Played in Britain’s work has helped changed attitudes, and in 2013–14 resulted in the listing of six additional buildings and structures in London, following on from research carried out for the series’ latest urban study, *Played in London*. Among the six are a Victorian tennis pavilion, a diving board and squash court from the 1930s, and most controversially of all, a 1970s skatepark in Hornchurch.

In this illustrated presentation, Inglis will outline the criteria on which the six were judged, and explain why did two other candidates, both pavilions, failed to make the grade.
23. ‘The Pen is Mightier than the Sward’ – how WG Grace and the English Bowling Association changed the landscape of bowls

Hugh Hornby, Played in Britain

Research for Bowled Over has revealed the extent to which the English bowling tradition, going back to the Tudor period, was based on undulating, uneven greens, now known in the North and Midlands as ‘crown’ greens.

In 1899, WG Grace retired from first-class cricket and turned his attention to bowls, as the manager of the Crystal Palace sports’ complex. Grace had a strong desire to promote international bowling contests and was influenced by Scottish bowlers to favour ‘rink’ bowling on flat greens, the dominant form in Scotland for most of the 19th century.

The establishment of the English Bowling Association in 1903 was part of Grace’s mission to gain influence over the game and resulted in what several national newspapers called the ‘English Bowling Crisis’.

By corresponding enthusiastically with clubs all over England, arranging friendly matches at which he would play, the force of Grace’s personality and his celebrity status succeeded in securing a vital foothold for flat green bowls in London and the Home Counties during the Edwardian period, thereby creating a split in English bowls which continues to this day.


Tom Weir, De Montfort University

As England's first non-white player, James Peters was subjected to the obstacle of race at every level of his career. Whether being racially abused from the terraces, newspapers or overlooked for selection, he was a “dusky” working class player in a white gentlemen’s sport. Issues over Peters' race came to a head in 1906, with the visit of the marauding South African Springboks touring team. This paper debunks the historical myths built up around Peters' involvement with the Springbok tour of whether they refused to take the pitch against him against Devon, and secondly why he was omitted from consideration for the international fixture. Whilst there is evidence that the South African players were unhappy, there is no indication they threatened as a team not to play Devon, even less so that there had to be a last minute intervention from the South African High Commissioner. The extent to which they interfered or influenced the England teams selection is less clear cut. Whilst there is a contemporary newspaper trail documenting the opinion that his non selection owed much to racist discrimination, there is a lack of conclusive evidence such as recorded minutes from the RFU selection committee.

25. Rugby Union and English Society: Change and Continuity in the Post-War

Years

Joe Hall, De Montfort University

On 24 November 1945, 30,000 fans watched at Twickenham as England took on New Zealand. The players were not awarded caps, and the visiting team was made up of men from the Army. England lost by 15 points, and every player on the pitch was an amateur.
Just over 20 years later, in 1967, England once again took on New Zealand. This time, the game was attended by 74,000 people, and was the first international rugby match to be televised in colour. Away from Twickenham, cricket had abolished the amateur divide, and tennis was on the brink of doing so. The sixties may have been in full ‘swing’, but some things hadn’t changed; England lost this time by 12 points, and every player on the pitch remained an amateur.

The years between 1945 and 1970 saw both change and continuity in the game of rugby union, and the same can be said of English society. In this paper, I propose to use oral evidence gained from interviews with former England internationals to survey three areas of society – education, class, and work – in order to demonstrate how a sport like rugby union can provide a useful lens through which to study the social history of the period.

26. Everybody Loves Raymond: Dominant, Residual and Emergent in Welsh Rugby Football

John Harris, Glasgow Caledonian University

Rugby Union is a very important sport in Wales and some of its leading players become national heroes. This paper reflects upon the death of one of these players as a point of departure for exploring the cultural significance of the game. The commemoration of Ray Gravell’s life was described as the closest thing to a ‘state funeral’ to have taken place in Wales and provided a site for reflection on an earlier golden age of rugby. In an analysis framed by the work of the cultural theorist Raymond Williams, it will discuss this interplay between the past, the present, and the future. Williams, who was himself from Wales but spent most of his adult life in England, has been appropriated by scholars from a range of academic subjects but rarely with reference to sport in Wales. This paper reflects upon the ways in which a nation is imagined and considers how certain individuals become representatives of such a collective as signifiers of selective traditions.


Katie Taylor, De Montfort University

*Football’s Fabulous Females* is the name given to the Oakland Raiders cheerleading squad a role which is arguably one of the most visual representations of female involvement in the sport. Yet there is more to female involvement than this. From players, coaches, reporters and team owners women have played a varied and important role in the sport, often fighting against gendered stereotypes in this most masculine of sports. This paper intends to examine these roles in greater detail and paint a picture of female involvement largely ignored by historians thus far. It hopes to establish new understanding of the depth of women’s involvement in addition to dispelling myths that suggest women’s involvement in some roles is a recent development.
28. “We've got to look like women”: Image and sexuality in English women's cricket, 1990-2015

Raf Nicholson, Queen Mary University, London

Feminist sports sociologists have argued that the growing professionalisation of female sport since the 1980s, alongside the commodification of the female body within Western culture, has placed increased pressure on sportswomen to dress and behave in “feminine” ways (Hargreaves, 1994, 2000). Griffin (1998) also suggests that femininity is “a code word for heterosexuality”, and that its promotion has often been a defensive response to the continued association of women's sports with lesbianism. This paper offers a case study of the ways in which these dynamics played out within English women's cricket in the 1990s and 2000s, exploring the obsession of the Women's Cricket Association and, since 1998, the England and Wales Cricket Board, with presenting the “right image” for women's cricket.

Additionally, recent studies have concluded that there is a “scarcity of contemporary research [about sexuality] in women's sport” (Bullingham, Macgrath & Anderson, 2013). This paper aims to fill this gap by stressing the continued reluctance of the ECB to allow elite female cricketers to “come out”. It uses the oral testimony of lesbian cricketers to show the pressures they felt and still feel to conceal their sexuality. Ultimately it is argued that, in this respect at least, little has changed within women's cricket since the 1990s.

29. ‘As many men as can be spared from the fleet’: Sailors and sport in the empire 1880-1914

Steven Gray, Portsmouth University

The Royal Navy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries spent large amounts of time foreign stations on leave. Whilst there were many distractions for a sailor, not least drink and vice, one of the most pervasive interactions between British sailors and other westerners was through sport. As a result, sport was a key factor in the formation of these transnational, imperial, naval, and maritime relationships. Sport not only fostered a sense of competition among sailors, useful for fleet exercises such as coaling, gunnery and signalling, but also helped naval men foster the imagined characteristics of the ‘imperial man’: self control, discipline, and espirit de corps. It also encouraged the development of relationships between British naval ships, British populations at the station, foreign warships, and local western populations. It helped to cultivate solidarity in colonial societies, and developed a sense of imperial fraternity in the settler colonies. Indeed, ‘sport played a major role in the transmission of imperial and national ideas’. During almost every leave and at practically every station some sort of sport occurred. This paper explores sport and the navy across the empire, showing how the organisation of sporting fixtures was a key component of the formation and maintenance of naval, imperial and transnational relationships.

30. Establishing the Singapore Sporting Club 1842-1847: Templeton and Jorrocks

Nick Aplin, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

The small colonial community of Singapore – a potential link in the mercantile chain stretching to Australia – developed its sports and amusements slowly after Raffles founded the settlement in 1819. After 20 years young Scottish merchants, in particular, found the location dull and lacking in recreational excitement. As the Victorian era was ushered in, and
the East India Company was looking to extend its influence to China, Andrew Charles Dyce ("Templeton") and William Henry Macleod Read ("Jorrocks") injected life into the European social circles that were evolving.

The diffusion of British sports focused on establishing traditional activities and had not yet reached the stages of the games cult and athleticism that would arrive after the 1870s. Pastimes included yachting, evening billiards and cards, shooting, fives, sporadic cricket and informal pony racing. These activities were the sole preserve of the tiny European community. The expanding Chinese, Malay and Indian populations were usually mere onlookers, whose only active involvement came during the New Year Sports, a form of patronising entertainment.

The stimulus provided by Dyce and Read, and a few friends, came in the form of the creation of a racecourse, carved out of the swampy paddy fields that bordered the jungle. This paper examines the process and motivations behind the establishment of the Singapore Sporting Club and reveals the importance of individual initiatives and collective endeavour in creating a lasting legacy.

31. **Empire, War and Cricket in South Africa: Logan of Matjiesfontein**

Dean Allen, Bournemouth University

Cecil Rhodes is on record as saying he had only met two creators in South Africa, one being himself and the other James Douglas Logan. Born in Reston, Scotland in 1857, Logan immigrated to South Africa at the age of nineteen. Based upon years of research in South Africa and the United Kingdom, and using original archive material (including many unseen photographs) this paper is linked to the recently released monograph Empire, War and Cricket in South Africa. Significantly, the paper explores how James Logan made his fortune in late nineteenth century South Africa through business, politics and a high profile association with the British Empire’s favourite sport – cricket.

James Logan became known as the ‘Laird of Matjiesfontein’ after the Karoo town he had built in the late nineteenth century. This famous town is today a national heritage site in South Africa and a popular tourist destination for South African and international visitors.

This paper will explore how James Logan and Matjiesfontein were symbolic of a glorified ‘colonial ideal’ that existed throughout the British Empire in the late Victorian period. Bringing together the combined dynamics of politics, commerce and sport, the paper will also explain how James Logan was instrumental in developing the game of cricket in South Africa and examine the controversial but little-known 1901 South African cricket tour to England – a venture funded by Logan himself in the midst of the Anglo-Boer War.

32. **‘The Compleat Gentleman’: early-modern elite sport and physical education in northern Scotland**

Wade Cormack, University of the Highlands and Islands

Henry Peacham’s The Compleat Gentleman was one of many influential English language pedagogical manuals in early-modern Britain. These texts instructed the elite, and aspiring gentlemen, on fashionable educational programs for male youth and argued that exercise was critical to a well-rounded education that instructed the mind and the body. Recent historiographical discussions have highlighted that relatively little is known about early-
modern European sport and physical education despite the valuable contributions of Peter Burke, Alessandro Arcangeli and Wolfgang Behringer. Within the British context, English perspectives have predominated; whereas, the Scottish and Irish perspectives have been largely silent, with the exception of the thorough works by John Burnett and James Kelly. With this lacunae in mind, this paper examines how early-modern pedagogical texts influenced the northern Scottish elite and how these elite participated in wider Scottish, British and European sport and physical education trends. This paper argues that exercise was integrated into Scottish gentlemanly education to build strong-healthy bodies and to rejuvenate weary minds and will demonstrate that the historical chronology of physical education in Scotland requires reorientation, as its Renaissance and early-modern foundations were vital to its institutionalisation and ‘invention’ in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century.

33. The history of statistics in sport: an examination of the ‘facts’.

Simon John Eaves, Manchester Metropolitan University

Several authors (Hughes & Franks, 1997, 2005, 2008; Nevill, Atkinson & Hughes, 2008; O’Donoghue, 2010) have offered opinions about the historical development of sports statistics, as an analytical tool, yet to date research seeking to unravel the complex history of the development of the relationship between sport and statistical analysis has been scant. In truth, little is known about the development of systems used to collect data on sports performance, and much of what has been written in books and peer-reviewed journals, is seemingly unsupported by any clear evidence. Subsequently, the opinions of the few have been so often quoted by researchers, without thought for the validity of the stated ‘facts’, that they appear to have become accepted, merely based on the proliferation of these purported ‘established truths’. Recently, Eaves (2012; 2013) sought to examine the development of sports notation systems, and suggested, contrary to popular belief, that systems for collecting, and importantly analysing, sports performance data were in use as early as the mid-19th century. To fully understand the development of data collection systems that are used to analyse sport, it is essential that the ‘established truths’ presented in many papers and books are scrutinised. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to question the current view of the historical roots of sports data collection systems, and to present, for examination an alternative theory of the development of this method of sports performance analysis.

34. Football’s Origins – A Different Perspective

Gary James, Manchester Metropolitan University

In recent years there has been a wealth of research into how the game of football developed; however, rather than establishing a common theme this research has led to competing theories with some historians taking an ‘orthodox’ perspective, believing that the public schools played the lead role in the development of the sport. Others subscribe to a ‘revisionist’ position, arguing that the public schools were not as influential as traditionalists believe and that the lower-middle-classes were more relevant in the game’s ultimate development. This paper informs the debate by considering the evidence to suggest an alternative way of viewing the history of the world’s leading professional team game. Much has been written about the game’s birth, even if academics have differing views on what constitutes the birth of the sport. This paper considers how to utilise the evidence provided within the existing debates to establish a new framework. This framework will determine how best to work the
orthodox-revisionist debate into an all-encompassing framework which, it is hoped, will prove a model for the sport, and potentially for all sports in the forthcoming years.

35. **Basketball Pioneers in Australia**

Julia Walsh, Deakin University, Australia

The purpose of this research was to explore how basketball pioneer Lindsay Gaze set up a coaching dynasty in the 1960s that continues to influence how basketball is coached and played in Australia today. A descriptive case study design (Yin, 2003) was selected to provide a detailed historical and contextual account and analysis of the object under investigation. Lindsay Gaze has been an active change agent for basketball for over five decades. His roles include playing and coaching basketball for Australia as well as working as a senior administrator for Victorian Basketball. The challenges in the establishment years for basketball were (a) the tyranny of distance from an international perspective, (b) The proximity to knowledge at the local level, and (c) the propagation of knowledge throughout the basketball community. Lindsay Gaze took on all challenges, he worked on strategies to attract coaches from the United States, he created a community of practice within his club to share knowledge and develop the game, and as a senior administrator for Victorian Basketball he opened the door to exponential growth of the sport. He situated himself as a learner, was generous with his knowledge, and his finger prints are still all over the sport today.

36. **Summit collecting, yeti hunting and 'first ascents' – the changing nature of elite British mountaineering from the 1980s.**

Tom Barcham, De Montfort University

Prior to 1980 elite mountaineering was the reserve of a small number of ambitious individuals. Professional opportunity amongst British climbers was limited to those who were amongst the best and had generated and solidified their reputations through many major achievements.

From the 1980s there were new challengers who redefined the professional opportunities available, permanently reframing how the sport was undertaken and sold. Firstly, new competitors began to stand out from the established crowd by taking innovative approaches to attract publicity, sponsorship and recognition. This was often achieved by taking on expeditions with high levels of risk, a novelty element or other forms of mass appeal. Secondly, because of the success of these new competitors, the old stalwarts were forced to diversify and appeal to a broader audience, for example by combining progressive mountaineering with yeti hunting. Thirdly, a new form of competitor arose as guided ‘client-climbers’ found that they too had stories that were attractive to the media, enabling them to earn from the sport.

This paper charts the differing experiences of these groups. It demonstrates how elite mountaineering was an unusual sport because ability was far from the main determining success factor for career aspirants, and how the relatively free market conditions allowed it to develop in an agile manner.
37. “What’s the Bleeding Time”: James Robertson Justice and Sport

Mike McGuiness, Teesside University

James Robertson Justice (1907 – 1975) was a very successful character actor, mainly in the 1950s and 1960s, and especially in the Doctor series of films. However he was a complex character who was an accomplished linguist, had emigrated to and worked in Canada, served as a League of Nations policeman in the Saar, fought for the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War and was an enthusiastic sportsman. He was heavily involved with the growing sports of Ice Hockey and Motor Racing during the Inter-War years and maintained an interest in both throughout the rest of his life.

38. Respectable Professionals: the apparent contradictions of wood chopping as a competitive sport in Australasia 1870s to 1914

Greg Ryan, Lincoln University, New Zealand

Wood chopping emerged as a competitive sport amid the substantial bush clearances in Tasmania during the 1870s and soon took hold, under similar circumstances, in other parts of Australia and New Zealand. The sport became part of an extensive network of semi-professional or ‘cash’ athletics throughout Australasia. Conventional wisdom would therefore suggest that it was firmly on one side of a rigorous binary opposition between middle-class amateurs and working-class professionals. However, such an interpretation underestimates, firstly, the sustained efforts of professional sports to enforce their own codes of morality and respectability, and secondly, the reality that relations between amateurs and professionals in Australasia were frequently co-operative rather than diametrically opposed. In this context, competitive wood chopping came to be highly regulated, to eschew gambling, to embrace elite patronage, and to be welcomed at showpiece events such as the Sydney Royal Easter Show. Its status was to a large degree due to the importance of bush clearances to notions of progress and the taming of the frontier in new world societies.

39. The Grand Junction Railway Company, Crewe, and Crewe Alexandra Athletic Club

Liam Dyer, Manchester Metropolitan University

The industrial revolution heralded a new era in transport which came in the form of powerful, steam-powered locomotives and an extensive network of rail lines covering the landscape of Britain. Increased demand for the railways meant that the Grand Junction Railway company needed to relocate to Crewe to increase production and this relocation meant that the population of the town expanded rapidly. Railway workers formed sports clubs, including Crewe Alexandra Athletic Club, which, despite being financially independent, benefitted from the patronage of senior company officials such as Chief Mechanical Engineer, Frank William Webb, a firm believer in the virtues of amateurism and rational and improving recreation. Another key individual for the athletic club was senior company clerk, Thomas Abraham whose efforts to develop amateur sport in Crewe extended to the whole of the North West of England. Like Webb, he opposed professionalism in sport and both men exercised their workplace power to uphold amateur virtues. This paper uses an archival based methodology and concludes that the influence of senior railway officials shaped the development of the athletic club along a path of amateurism and rational recreation.
40. ‘The weather doesn’t stop our boys in Flanders’ and the postponement discussion ended there and then: athletics, and cross country running in the north east of England during World War 1.

Archie Jenkins

This paper focuses on athletics, and cross country running in particular, in the north east of England during World War 1. As well as relating to amateur, professional and military athletics during the conflict, it will briefly summarise the development of the sport in the region prior to the Great War, reviewing the leading clubs and individuals before and after the conflict. In an area where sport has been a vital component in the region’s cultural identity, although not born in the north east, one runner, John Hatton was a remarkable discovery and in normal times would have achieved hero status and further honours. Likewise William T Rainbow became the father figure of the Northern Command Cross Country Association, responsible for organising military athletics during the war, before elevating to the position of secretary of the International Cross Country Union. When athletics events in general were suspended throughout the country, participation numbers in the north east matched the efforts of the southern counties.

41. What has Sports History Themed Learning and Related Links to Higher Education Ever Done For Us...?

Derek Peaple, Park House School, Newbury

Park House School is a mixed 11-18 Community School of 1000 students and a former national Sports College of the Year. It was the first educational establishment in the county to receive the 'Inspired by 2012' Award from the Cabinet Office for its work in embedding Olympic-themed learning, with Ofsted additionally concluding that 'the school strongly fosters students' spiritual, moral and cultural development and the Olympic and Paralympic Values are a central theme throughout the curriculum.'

This presentation will therefore:

1. Provide an overview of how sports history themed learning and a related focus on sporting values have provided a framework for:
   - the development of school ethos and culture
   - curriculum innovation and enrichment
   - cross-phase learning partnerships

2. Offer a specific case study on the impact and wider lessons in cross-phase learning from the 'Orielympics': a residential university-based workshop developed in partnership with tutors from Oriel College, Oxford designed to inspire, stretch and challenge 40 Gifted and Talented Year 9 and Sixth Form students around themes such as 'Sporting Heroes of the Ancient and Modern World' and ‘The Propaganda of Olympism’.
42. Elite Sporting Organizations, Practice Integrated Learning and Sport History: Case Studies from Australia

Rob Hess, Fiona McLachlan & Matthew Klugman, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia

Industry partnerships between Victoria University (Melbourne, Australia) and elite sporting organizations have usually been based on forms of knowledge exchange in sport science disciplines such as biomechanics and exercise physiology. However, initial pilot programs aimed at developing industry-based practice integrated learning projects for large numbers of undergraduate students studying sport history have been the catalyst for a range of surprisingly fruitful relationships with organizations such as the Western Bulldogs Football Club, Netball Victoria, Disability Sport and Recreation Victoria, Cycling Victoria and the Sport Australia Hall of Fame. This paper explores the nature of these affiliations, and outlines the expectations, pitfalls and successes related to the development of an array of protocols associated with archival research, commissioned histories and digital narratives.

43. Sir Derek Birley Memorial Lecture: Gambling, Match fixing and Corruption in Sport (Imperfect Past, Problematic Present and Frightening Future)

Mike Huggins, University of Cumbria

The expansion of global internet betting platforms, often illegal and unregulated, has led to a rapid expansion of match fixing and manipulation of on-field events by criminal gangs. The 2014 Council of Europe Convention on the Manipulation of Sports Competitions has had little impact. So this paper seeks to provide an analytical overview of the changes in relations between gambling, sport and match-fixing in the past two centuries, using horse racing and soccer as the main examplars. It draws predominantly on British historical data, including the press, police reports, national sports organisations, their regulations and other files, and parliamentary Acts.

The paper explores the historical reasons for fixes: betting gain on a player’s account, bribes by bettors, bookmakers and more recently criminal gangs, and even club corruption to avoid relegation or gain position. It identifies those groups who historically have been more vulnerable, from players at particular levels, to referees and umpires.

This paper argues however that two key factors have been the key features in terms of the patterns of corruption that have emerged over the past two centuries. The first has been the changing size and nature of the betting market. The second factor has been the codes of conduct and procedures within particular sports and how well they have been enforced, together with their relation with national patterns of legislation.
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