

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

**'Infected with the Football Fever': The Emergence of Soccer as a Popular
Recreation in Winchester, c.1850-c.1914**

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement
for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester

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UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

ABSTRACT

‘Infected with the Football Fever’: The Emergence of Soccer as a Popular
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Recent research into the early development of association football ('soccer') has emphasised the contribution of local studies in constructing a more complete understanding of the game's national progression. However, studies of soccer's emergence in the little-industrialised settlements of southern England are noticeably absent. The current study addresses this omission by examining the game's growth in the city of Winchester in the years between 1850 and 1914. Winchester provides a particularly interesting case study due to the combined influences that its academic, military and ecclesiastical institutions had on its cultural life. Using contemporary local newspaper reports, the research locates soccer within the context of the broader sporting culture of Victorian Winchester, before analysing the processes by which the game's popularity increased through the decades before the First World War. Social class is identified as the principal determinant of local participation, affecting to varying degrees the access that individuals enjoyed to the time, money and space needed to play the game. In the 1880s, soccer was played by members of Winchester's middle class, before its large-scale adoption by the city's working-class players during the 1890s and 1900s. The local game survived on paternalism rather than commercialism with Winchester's soccer clubs largely dependent on patrons, the church and the public for support rather than exploiting their own potential for profit generation. The research also reveals that Winchester's academic institutions, especially the private schools, had only a minor influence on the city's emerging soccer culture due to their social and cultural remoteness from the wider city. This contrasts with the city's military which, owing to the social and class background shared between soldiers and civilians, made a significant impact on the game's local development. The study provides a comprehensive analysis of soccer's emergence in a previously overlooked context, enriching the understanding of the game's diverse popular origins.

Keywords: Soccer, Football, Winchester, Social Class, Sporting Participation.

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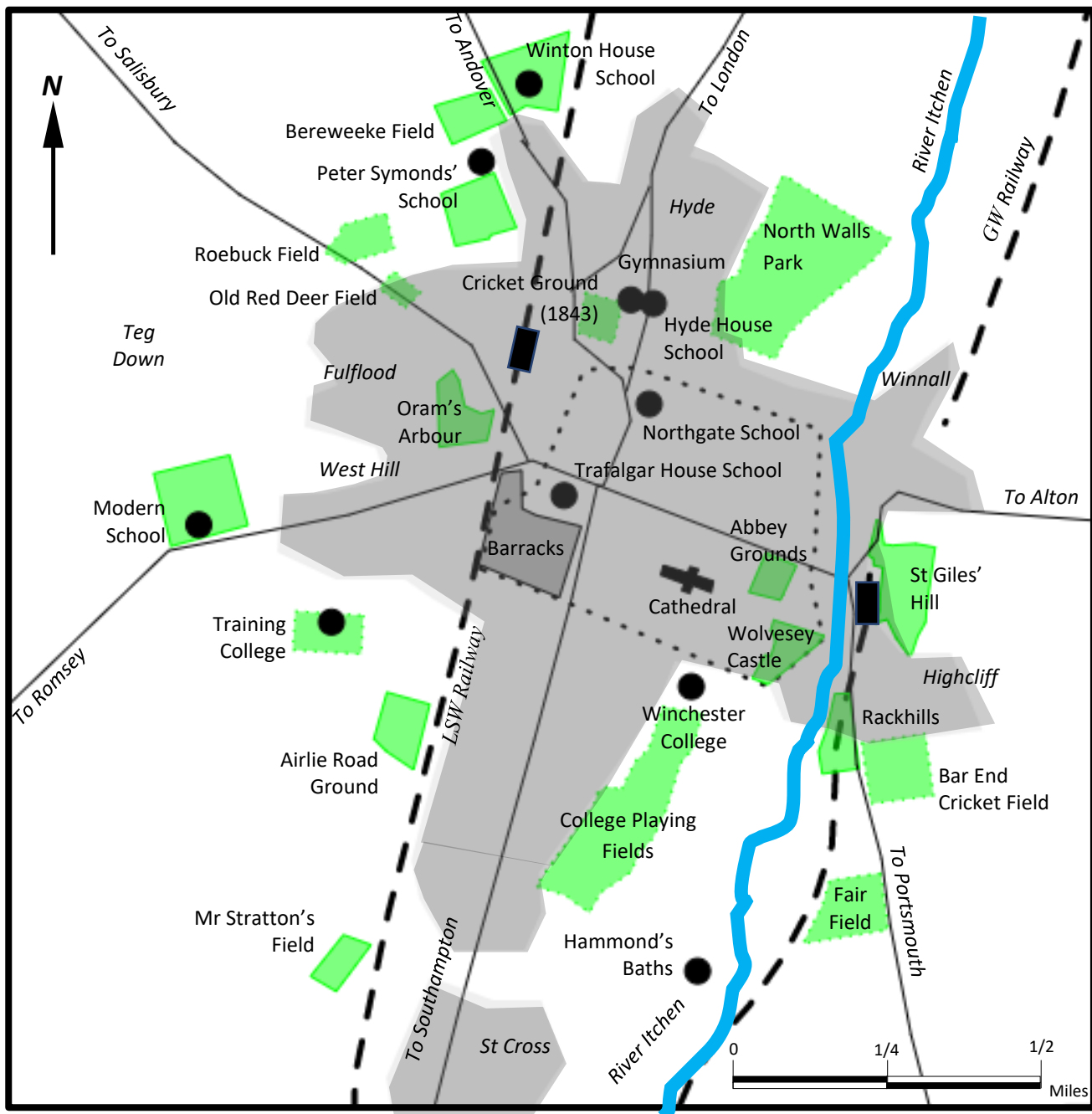
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Map 1. Winchester, Hampshire and other key towns in geographic context.



Key

Grey area	Extent of the built-up area of the city, 1900
Green area	Playing spaces mentioned in text
Solid line	Main road
Dashed line	Railway
Dotted line	Circuit of medieval city walls

Map 2. Winchester – Playing areas, schools and locations referred to in the text.

A knowledge of the place one lives in, its ancient story, its institutions, its manners, customs – apart altogether from the pleasure, such knowledge gives – will aid one to gain a sympathetic knowledge of other places, and in time, ought to help one to understand and appreciate the story of one's nation as a whole.

Rev. J Nagle,
Winchester - Its Lure and Spell
1920

Chapter One: Introduction

When, in 1896, Hampshire's top soccer team, the St. Mary's club of Southampton, played a home game against Sheffield Wednesday in the first round of the F.A. Cup, it was estimated that 'there were quite 14,000 persons' at the club's Antelope Ground.¹ Several of these spectators had made the twelve-mile journey from Winchester to watch. Writing in the Winchester-based *Hampshire Observer* the following week, its sports columnist, 'Goalkeeper', included a virologic analogy in his description of the increasing hold that soccer had on the locals' attention, noting that:

A large number of Winchester people visited Southampton on Saturday to witness the match [...] the football microbe has had a busy time of it for everybody seems to have been infected with the Football Fever.²

The interest shown by Winchester people in the match, and in soccer more generally, offered a striking contrast to the situation ten years earlier. At the start of 1884, there were no formally organised soccer clubs active in the city, play was restricted to a few teams based at its private schools, and 'football' was widely thought to be synonymous with either its rugby form or the unique version of the game played at Winchester College.

'Goalkeeper' was unaware that the 1895/96 season marked the start, not the culmination, of what is identified here as Winchester's 'soccer boom'. A decade later, Winchester's other newspaper, the *Hampshire Chronicle*, reported on at least ten city-based soccer clubs, an impressive number for a town which, in the 1901 Census, recorded a population of just 21,000.³ By 1908, there were ten competitive local soccer leagues – open to senior, junior and minor clubs, Saturday- and Thursday-playing teams, and local school teams – being contested in the Winchester area. The evident enthusiasm for soccer among Wintonians was sustained to 1914 and the outbreak of the First World War. Soccer's local transformation from a minority sport to one which commanded the attention of a significant section of the city's population, and the local social, political and cultural environment in which it occurred, are the subjects of this thesis.

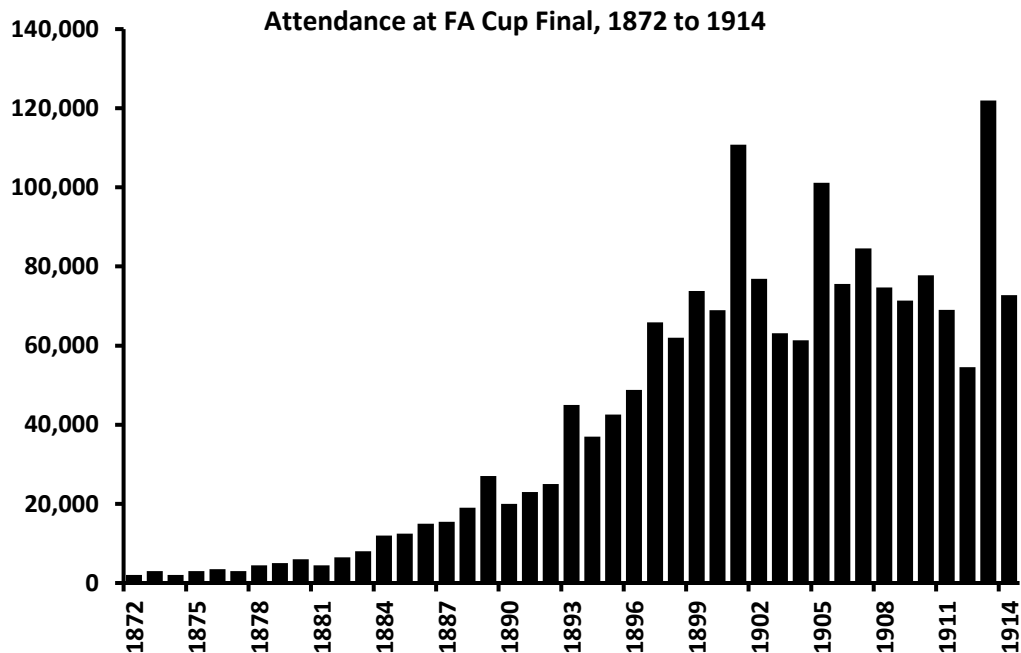
¹ *SE* 1 February 1896 p3.

² *HO* 8 February 1896 p3.

³ Of these, 2,200 were males aged between 16 and 29, a group which can be regarded as the city's potential soccer playing population.

1.1 The Popular Growth of Soccer in Britain to 1914

A surge in the popularity of soccer was observed throughout Britain during the late nineteenth century which continued to grow through the Edwardian period. By 1914, soccer was established as the nation's favourite winter sport, and rivalled cricket in its claim to be England's national game. The national growth in soccer's popularity was reflected in the increasing number of spectators in attendance at the F.A. Cup final (see Graph 1). In the competition's first decade, crowd sizes at the final remained low, growing gradually from two to eight thousand. It was in this period that the competition was won by a series of clubs which have been described as 'gentlemen amateurs', representative of a time when the game was a minority sport dominated by southern clubs with a high proportion of middle-class members. But, from 1883, the rate of this growth increased notably, the figure reaching almost seventy-four thousand at the 1899 final. These years saw the emergence of cup winning teams which fielded players from working-class backgrounds. These clubs, principally from the north and midlands, embraced professionalism and were the driving force behind the establishment, in 1888, of the Football League. Crowd numbers at cup finals remained high, albeit with marked annual variations, into the twentieth century with the average attendance at games reaching approximately eighty thousand spectators.



Graph 1. Attendances at the FA Cup final, 1872 to 1914. *Source: Various.*

However, any national overview of soccer's development as a popular sport will inevitably conceal significant regional and local variations. In recent years this has been acknowledged by historians of soccer, many of whom reject the attempts made by earlier writers to present a single

‘national story’ of the game’s evolution. Instead, recent work in this field has sought to highlight differing regional experiences through local studies, in the belief that an appreciation of this local diversity would lead to a comprehensive understanding of how soccer developed in Britain. The research presented in this thesis adds to the growing collection of studies exploring soccer’s early development in different local settings and reveals much about civic life in Winchester during the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

1.2 Winchester in the Late Nineteenth Century

The setting of this study is the southern English city of Winchester, located in the county of Hampshire, twelve miles north of Southampton and sixty-four miles south west of London (see Map 1). It was, and remains, a city of modest size. Despite this, the city’s population trebled during the nineteenth century, driven largely by in-migration from the surrounding countryside.⁴ This is illustrated by the increase in the city’s population as recorded in the decennial national census (see Table 1).

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>% Increase</i>
1801	6,069	
1811	6,705	10.5%
1821	7,739	15.4%
1831	9,212	19.0%
1841	9,889	7.4%
1851	12,402	25.4%
1861	13,291	7.2%
1871	15,346	15.5%
1881	16,975	10.6%
1891	19,670	15.9%
1901	20,413	3.8%
1911	20,645	1.1%

Table 1. Winchester’s population as recorded in the national Census, 1841-1911. Note – excludes military personnel stationed at the city barracks. *Source Allen and James (2006).*

Winchester provides an interesting case study of the popular emergence of soccer for several reasons. First, as a largely unindustrialised, market town located in the predominantly rural south of England, the city provides a local context of the sort which have, to date, been mostly overlooked by historians of football. Economically, nineteenth-century Winchester was dominated by the service sector. The city functioned as a centre for local civic administration, having its own town council and,

⁴ M. Allen and T.B. James *The 1871 Census for Winchester* (Winchester, 2006) 8, 52.

from 1889, being designated as the home for the newly established Hampshire County Council. The city was also the county's legal centre. Trials at both assize courts and county quarter sessions were held in Winchester, as were local minor cases in the petty court. As a consequence, a number of solicitors had established practices in the town. Winchester was also the chosen location for the Royal Hampshire County Hospital, which was originally sited within the city centre before being relocated to the outskirts in 1868. The concentration of these services resulted in the city being home to a large number of middle-class residents - solicitors, doctors, and surgeons - but also provided employment to workers in associated trades such as stationers, printers, and bookbinders. Winchester also served as a retail and finance centre for the surrounding area. The city hosted a regular market for agricultural produce, had its own Corn Exchange, a number of banks, and acted as the principal shopping centre for much of central Hampshire. Accordingly, many young Wintonians were employed by auctioneers and bankers as clerks or by local merchants as shop workers. The city's economic reliance on the service sector was underscored by the absence of any large-scale industry. The largest manufacturing sector in the city was brewing, there being five medium-sized breweries in operation in the city by 1900.⁵ Many of Winchester's other 'industrial' workers were skilled- or semi-skilled-craftsmen - particularly carpenters, builders, and tailors - who worked either in small-scale workshops or were self-employed.⁶ Local studies of football history have tended to focus on locations which featured an industrial economic base. Yet the shortage of significant industrial activity in Winchester should not lead to its contribution to the subject being ignored. The experience of places like Winchester are no less relevant to the development and popularisation of the national game than the more-studied regions of the English North and Midlands.

Religion, especially in the form propagated by the Church of England, had a high profile in Winchester, making a significant contribution to the city's social and cultural life. As a cathedral city, Winchester served as the administrative centre of its associated diocese, which, prior to its division in 1927, stretched from Dorset to London. The Cathedral Close provided a home to the Dean of Winchester and many of the canons who constituted the Cathedral's Chapter. The local importance of the church was reflected in the local news media, which reported Church of England matters – meetings, preferments, appointments and clerical vacancies – in detail.⁷ Although not universally shared by the city's population, religious sensibilities guided many among Winchester's social and political elite, with the result that Christian morality and standards had a greater impact on civic society than was apparent in most neighbouring towns and cities.

⁵ P. Yates *Time Gentlemen Please!* (Winchester, 2007) 21-32.

⁶ Allen and James *1871 Census* 51.

⁷ For example, in 1905 the two-day Winchester Diocesan Conference received fourteen columns of detailed coverage in the *Hampshire Chronicle*. HC 14 October 1905 p2-3, 6.

In addition, Winchester had, since the medieval period, been renowned as a centre of education and learning. The city owed this status principally to it being the location of one of Britain's elite public schools, Winchester College. The College was instituted in 1382 and, by 1850, had gained a reputation as one of the foremost public schools in England, taking students from Britain's privileged aristocratic and upper-bourgeois families.⁸ The College helped Winchester earn a reputation for education which was exploited, and sustained, by a number of fee-paying schools operating in the city. These schools were generally operated as private businesses and served the educational needs of the middle class, typically preparing their pupils for future roles in business or as military officers rather than for entry to a university. These schools, in imitation of the nearby College, adopted much of its cultural outlook and attitudes, including an embrace of a 'Cult of Athleticism' which saw the importance attributed to games-playing elevated to a status which almost rivalled – and occasionally surpassed – that of academic ability.⁹ The city's academic reputation was enhanced still further by the opening, in 1842, of the Winchester Diocesan Training College established specifically to train teachers for future employment in Church of England controlled elementary schools. As the historiography of football identifies academic institutions such as these as playing an important role in the game's early development, their profusion in Winchester makes the city an interesting subject for a case study.

The military had a large and visible presence in nineteenth-century Winchester due to its large barracks, capable of housing over a thousand military personnel, located in the city centre. Winchester had been a garrison town since 1796 when a building, which had originally been conceived as a palace for Charles II, was leased to the British Army. During the sixty years which followed, the house was used as a barracks to accommodate a series of regiments temporarily stationed in the city. In 1858, the upper part of the barracks was designated as the headquarters of both the Rifle Brigade and the Kings Royal Rifle Corps and was, subsequently, referred to as the Rifle Depot. The barracks' lower part was the home of various Hampshire-based regiments but, following amalgamation under the 1881 Childers Reforms, was made the base of the newly formed Hampshire Regiment, and became known as the Hampshire Depot. Both Depots remained in Winchester Barracks beyond 1914, with the exception of the ten years from 1894 to 1904 when the Rifle Depot was temporarily relocated to Gosport following a destructive fire at the Upper Barracks. As with

⁸ Winchester College's elite status was confirmed by its inclusion among the nine leading educational institutions whose governance was investigated by the Clarendon Commission in the 1860s.

⁹ Tony Mangan defines Athleticism as physical exercise 'taken, considerably and compulsorily, in the sincere belief of many, no matter how romantic, misplaced or myopic, that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and cooperation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to command and obey'. J. A. Mangan *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge, 1981) 9.

schools and colleges, the British military – in particular, the Army – has regularly been cited by sports historians for its part in promoting football in the game’s formative years.¹⁰

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Winchester displayed a number of the features which, in the historiography, are associated with the emergence of popular soccer. The city was a well-recognised and respected centre for education, the military had a presence in the town, and, as a long-established and important religious centre, Winchester had a piety which subtly guided much of the local social and cultural activity. Winchester’s economy was dominated by the service sector, and there were no large-scale industrial employers in the city. This shortage of industry makes this case study of soccer’s emergence in Winchester an ideal comparator to existing studies of the game’s evolution which have, to date, been dominated by examples from more northerly and industrialised towns.

1.3 Historiography and Literature Review - Football

Football has been the subject of numerous popular history publications, some of which appeared as early as the late nineteenth century. However, only in recent decades have the histories of both popular recreations and of football been the subjects of serious academic study. Since then much academic work has been produced, leading to debates about both the game’s origins and the nature of its cultural adoption by a broad section of the British population. Presented here is a brief review of this literature and the associated schools of historical thought which have contributed to the historiography of British football.

Writers have sought to understand and contextualise soccer’s development since its emergence as a popular pastime. The approaches that these writers have adopted have, however, evolved since the earliest attempts to document the game. In a possible attempt to afford the game status, the first studies of the history of football sought to emphasise the supposed antiquity of the sport. In 1885, Montague Shearman and James Vincent traced the descent of football back through England’s public schools, to medieval mass ‘folk’ football games, before concluding that the game ‘probably’ had origins with the ancient Greeks and Romans.¹¹ The ancient origins of football remained a feature of many early and mid-twentieth century published histories. Two-thirds of Maurice Marples’ 1954 *History of Football* dealt with events which predated the formation of the Football Association in 1863, and included considerations that the game may have had Greek,

¹⁰ Jack Rollin claims that ‘long before the Army FA was founded in 1888, soldiers were at the forefront of football’s evolution’. J. Rollin *The Army Game, Red and Khaki: 125 Years of the Army Football Association* (Nottingham, 2013) 4.

¹¹ M. Shearman and J.E. Vincent *Foot-ball: Its History for Five Centuries* (London, 1885) 6-7.

Roman, Celtic, Saxon or Norman origins.¹² Likewise, the chapter in which Percy Young records the establishment of the F.A. occurs as late as the midpoint of his 1968 *History of British Football*.¹³

Marples' and Young's histories were typical of other soccer histories published at that time. Both highlighted the formative role played by English public schools in the creation and promotion of football, simultaneously excluding any proletarian agency in the game's development. These authors, again in common with other writers, also presented football's progression as a single, nationally applicable account which ignored any subtle regional or local deviations from this narrative. These early football histories include much conjecture, anecdote and generalisation, combined with a relish for detailed records of matches and the exploits of specific individuals, as was typical for that time.

Academic historical studies which explored the development of football emerged during the 1970s as one part of the broadening interest in the history of leisure. A seminal work in the new field of leisure history was Robert Malcolmson's 1973 publication *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850*.¹⁴ Malcolmson analysed the changes which occurred in English recreation during the industrial revolution. He interpreted the decline of 'traditional' English leisure pastimes as the result of the widespread destruction of the rural communities in which they had developed and had been sustained. The relocation of the rural population in response to increasing industrialisation, combined with a growing separation between the different classes in society, saw support weaken for these popular recreations. In Malcolmson's view this provided the opportunity for the gentry, in partnership with the newly emergent bourgeoisie, to suppress these popular recreations on the grounds that they were destructive to both property and worker discipline, that they encouraged working-class drinking and gambling, and had the potential to engender serious civil disorder. As a consequence of the suppression of popular pastimes, Malcolmson identified, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a void in popular recreations which was a direct result of bourgeois and proletarian class conflict. This void was later filled by the introduction of new sports devised by the upper and middle classes which were organised, structured and socially less disruptive than their predecessors. Malcolmson's interpretation was founded on the presumption that the lower ranks of society were passive and powerless responders to the control exerted by the bourgeoisie.

This presumption was challenged in 1980 by Hugh Cunningham who provided evidence of a widespread continuity of recreation throughout the industrial revolution, pointing out the popularity of formerly 'rural' pastimes, such as ratting and dog fighting, in newly urbanised environments.¹⁵

¹² M. Marples *A History of Football* (London, 1954) 1-18.

¹³ P.M. Young *A History of British Football* (London, 1968) 89.

¹⁴ R.W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (London, 1973).

¹⁵ H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780 to c.1880* (London, 1980).

Cunningham cast doubt on the efficacy of the upper- and middle-class suppression of popular leisure activities, stressing the capacity for resistance among the working class and its ability to create its own leisure culture. He demonstrated the capacity for the mass population to maintain its longstanding tradition of football play, in the process rejecting Malcolmson's view. Cunningham claimed that folk football remained a popular urban pastime throughout the period, and that organised, less violent forms of football continued to be played and that these, being less contentious, were less represented in the historical record. The populace was capable of adapting their games to suit their new urban environment, and developed a leisure culture, which included a form of football, that was independent of any influence from their social superiors. Variations on the conflicting perspectives of Malcolmson and Cunningham, summarised as a contrast between a top-down diffusion of sanitised leisure and a popular continuity culture which was sustained among the masses, were later applied by academics to football's development.

The first modern academic studies of football's history, as part of the new leisure history, were also published in the 1970s. These studies approached the subject from a new perspective by abandoning the style which had typified much of the earlier writing on the subject, employing instead some of the methods and ideas being applied in contemporary social science. Publications such as James Walvin's *The People's Game* (1975), Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard's *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (1979), and Tony Mason's *Association Football and English Society* (1980) examined the growth of football in the context of parallel developments in British society.¹⁶ The importance of social class in the game's development was a central feature of these studies. Walvin described the game's widespread adoption by the industrial working class as a 'social change of major proportions'.¹⁷ While noting that the majority of the players that appeared for England's elite early soccer clubs were from working-class backgrounds, Mason also identified that the game's administrators, club officials and shareholders were overwhelmingly drawn from the middle class, questioning the often stated claim that football was the 'people's game'.¹⁸ It is notable, however, that in their discussions on the impact of class on the game's growth, both Walvin and Mason focused primarily on higher profile, professional clubs. The experiences of small, amateur clubs away from the industrial heartlands were largely overlooked.

Walvin also examined the link between early football and the Victorian church, listing several present-day elite clubs whose origins lay in nineteenth-century religious organisations. In particular, he highlighted studies of the impact that the church had on early soccer among the poorer

¹⁶ J. Walvin *The People's Game* (London, 1975), E. Dunning and K. Sheard *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players* (Abingdon, 1979), T. Mason *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915* (Brighton, 1980).

¹⁷ Walvin *People's Game* 52.

¹⁸ Mason *English Society* 89-91.

communities of industrial Birmingham and Liverpool.¹⁹ This theme was expanded upon by Richard Holt, who noted that Victorian churchmen would use football as a means through which middle-class attitudes towards rational recreation might be diffused to the working classes, only to lose control once the workers felt equipped to organise games for themselves.²⁰

Another area that has attracted significant academic interest is the role played by the elementary schools and their teachers in the development of football. Walvin maintained that the introduction of soccer to the elementary schools was ‘*the most important factor in guaranteeing the future of football as a mass game*’ [original emphasis].²¹ The work of Tony Mangan and Colm Hickey sought to recognise the contribution that the training colleges, and the schoolteachers which graduated from them, made to the promotion of the game to British working-class schoolchildren.²² And Colm Kerrigan provided an example of how school football affected the game in a local setting through his detailed studies of the impact that elementary school soccer had on the wider game in London.²³

Later studies also identified the role that football might play in support of civic identity and as a source of local pride. Brad Beaven records that an affiliation to the Coventry F.C. encouraged a sense of local attachment among that city’s population of recently arrived migrants.²⁴ Likewise, Catherine Budd notes that the Middlesbrough F.C. performed a similar function in establishing local identity within the non-indigenous community of industrial workers in the Yorkshire town.²⁵

Despite adopting a more sociological approach to football’s history, many of these studies reinforced the accepted ‘top-down’ transmission of a national football culture, in which the game was diffused from the public schools to the wider population. However, these views were challenged by other academics. Taking a ‘history from below’ perspective, John Goulstone argued for a continuity of popular football playing throughout the period in which the public schools were formulating their rules, a view which was later expanded upon by Cunningham.²⁶ The top-down ‘orthodox’ view of football’s diffusion received a further challenge from the mid-1990s. A number of ‘revisionist’ academics, such as Adrian Harvey and Peter Swain, joined Goulstone in advocating a greater role for the working class in the game’s development, and arguing that there existed a largely unreported popular culture of football playing throughout Britain which both predated and

¹⁹ Walvin *People’s Game* 59-60.

²⁰ R. Holt *Sport and the British* (Oxford, 1989) 138.

²¹ Walvin *People’s Game* 59-60.

²² J.A. Mangan and C. Hickey *Soccer’s Missing Men: School Teachers and the Spread of Association Football* (Abingdon, 2009).

²³ C. Kerrigan *Teachers and Football: Schoolboy Association Football in England, 1885-1915* (Abingdon, 2005).

²⁴ B. Beaven *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester, 2005) 75-77.

²⁵ C. Budd *Sport in Urban England* (London, 2017) 98-99.

²⁶ J. Goulstone, *Modern Sport: Its Origins and Development through Two Centuries* (Chatham, 1974); Cunningham *Industrial Revolution*.

was contemporaneous with the developments at the public schools.²⁷ They contest that the late Victorian soccer boom emerged as much from a pre-existing, popular enthusiasm as it did from upper- and middle-class promotion and that the contribution made by these early popular forms of football to the games' development has been overlooked in the historiography.

This challenge received a robust rebuttal from, among others, Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, who adhered to the 'orthodox' version of the game's development.²⁸ Curry and Dunning maintained that the English public schools - where football games were developed, codified, and from which they were diffused, via private and grammar schools, to the wider public - were central to football's development. The ensuing exchange, which since 1999 has been conducted periodically through a series of articles and books, has been termed the 'origins of football' debate. The most recent contributions to this debate have been uninspiring - some have descended into thinly veiled personal attacks - and a consensus appears some way off.²⁹

In response to this impasse, some academics identified a potential way forward through the study of football's development in a variety of local contexts.³⁰ An examination of a range of differing local experiences would facilitate a deeper understanding of the game's diverse national development.³¹ To date, the vast majority of these local studies have been concentrated in locations in the industrial north and midlands of England. To illustrate, twenty-nine local soccer studies were published in three sports history journals between 2003 and 2020. Of these, twelve were focused on Lancashire, six in the Midlands, three each in Sheffield and Scotland's central belt, and two in Northumberland. Only three of these studies examined experiences in southern England, two in London the other in Ipswich (see Figure 1 and Appendix A for details of these studies).³²

²⁷ A. Harvey *Football: The First Hundred Years, the Untold Story* (Abingdon, 2005); P. Swain *The Emergence of Football, Sport, Culture and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Abingdon, 2020).

²⁸ G. Curry and E. Dunning *Association Football* (Abingdon, 2015).

²⁹ G. James, 'Historical Frameworks and Sporting Research' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (2016) vol. 33 no. 10 1169-87; P. Swain, 'Reclassifying History: a Steady Regression to Nowhere – Fast' in *Soccer and Society* (2018) vol. 19 no.1, 136-53.

³⁰ G. Curry 'Introduction: Towards a Deeper Understanding of the Development of Early Football' in *Soccer and Society* (2018) vol. 19 no.1, 3.

³¹ M. D. Cooke and G. James 'Myths, Truths and Pioneers: The Early Development of Association Football in the Potteries' *Soccer and Society* (2018) vol.19 no.1, 6.

³² These twenty-nine local soccer studies were published in *Soccer and Society*, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, and *Sport in History*. An additional study, included in *Soccer and Society* (2020) vol.21 no.4 which focused on Winchester, was written by the current author and includes the early conclusions from this thesis.



Figure 1. Local studies of early football articles from three academic sports history journals, 2003-20.

As shown in Figure 1, local studies of the rural and semi-rural south of England are absent from the existing body of scholarly historical works. Certainly, there are no academic studies which document the development of soccer in Hampshire. There are, however, several popular histories which explore the county's footballing past, most of which can be classified into one of two categories. First, there are histories of the county's most successful league clubs and biographies of their leading players.³³ In addition, there are histories which were published to mark significant anniversaries of the local organisations which administer the game at a local level.³⁴ Publications in both categories are typified by an approach in which significant games, dates, and, in the latter case, the election of various chairmen, are afforded special attention. These histories provide only restricted insight into the context in which the events they detail are set and, consequently, are of limited value as academic studies of the game's local development.

The sole instance of a Hampshire football history written with a scope which extended beyond that of an individual club, player or organisation is Norman Gannaway's 1996 *Association Football in Hampshire until 1914*.³⁵ In his abstract, Gannaway states his intention to 'describe the contribution [to soccer] that has come from Hampshire, and tell in part how the association game [...] developed

³³ For example, see D. Bull and B. Brunskill (eds), *Match of the Millennium: The Saints' 100 Most Memorable Matches* (Bristol, 2000); M. Neasom, M. Cooper, and D. Robinson, *Pompey: The History of Portsmouth Football Club* (Horndean, 1984); and D. Bull, *Constant Paine: From Southampton Legend to South African Ambassador* (Bristol, 2008).

³⁴ W. Pickford, *Hampshire Football Association Golden Jubilee 1887-1937* (Bournemouth 1937); N. Gannaway, *Centenary History of the Hampshire Football League 1896-1996* (Southampton, 1996); J.A. Moody, *Centenary of Southampton Local Soccer: The First 100 Years of Administration by the Southampton Football Association and Southampton Saturday Football League, 1908-2008* (Southampton, 2008).

³⁵ N. Gannaway, *Association Football in Hampshire until 1914*. Hampshire Papers no. 9 (Winchester, 1996).

within the county'.³⁶ However, he follows the approach taken by earlier historians of the game in his willingness to trace a lineage for soccer which extends to the Romans, and is perhaps too keen to emphasise the role played by Winchester College in football development, despite both soccer and the Winchester game having distinct and contrasting forms. The main part of his paper presents a chronology of football's local development, punctuated by anecdotes collected from contemporary newspapers.

If an all-encompassing narrative of soccer's development is to be created, it is essential that it should incorporate contributions from all of Britain's regions. To date, the game's emergence in the non-industrialised communities of southern England has been noticeably overlooked in the academic literature. By presenting Winchester's experience of soccer's local popularisation, this thesis contributes towards addressing this omission.

The motivations which drove some Winchester residents to participate in soccer – either as a player, a patron, or a spectator - are examined in this thesis. One motivation identified was the desire to emulate and display the masculine traits that were considered desirable in the various social groups of that time. Consequently, this thesis contributes to contemporary discussions surrounding historic masculinities and gender history.

The study of gender history is rooted in the early twentieth century and the emergence, in parallel with the campaigns for women's suffrage, of women's history. Initially concerned in addressing the under-representation of women in the historic record, women's history evolved, through the influence of second-wave feminist scholars in the 1960s, to a more structural study of the power relationships which existed in the past. The publication in 1989 of Joan Wallach Scott's *Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis* heralded a further shift in emphasis. Wallach Scott's work identified a need to balance assessments of the feminine and masculine experiences and a recognition of the power relationships inherent between the two, thereby advocating the expansion of women's history to the more contextualised history of gender.³⁷

Gender history has continued to develop during the past four decades. Deborah Gray White's *Ar'n't I a Woman?* (1985), highlighted the diversity of women's personal histories by acknowledging that gender was not the sole determinant of experience and that other factors - such as class, race, and locality – also have an effect.³⁸ White identified that the intersection between gender and these additional determining factors resulted in a variety of outcomes for individual women and that, therefore, there was no single feminine experience. The concept that intersectionality affected

³⁶ *ibid.*, Abstract.

³⁷ J. Wallach Scott 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' in *The American Historical Review* vol. 91 no. 5 (1986) 1053-75.

³⁸ D. Gray White *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York, 1985).

gender experience was extended to the study of masculinities by John Tosh in *What Should Historians do with Masculinity?* (1994).³⁹ Tosh stated that, just as there existed a range of female narratives, the individual male experience was also a product of the configuration of gender with a variety of social, economic and demographic influences and that, as with femininities, there existed multiple masculinities. This thesis recognises the intersectionality between gender and class, and examines the varied masculinities demonstrated through sport in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Winchester.

1.4 Historiography and Literature Review - Winchester

Winchester is one of the oldest cities in England. During the Iron Age there was extensive human activity in the valley of the river Itchen and on its surrounding hills, The Romans established a walled city in the valley, and these walls served to define the extent of the city of Winchester for the next two millennia. Despite Winchester's success under the Romans, the city fell into disrepair in the aftermath of their departure in the fifth century. The city was restored during the Saxon period and served as the *de facto* capital first of Wessex, and later England, until the Norman invasion. During the High Middle Ages Winchester was a successful and heavily populated city, but a series of plagues during the fourteenth century heralded the start of the city's second decline. Although at periods the city's prospects did appear positive, the general trend was one of steady decay over the subsequent four hundred years. This decline was reversed from the start of the nineteenth century. The arrival of the railway in 1839, combined with a heightened role in civil and ecclesiastical administration, saw Winchester grow, its population reaching levels in the mid-nineteenth century that had not been recorded since the fourteenth century.

Owing to its rich heritage Winchester has been the subject of numerous historical studies, both popular and academic. However, these have tended to primarily focus on the city's medieval past. In particular, the archaeological projects overseen by Martin Biddle during the 1960s and 1970s produced a substantial volume of published information about the medieval city. In comparison the modern history of Winchester, including the Victorian and Edwardian periods, is under-researched.

Two early works of history sought to survey and document the entirety of Winchester's past. The most detailed, John Milner's *The History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester* of 1798, is divided into two parts. The first provides a chronology of the city's history, while the second consists of chapters devoted to its most prominent buildings and monuments.⁴⁰ The second early work is

³⁹ J. Tosh 'What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain' in *History Workshop Journal* 38 (Autumn 1994) 179-202.

⁴⁰ J. Milner, *The History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester* (Winchester, 1798).

Bernard Woodward's *A History and Description of Winchester* which was published in 1860 and contains a description of, and includes several illustrations of, the nineteenth-century city.⁴¹ However, both books are, as was typical for their time, works of antiquarianism which, while providing details of the local institutions of church and state, offer little insight into the everyday life of the city.

Two more recent examples of published city histories are Barbara Carpenter-Turner's *A History of Winchester* (1992) and Tom Beaumont James' *Winchester from Prehistory to Present* (2007).⁴² The former is well-balanced and avoids devoting a disproportional amount of space to the city's medieval past. However, possibly in a reflection of Carpenter-Turner's involvement in local politics, much of the history - especially the chapters which focus on the Victorian period - explores the machinations of the local authorities which controlled the city. While Carpenter-Turner's work has proved helpful in illustrating the civic background to many of the events studied in this thesis, it has not provided much detail on the history of the city's leisure. James presents a more broadly focused survey of the city's history and includes a consideration of its population and society, its economy, religion and the impact of the railways, in addition to a short overview of local administration. By adopting a holistic view of the city's history, James' work provides context to, and a description of, some of the social and cultural changes which occurred in Winchester during the modern era.

The Hampshire Field Club and Archaeology Society has produced a number of articles, papers and monographs related to the county's past. However, with much of this writing based on the results of archaeological surveys, these studies have predominately examined Hampshire's medieval and prehistoric past. Despite this, five works of some relevance to this thesis have been identified. Two of these are articles which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, both of which reported the findings of research into local leisure practices. Paul Ranger's essay 'The Lost Theatres of Winchester, 1620-1861' was included in the 1974 *Proceedings*, while Justine Cooper's 'Leisure and Society in Georgian Winchester' was published in 1999.⁴³ Despite the earlier time period, both provide some insight into local recreation and leisure in the city. More appropriately time-focused are William Boorman's article 'Health and Sanitation in Victorian Winchester' and Barbara Yorke's contribution to the Hampshire Papers series *The King Alfred Millenary in*

⁴¹ B.B. Woodward *A History and Description of Winchester* (Winchester, 1860).

⁴² B. Carpenter-Turner *A History of Winchester* (Chichester, 1992). T.B. James *Winchester from Prehistory to Present* (Stroud, 2007).

⁴³ P. Ranger, 'The Lost Theatres of Winchester, 1620-1861', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* vol. 31 (1974), 65-108; J. Cooper, 'Leisure and Society in Georgian Winchester', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* vol. 54 (1999), 127-45.

Winchester, 1901.⁴⁴ While neither refers to sport or leisure in the city, both illustrate the nature of local government debate, decision-making, and financing in nineteenth-century Winchester. A further of the Hampshire Papers, John Simons' *A History of Cricket in Hampshire, 1760-1914*, details the development of cricket in the region before and during the period covered in this current study and contributes context to the sporting developments included in Chapter Two of this thesis.⁴⁵

In addition, a number of theses have been submitted that explore Winchester's nineteenth-century history. At PhD level these include Mark Allen's census-based analysis of the impact of the railways on Victorian Winchester (1999), Justine Cooper's research of the development of the city's High Street (2001), Peter Crossley's examination of nineteenth-century local authority financing and building construction (2003), Christine Grover's study of the city's suburban expansion in the second half of the century (2008), and Richard Aldous' synthesis of the city's electoral data (2014).⁴⁶ In combination these studies provide a multi-faceted description of how the city functioned and evolved during the Victorian period.

Histories of individual city-based institutions have also been produced. Owing to its antiquity and status it is, perhaps, unsurprising that numerous books and articles have been published relating to the history of Winchester College. A large number of these, most written by former pupils or current masters, appeared during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These included *A History of Winchester College* by former pupil Arthur Leach (1899), former headmaster William Fearon's *The Passing of Old Winchester* (1936), and *Winchester* by college chaplain John Firth (1936).⁴⁷ The historical value of these are limited as all are nostalgia-laden, contain a substantial amount of anecdote, and feature an inherent and uncritical acceptance of the College's superiority. A more balanced retelling of the College's history is provided by James Sabben-Clare's *Winchester College* (1981) which, helpfully, contains a section which lucidly explains some aspects of the unique form of football played at the school.⁴⁸

The Winchester Diocesan Training College has also been the subject of published histories. Martial Rose's *A History of King Alfred's College, Winchester* (1981) was produced to celebrate the institution's one-hundred and fortieth anniversary.⁴⁹ Rose was the Principal at the time he was writing, and his book provides a well-researched and comprehensive record of the changes

⁴⁴ W. Boorman, 'Health and Sanitation in Victorian Winchester', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club* vol. 46 (1991), 161-80; B. Yorke 'The King Alfred Millenary in Winchester, 1901', *Hampshire Papers Series 1* no. 17 (1999).

⁴⁵ J. Simons, *A History of Cricket in Hampshire, 1760-1914* Hampshire Papers no. 4 (Winchester, 1993).

⁴⁶ All PhDs listed were awarded by the University of Winchester/King Alfred's College.

⁴⁷ A. Leach, *A History of Winchester College* (London, 1899); W. Fearon, *The Passing of Old Winchester* (Winchester, 1936); J. Firth, *Winchester* (London, 1936).

⁴⁸ J. Sabben-Clare, *Winchester College* (Southampton, 1981).

⁴⁹ M. Rose, *A History of King Alfred's College, Winchester 1840-1980* (Chichester, 1981).

experienced at the College. A further publication, *The University of Winchester* (2015) by Tom Beaumont James, was produced to mark the one-hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary.⁵⁰ James' work is aimed at a more popular readership than Rose's and, although extensively illustrated, provides fewer details of the political background which led to the College's development.

A few works have been published which document the histories of locally based military organisations. The Volunteer Force was active in Hampshire, and particularly in Winchester where the county's first two corps of Volunteers were formed in 1859. From 1881, the city provided the headquarters for the 1st Hampshire Rifle Volunteers, a force which was reorganised further in 1908 as the Territorial Army. *The History of the First Volunteer Battalion Hampshire Regiment*, written by Col. Thomas Sturmeay Cave, was published in 1905.⁵¹ As with most contemporary regimental histories, Cave's book chronicled the key events in the battalion's history in great detail. He was particularly careful to record the results of the numerous shooting contests in which volunteers competed. For the later years, Cave also recorded the more mundane recreational activities with which his men entertained themselves, such as shot putting, sack races, and wheelbarrow races.⁵²

Histories of the regular army regiments whose headquarters were in Winchester have also been published. An early example is the comprehensive *The History of the Rifle Brigade*, composed by Sir W. H. Cope, which appeared in 1877. Other titles include the 1917 publication *A Brief History of the Kings Royal Rifle Corps, 1755-1915* by General E. T. H. Hutton, and the four-volume *Royal Hampshire Regimental History*. All document the campaigns, manoeuvres, and biographies of the officers of these regiments, but offer very little on the non-martial actions of the soldiers. Of greater relevance to this study were the annual regimental journals produced by each of the city-based regiments, which contained details of the sporting activities undertaken by their men.

1.5 Research Questions

This thesis adopts a holistic approach to the study of soccer's local origins in Winchester. The study considers the social, institutional and attitudinal dimensions that were current in Winchester at the turn of the twentieth century to provide a unique insight to the emergence and popularisation of a sport which was previously unknown in the city. Through a detailed examination of the occupational backgrounds of the players and club officials, this thesis reveals the influence that social had class had on the local development of soccer in Winchester. Initially, soccer was largely the preserve of those wealthier young men of the city who enjoyed greater access to both the money and free time

⁵⁰ T.B. James, *The University of Winchester, 175 Years of Values-Driven Higher Education* (London, 2015).

⁵¹ T.S. Cave *The History of the First Volunteer Battalion Hampshire Regiment, 1859 to 1903* (Winchester, 1905).

⁵² *ibid.*, 398.

to permit them to play. However, as will be demonstrated, over time soccer developed a more proletarian following, whose participation was enabled through a combination of changes to the accepted working hours in the city and the financial support provided by local patrons. This thesis illustrates that, in Winchester, soccer became 'the peoples' game' largely in consequence of the adaptability of local employers and the support of the city's wealthy elite. Nevertheless, the game's evolution provides a rare example of a middle-class recreation being appropriated by participants drawn from a section of the city's working class.

In addition, this thesis will assess and analyse the relative influences that schools, religion and the military had on the game's local development. Winchester's private schools are revealed as the earliest local adopters of football, encouraged in this by their increasing embrace of Muscular Christianity and the Cult of Athleticism. But a number of other, more subtle drivers for the adoption of football at the city's fee-paying schools are identified, including parental expectations, the desire to emulate higher-status public schools, and the commercial advantages which could be gained through the provision of sports. The church also played an active role in encouraging soccer locally, particularly among the young, male, working-class population. The church's reticence to introduce competitive sports into the city's elementary schools - which, prior to 1902, they controlled - offers a striking contrast with the enthusiasm with which it encouraged the playing of both soccer and cricket at its youth clubs, suggesting that religious leaders recognised soccer's potential to induce young parishioners to attend their voluntary groups but saw less intrinsic value in the game itself. As a garrison town, the military had an obvious presence in Winchester, and the impact that it had on the city's emergent footballing culture provides a further component in the consideration of the game's development. The evidence shows that, unlike the city's educational establishments, locally-based army regiments enjoyed a more pronounced connection, both socially and culturally, with Winchester's wider population and, unlike the situation in some other towns, military-civilian relations were relatively harmonious, a situation which aided the advancement of soccer in the city.. Although relatively late to adopt organised soccer, military personnel were instrumental in popularising the game locally, both through making appearances for civilian soccer clubs and through the successes of their regimental teams.

Beyond the part played by the city's institutions – school, church and military – in the emergence of its soccer, this thesis also examines the impact that a range of psychological, attitudinal and cultural factors on the game's local development. In particular, the incentives for participation in soccer, whether as a player, supporter, or a patron, are analysed, and any changes in these detected during the period covered in this study are noted. One incentive identified is the desire among individuals to demonstrate personal masculinity. Drawing out evidence from the surviving record, this thesis identifies the differing conceptions held by Wintonians of what

constituted masculinity and manly behaviour. Specific interpretations were determined largely by social class, but evidence is also presented which demonstrates that these were subject to modification over time. Local attitudes towards the commercialisation and professionalism of sport are also considered. Wintonians were generally antagonistic to both in relation to football - although less so in cricket - with many in the city regarding them as antithetical to the Corinthian values that they chose to associate with sport. The effect that this had in stifling the game's growth in the city, and its contrast with developments in nearby Southampton, is examined in this thesis.

This study presents a unique, multi-dimensional examination of the social, institutional and attitudinal factors which affected the growth and progression of a culture of soccer playing in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Winchester. The configuration, timing and relative impact of these various forces resulted in soccer developing a distinct form in the city. Studies in other locations will reveal whether this process was unique to Winchester, or whether it was one which was familiar to other towns and cities. This thesis is supported through the adoption of a series of specific research questions. These are defined and discussed in detail in the following section.

Part of the value of this thesis is its focus on soccer's emergence in a setting which has been largely overlooked by sports historians, that of a non-industrialised, southern English city. It also offers an insight into the political, social and cultural environment in the city which affected the game's local development. Selecting Winchester as the subject for this study provides an opportunity to evaluate the relative influences which the city institutions of schools, colleges, the military and the churches – each of which had a heightened profile in the nineteenth century city – had on soccer's popularity among the city's wider population. The rare combination of economic, social and cultural factors which were found in the city presents the opportunity to answer a specific set of related research questions. These questions are specified here.

It is difficult to conduct a study of Victorian and Edwardian sport without including reference to the impact of social class on participation. Accordingly, an analysis of class stratification among members of the city's various sports and soccer clubs is presented throughout this thesis. Through doing so, this study will address three specific questions in relation to Winchester between 1850 and 1914. First, what impact did social class have on participation in soccer? Second, what opportunities and constraints to playing soccer affected individuals from differing social classes? And, finally, did soccer represent a continuation of an existing local sporting culture, or did its arrival signify a notable break with the past?

As with social class, the activities conducted within Britain's nineteenth-century universities, colleges and schools are frequently cited in the historiography as playing an influential role in the development and promotion of various sports. Winchester was in the unusual position of having a number of private schools established within its bounds whilst also being the location for both a

diocesan training college and one of England's elite public schools. This concentration of academic institutions provides the opportunity to assess the influence that these schools had over the local popularisation of soccer. This study will establish how influential the city's educational establishments were on the promotion and development of a soccer culture among Winchester's wider population.

Winchester provided a home to approximately one thousand military personnel stationed in the city's barracks. Their presence had an impact on the social, cultural and political life of the nineteenth-century city. The extent to which this influence extended to local sport is analysed in this study, which will identify the impact the military had on the local soccer culture.

Even by the standards of the time, Victorian Winchester was regarded as a particularly religious city. It might be expected that, in a city with a cathedral, a notably large number of resident ordained ministers, and several active non-Anglican churches, religion and pious sentiments might have had a disproportionate influence on many aspects of civic life. This thesis will study the impact that the local Church had on soccer's early development, specifically identifying the extent to which the Church was instrumental in encouraging the local take up of the game.

Finally, the opportunity is taken in this study to determine the popular attitudes that were expressed toward soccer throughout the period. This is extended to include an identification and evaluation of the motivations which led the participants, the patrons and the spectators to engage with soccer. Inevitably, this will examine the changing perceptions and variety of ideals of masculinity which can be detected within the sources. Therefore, this thesis will also identify and analyse the local attitudes that were expressed towards soccer, determine why local people chose to play the game, and determine the role soccer played in the social and cultural life of the city.

1.6 Sources

Very few of the documents that were produced by Winchester's late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' sports clubs - including those devoted to soccer - have survived. Although it is inevitable that the administration of these clubs would have generated financial reports, minute books and membership lists, only a small number have been found. To compensate for this shortage, the evidence used in this thesis has, instead, been collected from a range of contemporary sources. The principal sources used in this study are described in this section.

The sources which have been used most extensively in this thesis are contemporary local newspapers. These offer a rich source of information and contain detailed descriptions of events which would otherwise have been lost and, consequently, have been widely used by sport

historians. However, as Dave Day and Wray Vamplew note, caution should be exercised when interpreting information from newspapers. They remind researchers that reporters were engaged in 'creating news, not history' and that these sources 'need to be interpreted rather than simply accepting them as a factual resource'.⁵³ This requires an understanding of a report's original context. Often, reports were written in the expectation that readers were aware of a story's background and much introductory information could be dispensed with. In addition, newspaper reports occasionally contain factual errors, often acknowledged later in a 'correction' in a subsequent edition. These retractions are easily overlooked by researchers, and further illustrate the need to read historic newspapers more widely while identifying source material. Reading articles in isolation can, therefore, be unintelligible to a modern-day reader. To combat this, Day and Vamplew stress the need for researchers to gain a fuller understanding of a reported story by immersing themselves more broadly in historic newspapers.

A range of titles were employed in this research. Editions of the Winchester-based *Hampshire Chronicle*, and other newspapers from the county, are available online via the British Newspaper Archive. Initially launched in 2011, the aim of the archive is the eventual online publication of the complete historic newspaper collection held by the British Library. It incorporates a text-searching function which simultaneously speeds up the searching process and reduces the likelihood of overlooking any relevant newspaper articles. The archive has introduced a fresh dynamism to historical studies, allowing researchers to conduct extensive research, and perform *ad hoc* queries, from home.

However, much of the research for this study was undertaken in advance of many of the relevant newspapers being made available online. Instead, the research was conducted through extensive manual searches of historic local newspapers stored on microfilm. Although labour intensive, this method presents an opportunity to engage with the newspaper sources more broadly and to gain an improved understanding of the news' contemporary context.

National Census records have also provided a source of evidence for this study. Although a record of the British population has been conducted every ten years since 1801, the detailed results of each survey are made publicly accessible only after a period of one hundred years. Consequently, the latest complete Census available is that of 1911. This study has made extensive use of the Census data that has been made accessible, in particular those conducted from 1851 onwards. The information gathered at each Census varies between surveys, but the collection of certain demographic data – full example, full name, age, gender, address and (from 1841) occupation - were

⁵³ D. Day and W. Vamplew 'Sports History Methodology: Old and New' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* vol. 35 no. 15 (2015) 1717.

common to all. This has been employed to provide demographic insight into the participants in sport and early soccer in Winchester.

Census records were accessed principally via the *findmypast* website. This online facility permits searches to be executed, either within or between census datasets, based on a range of user-selected criteria. This was supplemented by other available census-based datasets. These included a text-searchable CD, produced by Mark Allen and Tom Beaumont James, of Winchester data collected for the 1871 Census.⁵⁴ In addition, the author benefited from access to privately-commissioned spreadsheets containing the complete datasets of the Census information submitted by city residents in response to both the 1891 and 1901 surveys.⁵⁵

Each of these sources is likely to contain errors introduced by the transcribers. The digital capture of each Census involves a considerable amount of manual data transcription. Due to the scale, and monotony, of the task, the inclusion of some errors during this process is inevitable. That the 'original' Census documents were themselves compiled from now-lost individual household returns increases the likelihood that errors have been included within the data. Although it is a time-consuming process, and not completely reliable, these errors can be identified and corrected on a case-by-case basis through manually cross-referencing individuals' entry records across multiple Census surveys.

The analysis employed in this thesis is principally the result of linking data collected from the Census to individuals named in newspaper reports, school magazines, military journals, or other sources. This permits the identification of these individuals' age, occupation, residence and marital status. By linking these data attributes to individuals for the groups and clubs identified in this research. Linking the datasets was performed manually, using the search facilities available within the *findmypast* website. However, this method was not wholly successful. Some of the details associated with the process, and the problems encountered, require fuller description.

It was not always possible to link an individual to an entry in the census record. This was partly due to the transcription errors already mentioned, but also a consequence of either an individuals' full name not being printed in newspaper reports, or their name being too common (e.g., 'J. Smith') to permit an unequivocal identification. The following two examples illustrate the success rate achieved in linking individual names to Census entries. Of the 237 players that appeared for the Winchester F.C. (1884 to 1893), only ninety were positively linked to a census entry, a match rate of 37%. The proportion of players that appeared for the Winchester Swallows F.C. (1891 to 1905) that

⁵⁴ Allen and James *1871 Census*.

⁵⁵ Both of these data sets have been collected as part of the ongoing Winchester Project, and were used with the approval of Mark Allen, the project's co-director. These have not yet been made commercially available.

were successfully linked was lower still - only 30% (sixty-two from 204) being identified. However, in both cases the unidentified players tended to be those that played the fewest games. When these figures were recalculated based on *appearances* rather than *individuals*, the rate of matching increased to 56% and 61% respectively.

Throughout this thesis, information created through the linking of source data has been used to generate collective social and economic profiles of the local groups involved in sport and soccer. To assist in this, extensive use has been made of the socio-economic classification system devised by Alan Armstrong in 1972.⁵⁶ Although now almost fifty years old, Armstrong's classification system has retained its applicability and continues to provide a structured and standardised method of analysing and comparing historic socio-economic demography.

Taking an individual's profession as recorded in the national Census to be a signifier of social class, Armstrong allocated each occupation listed in the surveys to one of five social class-based categories. These categories, and examples of the occupations that were assigned to each, are shown in Table 2. Armstrong's methodology applies a very broad generalisation to the complexities of social class. Nevertheless, it enables social profiles for groups of individuals to be constructed with relative ease.

<i>Social Class</i>	<i>Class Description</i>	<i>Example occupations</i>	
I	Professional occupations	Accountant, Surgeon, Solicitor, Vicar.	'Middle Class'
II	Intermediate occupations	Auctioneer, Teacher, Vet, Tax Collector.	
III	Skilled occupations	Chemist, Butcher, Joiner, Tailor.	'Working Class'
IV	Partly skilled occupations	Soldier, Laundress, Brickmaker.	
V	Unskilled occupations	Labourer, Porter, Messenger.	

Table 2. Examples of the allocation of occupation to social class.

Armstrong also provided a mechanism for the allocation of historic occupations to specific economic sectors. By combining occupation information collected for the 1861 Census with the earlier work of nineteenth-century social reformer Charles Booth, Armstrong defined eighty distinct areas of economic activity, which he subsequently aggregated to ten higher level sector categories. These ten economic sectors, with example occupations, are shown in Table 3.

⁵⁶ Armstrong, W. A., 'The use of Information about Occupation' in *Nineteenth-Century Society* Wrigley E.A. (ed.) (Cambridge, 1972), 191-311.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Example occupations</i>
AG	Agriculture and breeding	Agricultural labourer (AG1) Horse breaker (AG3)
M	Mining	Coal miner (M1) Brickmaker (M3)
B	Building	Architect (B1) Plumber (B2)
MF	Manufacture	Blacksmith (MF4) Leather dyer (MF10)
T	Transport	Railway porter (T4) Carter (T5)
D	Dealing	Tobacconist (D6) Jeweller (D11)
IS	Industrial service	Accountant (IS1) General labourer (IS2)
PP	Public service/professional	School teacher (PP13) Clergyman (PP14)
DS	Domestic service	Housemaid (DS1) Gardener (DS2)
PO	Property owning/independent	Capitalist Mine owner

Table 3. Examples of the allocation of economic sector of employment.

Armstrong's economic sector classification was designed to be applicable to all parts of Britain. However, these sector categories may be over- or under-represented among local populations. For example, very few Winchester residents were employed in occupations categorised as 'mining'. Partly for this reason, and partly to aid clarity, in this study only four of the ten high-level categories - 'Building', 'Dealing', 'Manufacture', and 'Public Service & Professional' - are used in the analysis. The remaining six are grouped to form an 'Other' category. Throughout this study, analyses are presented, based on this classification, of the economic sectors in which Winchester's early soccer players were employed.

Two decisions, both of which underpin the approach adopted for the creation of the class and economic profiles of the city's sports clubs, require explanation. First, the data presented for each season is based on the number of *appearances* made by individual players. The reason for this is to ensure the data more accurately represents the reality - it is logical that a player who made twenty appearances in one season should be given more weight than another who appeared just once. Second, where it has not been possible to link individuals to census records, and thereby determine their occupation, then these players have been removed from the analysis. The decision to omit

these players was made to improve clarity, although this does raise the possibility of introducing inaccuracies. However, the principal reasons for the non-recognition of players was their names being either incompletely reported or insufficiently unique to permit a positive identification in the census. As neither of these problems can be attributable to a player's social class or employment, it is reasonable to maintain that their omission is unlikely to have a disproportionate effect on the analysis.

Linking individuals to census records has also enabled the generation of a limited amount of new demographic information. Principally, this has focused on the calculation of the average age of the players who appeared for a particular soccer club during any specific season. Again, the number of *appearances* made by each individual player has been used to improve the accuracy of the results, and unidentified players – for whom no birth years have been found – are obviously omitted. The three-step process by which a soccer club's combined players' average age in one particular season was therefore, first, for each player, their age at that year was multiplied by the number of appearances made in that season. Secondly, the totals for each of the players were combined to give a single total. Thirdly, this figure was divided by the total number of appearances made by identified players in that season, thus giving an average age figure for a team during that year.

Information published in school magazines has also been used to support this study's findings. The primary aims of these publications were to inform former pupils of developments at their old schools, to maintain fraternal feelings among ex-students, and to present an opportunity for schools to publicise their achievements and successes. The oldest of the locally produced school magazines was *The Wykehamist*. First published in 1866, *The Wykehamist* was written and edited by the pupils of Winchester College. By the 1870s the magazine was being published in twelve editions each year and its contents included extensive coverage of the sporting events and developments at the College. *The Wykehamist* also featured letters from current and former pupils, many of which focused on College sports. These allow the changing attitudes and opinions toward sport among older and younger Wykehamists to be monitored and provides insight into the drivers behind, and the values associated with, soccer and games at this elite public school.

A number of private schools and other larger educational establishments followed the example set by the public schools and began to publish magazines. The intended readership for these were, again, former pupils of the schools. The Winchester Diocesan Training College began publishing its own magazine, *The Wintonian*, in eight editions each year, from 1892. As with the Winchester College magazine, a seemingly disproportionate amount of space in *The Wintonian* was allocated to reporting sport. Although having fewer students, the local private schools also produced magazines. To provide an example, Winton House School, a preparatory school sited at the city's

northern fringe, published the first of its annual *Winton House School Chronicle* in 1896. Each of the early editions contained what was, in effect, a review of the previous school year, and included detailed coverage of the inter-school games of soccer and cricket played by the schools' pupils.⁵⁷

These magazines contain accounts of soccer matches which are not recorded in other sources. Consequently, they have value in understanding the nature of the game in the contemporary school sector. However, their use as a historic resource does have limitations when charting the development of school soccer. First, most of these magazines originally appeared after their associated school had taken up soccer and do not, therefore, provide evidence of the local decisions which led to the game's adoption.⁵⁸ Second, when recording sporting activities, most adopted a fairly bland style of reporting which, although they often included a comprehensive list of the players involved and a detailed account of the principal events of a game, contain very little information of wider interest. Lastly, Winchester's elementary schools did not produce magazines and, consequently, a complete view of school soccer cannot be gained. Despite these limitations, school magazines assist in identifying both the timing of, and rationale behind, the adoption of soccer at Winchester's schools.

Local military sources have also been used in this research. Histories have been published of the Winchester-based regiments, although each reflects principally on military, rather than the recreational, aspects of regimental life. Consequently, these are of little value in tracing the development of military soccer in the city. Of greater value as a source are these regiments' journals. The Rifle Brigade first published the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle* in 1891. It appeared annually and included a review of the events involving the regiment's four battalions, combined with information on the previous year's developments at the regimental depot at Winchester. A section of the *Chronicle* was devoted to sports. Whilst this primarily recorded the results of rifle shooting matches, it also included the results of some cricket and soccer matches. Publication of the journal of the Kings Royal Rifle Corps – the *Kings Royal Rifles Chronicle* – began in 1901 and followed a similar format, although with less of a focus on sport, to the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*. The Hampshire Regiment produced its journal from 1906. Unlike the two rifle regiments, the *Hampshire Regimental Journal* was published monthly. In all three journals reports of sporting activities were largely restricted to records of matches played and a list of the soldiers that featured in games.⁵⁹ Also of use

⁵⁷ In the first edition of the *Winton House School Chronicle* the point was made that 'a school chronicle becomes of necessity filled with records of cricket and football'. *Winton House School Chronicle* no. 1 August 1896.

⁵⁸ For example, the Diocesan Training College switched from playing rugby to soccer during the winter of 1890/91. *The Wintonian* was first published in 1892 and consequently provides no commentary on the decision to change codes.

⁵⁹ A complete set of all three journals are kept as hardcopies at the HRO.

were the military service records of individual soldiers. These were accessed via the Military Records section of the *findmypast* website where the paper-based service records have been scanned and can be viewed online in their original format.

Editions of *Warren's Winchester Directory* were used as a source of information on the city's businesses, organisations, and its residents. Each edition of the *Directory*, which was produced annually from 1884, followed a fixed format. Information about local administrators, churches, clubs, and schools was included in its early pages, followed by a street by street listing of all the city's residents. In subsequent pages a second list, which recorded city businesses by trade, was provided, before a shorter directory, listing residents and businesses based in Winchester's surrounding villages. Included throughout the *Directory*, especially towards the back pages, were a number of advertisements of different sizes promoting local businesses. These listings and advertisements provide a useful source for determining the nature of a business. Other useful information, such as the number of employees working for a business, is not available from this source.

1.7 Methodology

Although soccer provides the central theme of this thesis it is, significantly, a local history study. Soccer did not emerge from nowhere. A varying configuration of different factors affected the game's development in any of the locations where it was adopted. Aspects of the local social, cultural, economic and political environment each had an impact on how, when and why soccer gained a popular following in any village, town or city. Therefore, understanding the game's development in a specific location requires more than simply documenting the relevant dates and sequence of sporting events which have been, subsequently, recognised as significant. Also necessary is a broader appreciation of all aspects of the historic local environment in which the game emerged.

Therefore, to ensure that this thesis does more than fill an omission in the geographic spread of local studies of soccer's early development, a local study methodology has been adopted. Doing so facilitates a holistic study which reveals the deeper context from which the game emerged. This involves a detailed and interdisciplinary examination of local developments in education, media, inter-class relationships, politics, labour history, conflicting religious views, civic pride, and changing and alternative views of masculinity. Consequently, this thesis presents a view of society in Victorian and Edwardian Winchester, and a history of the everyday life of its population – a perspective which has largely been overlooked in earlier studies of the city - as seen through the prism of soccer's local development. This, in turn, contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the game's

growth nationally while providing insight into the relationships between soccer, politics, economics, patronage, society and culture at both the local and national levels.

The value of local history has been widely debated among historians. The principal point of contention has been the extent to which studying the 'local' can affect our understanding of the 'national'. Some, such as Finberg, argued that the 'local' can only be fully understood in the context of events that occurred, and decisions that were made, at the national level.⁶⁰ From this perspective, the value of local history is limited without an accompanying appreciation of events and developments which occurred on a geographically broader scale. The opposite is also true. Local studies enable a range of alternative and possibly contrasting views to be incorporated into the historical narrative, resulting in a complex, comprehensive, nuanced and, ultimately, more accurate understanding of the past. In the case of soccer's history, viewing the sport's development from a number of different angles, based on varying local experiences, can reveal aspects of the game's growth which do not emerge from national studies of football. Local and national studies work in conjunction; each refines the other as new information becomes available. This view was summarised by Kate Tiller who, in defining the relationship between local and national studies, asserted that:

The result is a 'two-way street', in which understanding of the local can be greatly enhanced by the external, comparative or wider perspective, and the models and generalisations used by other historians can be modified by local insights. In this way local history can, and should be, 'nationalised'.⁶¹

This thesis contributes to this 'two-way street', presenting the experience of soccer's development in a hitherto unresearched local context for incorporation into the national story of the game's history. In doing so, it represents a response to Graham Curry's call for further research in a range of local contexts with the goal of enhancing the debate which surrounds football's early development.⁶²

1.8 Thesis Structure

This thesis comprises five sections, including this introduction. The main body of the study consists of three chapters, each of which examines the development of football and soccer in Winchester in

⁶⁰ H.P.R. Finberg and V.H.T. Skipp, *Local History: Objective and Pursuit* (Newton Abbott, 1967) 9.

⁶¹ K. Tiller, *English Local History the State of the Art Occasional Papers no. 1*, Cambridge Board of Continuing Education (Cambridge, 1998) 6.

⁶² G. Curry 'Introduction: Towards a Deeper Understanding of the Development of Early Football' in *Soccer and Society* (2018) vol. 19 no.1, 3.

three successive periods of time. The first of these is the focus of Chapter Two, in which an examination of sport in Winchester between 1850 and 1884 is presented. This includes a mapping of the emerging culture of organised sport in the city, the continuation of established sports, the adoption of new sports, and the formation of sports clubs associated with each. The local evidence for an early culture of football playing is analysed, and the games' development in these formative decades is charted. In Chapter Three, soccer's development in the city between the years 1884 and 1895 is detailed. 1884 has significance as it was the year in which Winchester's first formally organised soccer clubs were established. Similarly, 1895 has been selected as the chapter's terminal date as it was the year in which the area's first local soccer league tournament was launched, marking the point from which competitive games, as opposed to friendly matches, increasingly became the norm. The final of the three principal chapters, Chapter Four, examines developments during the years from 1895 to 1914, a period in which the number of active soccer clubs in Winchester grew considerably, and is identified here as the time of the city's 'soccer boom'. In each of these three chapters, and in addition to documenting local developments, attention is focused on the participants in local sports, football and soccer, and will include an analysis of the incentives which encouraged, and the constraints which inhibited, their involvement with games. The final section of this thesis, Chapter Five, presents the conclusions that have been drawn from this study, and provides answers to the research questions documented above.

Chapter Two: Society and Sport in Winchester, 1850-84

2.1 Introduction

During the thirty-year period straddling the turn of the twentieth century, soccer emerged to become the most popular winter sport in Winchester. To gain a fuller understanding of the processes which led to this change it is necessary to examine the city's wider sporting environment in the decades immediately preceding the arrival of the game. This chapter examines the development of sport in Winchester between 1850 and 1884, the year in which the city's first formally organised soccer clubs were founded. Through doing so, how sport was conducted in the city - who organised the activities, who participated in them, and what enabled and motivated both to do so - will be discussed, providing the context in which the local development of organised soccer can be more readily understood.

This chapter consists of four sections. The first presents a brief overview of popular organised sporting activity in Winchester in 1850, both in the town and its academic and military institutions, providing the backdrop against which the subsequent developments in sport can be assessed. The section following charts the development of organised sport in the city between 1850 and 1884, a period in which several sporting clubs were established in Winchester and a sporting culture emerged at local schools. The chapter's third section considers the evidence of any pre-1884 football-related sporting activity in the city, and in doing so addresses the claims made by 'revisionist' football historians which relate to 1850s Winchester. An analysis of the development of sport in the city – who participated, why, and the barriers which affected involvement - is presented in the fourth and final part of this chapter.

2.2 Organised Sport in Winchester to 1850

By 1850, a limited culture of organised sport had developed in Winchester, both among the city's resident population and within its local academic and military establishments. Sport among the general citizenry was principally restricted to two activities, cricket and bowling, both of which were administered through formal clubs, although casual cricket games were also played. In the more private academic and military institutions, especially at Winchester College, there is evidence that

sporting activities were undertaken more widely. The city's various sporting cultures are examined here.

Cricket had been played in Winchester for several decades before 1850. A 'Winchester Cricket Club' is recorded operating as early as 1800.⁶³ However, very few references to this 'club' can be found prior to 1840, implying it may have been a loose affiliation of interested players rather than a permanent entity. By the mid-1840s reports featuring the Winchester Cricket Club were appearing more regularly in local newspapers, and by this time it is likely that it had become an officially convened club.⁶⁴ Other cricket teams were reported playing in Winchester prior to 1850, but these appear to have been 'scratch' sides assembled for specific games rather than representative of any formally organised club.⁶⁵

The game's popularity had been hampered by the absence of a suitable cricket pitch in the town centre. Instead, matches were played on the hills outside of the city, a hindrance recognised at the time to be a deterrent.⁶⁶ This situation was improved in 1843 when a new cricket ground was opened in the city, close to the recently built railway station. This coincided with the Winchester Cricket Club being more formally organised, and it is probable that the two events were connected. The novelty of playing cricket within the city boundary was confirmed by a contemporary report, in which it was claimed that the Winchester club's opening appearance at the new ground was 'the first regular match ever known to have been played within the precincts of the borough'.⁶⁷

The other sport which was organised through formalised clubs was bowling. By 1850, there were three active bowling clubs in the city – the Hyde Abbey, the Abbey, and the Friary clubs. Each had its own bowling green attached to a public house, which also served as the clubs' headquarters. Both the Hyde Abbey and the Abbey clubs were founded during the 1810s, while the Friary Club was established by 1839 (see Figure 2).⁶⁸ Play at the three clubs was restricted largely to intra-club games and tournaments, such as that contested in 1827 by members of the Abbey Club for a 'a very handsome subscription plate'.⁶⁹ In addition to accessing their respective bowling greens, the

⁶³ *HC* 21 July 1800 p1.

⁶⁴ The cricket club held a formal AGM in 1844. *HC* 13 April 1844 p1.

⁶⁵ For example, in 1846 a team of grocers' assistants played a team of drapers' assistants. *SWJ* 27 June 1846 p4.

⁶⁶ An 1840 correspondent to a local newspaper complained that local cricketers 'cannot, for the sake of an hour's recreation, climb to Oliver's Battery or Twyford Down; yet there is no alternative'. *HC* 13 July 1840 p1.

⁶⁷ *HC* 8 May 1843 p1.

⁶⁸ The Friary Bowling Club is reported celebrating its third anniversary in 1842, suggesting it was established in 1839. The Friary club's claim to an 1820 foundation date is unverified. *HC* 27 June 1842 p1; H. Thomas *The Friary Bowling Club 1820-1970* 4.

⁶⁹ *SWJ* 3 September 1827 p4.

affiliates of these clubs also enjoyed the social life associated with membership, which included the annual celebration dinners hosted by each of the clubs.



Figure 2. Winchester bowlers, purported to be members of the Friary Bowling Green, 1867. The middle-class bowlers wear the dress and hats appropriate to their status. *Source: HRO 47A04W/1.*

Winchester's most developed sporting culture in 1850 was to be found at the city's exclusive public school, Winchester College. By that time, two games had come to dominate College sport - cricket and a form of football unique to that institution. Cricket had been played at the College for several years prior to 1850, R.T. Warner claims that College cricket was 'in full swing' at the beginning of the nineteenth century'.⁷⁰ A nostalgia-tinged account of 1830s college cricket, written sixty years after the event, claims that 'everything was done in the most unsystematic and slipshod way' and describes how the school side was selected by 'a self-constituted committee' of college pupils.⁷¹ No matches were staged against outsiders - with the exception of the annual contests against Eton College and Harrow School - because 'the authorities would not have permitted them'.⁷² Some of this had changed by 1850. College cricket had become a more organised affair and a greater number of games were played. That year newspaper articles reported on a range of 'internal games' played between members of the College, and 'foreign games' in which college-based sides faced outside opponents.⁷³ The highlight of the College's cricketing calendar was the tripartite contest between

⁷⁰ R. T. Warner *Winchester* (London, 1900) 130.

⁷¹ *The Wykehamist* July 1893 p11.

⁷² This was almost certainly an exaggeration; matches against outsiders were uncommon at the time, but not unheard of.

⁷³ For examples, see *Bell's Life* 28 April 1850 p7; *The Era* 14 July 1850 p5; *HC* 13 July 1850 p4.

itself, Harrow and Eton, which had been instituted in the mid-1820s and was held annually at Lord's cricket ground.⁷⁴

The other sport regularly played at the College was the school's own version of football. This, like cricket, had formerly been organised by the boys themselves. The origins of the Winchester game are unclear, but by the mid-1820s regular twenty-two per-side contests were being held, and a simplified six per-side version had recently been introduced (see Figure 3).⁷⁵ Both formats were still being played in 1850, but games were limited solely to internal matches. Football by the Winchester rules was only played at the College and, in the absence of any organised teams of 'old boys', there was no possibility of staging matches with external opponents.

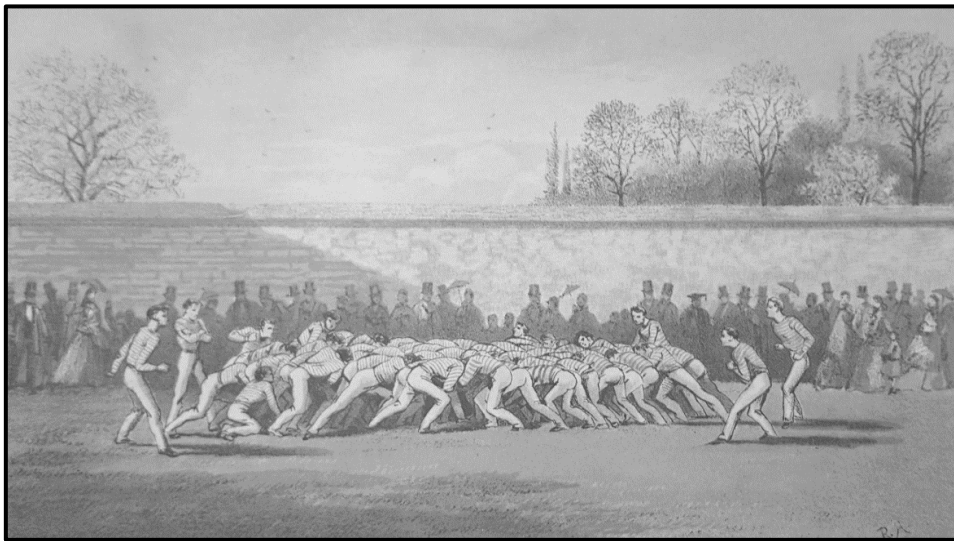


Figure 3. A twenty-two per-side game of Winchester Rules Football, circa 1830
Source: R.B. Mansfield 'School-Life at Winchester College'.

Outside of Winchester College, there is no evidence of any sporting activity being organised at the city's educational institutions. Neither the town's other sizable college – the Winchester Diocesan Training College – nor its fee-paying private schools recorded any cricket or football games at this time.

Sport provided amusement for the army personnel stationed in Winchester, with cricket being the principal recreation engaged in by the city's military. Occasional reports of cricket games featuring locally based military teams appeared from the early 1840s.⁷⁶ There are indications that, by 1847, military cricket in the city was becoming more organised. In that year a combination of officers and

⁷⁴ Contests between the three schools were held erratically from 1825, before becoming a regular event from 1834. By 1850 the three-day event had become an established date in the social calendar of Britain's elite, with *Bell's Life* commenting that the occasion would 'no doubt, as usual, attract a brilliant and numerous assemblage of rank and fashion of both sexes'. *Bell's Life* 28 July 1850 p6.

⁷⁵ Sabben-Clare *Winchester College* 105-6.

⁷⁶ For example, the Fusilier Guards played the North Hampshire Yeomanry Cavalry in 1843. *HC* 17 July 1843 p1.

men drawn from the two regiments then stationed in the city united to form a representative 'Garrison of Winchester' team.⁷⁷ The mixing of ranks in military cricket teams was commonplace. It was reported that a military team composed of both 'the officers and privates of the Garrison' featured in a game of 1850.⁷⁸ However, rank-based segregation did occur, as when, in 1851, a team was fielded which was composed solely of officers.⁷⁹

2.3 Organised Sport in Winchester, 1850-84

The period from 1850 to 1884 witnessed an expansion of organised popular recreations in Winchester, with an increasing range of sports being taken up. This expansion encompassed an increase in sporting participation, but also a growth in spectatorship. The principal driving force behind these developments was the establishment of local sporting clubs. While cricket retained its pre-eminence as the most widely played game, other new organised sports were introduced to the city. Gymnastic exercises, athletics and swimming each found enthusiastic devotees in the city during the 1860s, some residents took up archery and rugby football in the 1870s, and cycling became popular in the early 1880s. Each had at least one club dedicated to encouraging local participation in its sport. Most of Winchester's sports clubs owed their existence to a combination of the industry of their individual members and financial support from wealthy, non-participating patrons. The period also witnessed a growth of sporting participation at Winchester's schools. However, a similar expansion was less evident among the city's military. By 1884, the notion of the sports club, principally serving the needs of the city's young men and in receipt of generous funding from the local elite, was well-established in Winchester.

2.3.1 Winchester's Cricket Clubs

The Winchester Cricket Club which was active in the 1840s continued to play matches throughout the 1850s. However, the enthusiasm of its members appears to have faded during that time and, by 1860, fewer reports about the club appeared in the local press. The situation was especially bad in the 1859 season when, as late as early August, the club had yet to play a single game.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the club continued until at least 1861, after which time no further reports are found of its activities, and it presumably folded shortly afterwards.⁸¹

⁷⁷ *Bells Life* 12 September 1847 p6.

⁷⁸ *HC* 24 August 1850 p4.

⁷⁹ *HC* 27 September 1851 p4.

⁸⁰ *HC* 6 August 1859 p4.

⁸¹ *SWJ* 4 May 1861 p8.

The Winchester Club's demise did not connote a local decline in interest in cricket. The final years of the club's existence coincided with the emergence of two new Winchester-based cricket organisations, the South Western and the Mid Hants clubs. The South Western Cricket Club was formed in 1858 with the support of fifty subscriber-members.⁸² A year later it was reported that it was 'considerably augmented in numbers, and now stands as one of the most respectable and numerically strongest in the county'.⁸³ From its inception the club received the active support of the city's local elite. The city's mayor was invited to serve as its president and it soon gained the patronage of the city's two Members of Parliament.⁸⁴ This provided much-needed funding and also gave the club a legitimacy which helped elicit further support. By 1863 the club's list of patrons had extended to include the two Members of Parliament for North Hampshire.⁸⁵ The Mid Hants Cricket Club was also founded circa 1858 but, unlike the South Western club, it initially received little support from the local elite.⁸⁶ For the duration of its activities its president remained a local solicitor, H.S. Simonds. In comparison to the South Western club, the players for the Mid Hants Club were reported – at least in its early seasons – to be relatively young. A club scorecard from 1861 reveals the average age of the players to be twenty years.⁸⁷

By the mid-1860s a rivalry appears to have developed between these two cricket clubs. Yet, despite this antagonism, the two clubs had much in common. In 1862 the Mid Hants had acquired the patronage of three local MPs, all of whom concurrently supported the South Western. Two years later, the Mid Hants added the president of the South Western Club, the city's Mayor, to its list of patrons. In addition, several people were members of both clubs. Possibly as a result of this convergence, an amalgamation of the two cricket clubs was mooted as early as 1864. Despite some initial disagreements regarding the merger, the South Western and the Mid Hants clubs agreed to combine in 1869.⁸⁸ The amalgamated club adopted for itself the (by then disused) name of the Winchester Cricket Club.⁸⁹

Initially the new club was successful. Within a month of its foundation the number of club members grew from an original thirty to ninety, and within a year reached over one hundred.⁹⁰ But, after this positive start, enthusiasm for the club dwindled. By 1872 the number of club members had fallen to sixty-four and, during the following season, reports of the club's matches appeared less

⁸² *HC* 1 May 1858 p4.

⁸³ *HC* 21 May 1859 p4.

⁸⁴ *HC* 14 May 1859 p4.

⁸⁵ *HC* 2 April 1863 p4.

⁸⁶ In 1863 it was stated that the Mid Hants club 'had been established in 1858, and may it go on and prosper till 1958!'. *HC* 25 April 1863 p3.

⁸⁷ *HC* 10 August 1861 p3.

⁸⁸ *HC* 5 June 1869 p5.

⁸⁹ *HT* 1 May 1869 p8.

⁹⁰ *HC* 1 May 1869 p4; *HC* 5 June 1869 p5; *HA* 26 March 1870 p7.

frequently in the local newspapers. The club's Annual General Meeting of 1877 was to be its last, and the club's final recorded game was played in July 1878.⁹¹ By 1879 this incarnation of the Winchester Cricket Club had folded.

Again, despite this failure, local enthusiasm for cricket was maintained, and another club with aspirations to represent the city was formed in 1880. To differentiate itself from its predecessors, this club initially named itself the 'New Winchester Cricket Club'.⁹² In its earliest games, the players that appeared for the club were relatively old, mainly resident in the city, and employed predominantly in skilled working-class occupations. However, within a year the club had become a distinctly middle class one. This bourgeoisification was reflected in the club's committee which, by 1882, included a solicitor, an Oxford-educated schoolmaster, a surveyor and an auctioneer.⁹³ For a while the club prided itself on the social mix of its members.⁹⁴ Yet a year later it was decided to raise the annual subscription for playing members of the club from 6s. to 10s. 6d. - a move described by the club secretary as intending to 'raise the tone' of the club - and to introduce an entrance fee for spectators by which means it was hoped to exclude 'too enthusiastic admirers of the play' [original emphasis].⁹⁵

There were, in addition to these various incarnations of the Winchester Cricket Club, numerous other clubs and teams playing cricket in the city prior to 1884. Most were short-lived and played only a few games each summer, while others survived for many years. Some, such as the St. Cross club, represented specific areas within the city.⁹⁶ Others were more casually organised. Several were associated with particular occupation groups, specific employers, or were formed by members of the same local friendly society.⁹⁷

2.3.2. The Winchester Gymnasium and Athletics Club, 1865-69

Although cricket remained Winchester's most popular and widely played sport, the two decades prior to 1884 witnessed the emergence of several new sports and associated clubs in the city. The earliest of these was the Winchester Gymnastics and Athletics Club, founded in 1865. Its formation was the idea of Arthur Angell, a nineteen-year-old clothing retailer's son. In the previous year, Angell had been a member of the Liverpool Gymnasium, and it was this institution that provided the model

⁹¹ *HC* 13 July 1878 p7.

⁹² *HC* 27 March 1880 p4.

⁹³ *HC* 25 February 1882 p4.

⁹⁴ At the club's 1882 annual dinner the company came 'from the several classes of which our citizens are composed'. *HC* 6 May 1882 p8.

⁹⁵ *HC* 17 March 1883 p5; *HC* 5 May 1883 p3.

⁹⁶ The St. Cross club was formed during the late 1870s and boasted, in 1883, that it was 'by far the oldest [cricket club] existing in the city'. *HC* 17 March 1883 p5.

⁹⁷ Cricket games featuring the City Police, the Fire Brigade, the Hyde Brewery, the Foresters and the Oddfellows were recorded in the local press during the early 1880s.

for the Winchester club. He received support in this venture from the city's political, ecclesiastical and business communities, all of which had concerns regarding how the local 'clerks and assistants' would fill the free time that they had recently acquired courtesy of the efforts of the local Early Closing Movement. Seeking to provide a constructive alternative to idleness, local patrons responded generously to the subscription fund launched by Angell to raise funds for his project.⁹⁸ Within a week over £90 had been pledged, enough to convert a vacant building to a gymnasium which, in January 1865, was opened as the base for the Winchester Gymnasium and Athletics Club.⁹⁹

At first the club was successful. It attracted 170 members within a month and, by April, had added a further fifty.¹⁰⁰ The club was open six evenings each week, hosted gymnastic displays for the public, and staged an annual outdoor competitive athletics fête. But this initial enthusiasm was not sustained. By January 1867, the frequency of organised events had decreased, there were rumours that the club was being mismanaged, and its membership had fallen to sixty affiliates.¹⁰¹ By May, the club was on the brink of dissolution, but a second public subscription helped stave off its closure in exchange for an increased oversight role by the funders.¹⁰² The reprieve lasted for two years. By 1869 it was evident that little interest in the gymnasium remained, and that there were insufficient funds available to continue the club.¹⁰³ In June 1869 an advertisement was published in the *Hampshire Chronicle* offering for sale 'the whole apparatus of the Winchester Gymnasium'.¹⁰⁴

2.3.3. Winchester Swimming Club, 1865-70

The Winchester Swimming Club, the city's first such club, was a contemporary of the gymnasium. Its formation date is uncertain, but in 1868 it was claimed to have been established three years earlier.¹⁰⁵ The club's founder was a thirty-four-year-old saddler, Walter Peaty, who sought to promote the art of swimming among the city's population.¹⁰⁶ The club was initially hampered by the absence of suitable swimming facilities in the city, which resulted in the holding of its sessions in a stretch of the largely-abandoned Itchen Navigation Canal. However, after a new swimming bath, dredged from a section of the River Itchen south of the city and known as 'Hammond's Baths', was opened in 1867, the club was able to attract more members and host

⁹⁸ HC 10 December 1864 p3.

⁹⁹ HC 17 December 1864 p4; HC 21 January 1865 p5.

¹⁰⁰ HC 21 January 1865 p5; HC 8 April 1865 p5.

¹⁰¹ HC 23 February 1867 p4.

¹⁰² HC 15 June 1867 p3.

¹⁰³ HA 19 June 1869 p6.

¹⁰⁴ HC 12 June 1869 p4.

¹⁰⁵ HC 11 July 1868 p4.

¹⁰⁶ HA 8 August 1868 p11.

more-formalised competitive events. By July 1868, the club reportedly had sixty members paying a 5s. annual subscription and, the following month, held its first prize swimming event.¹⁰⁷

However, the facilities at Hammond's Baths were of a low standard. The river was too narrow to allow races involving large numbers of competitors and the water was described as 'muddy and [of] diverse depths'.¹⁰⁸ In addition, underwater weeds in the baths were plentiful, questions were asked as to the purity of the water, and concerns were expressed regarding the safety provisions that were in place.¹⁰⁹ Hammond's Baths was described as 'an apology for a public bath' and acquired the nickname 'Hell Hole'.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the club sought its own baths elsewhere in the city. In 1869, the club president, the Rev. H.B. Bousfield, launched a public subscription to raise the £150 needed to begin the development of a new swimming facility. £50 was raised immediately, including £10 and £5 donated, respectively, by the Bishop of Winchester and the Headmaster of the College.¹¹¹ But Bousfield's plans were foiled when the negotiations with the landowners of all the identified alternative sites broke down, forcing the club to retain Hammond's Baths.

The Swimming Club folded in 1870, although the reasons behind its closure are unclear. It may partly have been the result of the membership losing interest in the club - that year Bousfield noted the 'lack of interest felt in the club, as shown by the miserable attendance of those interested, at committee and other meetings'.¹¹² But a fatal accident which occurred at the baths during a non-club event in 1869, when a swimmer drowned after apparently experiencing an epileptic fit, may also have influenced the decision.¹¹³

2.3.4. Winchester's Cycle Clubs, from 1877

The closures of the gymnasium and swimming clubs coincided with the appearance of the first bicycles in Winchester.¹¹⁴ However, cycling was not immediately popular, possibly due to the expense but also maybe as a consequence of the hilly local terrain.¹¹⁵ Despite the cost, the first bicycle club in the city - The Winchester Bicycle Road Club - was formed in April 1877.¹¹⁶ The club received the support, and a financial contribution, from the future Winchester M.P., Viscount Baring, and held its first - and only - race meeting that summer.¹¹⁷ But, for unknown reasons, no further

¹⁰⁷ HC 11 July 1868 p4.

¹⁰⁸ HA 28 November 1868 p11.

¹⁰⁹ HA 26 June 1869 p6.

¹¹⁰ HA 28 November 1868 p11.

¹¹¹ HC 17 April 1869 p4.

¹¹² HA 2 February 1870 p3.

¹¹³ HC 24 July 1869 p5.

¹¹⁴ HA 19 June 1869 p6.

¹¹⁵ In 1869 the 'best and cheapest' bicycles for sale in the city cost £7 15s., while other models were on offer for over £10. HC 31 July 1869 p4.

¹¹⁶ HC 14 April 1877 p5.

¹¹⁷ HC 12 May 1877 p4; HC 21 July 1877 p4.

reference to the club is found after July 1877, and the club appears to have been active for only a few months.

Although new bicycles remained expensive, by the late 1870s an increasing number of cheaper, second-hand machines were becoming available, making ownership a possibility to a greater number of riders.¹¹⁸ In response to the increasing local popularity of the sport, a second cycle club - the Winchester and County Cycling Club – was established. In 1879 the club was described as being ‘recently formed’ and as having more than twenty members.¹¹⁹ From its inception, it received support from wealthy and influential patrons. Its first president was Richard Moss M.P., and its vice president was the city mayor, John Croft Moore, both of whom retained their roles for several years.¹²⁰ The chief activities of the club were the staging of evening rides throughout the summer and the organisation of its annual club dinner each December.¹²¹ By 1881 the club was suitably confident to host the first of a series of annual prize race meetings. A public fund was established to pay for the prizes on offer, which were sufficiently attractive to entice riders from as far afield as Chichester and Bristol. The public were able, at a cost, to watch the event, held on the enclosed grounds of Winchester College. Two further events were held in successive years, but the second of these was regarded as a financial failure in which the £12 7s. 9d. taken at the gate did not cover the £21 6s. 3d. cost of the prizes.¹²² Although it did not host another prize race until 1887, the Winchester and County Cycle Club remained active into the twentieth century.

2.3.5. The Winton Archers, 1872-81

The Winton Archers were formed in 1872 largely through the efforts of John Croft Moore, a recently retired captain with the Rifle Brigade. Later that year it was reported that the club had been ‘originated by a few of the principal inhabitants of the city a short time since’ and had already recruited seventy members.¹²³ Moore served as club secretary and treasurer, while the role of president was awarded to W.B. Simonds M.P. Shortly after its formation, the Winton Archers adopted an annual programme of events which set the pattern for its activities throughout the 1870s. Weekly private practice sessions were held in the grounds of Wolvesey Castle throughout the season, in addition to which the club also staged four ‘prize competitions’ each summer, of which the principal one was its ‘Grand Annual Meeting’ held each July. The club was quick to establish links with the soon-to-be national governing body of the sport, the Grand National Archery Society. This

¹¹⁸ HA 25 January 1879 p4.

¹¹⁹ HC 14 June 1879 p4.

¹²⁰ HC 18 August 1883 p4.

¹²¹ HC 14 June 1879 p4.

¹²² HC 3 November p3.

¹²³ HC 21 September 1872 p4.

connection benefited Winchester when, in 1874, the national society chose to host its 31st Annual Grand National Archery Meeting in the city (see Figure 4). This contest was the most high-profile sporting event yet held in Winchester, and duly received extensive coverage in the local and national press.¹²⁴



Figure 4. The Grand National Archery Tournament, held at Winchester College 5-7 August 1874.

The Winton Archers was the only sports club then operating in Winchester which allowed the active participation of women. An indication of the gender balance within the club's membership is given in the list of local entrants to the 1874 Grand National Archery Meeting. While slightly over half of all the national 163 entrants were female, the vast majority – 81% - of the twenty-seven-strong Winchester contingent were women.¹²⁵ Although this does not confirm that most of the members of the Winton Archers were women, it is notable that, at the club's local competition held in the week previous, thirteen of the twenty-one prizes on offer were awarded to female members.¹²⁶ Furthermore, it was noted in a report of the 1875 Grand Annual Meeting that 'the competitors were, as to gentlemen, far inferior in number to the ladies'.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ The event, hosted over three days at Winchester College, was the subject of over four and a half columns of reporting in the *Hampshire Chronicle* and the results were published in the *London Evening Standard* and the *Morning Post*. *HC* 8 August 1874 p4; *London Evening Standard* 8 August 1874 p6; *Morning Post* 8 August 1874 p6.

¹²⁵ *HA* 8 August 1874 pp6-7.

¹²⁶ *SWJ* 1 August 1874 p7.

¹²⁷ *HA* 24 July 1875 p6.

A decrease in the number of entrants to the club's prize competitions during the 1870s suggests that local enthusiasm for archery diminished as the decade progressed. While the final prize contest of 1874 attracted fifty-three contestants, the meeting in the August of the following year saw just forty entrants.¹²⁸ An event held in June 1876 featured only thirty-one archers, and entrant numbers fell further to twenty-two in June 1877, and sixteen in September 1879.¹²⁹ The number of spectators paying to watch the contests also declined.¹³⁰ The local loss of interest in archery is clearly signified by the Winton Archers' decision to diversify its activities, rebranding itself as the Winton Archers and Lawn Tennis Society in 1880.¹³¹ For a while this change had a positive effect on the club in terms of both its membership and its attractiveness to spectators. The August prize archery contest that year attracted fifty entrants, with a similar number entering the tennis competition it held during the following month.¹³² But this resurgence proved to be short lived. Although the club hosted at least one tennis tournament during the summer of 1881, there is no record of it hosting any archery contests that year and no further references have been found to the Winton Archers in local newspapers after that date.¹³³

2.3.6. Sport at Winchester College, 1850-84

The sporting culture which had emerged by 1850 at Winchester College continued to develop during the period to 1884. While both cricket and Winchester Rules Football retained their pre-eminent positions within the College's athletic calendar, a range of new sports were enthusiastically adopted by the pupils. James Sabben-Clare identified three significant developments which led to this expansion in sporting activity, all stemming from the appointment, in 1867, of George Ridding as Headmaster.¹³⁴ First, Ridding sought to increase the number of fee-paying students attending his school. But, as only limited space was available in the college's existing buildings, Ridding encouraged his schoolmasters to equip their houses to allow for their accommodation. The resultant segregation of pupils into various houses underpinned the development of inter-house contests and an increase in both the amount and the competitiveness of sport played at the College. Second, the new headmaster oversaw a five-fold increase in the area of the college playing fields, a move which Leach viewed as being directly responsible for a notable improvement in college cricket.¹³⁵ Third, Ridding

¹²⁸ HA 19 September 1874 p4; HT 25 August 1875 p4.

¹²⁹ SWJ 24 June 1876 p6; HA 20 June 1877 p3; HA 10 September 1879 p3.

¹³⁰ HA 24 July 1875 p6.

¹³¹ HA 9 June 1880 p2.

¹³² HA 21 August 1880 p8; HA 22 September 1880 p3.

¹³³ HC 9 July 1881 p4.

¹³⁴ Sabben-Clare *Winchester College* 16-17, 96.

¹³⁵ Leach *History of Winchester College* 501-05.

appointed masters who were themselves keen sportsmen, such as E.J. Turner (cricket) and T. Kensington (rowing), who actively promoted and organised sport at the College.

The College's cricket developed markedly during this time. This was despite fears for its reputation after the 1854 decision by the College to withdraw from the annual Lords games with Harrow and Eton.¹³⁶ However, the Lords tournament was replaced by an annual fixture against Eton which proved to be more popular than its predecessor. This game, known in Winchester as 'Eton Match', was hosted by each school in alternate years and became one of the highlights of Winchester's late nineteenth-century social calendar. The 1882 match reportedly 'attracted a ring of spectators numbering some thousands, which included many of the elite of the county and friends of the boys of each school'.¹³⁷

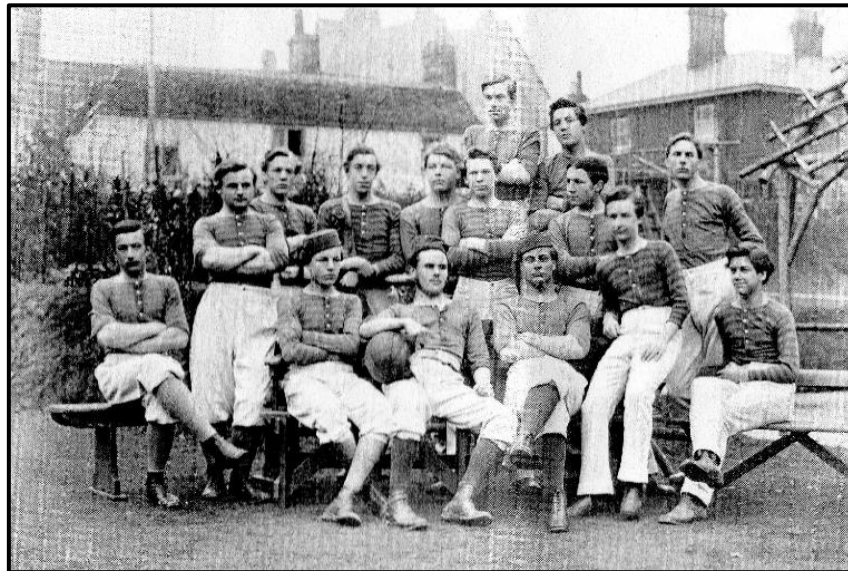


Figure 5. Winchester Rules Football, the College Football XV circa 1870.
Source: J. Sabben-Clare 'Winchester College'.

Winchester Rules Football remained the dominant autumn sport played at the college. But, despite the school's reputation for resisting change, some alterations were made to the game during the period. A third division of the school, formed by the pupils resident in various masters' houses and known as 'Houses', was added to the existing 'College' and 'Commoners'.¹³⁸ The three-way division of the college's body of students led to an increase in the number of internal football games played each year and the development of inter-house rivalries. A further break with tradition occurred when the twenty-two-a-side game was abandoned, to be replaced with a more open and

¹³⁶ J.A. Fort, *Winchester College Cricket* (London, 1926) 13.

¹³⁷ *HC* 1 July 1882 p7.

¹³⁸ 'College' referred to the pupils who had won scholarships to the College, while 'Commoners' was the name given to the students who paid a fee to attend.

entertaining fifteen-a-side version in the late 1860s (see Figure 5).¹³⁹ Although Wykehamists retained their attachment to the Winchester Rules game they were also amenable to experimenting with other variants of football.¹⁴⁰

The 1860s and 70s also witnessed the introduction of several new sports at the College. The establishment of a college rifle corps in 1860, in response to the national formation of the Volunteer Force the previous year, led to the school embracing competitive shooting. In 1862, the first of the college's seven 'fives' courts were constructed.¹⁴¹ A rowing club was established in 1867, its activities being based on a nearby stretch of canal.¹⁴² The college's first rackets court became available in 1872 and a private swimming bath, created in a neighbouring river, was opened three years later. A gymnasium was built at the school in 1878.¹⁴³ The range of sports available to college boys in 1884 was significantly broader than those offered to their predecessors thirty-four years earlier.

2.3.7. Sport in other Winchester Schools

In comparison to Winchester College, sport at the city's other education institutions was limited. After its 1862 move from Wolvesey Palace to a purpose-built site on the city's West Hill, the number of students attending the Training College increased to approximately sixty, thereby becoming the city's second largest educational establishment. Yet, as late as the mid-1870s, organised sport at the Training College was restricted solely to playing cricket. Occasional games against external opponents were recorded as early as 1864, and reports of matches continued to appear in newspapers throughout the two following decades.¹⁴⁴ The choice of recreations available to students widened during the 1870s. As at Winchester College, a company of the Volunteer Force was formed at the Training College in 1875, membership of which was compulsory for all students.¹⁴⁵ From 1878, and with the active encouragement of the newly appointed college principal, the Rev. Henry Martin, the students began playing rugby football on a regular basis.¹⁴⁶

The headmasters of Winchester's private schools recognised the value of physical activity for their pupils. This is underlined by their inclusion of references in advertisements for their schools to the recreational facilities they provided.¹⁴⁷ The focus on recreation may have reflected a genuine

¹³⁹ Leach *History of Winchester College* 497-99.

¹⁴⁰ See Section 2.4.2.

¹⁴¹ Sabben-Clare *Winchester College* 96.

¹⁴² Warner *The Great Public Schools, Winchester* 149.

¹⁴³ Sabben-Clare *Winchester College* 18, 96.

¹⁴⁴ *HC* 4 June 1864 p3; *HC* 1 October 1964 p3.

¹⁴⁵ Rose *King Alfred's College* 64-5.

¹⁴⁶ See Section 2.4.3.

¹⁴⁷ In 1859, the city's Trafalgar House School was described its location as 'particularly healthy, affording every facility for exercise and recreation'. In 1866, the Diocesan Commercial School mentioned that its premises included 'an enclosed meadow for the recreation of the pupils'. *HC* 15 January 1859 p4; *HC* 29 December 1866 p4.

acknowledgement by headmasters of the value of physical activity, but might also represent their attempts to emulate the more-prestigious public schools which had already established a reputation for sports provision. Whatever the motivation for the introduction of physical recreation, in most cases the development of a sporting culture at these schools was inhibited by a combination of low pupil numbers and a shortage – despite the advertised claims - of suitable facilities, especially at schools located in the city’s centre.

Cricket was the most widely played sport at the city’s private schools. By 1854, the pupils of Hyde House School were reported playing cricket.¹⁴⁸ The pupils there, occasionally aided by their teachers, continued to play games against other school and non-school teams until the school closed in the mid-1870s.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the Trafalgar House School is first recorded playing cricket in 1853.¹⁵⁰ The school was regularly reported playing cricket during this period but, with no suitable private ground of its own, had to resort to hiring various pitches for games. Other, more recently opened schools sited on the periphery of Winchester – such as the Winton House and the Modern schools, opened in 1863 and 1880 respectively - benefited from having their own adjacent playing fields.

Sporting activity at these fee-paying schools extended beyond cricket. In 1866, Hyde House – again in possible imitation of Winchester College - held a sports day featuring ‘vaulting, jumping (high and long), running, pole-leaping and hurdle-racing’ for its pupils.¹⁵¹ Similar annual events were established at Trafalgar House in 1875 and at the Modern School by 1883.¹⁵² Other sports were also played. Hyde House had a racket court by 1870 and, in 1880, the Modern School could boast of its own fives court.¹⁵³ Schools in the city were also reported playing forms of football; Hyde House played several games during the 1860s, and both the Modern and Northgate schools staged matches in the early 1880s.¹⁵⁴

Outside of the fee-paying sector, sport in the church-controlled elementary system, in which Winchester’s less-wealthy children received their education, was far less developed. Organised games in these schools were non-existent, partly owing to the absence of any available playing space beyond the restricted area of their attached playgrounds, but principally because there was no requirement to provide any form of physical exercise. Towards the end of the period these schools did introduce limited compulsory exercises for boys in the form of drill practice, which consisted of a

¹⁴⁸ *HC* 27 May 1854 p4.

¹⁴⁹ *London Evening Standard* 25 Sept 1877 p6.

¹⁵⁰ *HC* 3 September 1853 p4. Featuring in this game, played at Stockbridge against Queenwood College, was the thirty-nine-year-old headmaster of Trafalgar House School, John Naish. The idea of teachers playing games alongside their pupils was a regular occurrence in nineteenth-century private schools.

¹⁵¹ Winchester College’s ‘Athletic Sports’ event was reported in *HC* 12 April 1862 p5. The first athletics event staged by Hyde House School was reported in *HC* 5 May 1866 p5.

¹⁵² *HA* 2 August 1884 p8; *HC* 26 May 1883 p4.

¹⁵³ *HC* 10 December 1870 p5; *HC* 1 May 1880 p3.

¹⁵⁴ See Sections 2.4.2. and 2.4.4.

series of formalised military-style movements performed in unison.¹⁵⁵ This was the only organised physical recreation conducted in the city's elementary schools before 1884.

2.3.8. Military Sport in Winchester, 1850-84

When military duties allowed, the regular soldiers barracked in Winchester looked to sporting activities for amusement and recreation. Cricket remained the most extensively played sport among servicemen and, while some games were reported in local and national newspapers, it is probable that many went unrecorded. The army side was termed the 'Winchester Garrison' or, on occasion, the 'Officers of the Winchester Garrison'.¹⁵⁶ In both cases, the soldiers that appeared were ordinarily a combination of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, supplemented occasionally by private soldiers.¹⁵⁷ Occasionally a team representing a specific regiment might be fielded.¹⁵⁸ Army cricket teams played other military sides but also faced schools, other local clubs, and the famous touring clubs of the Victorian period.¹⁵⁹

Other than occasional cricket games, the opportunities for the lower ranks to participate in sport were fewer than those available to their superior officers. Physical training sessions were available at the gymnasium, which was opened at the barracks in 1864.¹⁶⁰ But there is little evidence of other organised games being offered as recreation for the men. However, during the 1860s it became a custom for the officers of the garrison to arrange an annual two-day event in which their men could compete for prizes in a range of 'trials of strength and skill', which included foot and hurdle races, jumping, wrestling and 'other manly exercises'. These proved popular with both the soldiers and the public.¹⁶¹

From its inception, the Volunteer Force was well-supported in Winchester and the number of enrolled volunteers remained high throughout the period.¹⁶² Cunningham states that one reason for the enthusiasm shown by the working class for the Volunteers was the opportunities for recreation

¹⁵⁵ The Holy Trinity School's logbook records that, in February 1884, 'we have become accustomed since the beginning of October to take a few minutes drill in the playground after recreation in the morning'. HRO 34M66LB2

¹⁵⁶ Between 1850 and 1869, *Bell's Life in London* published at least 128 match reports featuring teams from the Garrison.

¹⁵⁷ *SWJ* 21 June 1884 p3.

¹⁵⁸ For example, a team solely comprising men from the first Battalion of the 60th Rifles played a game Otterbourne in 1879. *HC* 21 June 1879 p7.

¹⁵⁹ In 1884, the Garrison team played the travelling sides I Zingari and the Marylebone Cricket Club. *SWJ* 21 June 1884 p3.

¹⁶⁰ *HC* 9 April 1864 p4.

¹⁶¹ A 'large number of soldiers' competed in the 1862 event, which was watched by 'large numbers of citizens and residents of the surrounding neighbourhood'. *HC* 30 August 1862 p4.

¹⁶² At the first uniformed parade of the local volunteers in 1860 there were ninety officers and men present. By 1867 their number had increased to nearly 120. *HC* 17 March 1860 p4; *SWJ* 10 August 1867 p8.

offered through enrolment.¹⁶³ In Winchester the formal recreations arranged under the aegis of the Volunteers included regular week-long camps in nearby countryside and the annual visit to Brighton for the Volunteer Force Review. In addition, the local force established an annual rifle shooting prize competition held at the local range at Teg Down.¹⁶⁴ The Volunteer Corps also played cricket, and matches were recorded throughout the period.¹⁶⁵ A further recreational outlet was made available in 1872 when the local military authorities permitted them access to weekly physical training sessions at the barracks gymnasium free-of-charge.¹⁶⁶

2.4 Football in Winchester before 1884

Contemporary to the city's sporting boom was the arrival, from 1860, of football in Winchester. Its emergence is the focus of this section, which is split into four parts. The first is an examination of the Winchester-related evidence from the 1850s which has been used by the 'revisionist' historians to support their re-evaluation of the role taken by the public schools in the game's development, and their emphasis instead on football's more proletarian roots. This includes an assessment, based on the same methodology adopted by one prominent revisionist, of any evidence of football activity in the city prior to 1860. The second section charts the local growth of the game in the period between the first reported, non-Winchester-College game in 1860 and the formation of the city's first formally organised rugby-playing football club in 1877. The third part explores the rugby culture which briefly held the ascendancy in the city, followed by the final section in which soccer's arrival in Winchester circa 1880, and its development in the years prior to 1884 and the establishment of the city's first soccer club, provides the focus.

2.4.1. Football in Winchester before 1860 – A Local Study of the Revisionists' Case

Much recent research has been published seeking to identify the 'origins' of football.¹⁶⁷ Some of this work has challenged the long-accepted, 'orthodox' theory of the game's development which identifies the English public schools and their former pupils as the innovators and promoters of the earliest formalised codes of football. The 'revisionist' challenge argues that too much credit has been given to these elite schools, proposing instead that organised football evolved – at least in part - from an existing proletarian culture. This argument is summarised in the claim made by one

¹⁶³ H. Cunningham *The Volunteer Force* 3.

¹⁶⁴ This competition, first held in 1860, was extremely popular with the Volunteers. *SWJ* 22 September 1860 p6.

¹⁶⁵ *SWJ* 20 August 1859 p6; *SWJ* 6 September 1879 p6.

¹⁶⁶ *HC* 20 January 1872 p5.

¹⁶⁷ See references to Graham Curry, Eric Dunning, John Goulstone, Adrian Harvey and Peter Swain in the Bibliography.

prominent revisionist that there existed a 'broad, tenacious and visible footballing culture throughout nineteenth-century Britain' and that this culture had been developed 'beyond the domain of the public schools'.¹⁶⁸

To support their claim, the revisionist historians provide a substantial volume of evidence which, collectively, presents a compelling argument. Their evidence has been gathered from throughout the United Kingdom and includes two examples of non-public-school football being played in Winchester during the 1850s. One is that a 'Winchester Football Club' was active in 1852, the second is the three games played in 1859 by a team named the 'Winchester Garrison Officers'.¹⁶⁹ Both examples are examined in greater detail here, followed by an exploration - based on the same newspaper-based methodology employed by Swain - of any football being played in the city before 1860.

The revisionist historians John Goulstone and Adrian Harvey both identified the earliest reference to a Winchester-based football club in an 1852 copy of *Bell's Life in London*. This reference appeared in the form of an advertisement seeking nearby opponents to play a football match:

Football – Eleven of Winchester will play any eleven within 50 miles, for dinner, at any time within a month. A letter addressed to Mr Marsh, Flying Dutchman, Cannon-street [sic], Winchester, will be attended to.¹⁷⁰

A response published in *Bell's Life* the following week suggested that the 'Southampton Club' had accepted this challenge and sought to make arrangements for the game.¹⁷¹ However, this offer proved to be a hoax and the game was apparently never staged.¹⁷² Harvey presents this exchange as evidence that 'pub-based' football clubs existed in both Winchester and Southampton, while Goulstone sees this as confirmation that 'it was then customary to play football with eleven on each side, and that there was nothing unusual in the concept of a football club in mid-nineteenth-century Hampshire'.¹⁷³

Further research using local material has failed to discover any additional evidence of this Winchester-based football club. No references have been found in any contemporary local

¹⁶⁸ P. Swain, 'The Origins of Football Debate: Football and Cultural Continuity, 1857-1859' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* vol. 32 no. 5 (2014) 644; P. Swain, 'The Origins of Football Debate: "The Grand Design and the Involvement of the Lower Classes", 1818-1840' in *Sport in History* vol. 34 no. 4 (2014) 520.

¹⁶⁹ J. Goulstone *Football's Secret History* (Upminster, 2001) 29-30; Adrian Harvey *Football: The First Hundred Years, The Untold Story* (Abingdon, 2005) 70, 73.

¹⁷⁰ *Bell's Life in London* 4 January 1852 p6.

¹⁷¹ *Bell's Life in London* 11 January 1852 p6.

¹⁷² *Bell's Life in London* 18 January 1852 p7.

¹⁷³ Goulstone *Secret History* 29-30; Harvey *First Hundred Years* 73.

newspapers to a football team active in the city, or of any matches being played. More curiously, no mention of a public house called the Flying Dutchman in Canon Street - or anywhere else in the city - has been found.¹⁷⁴ Despite the absence of corroborating evidence, the original challenge implies that a group of *potential* players in Winchester were keen to arrange a football match. But, without evidence of any subsequent game being played, it is questionable whether this group should be regarded, as Goulstone does, to have been a genuine 'football club'. Two further points may be inferred from this challenge, both based on the group's willingness to travel up to fifty miles to play. First, the players were prepared to incur some personal expense to facilitate a game and, second, there was a dearth of local opponents. This latter point suggests that, rather than it being 'nothing unusual', the idea of a football team operating in Hampshire during the 1850s was something of a novelty, making Goulstone's theory that football was an accepted recreation in the county problematic.

Harvey identified a second football club active in Winchester during the 1850s, again from a report published in *Bell's Life in London*.¹⁷⁵ This report contained details of three matches, all played during October 1859, by a team styled the 'Winchester Garrison Officers'. The first two of these games were home-and-away fixtures against the Portsmouth-based 1st Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, which ended in victory for the Officers in the first match by 'one goal to nothing' followed by a defeat by 'one goal and three rouges to one goal' in the second game, a 'rouge' appearing to be a method of scoring which was subsidiary to a goal. The third reported match was played against a team of pupils from Winchester College, which the officers of the garrison won by 'sixteen goals to twelve'.¹⁷⁶

The Garrison side was one of six military-based teams Harvey identified playing in Hampshire during the 1850s, leading him to conclude that 'military teams [were] heavily over-represented in Hampshire'.¹⁷⁷ Harvey concedes that games featuring these military sides, 'appear to be based upon the rules from either Eton or Rugby public schools' [my emphasis], but adds that:

While it is tempting to explain this as being due to the influence exerted by particular officers, who instructed the lower ranks in the various mysteries of their particular public school code, we really do not have sufficient information to evaluate such a theory.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ It may be of relevance that Canon Street is located adjacent to Winchester College and, during the nineteenth century, was the home of several workers who were employed there. It is possible that patrons of the Flying Dutchman were Canon Street residents who may have witnessed football matches played at the College and sought to play a version of the game themselves.

¹⁷⁵ Harvey *First Hundred Years* 61.

¹⁷⁶ *Bell's Life in London* 30 October 1859 p3.

¹⁷⁷ Harvey *First Hundred Years* 70.

¹⁷⁸ Harvey *First Hundred Years* 74.

A detailed study of the Garrison Officers' games reveals that Harvey's uncertainty about public school influence is misplaced. There is evidence that the two games with the Rifle Brigade both followed the rules of the Eton Field Game. First, the reported result of one of these games included reference to 'rouges', a method of scoring that was a distinct feature of the Eton game and, according to Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, when used in football games must indicate some form of diffusion from Eton College.¹⁷⁹ The low number of goals scored – three over the two matches - is also suggestive of the Eton Field Game. On the same page of *Bell's Life* were reports of other Eton College games which featured similarly low scores – four goals over two games.¹⁸⁰ Thirdly, and most convincingly, a number of Old Etonians were listed among the players on both sides in the games against the Rifle Brigade - there were at least seven among the twenty-one who appeared in the first of these games. With a sizeable proportion of the players already familiar with the rules, it is reasonable to expect that any games they played would follow the Eton code.

In the third of their reported games the Garrison Officers faced a team from Winchester College. In contrast to the Garrison's two previously reported matches, this proved to be a relatively high-scoring game with twenty-eight goals recorded in sixty minutes of play, but with a notable absence of any rouges. High scores were typical of games played to the Winchester College rules; earlier that month *Bell's Life* reported on two games of Winchester Football in which the combined goals tally was fifty.¹⁸¹ However, the number of players on each side – eleven – was unusual for the Winchester game, and was more reminiscent of the Eton rules. It is plausible that the rules adopted for this match were a hybrid of the two games.¹⁸² It was not unusual for Wykehamists to make such concessions - when the Garrison Officers played football against the College again in the late 1860s and early 1870s they either employed an especially-drafted set of rules or adopted the Eton Field code.¹⁸³

It is reasonable to conclude that the three games played by the Garrison Officers were, at the very least, heavily influenced by the Eton Field Game, a fact which casts doubt on any theory regarding working-class origins of football in the military. Further, it is also doubtful that these games were a means by which 'the lower ranks' might be instructed in the public-school game. In this instance, the players who appeared for the Garrison Officers were mainly officer class, not the

¹⁷⁹ Curry and Dunning *Association Football* 92.

¹⁸⁰ *Bell's Life in London* 30 October 1859 p3.

¹⁸¹ *Bell's Life in London* 9 October 1859 p6.

¹⁸² Similar compromise arrangements were often agreed to facilitate games. When the Old Harrovians met the Old Wykehamists in 1859 they agreed to play by Harrow rules but use the smaller-sized Winchester ball. *Bell's Life in London* 4 December 1859 p6.

¹⁸³ *The Wykehamist* no. 12 (December 1867) p8; *The Wykehamist* no. 26 (October 1869) p6; *The Wykehamist* no. 43 (November 1871) p6.

lower ranks. The nature of the games played, and the choice of opposition, suggest that these games were arranged as much as an upper-class social event as a sporting contest, and that using it as an opportunity to promote the public-school game to a wider audience was unlikely to have been a consideration.

However, this critique of the work of Harvey and Goulstone does not prove that a popular football culture was absent in 1850s Winchester. It is possible that indications of early local football activity may be discovered within the increasing volume of nineteenth-century newspapers which have been made available in an online, text-searchable format. Another revisionist football historian, Peter Swain, has made extensive use of the British Library's online National Newspaper Archive to compile evidence of early popular football throughout Britain. Swain discovered numerous examples of non-public-school football being played during the period from 1818 to 1861.¹⁸⁴ While none of these referred to events in Winchester, it is acknowledged that, due to length constraints of academic articles, Swain was compelled to restrict the range of examples he included. Consequently, Winchester-based evidence might be found by applying Swain's methodology to the city's local newspaper, and a clearer view be gained of the extent to which football games were popular.

A search was run to identify instances of the word 'football' appearing in all editions of the *Hampshire Chronicle* published between 1818 and 1861. The results were revealing. Throughout the period, 'football' appeared in print on thirty-nine occasions. Almost half of these were printed in the final three years of the search period, while only eight appeared between 1818 and 1848. The earliest references included 'football' either as part of an idiom - for example, when covering a riot it was reported that valuable goods were 'kicked about the street like foot-balls' - or in descriptions of games played elsewhere, including Ireland and China.¹⁸⁵ The first mention in the *Chronicle* of a football game being played in Winchester was published in 1855 when, over two successive weeks, the newspaper briefly reported on games played at Winchester College.¹⁸⁶ The earliest reported football activity possibly to involve non-Wykehamist Wintonians appeared in 1857 when 'foot-ball' was listed among the 'rational amusements' staged at the Basingstoke Mechanic Institute's annual 'rural fête', which was attended by some visitors from Winchester.¹⁸⁷ The first newspaper record of a non-college football game being played in Winchester was not published until November 1860.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Swain presented his evidence in six articles published between 2014 and 2018. These are listed in the Bibliography.

¹⁸⁵ *HC* 22 July 1839 p3; *HC* 4 February 1833 p2; *HC* 4 January 1841 p3.

¹⁸⁶ *HC* 10 November 1855 p4; *HC* 17 November 1855 p4.

¹⁸⁷ *HC* 11 July 1857 p4.

¹⁸⁸ *HC* 17 November 1860 p4.

While this dearth of evidence does not disprove Swain's theory of a 'tenacious and visible' football culture existing in the United Kingdom during the early nineteenth century, it does challenge the breadth of his claim, and questions whether this football culture existed *throughout* the country. The evidence from Winchester does not support the revisionist historians' view that an uninterrupted, popular tradition of football-playing continued throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century.

2.4.2. Football in Winchester 1860-84

When applied to the pre-1860 local media, Swain's methodology reveals an absence of popular football in Winchester. However, a similar search through the newspapers that were published after that date presents a different picture. These later reports reveal details of the gradual emergence, over a twenty-five-year period, of popular football – played under various codes – in the city. The earliest references to football suggest that it was Winchester's schools that were the initial adopters of the game. The first published report of an organised game of football in the city – beyond those already mentioned which featured teams from Winchester College and the military - appeared in the *Hampshire Chronicle* in November 1860:

On Saturday last a most exciting game of foot-ball was played in Painter's-fields, between eleven gentlemen of Hyde House School and eleven gentlemen of Winchester. On account of the deficiency of the umpires, the rules of the game were not so strictly enforced as might have been wished, but still, after a hotly contested struggle, the Hyde House players won the game. The return match was to have been played this day (Saturday).¹⁸⁹

A further football report appeared in the same newspaper the following month:

On Wednesday a very exciting foot-ball match was played, between eleven Gentlemen of Winchester and eleven Gentlemen of the Winchester Diocesan Training College, at Rackhills, and after a very hotly contested struggle, on both sides, the former gentlemen came off victorious. The splendid play of messrs. Waters, French and Wooldridge, and also of messrs. Tucker, London and Foot, were worthy of remark.¹⁹⁰

By 1860, both Hyde House School and the Training College had, along with Winchester College, the greatest number of students aged over sixteen of any establishment in the city. Consequently, these were the schools most capable of fielding a football team. The players Tucker, London and Foot were all Training College students in 1860. The few details included in the second report suggest that the

¹⁸⁹ HC 17 November 1860 p4.

¹⁹⁰ HC 1 December 1860 p5.

'Eleven Gentlemen of Winchester' were composed of students and staff from other local schools; twins Alfred and Peregrine French were pupils at Hyde House School, as was Thomas Waters, while James Wooldridge was an assistant master at Trafalgar House School. If true, then these early Winchester football matches were both inter-school contests. Further reports of Hyde House playing football appeared throughout the 1860s, but there were fewer reports of games featuring the Training College team in the same period.

Two years later, the *Hampshire Chronicle* carried an advertisement which was reminiscent of that from 1852 identified by Harvey and Goulstone. Like the earlier reference, the advertisement was seeking local opponents for a game of football:

FOOTBALL – ELEVEN Members of the St. Michael's Club will be happy to Play a MATCH at FOOTBALL against an ELEVEN OF WINCHESTER. – For further particulars apply to Mr. Elcock, Albert Inn, Winchester.¹⁹¹

This is the only reference found to a 'St. Michael's Club' operating in Winchester at this time. St. Michaels is a parish in the city close to Winchester College, and the Albert Inn was in Canon Street, as the Flying Dutchman was said to be. As with the 1852 challenge, no record has been found of a subsequent game being played and any further activities of the St. Michael's Club are unknown.

The earliest instance of a football game to involve a non-school team being played in Winchester was reported in 1865. This was the first in a series of at least four matches played between the Winchester Gymnasium and the students of Hyde House:

A well contested match of Football took place on Wednesday last in the grounds of Hyde Abbey [sic] School, between 12 of the Winchester Gymnasium against 12 of the Hyde Abbey School. The game began at half-past-two and ended at four in favour of the Gymnasium, they kicking two goals and the school only one. The good playing of messrs. Gale, Simmonds and Gilmour on the Gymnasium side, was particularly noticed. The return match takes place on Wednesday week.¹⁹²

The return match ended in a victory of two goals to one in favour of the school, with 'Angell' scoring for the Gymnasium.¹⁹³ A further pair of fixtures, again with teams of twelve playing for ninety minutes, were held between the two teams in the following year.¹⁹⁴ No further football activity involving the Gymnasium is recorded, although its members may have formed the 'Winchester' team which played against the Romsey side, in December 1866.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ HC 11 January 1862 p4.

¹⁹² HC 2 December 1865 p5.

¹⁹³ HC 16 December 1865 p5.

¹⁹⁴ HC 24 November 1866 p4; HC 15 December 1866 p4.

¹⁹⁵ This match also featured teams of twelve and lasted for ninety minutes. SWJ 29 December 1866 p7.

Reports of football matches being played in Winchester during the first half of the 1870s appeared rarely. With no formally organised local football clubs, the few games which were played, apart from those featuring school teams, were contested between 'scratch' sides which had been assembled for that specific fixture. These teams might adopt a name which reflected the town, suburb or village in which the players lived, or the institution in which they were based. For example, in 1874 the *Hampshire Chronicle* published reports of two football matches played between teams representing Hursley, a village five miles from Winchester, and the city suburb of St. Cross.¹⁹⁶ A year later the same newspaper briefly recorded a game played between 'eleven civilians of Winchester' and a military-based side representing the Rifle Brigade.¹⁹⁷ No reports were published of further games played by any of these four teams.

The reports of the Hursley games provide some insight into the nature of local 1870s football. The scores recorded for the games – 3-2 in the first game, 13-5 in the second – provide confusing indications as to which code of football rules was played. The absence of both 'rouges' or 'touchdowns' in the scores suggest that neither the Eton nor the rugby rules were being followed. The low score in the first game is reminiscent of a soccer game, while the higher score in the second is similar to games played to the Winchester College rules. This disparity might indicate that different rules were employed for each game. One of the match reports listed the twenty-four players involved. All were resident in either Hursley or St. Cross, and the majority were employed either as skilled artisans or clerical workers. Among the players were three blacksmiths, two carpenters, an ironmonger and a whitesmith in addition to two gardeners, two butchers, two lawyers' clerks, an agricultural labourer and an innkeeper. Most of the players were aged between eighteen and twenty-five years old.

Alongside the structured, rule-bound football games played at some local schools and the informally organised 'scratch' teams, there also existed a less-formal, less-organised and less-reported culture of casual football playing in Winchester. For example, in 1863 the working-class attenders of the Winchester Mechanics Institute's inaugural 'rural fête' were reported to have been 'busily engaged at cricket, quoits, football, trapball, &c.'¹⁹⁸ Equally, children from the city's Congregational and British Schools were playing cricket and football on a local playing field in 1869.¹⁹⁹ Three years later, a report of a fatal accident in which a ten-year-old boy fell from a Winchester railway bridge included the detail that the deceased had earlier been 'to play football with his mates'.²⁰⁰ Informal games such as these are cited by Swain as evidence of a well-established

¹⁹⁶ HC 7 February 1874 p7; HC 14 February 1874 p5.

¹⁹⁷ HC 16 January 1875 p5.

¹⁹⁸ HC 1 August 1863 p3.

¹⁹⁹ HC 22 May 1869 p4.

²⁰⁰ HT 2 October 1872 p1.

and widespread popular football culture that was independent of any public-school influence.²⁰¹ But in this instance, Swain's argument is unconvincing, principally due to the timing of these events. No record has been found of any football, casual or otherwise, being played by Winchester's general population prior to 1860. Each of these reports of casual football were dated *after* more-formally organised football games had begun to be played - and covered in the national media - elsewhere in the country. The sequencing implies that the casual games played in Winchester represent the start, rather than a continuation, of a popular culture of football playing in the city.

There is little evidence of any football activity among the local military at this time. As noted in Section 2.4.1., the officers stationed at the barracks were involved in occasional games, but these were largely confined to matches against representative teams from Winchester College. In addition, two games were reported in 1875 featuring, respectively, the 'Rifle Brigade' and the 'Garrison' facing a team of Winchester civilians.²⁰² However, apart from these references, no further record of military football in Winchester has been found. The local Volunteer Force, unlike those in neighbouring towns, appear not to have embraced football as a sporting activity.²⁰³

The most experimental group of football players in Winchester during the 1860s and 1870s were those at Winchester College. Although Wykehamists felt a strong attachment towards their own version of the game, they nevertheless demonstrated a willingness to experiment with different football codes, if by doing so it helped facilitate matches with outside opponents. For instance, the rugby rules were employed in 1870 when the College faced the staff of the Southampton Telegraph Office, and again in 1873 for a game played with the Army Medical School.²⁰⁴ Matches were also played against the Garrison Officers which followed rules which were either a hybrid of those employed at Eton and Winchester, or which followed the rules of the Eton Field Game.²⁰⁵

Soccer was also tried. A visit from the Old Wykehamists soccer team in 1873 saw the college field a soccer eleven for the first time. *The Wykehamist* commented that soccer was 'no doubt very strange to us, and at first we were quite overpowered', but concluded with a favourable view of the

²⁰¹ Swain, 'Football and Cultural Continuity' 644; Swain, 'The Grand Design and the Involvement of the Lower Classes' 520.

²⁰² HC 16 January 1875 p5; HC 30 January 1875 p5.

²⁰³ In other cities the local Volunteer Force did stage football matches. For example, the Salisbury Rifle Corps played a series of fixtures against the Salisbury Football Club between 1867 and 1869.

²⁰⁴ *The Wykehamist* no. 36 (December 1870) 5; HA 22 November 1873 p6.

²⁰⁵ For a game between Winchester College and the Garrison Officers in 1867, 'a system of rules which have never, probably, been played before' were adopted. When the two teams met again, two years later, 'the game was played according to the Eton rules' of which the school side 'knew very little'. When they played for a third time, in 1871, the 'novelty of the rules' prevented the school from capitalising on its dominance in a game which *may* have been played to the Association rules. *The Wykehamist* no. 12 (December 1867) p8; *The Wykehamist* no. 26 (October 1869) p6; and *The Wykehamist* no. 43 (November 1871) p6.

game, stating that it was 'very fast, and was interesting to look on at'.²⁰⁶ This positive experience led the boys to establish an informal, and probably unsanctioned, soccer club in the following spring.²⁰⁷ However, by the following year the club, which had proved popular with the boys, was defunct, seemingly suppressed by the College authorities.²⁰⁸

While the Winchester College boys enjoyed alternative forms of football, they ultimately retained a higher regard for their own homegrown version of the game. An assessment of the relative merits of these various football codes was provided in an editorial column which was published in an 1873 edition of *The Wykehamist*:

Whatever we may feel to be the merits of our special game (and we have all had opportunities lately of comparing it with games of the Association and Rugby Union), there can be no doubt that it is excessively hard and fierce ... The Association game certainly cannot be compared to ours in ferocity or hardness; and that played by the Rugby Union does not require so much concentration of energy. It is also clear, we think, that our game has peculiar advantages, combining as it does strength and pluck in a degree which we have never seen in any other game.²⁰⁹

Soccer was to be reintroduced at the College in 1887 but, to date, rugby football has not been accepted into the sporting life of the school.

2.4.3. The Emergence of Rugby Football in Winchester

Until the mid-1870s, football in Winchester – with the exception of the games played at Winchester College - was either played as a casual, unstructured game or was contested between two scratch teams brought together for a specific match. This situation changed with the formation of the city's first recognisable football club, the Winchester Football Club, in 1877. The club played football to the Rugby Union rules. Its members were drawn principally from the city's affluent middle class. The club captain, secretary and treasurer were the sons, respectively, of an army major, a clergyman, and one of Winchester's most prominent brewers, and some of its players later took careers in medicine, teaching and the law.²¹⁰ The cost of membership – 2s. 6d. to join plus an additional 2s. 6d. annual subscription – was likely to have deterred many potential working-class players from joining.²¹¹ Fifteen of the club's games were reported in the local newspapers, all of which were

²⁰⁶ *The Wykehamist* no. 63 (16 December 1873) 4.

²⁰⁷ This soccer-playing football club is mentioned in a diary entry of 7 February 1874 made by Winchester College pupil J.E. Blomfield. The diary is held in the Winchester College Archives (with thanks to Suzanne Foster for drawing this source to my attention). WCA G72/1.

²⁰⁸ *The Wykehamist* no.77 (February 1875) 1.

²⁰⁹ *The Wykehamist* no. 63 (16 December 1873) 1.

²¹⁰ *HC* 1 December 1877 p4.

²¹¹ *HC* 24 November 1877 p4.

played against Hampshire-based opponents. These reports contain no reference to crowds being present at games, and the extent to which Winchester's public engaged with either the club or the sport remains unclear.

The Winchester Football Club remained active for two seasons and was wound up during the summer of 1879. The reason for its dissolution is uncertain. However, in the previous year another local football club which played to the rugby rules, the Andover F.C., had abandoned the game and, instead, adopted soccer. Its reason for changing codes was a reaction against the overt violence inherent in rugby - it was noted that for one of its games 'the rules were the 'association', the violent rugby rules being gradually pushed out by the former'.²¹² It is possible that similar concerns contributed to the demise of the Winchester club.

Concurrent with the formation of the Winchester Football Club was a growth in the popularity of rugby football at the city's Training College. With the exception of a single game played in 1860 (see Section 2.4.2.), the first recorded game of football to involve the Training College was played in 1875, when a team of its students faced a scratch 'XV of Winchester' side.²¹³ This fixture - which, with fifteen players on each side, was probably played to the rugby rules - was also held in each of the two following years.²¹⁴ From this point, the number of rugby football games played by the representative Training College team increased. By the start of the 1880s the college's annual programme of fixtures saw its team playing external opponents, almost always Hampshire-based clubs, twice each week throughout the winter months. By 1884 the college football team was regularly playing games against the top rugby clubs in the county.

Unlike the members-only Winchester Football Club, the Training College team enjoyed the benefit of being able to select its team from a large pool of potential players. The Training College enrolled a steady stream of students annually and, by the 1870s, sixty trainees were boarding at its West Hill campus each year. Physical recreation was regarded at the college as providing a suitable and constructive means to occupy the students and to instil discipline, encourage teamwork, and to develop a sense of fair play among them. In addition, and in common with all training colleges, being an experienced sportsman was deemed an asset in the trainees' future work as schoolteachers. For these reasons it is probable that, although football appears not to have been compulsory at Winchester, most trainees participated in internal games played between fellow students.

²¹² HA 19 January 1878 p7.

²¹³ HC 13 November 1875 p5.

²¹⁴ The 1877 'XV of Winchester' team was almost certainly the Winchester Football Club. HT 11 November 1876 p8; HC 27 October 1877 p4.

The decision of both of Winchester's earliest football clubs to adopt the rugby code was a response to contemporary developments in nearby Southampton. During the 1870s, a rugby-based football culture grew in the port city. As in Winchester, teams formed at Southampton's fee-paying schools played occasional football matches during the 1860s.²¹⁵ However, after 1870, several formally organised rugby football clubs were established in the city. A number of these clubs had links with local schools or had connections to the social elite.²¹⁶ The popularity of the game grew, and, by the winter of 1877/78, local newspapers reported on eight distinct rugby-playing teams in Southampton. All of Southampton's football clubs of the 1870s played to the rugby rules, soccer not being commonly played there until the mid-1880s.²¹⁷ The playing of rugby spread to neighbouring Portsmouth, where the game proved especially popular among the cadets attending the city's numerous naval academies. Consequently, by the late-1870s, the rugby code had come to dominate football in Hampshire.²¹⁸ The availability of rugby-playing opponents in both Southampton and Portsmouth gave an incentive to the newly formed Winchester clubs to adopt the rugby code. Notably, almost half of all the recorded games played by the Winchester Football Club were against Southampton-based teams.

2.4.4. The Emergence of Soccer in Winchester

Throughout the 1870s, soccer was rarely played in Winchester. However, the game received a local impetus at the very end of the decade. In 1879, the Basingstoke Football Club, based in a town twenty miles north of Winchester, launched a soccer knockout cup competition. Basingstoke was, at that time, unusual insofar as it was one of the few towns in Hampshire that had embraced soccer in preference to rugby football.²¹⁹ This was a consequence of Basingstoke's proximity to, and good communications with, the Berkshire town of Reading, where a soccer-playing culture had been established a few years earlier.²²⁰ Games of soccer between teams from the two towns were recorded as early as 1875, and Reading-based clubs provided the opposition for Basingstoke F.C. on several occasions during the latter's inaugural 1878/79 season.²²¹ Conscious of the shortage of

²¹⁵ For example, the newly reopened Southampton Grammar School fielded a football team in 1863. *HT* 21 November 1863 p8.

²¹⁶ For example, the Southampton Trojans who were formed by old boys from the Grammar School, while the Hartley Club were composed principally of students from the city's Hartley Institute.

²¹⁷ D. Juson and D. Bull *Full Time at the Dell* (Bristol, 2001) 16.

²¹⁸ So dominant was rugby locally that, in 1876, the Gosport Rovers, who had been formed two years earlier as a soccer club, felt compelled to switch to playing rugby 'owing to the scarcity of Association Clubs in Hampshire'. *HT* 10 January 1880 p3.

²¹⁹ Bournemouth was another town in the county where soccer gained a foothold in the late 1870s.

²²⁰ This connection was strengthened due to Basingstoke, prior to 1878, not having a local newspaper. Before that date, the most extensive reporting of the news from the town were found in the Reading-based *Berkshire Chronicle*. J. Bailey 'Soccer's Early Outposts: Basingstoke' in *Soccer History* vol 4 (2003) 34-36.

²²¹ *HC* 27 March 1875 p5; *HC* 14 December 1878 p5; *HGB* 29 March 1879.

opponents in Hampshire, the Basingstoke F.C. sought to encourage the game's growth in the county by establishing a competitive local soccer tournament. The soccer club's president, John May, donated ten guineas for the purchase of a silver trophy, and invited entries from 'all *bona fide* clubs, members of which are resident in Hampshire' (see Figure 6).²²² The Basingstoke Cup was held in two successive seasons and was the first competitive football tournament, of any code, to be staged in the county.²²³ A team from Winchester entered which consisted principally of younger members of the city's middle class - the working class were not among these pioneers of local organised soccer.²²⁴



Figure 6. The Basingstoke Cup, Hampshire's first soccer trophy, donated by John May in 1879. The chance to win a trophy proved to be an effective incentive for soccer club formation.
Source: W. Pickford 'Hampshire F.A. Golden Jubilee'.

Soccer, in preference to rugby, also came to be adopted as the winter sport at some of Winchester's larger private schools. For example, the fee-paying Modern School was opened in 1880 and had soon enrolled a sufficient number of pupils to field a football team. It initially chose rugby football but, by the end of 1881, the school had abandoned the game, possibly owing to concerns over safety, in favour of soccer.²²⁵ By the mid-1880s it was common to find pupils from these schools, some as young as fourteen, included in scratch sides alongside adult players, an indication that the number of available soccer players in Winchester remained low. Similarly, in 1884, when an

²²² HC 15 November 1879 p4.

²²³ The Basingstoke Cup was successful in attracting interest from club's throughout Hampshire. Entrants in its inaugural season came from Alton, Basingstoke, Fordingbridge, Southampton, and Winchester.

²²⁴ The occupations later taken up by some of the Winchester players were distinctly middle class and included a solicitor, a university lecturer, a bookseller and a corn merchant. HC 20 December 1879 p4.

²²⁵ HC 24 December 1881 p4.

unsuccessful attempt was made to launch another rugby-playing club in the city, it failed due to its inability to find fifteen players willing to appear. In response, this club - a second 'Winchester Football Club' – abandoned rugby and elected instead to play soccer, in which it was successful in recruiting the smaller number of players needed for games.²²⁶

2.5 Sport and Society in Winchester before 1884

Through a detailed examination of the sporting activity recorded in early Victorian Winchester, it is possible to analyse the demographics of those actively involved, highlight any constraints to participation, and to identify the motivations which drove local engagement with sport. These findings are presented in this section.

2.5.1. Participants in Winchester's Early Sports

Information on the active membership of Winchester's sports clubs is not well documented. No membership lists have been found for any of the sports organisations mentioned above. However, it has been possible to compile partial lists of club members from information collected from photographs, reports of club meetings, and from articles published in contemporary newspapers. Although incomplete and, for manageability, restricted to single years, these lists are suggestive of typical club membership. Many of the individuals listed have been linked to entries included in the national censuses, enabling the identification of the age and occupations of the city's early sporting participants.

In nineteenth-century Britain, an individual's employment was a strong signifier of a person's social class.²²⁷ Employment provides the basis for Armstrong's classification of social class, in which he allocated a range of occupations into one of five categories; professional, intermediate, skilled, partly-skilled, and unskilled occupations. In terms of social class, the first two categories broadly equate to middle-class, and the final three to working-class, occupations. By applying this classification to the membership lists compiled for selected Winchester sports clubs, social profiles of these clubs can be constructed. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 4 and is illustrated graphically in Graph 2.

²²⁶ These events were recalled in a speech made by Arnold Tebbutt, the founder of the 1884 Winchester Football Club, in a speech made in 1929. *HC* 21 December 1929 p10.

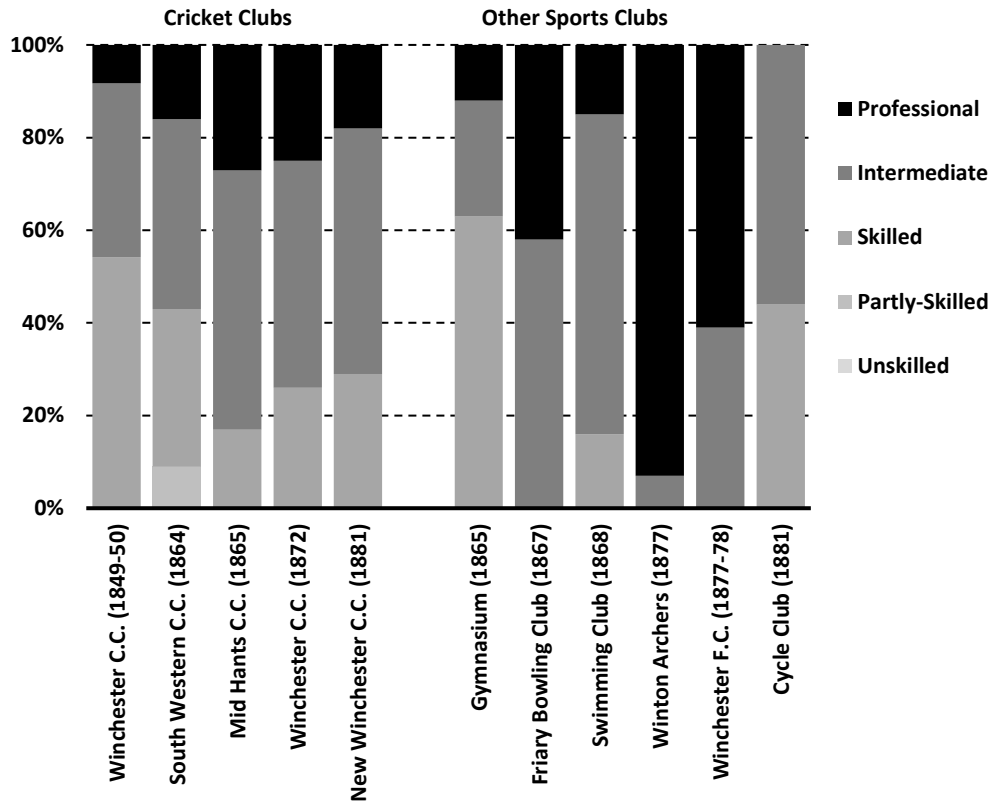
²²⁷ Armstrong 'The Use of Information about Occupation' in *Nineteenth-Century Society* 191-225.

<i>Club</i>	<i>Individuals</i>	<i>Appearances</i>	<i>Professional</i>	<i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Partly-Skilled</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>
Winchester Cricket Club (1849-50)	13	24	8%	38%	54%	0%	0%
South Western Cricket Club (1864)	16	86	16%	41%	34%	9%	0%
Mid Hants Cricket Club (1865)	14	48	27%	56%	17%	0%	0%
Winchester Cricket Club	13	65	25%	49%	26%	0%	0%
New Winchester Cricket Club (1881)	17	66	18%	53%	29%	0%	0%
Winchester Gymnasium (1865)	16	NA	12%	25%	63%	0%	0%
Friary Bowling Green (1867)	12	NA	42%	58%	0%	0%	0%
Winchester Swimming Club (1868)	13	NA	15%	69%	16%	0%	0%
Winton Archers (1877)	14	NA	93%	7%	0%	0%	0%
Winchester Football Club (1877-78)	14	54	61%	39%	0%	0%	0%
Winchester & County Cycle Club (1881)	9	NA	0%	56%	44%	0%	0%

Table 4: Social profile of the membership of selected Winchester sports clubs.²²⁸

²²⁸ Sources:

- Winchester C.C. 1849/50: Players in three matches reported in *HC* 7 July 1849 p4, *HC* 7 September 1849 p4, and *Bell's Life in London* 25 August 1850 p7.
- South Western C.C. 1864: Players making 3+ appearances in the 1864 season. *HC* 1 October 1864 p3
- Mid Hants C.C. 1865: All players that appeared for the club during 1865. *HC* October 1865 p6.
- Winchester C.C. 1872: Players making 3+ appearances in the 1872 season. Collected from match reports.
- New Winchester C.C. 1881: Players making 3+ appearances in the season. Collected from match reports.
- Gymnasium 1865: Winchester-based entrants to Athletics Fête, 11 September. HRO TOP343/3/645.
- Friary Bowling Club 1867: Eleven players featured in 1867 club photograph. HRO 47A04W/1.
- Swimming Club 1868: Winchester-based entrants to the club's prize competition, 29 July. *HC* 8 August 1868 p5.
- Winton Archers 1877: Annual Grand Prize Meeting winners, 29 July 1877. *Archers Register* 1877 68.
- Winchester F.C. 1877/78: Players making 2+ appearances for the club during the 1877/78 season. Collected from match reports.
- Cycle Club 1881: Members of the organising committee for the club's first Prize Race Meeting on 25 August 1881. *HC* 27 August 1881 pp4-5.



Graph 2. Membership of selected Winchester sports clubs by social class. Note – to aid clarity, appearances made by unidentified individuals have been excluded.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, cricket was regularly praised for its ability to create and cement positive inter-class feelings of harmony and goodwill. This view was expressed in a letter published in the *Hampshire Chronicle* which stated of cricket that:

All classes assemble at it, participating in one amusement: dexterity at the noble game creates a distinction, which, for a while, softens every harsh distinction, and a nobleman or gentleman does not feel himself degraded whilst joining in a cricket match with the humblest, if he is a civil person and a good cricketer.²²⁹

The earliest evidence from Winchester suggests that cricket did, to an extent, achieve the ‘softening’ of class distinctions. Certainly, by the middle of the century, the players who featured for the Winchester Cricket Club were drawn equally from middle-class and skilled working-class households. But, from the 1860s, class exclusivity appears to have increased within the city’s cricket clubs. Although, when it was formed in 1859, the Mid Hants Club was initially composed largely of working-class players, within five years, it had become dominated by the middle class. Similarly, the New Winchester club fielded several players from working-class backgrounds in its first seasons. Yet, as

²²⁹ HC 13 July 1840 p1.

noted above, in 1883 the club made decisions relating to the cost of membership and its entrance fee for spectators, both of which had the effect of discouraging less wealthy cricket enthusiasts from joining the club.²³⁰

The active participants at other Winchester sports clubs were also disproportionately drawn from middle class backgrounds. The data presented in Table 4 and Graph 2 illustrate how members employed in 'professional' and 'intermediate' occupations accounted for all the identified participants from the first Winchester Football Club, the Friary Bowls Club and the Winton Archers, with the latter being overwhelmingly represented by members of the 'professional' class. Members of the Swimming Club were slightly more socially mixed, with some working-class members included among the middle-class majority. The membership of the Winchester and County Cycle Club showed a more equal balance between its middle and skilled working-class members. The only sporting club in Winchester in which the working class provided a majority of members was the Winchester Gymnasium, where two-thirds of those identified were employed in 'skilled' occupations. As the club was established specifically for the benefit of the local 'clerks and assistants' this is not surprising.

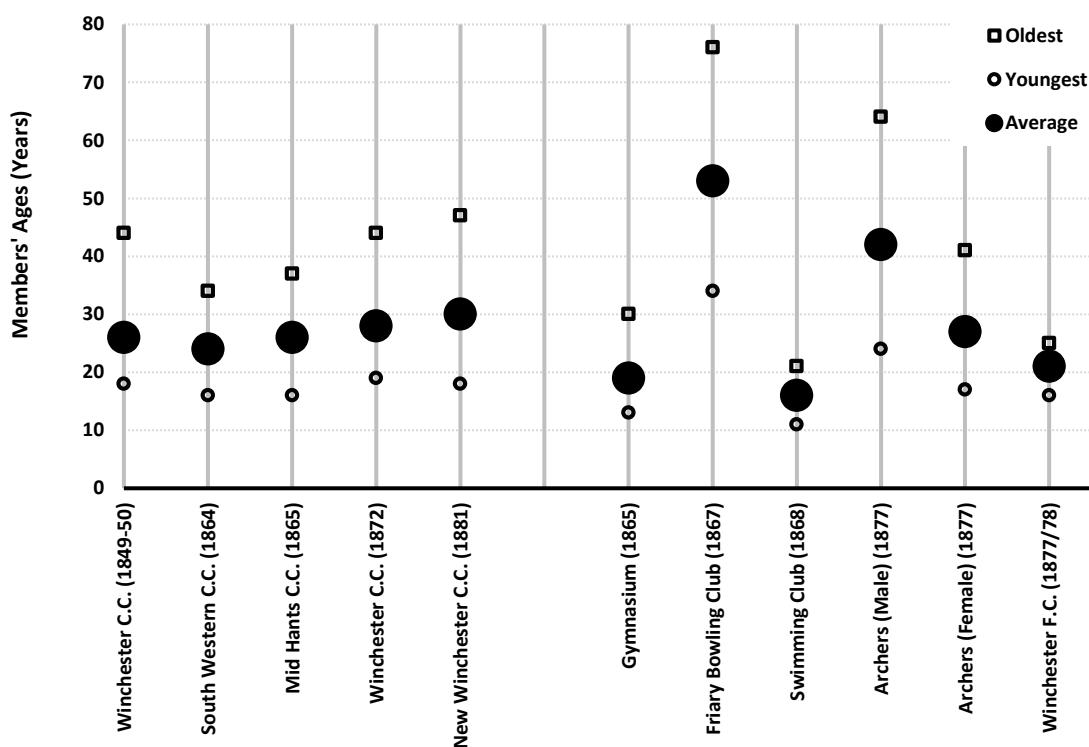
The data collected confirms the domination of middle-class members at these early Winchester sports clubs. In clubs where there was a working-class presence this was due, in almost every case, to the enrolment of 'skilled' artisan workers among the members. Representatives from the other working-class categories, those employed in 'semi-skilled' and 'unskilled' occupations, are almost completely absent from these membership lists.

It has been possible, through linking individual member names to Census records, to calculate information on the ages of participants in the city's sports clubs. The average and the range of ages of identified club members are presented in Table 5 and is illustrated in Graph 3. The results demonstrate that different sports attracted participants of varying age groups and age ranges. Analysis of the data for the five cricket clubs indicates that the average age of the city's cricketers was in the mid-to-late twenties, and that this remained constant throughout the study period. Although the age ranges of these players were less consistent between clubs, in all cases the span between the youngest and oldest players – which in most instances exceeded twenty years - was remarkably wide, and active participants aged over forty were not uncommon. This suggests that cricket in Winchester, in addition to being a (partly) inter-class activity, was an inter-generational one as well.

²³⁰ HC 17 March 1883 p5.

Club	Total Individuals	Oldest	Youngest	Average	Range
Winchester Cricket Club (1849-50)	12	44	18	26	26
South Western Cricket Club (1864)	16	34	16	24	18
Mid Hants Cricket Club (1865)	14	37	16	26	21
Winchester Cricket Club (1872)	13	44	19	28	25
New Winchester Cricket Club (1881)	17	47	18	30	29
Winchester Gymnasium (1865)	16	30	13	19	17
Friary Bowling Green (1867)	12	76	34	53	42
Winchester Swimming Club (1868)	13	21	11	16	10
Winton Archers	<i>Males</i>	5	64	24	42
	<i>Females</i>	9	41	17	24
Winchester Football Club (1877-78)	14	25	16	21	9
Winchester & County Cycle Club (1881)	9	36	17	22	19

Table 5: Age data for selected Winchester sports clubs



Graph 3. Age data for selected Winchester sports clubs.

The age range of participants in other sports were more focused. Unsurprisingly, the clubs where the membership displayed the lowest average age, and the narrowest age range, were those devoted to the more strenuous sports. The members of the swimming and gymnastics clubs were predominately aged under twenty, while those who joined the football and cycling clubs were only

slightly older. Both the footballers and the swimmers featured a narrow range of ages. In contrast, the limited data available for the Friary Club suggests that bowling appealed to a much wider age range of older men, a reflection of the relatively sedate nature of the sport.

The membership of the Winton Archers club is particularly interesting. Uniquely among the city's pre-1884 sporting clubs, the archery club permitted participation by women. Approximately two thirds of its members were female. However, their demographics differed significantly from their male counterparts. At twenty-seven, the average age of the city's female archers was fifteen years younger, and their age range notably narrower, than the male archers. This implies that, while archery was open to men of all ages, only younger women were actively engaged in the sport.

Sporting activities can be divided into two categories: open-ended and time-limited sports. Open-ended sports were those - such as cricket, bowls and archery - which did not have a fixed duration and required a significant allocation of time to complete. Time-limited sports included team sports with set durations – for example, football - and solo sports for which participants could control the time spent on an activity, such as attending the gymnasium or swimming. It is notable that, in Winchester, younger people participated in time-limited sports, while the open-ended sports tended to involve older participants. The age ranges of members of clubs devoted to time-limited sports – particularly football and swimming clubs – were also narrower than those established for open-ended sports. This reflects both the strenuous nature of the sports being played and the relative shortage of free time available to younger people (see Section 2.5.2.). The social profiles of the time-limited sport clubs also vary by individual sports. The players of the football club were employed in professional, middle-class occupations, while the gymnasium, swimming and cycle clubs were more socially mixed. This is a consequence of football being a winter game, a season which, with its shorter hours of daylight, compelled games to be played during the afternoon, effectively precluded working-class involvement. Swimming and cycling were activities which were confined to the summer months, allowing evening participation. The gymnasium was an indoor facility which was available throughout the year, and was established specifically with evening attendance in mind, and therefore convenient for its working-class members.

During the decades leading to 1884, participation in organised sport in Winchester was predominantly the domain of men who were employed in professional, intermediate and skilled occupations and who, with a few exceptions, were aged between fifteen and thirty-five years of age. Women, older men, and working-class men employed in lesser-skilled occupations were almost wholly absent as participants in the city's mid-Victorian sporting culture.

2.5.2. Barriers to Sporting Participation – Time and Money

The capacity of both individuals and clubs to participate in sport was not solely a question of preference. There were additional constraints which could act as barriers to sporting participation. Two of these constraints – access to both free time and money – are discussed in this section.

Participants in sport required a sufficient amount of spare time in which to conduct their activities. During this period, the extent of free time available to Wintonians was largely determined by an individual's social class. The city's working class had access to less free time than that enjoyed by the middle class. Unlike many towns located in the more industrialised areas of Britain, Winchester's workers did not benefit from structured 'Wakes Weeks' where a factory's entire workforce would be compelled to take a break from work. Also, there had been no progress, as there had been elsewhere, towards the adoption of half-day closing on one working day during the week.²³¹ The only structured free time accessible to Winchester's workers was limited to Sundays, public holidays, and any time available outside of normal working hours.

Sundays were, by convention, workfree days. Yet, despite the absence of work, the playing of games on a Sunday was met with disapproval by those who viewed it as a desecration of the holiest day of the week. As might be anticipated, Sabbatarian attitudes were especially prevalent in Winchester, a cathedral city where religious devotion formed an important component of civic culture.²³² These attitudes reinforced the bar on Sunday play, as illustrated by the views expressed by the Rev. H.C. Dickens, the vicar of the city's St. John's parish, in 1882. Dickens, who himself argued against Sabbatarianism, felt constrained from promoting recreations on Sundays fearing that it was 'against public feeling' and that he would refrain from doing so until he had first secured the 'consent of and approval of [the local youths'] parents and friends'.²³³ In the mid-1880s, local religious attitudes stifled the potential for Sunday recreation and the day remained, officially at least, sport-free.

Public holidays were also workfree days. Prior to 1871, these were awarded by the city mayor. By tradition, the city's shops and offices were closed on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, and, from at least 1846, on the anniversary of Queen Victoria's coronation.²³⁴ Boxing Day was included in this list from 1865, and, from 1870, the Christmas break was extended to three days

²³¹ In Southampton, lobbying for the adoption of a half-day holiday on Saturday had proved successful as early as 1856. *HT* 27 September 1856 p4.

²³² It Sabbatarian attitudes were less evident in the Winchester's nearby villages. In 1882, it was reported that in both Hursley and Otterbourne Sunday cricket 'has been in full force for many years'. *HC* 1 July 1882 p7.

²³³ *HC* 10 June 1882 p3.

²³⁴ Coronation Day was held on 28 June.

by the addition of 27 December. Although not formally designated, there is evidence that days in Whitsun week were also treated as local holidays. Locally, the Bank Holiday Act (1871) served principally to guarantee many of these existing holidays, and also established the Summer Bank Holiday on the first Monday in August. Unlike Sundays, sporting activity was not proscribed on public holidays, with Whitsun, Coronation Day, and the August holidays being especially popular for recreation due to the better weather combined with the longer hours of daylight.

The free time available during weekdays to the city's working class was limited. Winchester's economy was principally a service based one and, as a consequence, much of its employment was in shops and offices with long working hours which left little free time for workers to participate in sport.²³⁵ Throughout the period, unsuccessful attempts were made to reduce these standard working hours. As early as 1853, several of the city's grocers trialled shutting their shops an hour earlier on Saturdays in the hope of improving 'the health and morals of those confined in shops'.²³⁶ In 1864, similar efforts made by the Early Closing Movement achieved short-lived success.²³⁷ These reductions led to both an increase in enlistments to the Volunteer Force and coincided with the opening of the Winchester Gymnasium.²³⁸ However, within six months the first shopkeepers reverted to the previous trading hours, and the scheme appears to have been completely abandoned by the early 1870s.²³⁹ In 1875, the Early Closing Movement was, again, encouraging shops to shut at 7.00pm on weekdays.²⁴⁰ But this also failed and, when a further attempt was made in 1885, it is notable that the campaign's aims were identical to those of 1864.²⁴¹

Despite this, some working-class Wintonians were able to find time for sport. These workers were often employed in task-oriented trades performed on a piecework or contract basis. Under such arrangements, a worker was commissioned to produce a set amount of work for an agreed price, paid on completion. These workers were able to exercise a degree of control over the amount of work they undertook and, in addition, when, where and how they performed it. The efforts of the Early Closing Movement sought to improve the situation of office and shop workers, but it made little impact on many of the city's skilled artisans, who already enjoyed some freedoms in relation to their working hours.²⁴²

²³⁵ Generally, the 12-hour working day lasted until 8.00pm, except on Fridays and Saturdays when businesses shut later, at 9.00pm and 10.00pm respectively.

²³⁶ *HC* 19 November 1853 p4.

²³⁷ *HC* 5 November 1864 p5.

²³⁸ *HC* 2 December 1865 p7.

²³⁹ *HC* 8 April 1865 p5.

²⁴⁰ *HC* 1 May 1875 p5.

²⁴¹ *HC* 4 April 1885 p3.

²⁴² D. Brailsford *Sport Time and Society* 82, 100-1.

Winchester's middle class had more flexibility over their employment. This was illustrated in the 1860s and 1870s when the city's principal cricket clubs, each of which featured a majority of middle-class players, experienced few difficulties in fielding teams in day-long games played during the week.²⁴³ Similarly, twelve of the fifteen reported games played by the Winchester F.C. were held on a Wednesday afternoon. The city's most socially-exclusive sporting club - the Winton Archers – felt comfortable that its members would be able to attend its events on any weekday. Because the jobs they held were not typified by rigid working hours, Winchester's middle class were able to participate in sport during the working week.

The availability of free time was less problematic at Winchester's schools and military institutions. Many of the city's schools assigned periods to sport during the teaching week. Typically, schools would allocate Wednesday and Saturday afternoons to sports, a shared approach which facilitated both intra- and inter-school contests. The locally-stationed regular army demonstrated a highly flexible approach to the scheduling of its organised sporting events, although these would need to be arranged around its military duties.²⁴⁴ The sporting activities of the local Volunteer Force needed to be arranged in accordance with the demands of the volunteers' civilian occupations. In Winchester, volunteers were expected to muster early on midweek evenings.²⁴⁵ These times clashed with the city's business opening hours and, consequently, some volunteers needed to gain the permission of their employers to fulfil their commitments.

A second barrier to sporting activities was the availability of enough finances to fund participation. Money was necessary to hire spaces on which to play, to purchase the necessary equipment, to cover travel costs, and for the general administration of a sports club. These financial requirements were met through a combination of club membership fees, money collected at the gate for sporting events, donations from patrons, and through public subscription.

Open recreation space in mid-Victorian Winchester was limited. Prior to the late 1870s, the only publicly owned space near to the city centre was Oram's Arbour, a sloping five-acre field located on the West Hill. It was extensively used and, as a consequence, was in a fairly dilapidated state – in 1864 it was described as 'a place where young men played cricket and all manly games' but also that 'of late years it has been allowed to get into a deteriorated condition, as far as regards its being a public recreation ground'.²⁴⁶ A second public play space on St. Giles' Hill in the east of the

²⁴³ For example, the South Western Club played eleven matches in 1864, of which at least seven were staged on a Monday. *HC* 1 October 1864 p3.

²⁴⁴ Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, the Garrison Officers C.C. played matches on all days of the week, except for Sundays, with Tuesday games being especially common.

²⁴⁵ In July 1882, the volunteer companies were expected to muster at 7.30pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays for drill practice, and for one hour-long session of rifle firing on Mondays. *HC* 1 July 1882 p4.

²⁴⁶ *HC* 16 July 1864 p2; *HC* 5 March 1864 p5.

city was acquired by the Town Council in 1878.²⁴⁷ The limited availability of public playing space resulted in a reliance on the renting of private land, which was mainly in the possession of the city's schools or the military, attached to public houses, or in fields and gardens belonging to private residents. Consequently, money was a prerequisite for play, and such costs could have a direct impact on sporting activities.²⁴⁸ Money was also required if these activities were to be run effectively. For example, it was reported at the New Winchester Cricket Club AGM of 1883 that the club's expenditure for the previous year had been £63 10s. 8d., half of which was spent on 'match expenses, and the purchase of stock for the use of the club, repairs, ground expenses &c.'. ²⁴⁹

The most common means by which the expense of sporting participation was met was through pooling individuals' resources through forming sports clubs. These clubs were partly financed through annual member subscriptions. Fees varied, but most clubs aimed to strike a balance between raising sufficient funds to operate and keeping subscriptions low enough to encourage membership. For example, when the Mid Hants Cricket Club decided to keep membership fee at 6s., it did so because it considered the figure low enough to attract more members.²⁵⁰ Additional revenue could be raised through opening higher-profile events to paying spectators. In 1843, the Winchester Cricket Club began to charge 6d. to watch games, a figure which remained the standard fee to watch cricket in the city for the rest of the century. The same fee was charged to spectate at the races staged by the Cycle Club, although for an extra 6d. the action could be watched from an exclusive enclosure.²⁵¹ A greater contribution was received via donations from a club's patrons, usually members of the city's social and political elite. In return, patrons were often rewarded with an honorary position within the club, for example, serving as its president or one of its vice presidents. Local politicians were particularly willing to act as sponsors of the city's sports organisations.²⁵² Clubs could also benefit from the proceeds of public subscriptions raised for a specific purpose. For example, the opening of the gymnasium in 1865 was only possible due to a successful public appeal for donations.

Costs associated with involvement had an impact both on the type of sport played and the demographics of its participants. The expense to be borne would inhibit the involvement of many

²⁴⁷ The land was purchased to provide 'a good playground for the waifs and strays, and it would ease Oram's Arbour of some of the crowding into it'. *HA* 8 June 1878 p7.

²⁴⁸ The New Winchester Cricket Club, having recently moved to its new home pitch at Bar End, had to 'curtail its list of fixtures this season on account of the expenses incurred in acquiring the new cricket ground'. *HC* 6 September 1884 p3.

²⁴⁹ *HC* 17 March 1883 p5.

²⁵⁰ *HC* 25 April 1863 p3; *HC* 5 March 1864 p5.

²⁵¹ *HC* 5 August 1882 p4.

²⁵² For example, in 1878, the city's prospective Liberal MP, Viscount Baring, was granted honorary membership of the Winchester Bicycle Road Club after presenting a 'handsome donation' to the club's funds. *HC* 12 May 1878 p4.

individuals from lower income households. A correlation between sporting participation and available disposable income would therefore be expected. In addition, as the viability of local sports clubs was in large part dependent upon the generosity of patrons and subscribers, those funders were able to exert a degree of control over what sporting activity took place. Sports which were regarded by the patrons as having a positive, constructive or morally elevating effect were more likely to receive support than those that were not. Consequently, the developing sporting culture in Winchester was under the indirect control of the non-participating monied local elite.

2.5.3. Motivations for Engaging with Sport

Having access to both free time and finance provided the potential for an individual or group to participate in sport. A further requirement was a motive and a willingness - either as a participant, a patron, or a spectator - to be involved. People were attracted to sport for a variety of reasons, several of which can be identified from the evidence from nineteenth century Winchester. These are discussed in this section.

It can be assumed, in the absence of any external compulsion, that those who chose to participate in sport did so because they enjoyed it. However, both the source of enjoyment and the motivation to be involved might vary between individuals. Six incentives have been identified, based on evidence from Winchester's early sports clubs, which may have encouraged a person to take up sport.

First, there is evidence that people regarded sport as a means to benefit their physical, mental and even moral health. The benefits to be gained through sport were the subject of an 1840 letter to a newspaper, in which the correspondent drew a positive contrast between playing cricket and other less-elevating recreations:

Instead of cricket, an exercise which develops muscular power, circulates the blood in the purest atmosphere, braces the mind, and elevates and improves its moral tone by that glow of innocent animal spirits it inspires, our youth are compelled to resort for amusement to billiards, draughts, cards, nine-pins, quoits, and other obscure ignoble games, which, while they relax, do also dissipate and enervate the mental powers, some of them having a poisonous moral influence.²⁵³

Sport was believed by many to have the capacity for moral improvement. This idea was expressed by the president of the city's bicycling club who, speaking at an 1879 club dinner, extolled the virtues of cycling. He stated that bicycling was 'a manly, health-giving, and beneficial exercise, and any sport that was of a moral tendency and led to physical good would always find a supporter in him'.²⁵⁴ Not

²⁵³ HC 13 July 1840 p1.

²⁵⁴ HC 20 December 1879 p4.

only was sporting participation capable of improving moral health, but it could also encourage physical beauty. The mixed-gender sport of archery, it was asserted, possessed ‘all the advantages of field sports, for it combines vigorous exercise with those movements of the arms and chest which are beneficial not only to the respiratory organs but also promote the beauty of the figure’.²⁵⁵ It is unclear how widely held such views were, but they were repeated sufficiently often to suggest that they had some effect in encouraging some to participate in sport.

A further inducement to sporting participation was the belief that doing so was ‘manly’. Although often referred to in the nineteenth century, a definition of ‘manliness’ was rarely stated, and the interpretation of what was considered ‘manly’ appears to have changed over time. There was an assumption that people would recognise the term as implying a combination of qualities which included self-discipline, fortitude, fair-mindedness, strength and sobriety. By the 1850s the term was being regularly applied in relation to cricket. For example, at the start of the 1850 season the *Hampshire Chronicle* informed its readers that ‘admirers of this manly game [cricket] will be gratified to learn that it is likely this year to be carried out in a spirited manner’.²⁵⁶ Participants in the more physical sports received still greater praise for their evident masculinity. In an 1878 letter published by the *Hampshire Advertiser*, ‘Diogenes’ defended the violence inherent in football on grounds of both masculinity and nationalism:

It is the very roughness of English games, and the energy with which English boys and men play them, that give the value to them. It is the games that have made our men; and it is our men that have made England. We should be very sorry to see any old-womanly legislation as to games, or any meddling whatever by school or other authorities.²⁵⁷

Diogenes was surely not alone in his belief that physical games served to produce true Englishmen, and that any attempt by the ‘authorities’ to exert some control over the violence was to be regarded as ‘old-womanly’. The conflation of games playing with overt masculinity proved attractive to many sportsmen.

A third identified incentive for sporting participation was the prospect of winning prizes and acquiring glory. A long tradition existed of awarding prizes for sporting victories - the members of the Abbey Bowling Club hosted a knockout competition for a ‘very handsome subscription plate’ as early as 1827.²⁵⁸ Prize contests remained a regular feature of the city’s bowls clubs. A ‘spade guinea’ tournament, where the prize was a ‘golden guinea’, was initiated at the Hyde Abbey Club in 1879,

²⁵⁵ HA 9 August 1873 p7.

²⁵⁶ HC 27 April 1850 p4.

²⁵⁷ HA 23 November 1878 p6.

²⁵⁸ SWJ 3 September 1827 p4.

with the Friary Club following their example in 1881.²⁵⁹ The winners of the Winton Archers' competitions were rewarded with more impressive prizes which, in 1874, included a gilt cup, a pair of bronzes and a 'delf cup' for the men, while the women competed for a scent casket, a fan chatelaine, a ball chatelaine and an 'oxydized satchell'.²⁶⁰ The opportunity to win prizes was supplemented by the prospect of glory. The most accomplished member of the Winchester and County Cycle Club was Walter Snook who, in 1882, beat twenty-five other cyclists in a race from London to Bath and back.²⁶¹ At the club's annual dinner that year Snook stated that 'his success in the race had given him much pleasure, not from the mere fact of having won the cup, but because his success had been so gratifying to the club'.²⁶²

Local pride may also have encouraged some to participate in sport. The pride which came from playing for a club which purported to embody the city and, by extension, being regarded as a 'city champion', could be seductive. Local sports clubs often referred to the honour that was felt in representing Winchester and, on occasion, friction could arise between clubs holding competing claims to be the city's premier team. For example, in 1866 the South Western Cricket Club claimed that it 'stood or ought to stand as A1 in the city' and that its rival, the Mid Hants club, 'was certainly junior to it'. As a result, a 'not so friendly a feeling' existed between the two clubs.²⁶³ Local pride was again evident after the two clubs were amalgamated, when it was proclaimed that 'the Winchester cricketers united would be able to stand against any players in Hampshire'.²⁶⁴ More often, this issue of civic representation was more amicably decided. When the bowlers of the Hyde Abbey were challenged to a match by the Southampton Bowling Club in 1865, the former club included at least two members of the rival Friary Club in its twelve-person team, which was referred to as 'Winchester' in the subsequent *Hampshire Chronicle* report.²⁶⁵ The issue of who represented Winchester was less controversial in other sports. There was no contention as to which club should be regarded as the 'city's club' for archery, football, swimming and cycling as there was only one local club participating in each sport.

The fifth identified motivation to join a sports club was the social opportunities offered by membership. Contemporary reports reveal the camaraderie and fraternal feeling brought by the homosocial environment of the Victorian sports club. Its clearest expression was found in a club's annual dinner. All three of Winchester's bowling clubs held dinners on the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo at which as many as fifty members and guests would dine together. Organised social

²⁵⁹ HC 20 September 1879 p5; Thomas *Friary Bowling Club* 10-11.

²⁶⁰ HA 27 June 1874 p7.

²⁶¹ *Western Gazette* 6 October 1882 p5.

²⁶² HC 18 November 1882 p7.

²⁶³ HC 12 May 1866 p4-5.

²⁶⁴ HC 14 October 1865 p3.

²⁶⁵ HC 2 September 1865 pp4-5.

events were also a feature of the Winchester Cricket Club, who opened the 1850 season with a dinner at which 'great harmony and conviviality' was reported.²⁶⁶ Regular dinners for club members, often followed by speeches and communal singing, and chaired by a club's patron, were organised by all of the city's cricket, cycling and archery clubs.

Finally, there were some in Winchester whose participation in sport was their paid profession. At this time, it was rare for someone to receive payment for playing sport in the city, although a succession of professional cricketers were employed as coaches at Winchester College.²⁶⁷ Also, in 1865, the Mid Hants club appointed a professional who combined playing for the club while serving as the team's bowling coach.²⁶⁸ Although a range of opinions were certain to be held by individuals, no evidence has been found which suggests that Wintonians thought that there was anything fundamentally immoral about earning a living from sport.

As with the participants, a variety of motivations drove the patrons and sponsors of local sport, three of which are identified here. Many saw sports as providing a positive diversion from less wholesome activities, and so were willing to provide funds to support its development. This aim was expressly stated in 1865, when subscribers were urged to donate to the Winchester Gymnasium as it would provide 'a means of attracting the assistants and others from the allurements of the publichouse [sic] and the streets to its healthy and invigorating exercises'.²⁶⁹ A similar view was expressed in 1882 by Winchester M.P. Richard Moss when he explained that he supported local sport because it could 'supply healthy amusement for young men, and so prevent them from falling into bad habits in life, as they were easily acquired, but not easily shaken off'.²⁷⁰ Evidently there were concerns over how people - especially the young - might spend their spare time, and some patrons hoped to exert some control over these peoples' social lives through supporting local sports.

Some sponsors made their contributions on the understanding that sport was a force for good that was capable of improving society, encouraging health, and promoting a better performance at work. This opinion was expressed in 1858 by the anonymous 'A Citizen' writing to the *Hampshire Chronicle* imploring:

Let us endeavour to improve society by encouraging good things – rational recreations, not only innocent in themselves and beneficial to the individuals joining in them, but in every way beneficial to society [...] Athletic exercise in the open air is most beneficial to

²⁶⁶ HC 4 May 1850 p4.

²⁶⁷ The College's early cricket professionals are listed in E.B. Noel *Winchester College Cricket* (1926) 6-11.

²⁶⁸ HC 14 October 1865 p3.

²⁶⁹ HA 21 January 1865 p11.

²⁷⁰ HC 6 May 1882 p8.

health, increasing the vigour, energy, and powers of the body, preparing it in the best manner for the renewal of its appointed work of daily occupation.²⁷¹

A similar view was expressed by the city's postmaster when encouraging donors to contribute to the gymnasium subscription, a venture which he argued would result in greater efficiency among office workers and, in addition, help the city's youth 'attain to that greatest of earthly blessings, the *mens sana in corpore sano*'.²⁷²

Other patrons were motivated to support local sport through a seemingly genuine public spiritedness. Winchester's parliamentary representatives were among the most enthusiastic patrons of local sport. While this can be interpreted as a cynical means by which an M.P. might curry favour with the local electorate, it might equally reflect a genuine sense of commitment and duty to the community. Wealthier residents also offered financial support to local sports clubs, also motivated by a desire to promote the wellbeing of fellow Wintonians. However, altruism may not have been the sole motivation for subscribers. Contributors to the public fund for establishing the gymnasium may have been encouraged to make their donation in anticipation of their names appearing among the lists of subscribers which were published in the local newspapers. It is notable that no anonymous donors were included in these lists. This may also suggest, however, that, without the ability to hide their lack of contributions, reluctant donors were compelled to contribute to these very public fundraising campaigns as a response to societal pressures and the need to be seen to be charitable.

Different motivations affected the development of sport at Winchester's schools. One driver was the benefit offered by sport in engendering discipline, obedience, individual responsibility and team spirit. Early in the nineteenth century, sport at Winchester College had been arranged informally by the pupils and was largely regarded with indifference by their schoolmasters. This situation changed when the school's headmaster, George Moberly, recognised sport's role in maintaining discipline among his pupils. He wrote that a degree of self-government by the boys was necessary if they were to develop an appreciation of hierarchy and acquire a sense of individual authority. Consequently:

If then the heads of the school circumscribe [pupil self-governing] authority needlessly, - if they prevent its exercise in things which, however trifling in themselves, enter much into the thoughts and habits of boys, - if, for example, they forbid compulsory cricket or football playing, or other such old-established practices, without necessity, they endanger the heart of the authority which they wish to maintain.²⁷³

²⁷¹ HC 8 May 1858 p7.

²⁷² HC 17 December 1864 p8.

²⁷³ G. Moberly, preface to *Sermons Preached at Winchester College* vol. II (London, 1848) xxiii.

For Moberly, game playing helped to keep the peace at his school and cement the existing power structures within it, in addition to inculcating a sense of responsibility and fair play among his pupils.

The city's other academic institutions adopted sport partly in emulation of the activities of the College. Sport's acceptance into the timetables of Winchester's fee-paying schools followed the development of an athletics cult within the more-prestigious public schools. Tony Mangan states that this cult was originally driven by the need to exert control over unruly schoolboys combined with a desire to develop the minds and bodies of the young to forge a new generation of muscular and virtuous Christian gentleman.²⁷⁴ The 'Cult of Athleticism' spread throughout the school system through top-down emulation; the second-tier public schools following the example set by the top tier and, over time, the new athletic ethos cascaded down to the lesser public and the private schools. Having been aware of the games culture that had developed at Winchester College, the city's schools might seek to mirror their elite neighbour in its embrace of sport.

It is also clear that there was an expectation, shared among both pupils and their parents, that fee-paying schools should provide sporting activities. Foundational to this belief was the popularity of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, a book which presented a picture of life at Rugby School in the 1830s which was a combination of hard physicality and high moral development. This proved attractive to some parents and appealed to many of the boys. The importance that pupils placed on school sport is illustrated by the headmaster of Trafalgar House School, who, in 1883, underlined his school's claims of efficiency by stating that 'but for boys to think that a school is "efficient" we must have games'.²⁷⁵ The success of a school depended upon its ability to attract pupils, and to achieve this it was incumbent upon headmasters to ensure that the requirements of both parents and students were met.

There is little direct evidence of the motivation for Winchester's military to engage in sporting activity. However, it would be reasonable to expect that the drivers of local military sport might resemble those identified elsewhere. In 1859, it was reported from Kent that:

In order to provide amusement to the troops, and to entice them away from the low beerhouses and dens of infamy in the town of Chatham, the Major-General has sanctioned healthy games, space in the barracks being provided for skittles, nine pins, fives and other amusements, while a piece of ground is appropriated entirely for the use of the soldiers on which to play at cricket.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Mangan *Victorian and Edwardian Public School* 6-9.

²⁷⁵ *HC* 22 December 1883 p3.

²⁷⁶ *Aldershot Military Gazette* 10 September 1859 p2.

Military officers were concerned about how their men spent their leisure time. Organised games were a means by which control might be maintained over their potentially unruly subordinates. Mason and Reidi identify a further motivation for the adoption of sport by the military at this time. The Crimean War of 1854-56 exposed the poor fitness levels which existed within the British army, in particular among the lower ranks. The response from the military was to establish, in 1860, the Army Gymnastic Staff whose members received six months training in physical fitness. Having completed their training, these Physical Training Instructors were assigned to specific regiments, in which they introduced an organised approach to sport and fitness.²⁷⁷ The appointment of these instructors to the regiments based in Winchester led directly to the construction of the gymnasium at the barracks in 1864.

Spectators were often present, sometimes in considerable number, at sporting events in Winchester during the period. Identifying the reasons why the city's residents spent time and money on watching sport is not straightforward and there are certain to have been a broad range of influencing factors. It is reasonable to assume that a substantial proportion of those in attendance were there because they enjoyed watching the contests. Whilst a degree of compulsion may have been exerted within both schools and the military to attend events, few members of the public were likely to attend sporting occasions against their will. Many sports club members were non-participants who paid their subscriptions because they enjoyed the events to which, in some cases, they gained free entry.

But spectators may also have been attracted for non-sport reasons. For some, the firing may not have been the main attraction at the Winton Archers' prize contest. In June 1873, and unlike on previous occasions, a local band had not been hired to entertain the crowd during breaks in the competition. Consequently, although the public were able to attend, the:

Advantage of this privilege was not largely taken, in consequence, probably, of there being no band as on the former occasion, and archery being, to mere lookers on, rather a tame amusement in the ordinary way.²⁷⁸

Notably, at all future prize contests, the Winton Archers ensured that a band was present.²⁷⁹ Others attended sports events for social reasons. Eton Match always attracted members of Hampshire's landed and social elite. Many present at the matches were as keen to socialise as they were to watch the cricket, it being commented that the event was a 'domestic festival, and a wonderfully delightful

²⁷⁷ Mason and Reidi *Sport and the Military* (Cambridge, 2010) 8.

²⁷⁸ *HC* 28 June 1873 p4.

²⁷⁹ *HA* 9 June 1880 p2.

one [with] just the right proportion of pretty frocks and strawberries and cream ... and an unrivalled opportunity for meeting old friends'.²⁸⁰

2.6. Conclusion

In the years from 1850 to 1884, Winchester experienced a boom in organised sport. If the formation of sports clubs is taken as an indicator of organised recreational activity, the extent to which a sporting culture had developed among the townsfolk of Winchester was, by the middle of the century, limited. Activity was restricted to a few cricket clubs, all of which were recently formed, and three well-established bowling clubs. It is, however, probable that a variety of sports and games were played whenever time permitted by all classes of the population, but this was likely to have been low-key, unstructured and, as indicated by the lack of evidence, unreported. By 1850, the most sophisticated sporting culture to be found in the city was at Winchester College, whose pupils, with some independence from their schoolmasters, had both devised a unique form of football and elevated cricket to a matter of great importance. In contrast, by this time none of the city's other academic or military institutions had yet developed a comparable culture of sporting participation.

The situation changed in the decades which followed, a period in which several new sports were taken up in Winchester. Athletics, gymnastic training, swimming, archery, rugby football and cycling were all introduced to the city, with each sport supported locally by a dedicated club. Concurrently, cricket was played more frequently, and several new clubs were formed in the city. The period also witnessed a broadening of sporting activity at both the barracks and in Winchester's private – but not elementary - schools. Again, cricket predominated, but the earliest football games recorded in the city featured local school teams. In the early years of the 1880s, soccer playing became increasingly common at Winchester's private schools.

A variety of factors drove the formation of sports clubs, determined participation, and influenced sport's adoption by the city's schools and military. The availability of free time presented a potential barrier to involvement but, as working time reduced, sporting activity increased. Access to sufficient funds also affected participation. None of Winchester's sports clubs was sustainable solely by membership fees, so donations from patrons, occasionally supplemented with subscriptions raised from the wider public, were required to maintain their viability. Consequently, the sporting life of the city was in large part determined by which sports gained favour with its wealthier residents. Thirdly, the motivation to get involved in local sport had an impact on club formation and the development of a local sporting culture. A variety of motives have been identified

²⁸⁰ Hon. H. R. Lyttleton 'Cricket, Eton v Winchester' in *Fifty Years of Sport, Eton, Harrow and Winchester* ed. Lord Desborough (London, 1922) 266.

which influenced interest in sports, including: the perceived need to provide a constructive way in which younger Wintonians might spend their free time, a focus for sociable gatherings, health and fitness, a desire to represent the community, and the enjoyment that playing sport gave. In schools, sport was employed as a means of instilling a sense of discipline, responsibility, fair play and teamwork and, at the barracks, it was useful in dispelling boredom and encouraging *esprit de corps*.

Demonstrations of a personal masculinity has also been identified as a motivation for involvement in local sport. From an early stage, the benefits to be gained from organised sports were clearly expressed in Winchester. Sports clubs - which from the start received support from local politicians, the clergy and the wealthy – were seen to be respectable; it is notable that the earliest civilian football games played in the city featured teams described as ‘gentlemen’. Contemporary reports emphasised the ‘improving’, ‘healthy’ and ‘manly’ qualities of playing structured games, even going so far as to commend any inherent roughness that might be involved, it being justified as helping to build the national character. These views were, by extension, also reflected in the principal interpretation of masculinity expressed during this period. The participants in Winchester’s organised sports, the majority of whom were young men drawn from the city’s middle class, were lauded for their commitment to their physical and moral improvement, while simultaneously being encouraged to engage in games as a means of developing the admirable character traits of manliness. This contrasts with the experience of the minority working-class participants. For them, the benefit of engaging with sport was gained, not from character development, but by diverting them from the ‘dissipating’ distractions to which otherwise they would almost certainly be drawn. For the middle class, sport represented a path to manliness - for the working class it offered a path to their salvation.

Involvement in local sport was not open to everyone. With the exception of archery, local sport was an exclusively male preserve and analysis of club members reveals the majority were drawn from the professional middle class. A minority were working class, usually skilled artisans. Both of these groups enjoyed a degree of control over their working hours, enabling their greater participation. Conversely, others who had less control over their employment - those that were employed in shops, offices, or in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs - were underrepresented among club members.

Different demographic groups were attracted to different sports. Bowls was played by older professional men, younger office and shop workers were attracted to the gymnasium, the swimming club served the needs of teenaged males, and members of the upper-middle class joined the archery club. It was often claimed that cricket had the ability of bringing men of all classes together and, to a point, this is supported by the evidence from Winchester. But, generally, the sporting culture that developed in Winchester before 1884 was typified by class stratification.

Organised football was largely absent from Winchester. The earliest matches recorded were those played at Winchester College, where a formalised and rulebound form of the game was being played from at least the mid-1820s. Beyond the College, football playing appears to have been embraced first at the city's other academic institutions, driven possibly by a desire to emulate the games culture that had emerged at Britain's elite public schools. Contrary to the claims made by the revisionist football historians, there is no evidence of organised local football play among the wider population earlier than 1865 and, in Winchester, school football predated the adoption of the game by the town's residents. The local military were late in taking up the organised game. Although the officers at the barracks had played occasionally from as early as 1859, the first game played by the rank-and-file soldiers stationed in the city was not recorded until 1875, with regular matches not being staged until the late 1880s.

Local organised popular football became more evident from 1877. That year witnessed the establishment of the first *bona fide* Winchester Football Club and, in the following year, the regular appearance of a football team consisting of students attending the city's Training College. Both sides played football to the rules of the Rugby Union, probably through the influence of the contemporary rugby-playing culture which had been established in the nearby cities of Southampton and Portsmouth. The Winchester Football Club was active for only two seasons, but the survival of the Training College team ensured that a rugby-playing culture, albeit one that was not anchored among the local population, did continue in the city into the 1890s.

The playing of soccer was practically unknown in 1870s Winchester. None of the recorded football matches that was played in the city has been identified as a soccer game. The first definite record of a city team playing soccer was in the inaugural Basingstoke Cup competition, held during the winter of 1879/80, when a Winchester team was assembled with the sole intention of entering the contest. In the following four years soccer enjoyed only limited growth in the city. Although scratch teams were formed to face other sides from nearby villages and towns, it was in Winchester's private schools – although not at Winchester College – where soccer was played most regularly. Only with the formation of Winchester's first soccer-playing football club in 1884 did the game begin its local transformation from a minority interest sport into a fully-fledged component of the city's popular sporting culture.

Football in Winchester was played predominantly by members of the upper, middle and, to a lesser extent, artisan classes. The football at Winchester College was, by definition, played by the sons of the gentry and the social elite. The footballing army officers from the barracks were drawn from a similar class background. The football-playing schools were all private institutions whose players were principally from monied families, although the Training College provided an exception

as many of its students were from poorer backgrounds. The players who appeared for the Winchester Football Club of 1877-79 were recruited from the city's commercial and professional families, as were most of the soccer players who appeared in the scratch teams of the early 1880s. As well as being largely middle class, early football in Winchester was also mainly a participatory sport. Published reports of local games make no reference to spectators being present at games and, although notices of forthcoming games were published in local newspapers, these included no information on venue, time, or of entrance fees, presumably because there was no expectation of casual viewers.

By 1884 the most developed form of football in Winchester, and the most widely reported, was the unique version played by the pupils at Winchester College. Rugby football was also played regularly, although play was confined to the students of the Training College. Soccer was starting to gain a following, both at the local private schools and among the sons of the city's professional classes. But soccer remained a minority sport in the city. This was to change over the subsequent thirty years.

Chapter Three: The Arrival of Soccer in Winchester, 1884-95

3.1 Introduction

By 1884 the popularity of football, both in its rugby and soccer forms, was growing throughout the United Kingdom. In March of that year, 8,000 spectators attended the annual rugby international game between England and Scotland, despite it being staged in the 'out-of-the-way place' of Blackheath.²⁸¹ Later in that same month, a crowd of 12,000 congregated at the Kennington Oval to watch Blackburn Rovers and Glasgow's Queens Park contest that year's F.A. Cup final, a then-record attendance for the showpiece event.²⁸²

By contrast, neither of the two dominant codes of football had yet gained a substantial popular following in Winchester. In 1929, the seventy-one-year-old Arnold Tebbutt was invited to give a speech at a dinner organised to celebrate the first anniversary of the Winchester Rugby Football Club. He took the opportunity to reminisce about his own attempt, forty-five years earlier, to establish a rugby club in the city. As reported in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, Tebbutt recalled how his rugby team:

Played one or two matches, but he [Tebbutt] found it impossible to get the necessary number of players, viz. fifteen, together for rugby, as compared with eleven for Association. He then turned his attention to Association Football and succeeded in the end in getting a very strong lot of players indeed.²⁸³

Tebbutt's failure to find a sufficient number of local players to sustain a rugby team in 1884 illustrates the level of interest in the game in Winchester at the time. Throughout Hampshire, the earlier enthusiasm for rugby football, which in Winchester had reached its peak shortly after the formation of the city's first football club in 1877, was waning. Tebbutt's soccer club was formed more due to the relative ease of player recruitment than it was by any strong desire to play that particular version of football. This lukewarm attitude towards soccer in the city would shortly change.

²⁸¹ *Athletic News* 5 March 1884 p2.

²⁸² *Penny Illustrated Paper* 5 April 1884 p10.

²⁸³ *HC* 21 December 1929 p10.

1884 has been identified as the year which marked the start of the popularisation of soccer in Winchester for two reasons. First, it was the year that the region's first administrative body for the game – the South Hampshire and Dorset F.A. – was established, its role being to organise, coordinate, and provide the infrastructure for soccer activity across the region. Secondly, and more locally pertinent, Winchester's first two formally organised soccer clubs - the Winchester and the Rovers clubs – were formed in that year. Although neither survived for longer than ten years, both achieved some degree of success and served to introduce and promote soccer to a broad section of the city's population. From this point, popular interest in the game grew in Winchester and, by 1895, several clubs from the city had competed in the cup competitions administered by the local soccer associations. By then, a new soccer club was representing the city – the third to adopt the name Winchester F.C. – and the locality had its own administrative association, the Winchester and District F.A. At the start of the 1895/96 season, the Winchester F.A. launched the first league-based competition to involve local clubs. This league, along with further leagues established in subsequent seasons, allowed the city's soccer teams to arrange an annual schedule of competitive fixtures, popularising the game still further. For this reason, 1895 has been identified here as another watershed year in the game's local development, providing an appropriate end date for the period examined in this chapter.

The principal events in soccer's development in Winchester during the period between 1884 and 1895 are highlighted in this chapter. The more important decisions taken by the game's local administrators are identified, and profiles of the city's earliest soccer teams are presented. The approaches to the game adopted by the city's schools, its military and its churches, are also observed. This is followed by an examination of two lesser-documented aspects of soccer's local popularisation: the extent of casual and unstructured football playing in the city; and the changing nature and behaviour of the spectators that attended Winchester soccer matches. A brief overview of the local media's relationship to the game is also presented, as is an investigation of the possible motives that drove individuals to engage with the game. Collectively, this offers insight into the game's early development and popularisation in Winchester, providing an understanding of the culture which underpinned the city's turn-of-the-century soccer boom.

3.2 Local Soccer Administration and Cup Competitions

The first administrative body to oversee local soccer was the South Hampshire and Dorset F.A. The impetus behind its establishment came from William Pickford, a Bournemouth-based local news

journalist who had moved to the South Coast from his native Lancashire in 1883.²⁸⁴ Under the pseudonym 'Offside', Pickford promoted soccer through a regular column in his newspaper, the *Bournemouth Guardian*. Writing early in 1884, he stated the case for establishing a local soccer association:

I have several times urged the advantage of a district [soccer] competition, on many grounds, and perhaps before many months roll by, some such competition may be started. The last I hear is that teams at Portland and Dorchester would readily join, and if some centre and a certain radius were agreed upon [defining an area for membership], the business is half over. Why not have a meeting of representatives of the clubs and talk the matter over? If someone would only move I am sure the rest would follow. And then a picked team of the district would be well within the mark in going further a-field, and tackling Reading, Berks and Bucks, Wilts, or other organisations and perhaps have a slap at English Cup ties.²⁸⁵

Pickford's plea was acted upon, and a month later the South Hampshire and Dorset F.A. – with a catchment area of forty miles centred on Wimborne - was established.²⁸⁶ The dual ambition to both launch a cup competition and to field a representative team was also realised. At the start of the 1884/85 season the Association launched its senior and junior cup competitions and, in March 1885, held its first 'inter-county' match when a 'South Hampshire and Dorset' team faced a representative team of the Wiltshire F.A.²⁸⁷

In August 1885, the South Hampshire and Dorset F.A. expanded its catchment area to include the entirety of its two counties, and was renamed the Hampshire and Dorset F.A.²⁸⁸ However, the continuing growth in popularity of the local game resulted in the Association struggling to ably represent the two counties. Consequently, in 1887, the decision was taken to split the Association into two distinct organisations: the Dorset F.A. and the Hampshire F.A.²⁸⁹ The newly formed associations hosted their own county senior and junior cup competitions, each of which were first contested during the 1887/88 season.

After its split from Dorset, the Hampshire F.A. encouraged the local game further through its introduction of new soccer competitions. First, it launched two one-day six-a-side tournaments which, it hoped, would be staged annually. One was to be held at Easter in Southampton, the other in Winchester on Boxing Day. The Winchester event was first held in 1888 but, after poor weather led to the tournaments cancellation in both 1890 and 1891, the competition was dropped (see

²⁸⁴ N. Gannaway *William Pickford, a Biography* (Basingstoke, 2009) 6-7.

²⁸⁵ *BG* 8 March 1884.

²⁸⁶ *BG* 3 May 1884 p7.

²⁸⁷ *BG* 3 January 1885 p5 and *Swindon Advertiser* 30 March 1885 p10.

²⁸⁸ *HA* 22 August 1885 p7.

²⁸⁹ *HC* 16 April 1887 p3.

Figure 7). The Southampton tournament was more successful, being held each year until the national F.A. passed a short-lived ban on six-a-side contests in 1895, after which it too was abandoned. Second, and mindful of the number of new clubs emerging across the county, the Association established another competition that was open to 'village and weak junior clubs' whose players were, initially, to be aged eighteen or under.²⁹⁰ This was the Hampshire Minor Cup, which was launched in 1889. Importantly, and unlike its senior and junior cups, clubs that competed in the Minor Cup were not required to affiliate to the Association. Consequently, in its early seasons, the Minor Cup attracted a greater number of entrants than the Senior and Junior Cups combined.



Figure 7. The Winchester 'A' six-a-side team, pictured with the trophy it received for winning the Hampshire F.A.'s Boxing Day Tournament, 1889. An estimated 1,000 spectators were present at the event.
Source: Terry Winkworth.

In contrast to local rugby administration, which by the mid-1880s was focused solely on establishing a representative county team, the Hampshire F.A., through its countywide competitions and its function as an arbiter of disputes, provided both the structure and organisation to encourage local soccer at the club level. By 1888, it had a sufficient number of affiliated clubs to command a seat on the body which administered the game in England, the Council of the Football Association. Thus, the Hampshire F.A. acquired a direct voice in the development of the game nationally and provided an administrative link between the national organisation and the county's soccer clubs.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ *SE* 22 July 1889 p2.

²⁹¹ Pickford *Golden Jubilee* 36.

Inspired by the success of the Hampshire F.A.'s Minor Cup, one of the Association's Winchester-based delegates, Arnold Tebbutt, sought to develop youth soccer in the city by establishing, in 1891, the Winchester and District Football Association.²⁹² Its aim was to encourage the formation of, and facilitate the arrangement of games between, soccer clubs based within an eight-mile radius of the city centre. All of the clubs' players were to be aged under eighteen years. Tebbutt also presented a trophy – the Tebbutt Cup – to be awarded to the winners of a new knockout competition limited to juvenile clubs. In its inaugural season, the competition attracted eight entrants.²⁹³ After three seasons, the number of entrants fell, and the contest was abandoned.²⁹⁴ Tebbutt's trophy was then, for the 1894/95 season, offered as a prize to the winners of a new junior six-a-side tournament.²⁹⁵ But this arrangement became untenable after the F.A.'s six-a-side ban. The Tebbutt Cup was later awarded to the winners of the Winchester and District League competition, initially launched in 1895/96.

	1884/85	1885/86	1886/87	1887/88	1888/89	1889/90	1890/91	1891/92	1892/93	1893/94	1894/95
South Hampshire and Dorset Senior Cup	■										
South Hampshire and Dorset Junior Cup	■										
Hampshire and Dorset Senior Cup		■	■								
Hampshire and Dorset Junior Cup		■	■								
Hampshire Senior Cup				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hampshire Junior Cup				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hampshire Minor Cup						■	■	■	■	■	■
Hants F.A. Easter six-a-side tournament				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Hants F.A. Christmas six-a-side tournament					■	■					
Winchester and District Cup (Tebbutt Cup)								■	■	■	
Winchester & District six-a-side tournament (Tebbutt Cup)											■

Table 6: Local competitions open to Winchester-based soccer clubs, 1884-95

Included in Table 6 are the competitions – with the exception of the national competitions the F.A. Cup and the F.A. Amateur Cup - which were open to Winchester-based soccer clubs between 1884 and 1895. During this period there were no local league competitions in operation.

²⁹² HC 19 December 1891 p5.

²⁹³ HC 20 February 1892 p3.

²⁹⁴ HC 5 June 1897 p6.

²⁹⁵ HC 20 April 1895 p3.

3.3 The Winchester Football Club, 1884-93

Prior to 1884 there were no formally organised soccer clubs active in Winchester. The first Winchester F.C. (1877-79) played under the rugby code and the earliest soccer matches played in the city – with the exception of school games – featured casually-compiled ‘scratch’ sides. That changed in 1884 with the establishment of the city’s first formally organised soccer club, also named Winchester F.C. The club’s formation was the result of efforts made by two men: Arnold Tebbutt, a Quaker coal merchant who had arrived in the city from Huntingdonshire earlier that year; and Charles S. Wooldridge, a Winchester-born solicitor recently graduated from Oxford University, where he had both earned a ‘blue’ and represented England at rugby football.

The Winchester Football Club, with Wooldridge serving as president and Tebbutt acting as secretary, was formed in November 1884. For its first two seasons, the club’s activities were confined to non-competitive ‘friendly’ games with sides from the city’s schools and against teams from the nearby towns of Alton, Andover and Basingstoke. In these early seasons, the club’s players were almost exclusively inhabitants of Winchester. The exceptions were players with links to, or former residents of, the city who were temporarily back in Winchester, for example over the Christmas or Easter periods.²⁹⁶

By the summer of 1886 the club had progressed sufficiently to successfully apply for membership of the Hampshire and Dorset F.A., a move which enabled its entry to the Association’s Senior Cup competition. Reflecting on this decision in 1937, William Pickford suggests that, at the time, the Winchester F.C. was relatively unknown outside of the city:

We first heard of the [Winchester Football] club when they entered the Hants and Dorset Cup in 1886 [...] An unknown club, whose entry was smiled at, from some little cathedral town in the north somewhere, they administered a shock to the cognoscenti by impertinently drawing with Wimborne, then held to be the best side in the two shires.²⁹⁷

Thereafter, the Winchester F.C. entered the Senior Cup in each year until 1893. In addition, both Wooldridge and Tebbutt served on the Hampshire F.A.’s committee and, through this connection, arranged for the use of the Winchester F.C. ground as a neutral venue for several of the Association’s semi-final and final cup ties.

The Winchester F.C. achieved some success during the period between 1887 and 1890, partly due to its adoption of a different approach to player recruitment. In addition to city-based players,

²⁹⁶ Between 1884 and 1886 these returning club members occasionally formed a scratch team called the Winchester Rovers, and played against the Winchester F.C. This team had no connection with the Winchester Rovers F.C. which played in the city from 1887.

²⁹⁷ Pickford *Golden Jubilee* 210-11.

the club supplemented its team with others living elsewhere in North Hampshire, a move which strengthened the side and resulted in the club, temporarily, being placed among the best in the county.²⁹⁸ Although still largely restricted to ‘friendly’ games, the club did reach the final of the Senior Cup in 1888, and its six-a-side teams won the Christmas tournaments in both 1888 and 1889 (see Figures 7 and 8). In addition, several of its players were selected to represent Hampshire in the inter-county games arranged by the Hampshire F.A.²⁹⁹



Figure 8. The Winchester Football Club in 1887/88. C.S. Wooldridge holds the ball, A. Tebbutt sits on the ground on the left. Although the club’s colours were reported to be dark blue there was plainly no uniformity in the players’ kit. Source: *W. Pickford ‘Golden Jubilee Book of the Hampshire F.A.’*.

Wooldridge retired from playing, due to injury, in 1888, but retained his position as club president. But in 1890, when Tebbutt also retired from playing and stepped down as its secretary, the club entered a terminal decline. Its policy of recruiting non-Winchester players was not sustained, possibly due to the increasing competition from a number of newly formed local soccer clubs in the county. Simultaneously, the club experienced difficulty in enlisting players from within the city. This was partly a consequence of Tebbutt, shortly after his departure from the soccer club, establishing the Winchester Hockey Club.³⁰⁰ Many of the city’s young sportsmen, whose equivalents five years earlier might have joined the soccer club, chose instead to play hockey. A number of the club’s older members also left to join the hockey club at this time. These developments coincided

²⁹⁸ For example, during Winchester F.C.’s 18887/88 the team included both J.P. Powell from Alton and C.E. Currie from Alresford.

²⁹⁹ Between 1887 and 1889, seven members of the Winchester F.C. featured in the Hampshire F.A.’s side.

³⁰⁰ *HO* 7 March 1891 p5.

with the arrest of the club's treasurer on charges of embezzlement and forgery, resulting in a loss of much of its cash reserve.³⁰¹ Also, harsh winters in 1890/91 and 1891/92, combined with the Russian 'Flu epidemic, saw the club's fixture list shortened and its income from gate receipts significantly reduced. Subsequently, enthusiasm for the soccer club waned. It struggled to find sufficient members to play in games and on several occasions had to 'borrow' players from other clubs to enable their fixtures to be fulfilled.³⁰² A commitment made in 1891 to boost the number of members failed to produce the necessary results, the teams performances worsened, and the club failed to maintain the standards set a few years earlier.³⁰³ At the club's AGM of 1893, with just nine members in attendance, the Winchester F.C. was dissolved.³⁰⁴

The club's activities received extensive coverage from the city's two newspapers.³⁰⁵ Consequently, an almost complete record of the club's matches, and the players who appeared in these games, has survived. These newspaper reports include the names of approximately 250 individual players who appeared for the club.³⁰⁶ These have been linked to entries recorded in the national Census, enabling the identification of the players' ages and occupations. This information has been used to produce social and economic profiles of the Winchester F.C. players. The social class of the club's players is shown, as proportions of the total appearances made in each season, in Graph 4.³⁰⁷

The data highlights the dominance of players holding middle class 'professional' or 'intermediate' occupations at the Winchester F.C. In each season, the combined proportions of appearances made by players from these two categories accounted for a minimum of two-thirds of the total, reaching as high as 87% in 1887/88. Although in each season a minority of appearances was made by players employed in 'skilled' and 'semi-skilled' working-class occupations, the playing members of the Winchester F.C. were disproportionately drawn from the city's middle class.

³⁰¹ HC 27 September 1890 p3.

³⁰² HC 15 July 1893 p5.

³⁰³ HC 21 November 1891 p5.

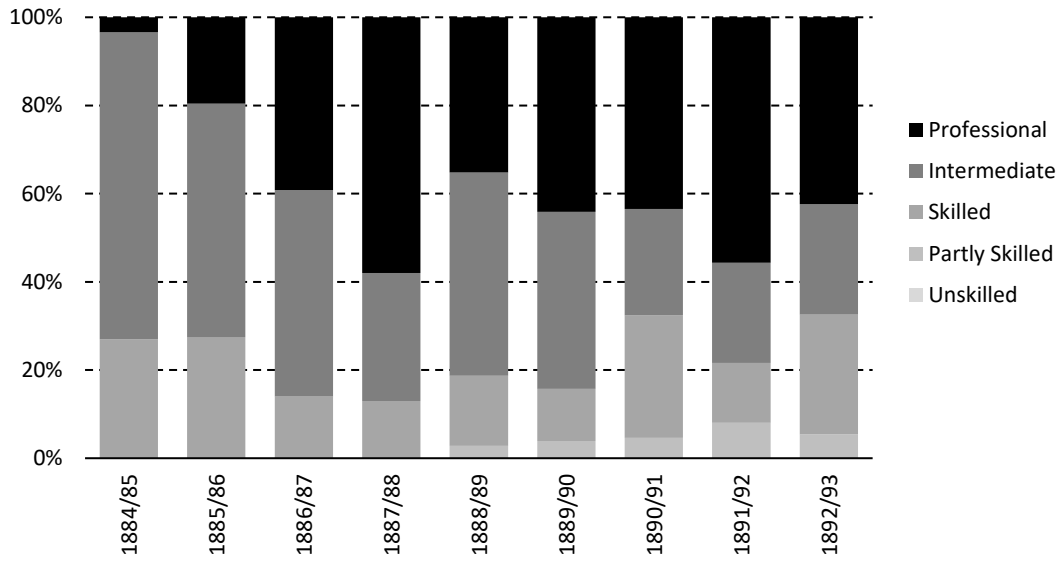
³⁰⁴ HC 8 July 1893 p4.

³⁰⁵ In total, 147 match reports featuring the Winchester F.C. have been found, of which 115 (78%) include a full list of the players involved.

³⁰⁶ This figure is approximate as it is not always clear if two listed players were the same individual.

³⁰⁷ It has not been possible to identify the occupations of all the players. Where this was the case, these players have been excluded from the analysis.

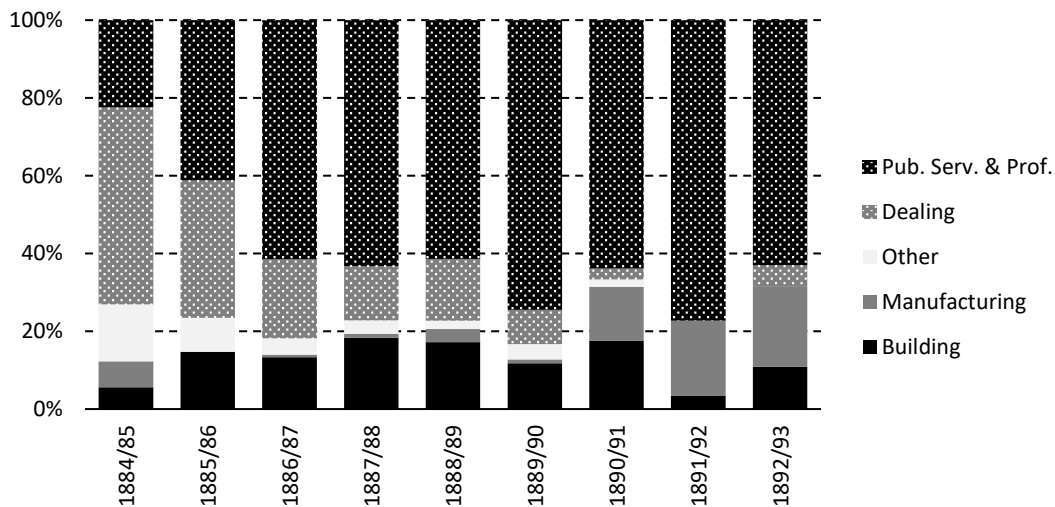
Winchester F.C. - % Appearances by Social Class of Occupation by Season, 1884-93



Graph 4. Percentage of player appearances for Winchester F.C. by social class, 1884-1893.

The club's appearance data can also be used to identify the economic sectors in which the Winchester F.C. players were employed. Armstrong identified ten high-level economic sectors in his classification, allocated to which were eighty lower-level sub-sectors. To aid clarity, in this analysis only four of the higher-level sectors have been adopted, the remaining six being combined to form the 'other' category. The proportion of player appearances by high-level economic sector of employment, by season, is shown in Graph 5.

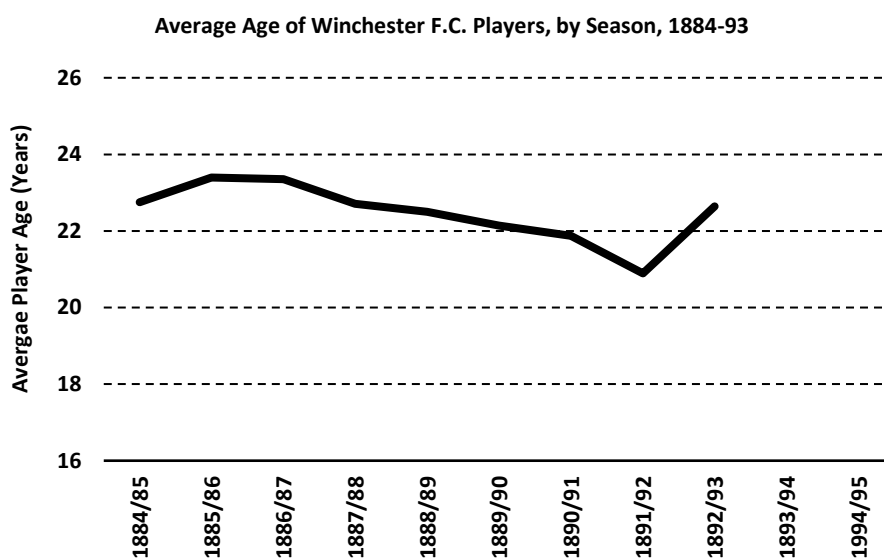
Winchester F.C. - % Appearances by Economic Sector of Occupation by Season, 1884-93



Graph 5. Percentage of player appearances for Winchester F.C. by generalised economic sector of employment, 1884-93.

For most of its nine-year existence, the majority of appearances for the club were made by players who held occupations classed as ‘public service and professional’. When this sector is examined at the sub-sector level, it reveals that many of these players were employed in education. For example, in the 1889/90 season a third of all appearances for the club were made by players who served as masters at the city’s fee-paying schools.³⁰⁸ Another over-represented sector among the club’s players were young clergymen who, although fewer in number than the teachers, nevertheless accounted for 13% of all appearances during the 1887/88 season. The prevalence of players who held occupations in the religious and education sectors reflects the importance of both in the economic profile of nineteenth-century Winchester.

Other employment sectors were less well represented among the playing members of the club. Initially, players employed in the mercantile ‘dealing’ sector made a high proportion of appearances, but their representation in the club’s teams reduced over time. Those who held more practical and physical jobs in the ‘manufacturing’ and ‘building’ sectors remained among the minority of players. Their increased presence in the club’s teams during its final three seasons was the result of the club’s borrowing of players from other clubs, rather than a reflection of a change in the economic profile of its members.³⁰⁹



Graph 6. The average age of the Winchester F.C. players, by season, 1884-93

³⁰⁸ Eleven of the Winchester F.C. players of 1889/90 were employed as teachers and, between them, they made 48 of the 145 identified appearances for the club that season.

³⁰⁹ In 1893, C. S. Wooldridge lamented ‘the difficulty experienced last season in making up teams for matches, the club having to fall back on the Winchester Rovers [sic] to a great extent to make up teams, there being rarely more than four *bona-fide* members of the Winchester Club playing in matches last year’. *HC* 15 July 1893 p5.

The information collected from the national Census allows the calculation of the average age of the club's players for each season that it was in existence (see Graph 6). In its earliest years the club's players were relatively old. Despite featuring some younger players at the time – including a few who were of school age – the presence of older players raised the average age to above twenty-three years. This wide age range reflects the shortage of available players in the city in the mid-1880s. From 1886, however, the average age reduced in each successive year, suggesting both an increase in the athleticism required in games and an expanding number of club members. By 1891 the players' average age was at its lowest, twenty-one years, before a sharp increase in the club's final season – a possible indication of its reported struggles in fielding a full team at some matches.

The Winchester F.C. could sustain its activities due to a combination of the free time available to its members, its ability to access a place to play, and through having enough money to cover its costs. Sufficient free time was available to its members due to the predominance of professionally employed, middle-class players at the club. These players were able to exercise a degree of control over their working hours. This flexibility enabled the club to organise games to be played on the days which most suited its players, resulting in an extensive, albeit erratically scheduled, list of fixtures. Of the 145 reported club matches played between 1884 and 1893, a third were played on a Saturday, a quarter on a Wednesday, with a further quarter held on Thursdays. Nevertheless, working commitments could still affect the club's team selection. After a defeat in an 1885 Saturday game, the *Hampshire Chronicle* attributed the loss 'to the club having played Alton [on the Wednesday of] the same week, which prevented some of the best forwards of the Winchester Club from getting away again'.³¹⁰

Guaranteed access to a space on which to play was also essential for the club to operate. In this the Winchester F.C. was fortunate in having strong links with the Winchester Cricket Club. Both Wooldridge and Tebbutt were members, the latter serving, from 1886, as its secretary. Several individuals were members of both clubs and, in its first two seasons, at least fifteen Winchester cricketers also played for the soccer club. As a result of these links, the soccer club was readily able, from its foundation, to secure an arrangement with the cricket club to sublet its ground at Bar End during the winter.³¹¹ Yet the ground was not ideal. The landowner insisted on maintaining his right to graze cattle on the field, which caused significant damage to the playing surface.³¹² The poor state of the Bar End pitch was frequently mentioned in match reports, was identified as an inhibitor of skilful play, and was described by William Pickford as the 'proverbially muddy ground'.³¹³ Despite

³¹⁰ HC 26 December 1885 p5.

³¹¹ HC 12 April 1884 p4.

³¹² HC 27 March 1886 p3.

³¹³ HA 26 November 1887 p8; BG 28 December 1889 p5.

these problems, Winchester F.C. retained the Bar End field as its home ground until the club's dissolution, and the site was the city's most popular soccer venue at the time.

In common with local sports clubs of earlier decades, the Winchester F.C. needed money to operate. However, the club was not a registered company and was not obliged to formally publish any fiscal information. Consequently, little evidence of the club's finances has survived. One record of its financial arrangements is found in an 1891 edition of the *Hampshire Chronicle*, which included, in a report of its AGM, an overview of the club's income – but not its expenditure - from the preceding year.³¹⁴ The club's main sources of income during the 1890/91 season are shown in Table 7.

	<u>£</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>
Member subscriptions	20	0	0
Subletting of the Bar End ground	12	8	0
Private donations	3	11	0
Gate receipts	6	15	2
Revenue from a 'smoking concert'	8	8	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>

Table 7: Income of the Winchester F.C. 1890/91 season

The club's total income that year was £51 2s. 2d. and was derived from five sources. The most fruitful was the members' subscriptions which, at £20, accounted for approximately 40% of the club's income. Winchester F.C.'s over-reliance on subscriptions was to prove its undoing when, after the number of members fell during 1892, its survival became financially untenable. The club generated a quarter of its income through subletting its Bar End ground, a concession that had been included in its lease agreement. In 1890/91, the club received £12 8s. through renting its ground, a figure which offset almost half of the cost of its £25 annual lease.

That year the remaining third of the club's income came through private donations, gate receipts, and from money raised at the 'smoking concert'. Clubs received private donations to their funds, often from its vice presidents. Partly for this reason, clubs like the Winchester F.C. were keen to invite high-profile and wealthy members of the local elite to fill these positions.³¹⁵ However, none of the £3 11s. donated to the club during the 1890/91 season was contributed by its vice presidents. Instead, these gifts were made by four individuals, none of whom held an official role at the club.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ HC 12 September 1891 p5.

³¹⁵ In its final season, the club named fifteen vice presidents, including high-ranking local clergymen, masters from Winchester College, a local doctor, a solicitor, and the city's M.P. *Warren's Winchester Directory 1893*.

³¹⁶ HC 12 September 1891 p5.

The Winchester F.C. also acquired income through charging spectators an entrance fee. In its early seasons, no charge was levied to watch the club's games, but, from the start of the 1887/88 season, it began asking spectators to pay to watch occasional games. After a short time, this became the regular practice. Ordinarily the entrance fee was 3d. but, for high-profile matches, this cost might be doubled. Women were usually admitted free of charge.³¹⁷ The final income source reported in 1890/91 was the money raised through a one-off 'smoking concert'. This was held as an attempt to replenish the club's funds lost after its treasurer was arrested. Smoking concerts were highly convivial events, involving eating, drinking, smoking and amateur entertainments performed by attendees. Tickets for this particular event cost 1s. and raised £8 8s. - a figure which probably included additional donations.³¹⁸

3.4 Winchester's Junior Clubs: Rovers and Swallows

The Winchester F.C. was not the only soccer club active in the city during the period. A number of lower-profile clubs was also formed at this time, two of which – the Rovers and Swallows clubs - affiliated to the Hampshire F.A. and participated in its county cup competitions. These clubs offered a contrast to the Winchester F.C. and reflected the growing interest in soccer found among the city's working-class population.

The Winchester Rovers F.C. was formed circa 1884, and was originally known as the Greenhill Rovers, a name which implies a local connection to Greenhill Road, located in the city's western suburb of Fulflood.³¹⁹ Certainly, in its first few seasons, a number of the club's key players were resident in that area. For the start of the 1887/88 season the club restyled itself as the Winchester Rovers F.C., a change which coincided with the club's affiliation to the Hampshire F.A. (see Figure 9).³²⁰ The Rovers entered a number of the Association's competitions; it competed in the Junior Cup for three successive seasons from 1887; it registered three six-a-side teams for the 1888 Christmas tournament; and entered its reserve side for the inaugural Minor Cup competition in 1889. A number of Rovers' players were selected for the Hampshire F.A.'s junior county team.³²¹ In the

³¹⁷ *HC* 8 March 1890 p3; *HC* 30 March 1889 p4; *HC* 23 November 1889 p4.

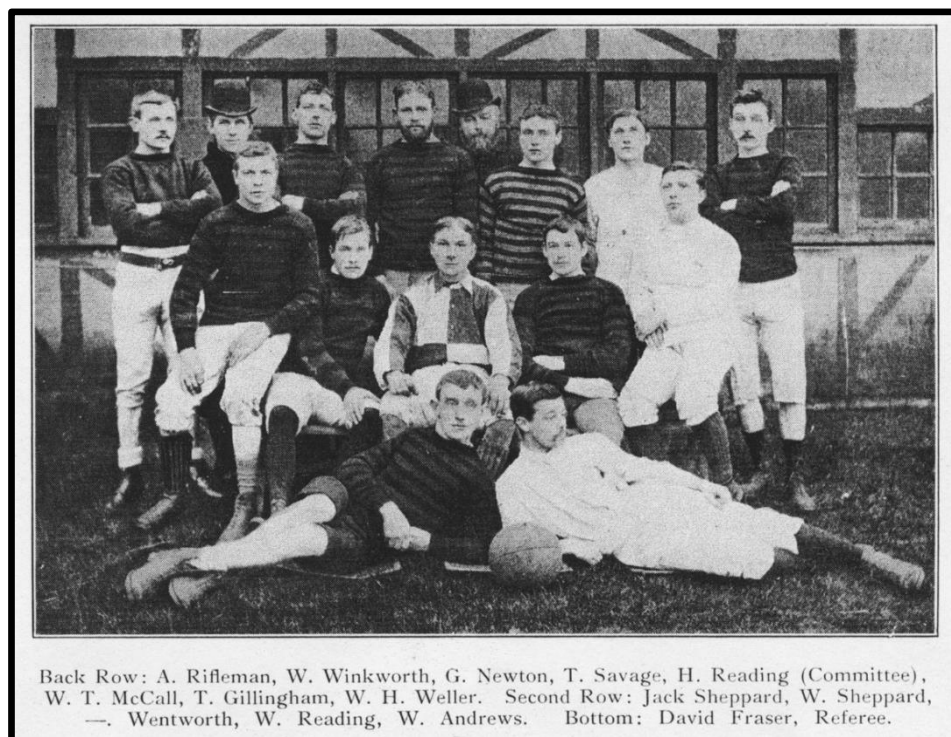
³¹⁸ *HC* 4 October 1890 p4.

³¹⁹ The formation date of 1884 is implied in a report of a match the club played on Boxing Day 1885. The Rovers were defeated that day, it being reported that this was 'the first defeat the club has sustained out of eight matches played during two seasons'. *HC* 2 January 1886 p5.

³²⁰ *HC* 24 September 1887 p4.

³²¹ Rovers' E. Gillingham and W. Lewis were both selected for Hampshire Juniors in 1889. *BG* 12 January 1889 p2.

summer of 1888 the club diversified its sports, fielding a cricket team for the first time.³²² During the 1888/89 season the club arranged an extensive list of twenty-one fixtures, playing on average once per week.³²³ By 1890 the Winchester Rovers F.C. were firmly established as the city's 'second' club.



Back Row: A. Rifleman, W. Winkworth, G. Newton, T. Savage, H. Reading (Committee), W. T. McCall, T. Gillingham, W. H. Weller. Second Row: Jack Sheppard, W. Sheppard, —, Wentworth, W. Reading, W. Andrews. Bottom: David Fraser, Referee.

Figure 9. The Winchester Rovers F.C. in 1888. Note the non-uniform kit and the presence of the anonymous 'A Rifleman' in the back row – locally stationed soldiers regularly appeared for Winchester's soccer clubs. *Source: W. Pickford 'Golden Jubilee Book of the Hampshire F.A.'*

The club's apparent solidity, however, was deceptive. During 1889/90 there were eighteen match reports featuring the Rovers in the local news media. But in the following campaign only one report appeared, a game played in December 1890, and it is likely that the club was dissolved at the end of that season.³²⁴ There were no further references to the Rovers F.C. in local newspapers, and the reasons for the club's disappearance from Winchester soccer is unknown.

Another Winchester-based team was formed shortly after the demise of the Rovers F.C., largely as a result of the efforts made by Arnold Tebbutt. In the year following his resignation as secretary to the Winchester F.C., Tebbutt formed two new sports clubs. He established the Winchester Hockey Club in March 1891, a feat which was followed in August by the founding of the Winchester Swallows

³²² HC 14 April 1888 p4.

³²³ HC 4 May 1889 p5.

³²⁴ HC 13 December 1890 p3.

F.C.³²⁵ When challenged at the Winchester F.C.'s 1891 AGM about his motivation in establishing the Swallows – which some members viewed as a rival soccer club - it was reported that:

Mr Tebbutt took the opportunity of explaining the part that he took in starting the new football club rejoicing in the name of the Winchester Swallows, which he had heard attributed to a spirit antagonistic to the existing Winchester Club. To this he gave an unqualified denial and said that it was simply a combination of what remained of the old West Hill, St. Maurice and Rovers clubs consolidated into one stronger junior club.³²⁶

Within a month of its foundation, the Swallows had affiliated to the Hampshire F.A. and entered its first team to the Association's Junior Cup and its reserves to the Minor Cup.³²⁷ The club continued to enter both competitions in each season up to, and beyond, 1895. By entering these competitions, the Swallows F.C. inherited the informal mantle of Winchester's 'second club' from the dissolved Rovers F.C., while the Winchester F.C. retained its position as the city's premier club. That status changed in 1893 after the dissolution of the Winchester F.C. During 1893/94 the Swallows F.C. was the city's sole representative in the Hampshire F.A.'s competitions and, although it did not enter the Senior Cup contest for several seasons, the club found itself in the first rank of the city's soccer teams. In recognition of this, the decision was made at the Swallow's 1894 AGM to change its title to the Winchester Football Club – the third club to bear that name.³²⁸

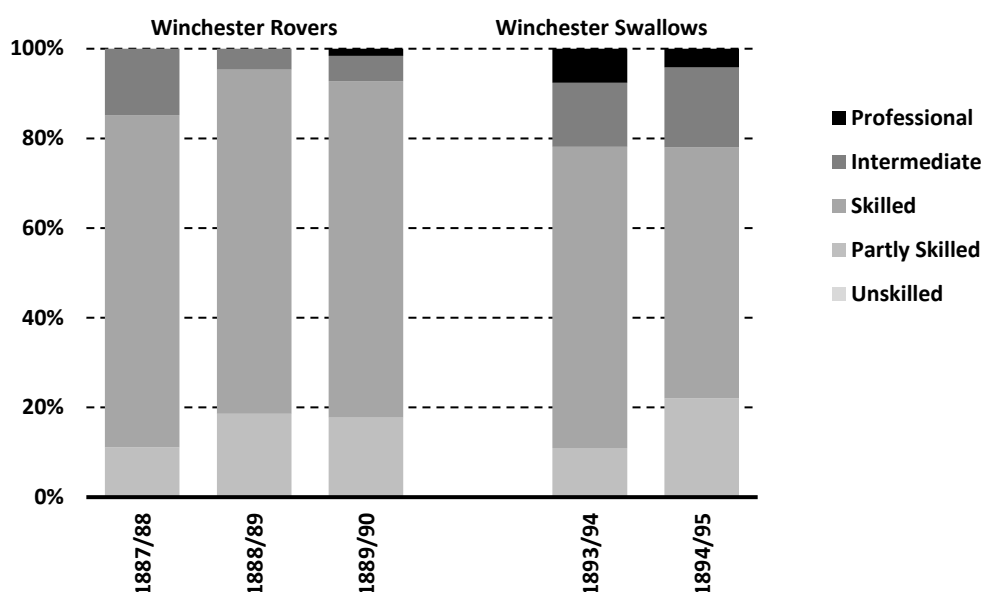
Fewer contemporary match reports, and consequently lists of players, survive for either of these two Winchester soccer clubs. The most extensive coverage of the Rovers' matches occurred during the three seasons from 1887, when twenty-four match reports featuring a full team list were published. Details of the players who appeared for the Swallows F.C. in its early years are also scarce. In its first two seasons, player lists were only printed for three games. However, from 1893 – and coinciding with the dissolution of the Winchester F.C – the Swallows' games were covered in greater detail. Thirty-four reports which included a full list of players were published in the subsequent two seasons. The player data collected from these reports has been used to produce socio-economic profiles for both clubs.

³²⁵ *HC* 28 February 1891 p5; *HO* 5 September 1891 p5..

³²⁶ *HC* 12 September 1891 p5.

³²⁷ *HA* 3 October 1891 p8.

³²⁸ *HC* 28 July 1894 p5.



Graph 7. Percentage of player appearances for the Winchester Rovers F.C. (1887-90) and the Winchester Swallows F.C. (1893-95), by social class. Note – to aid clarity, appearances made by unidentified players have been excluded.

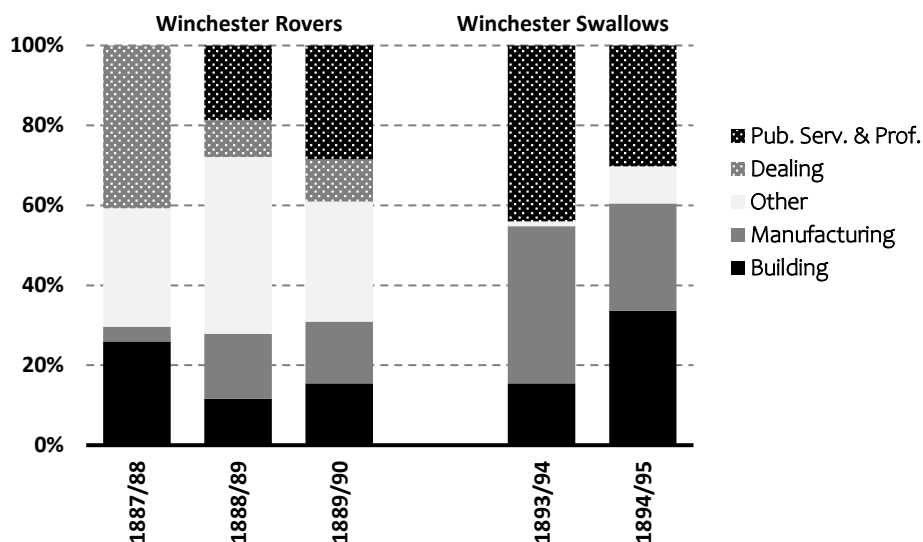
Graph 7 illustrates the social profiles of the two clubs, based on the proportion of appearances made by players in each season. Of note is the high proportion of player appearances for both clubs, in all seasons, that held occupations described as ‘skilled’. For example, three quarters of appearances for the Rovers in 1888/89 were made by players in ‘skilled’ manual work. The contrast between the social profile of the Rovers’ players and those that appeared in the same seasons for the predominantly middle-class Winchester F.C. (Graph 4) is striking, suggesting that a class-based segregation existed between the two clubs. However, any such divisions which existed were not rigidly pursued - on occasion the Rovers did include middle-class members of the Winchester F.C. among its players, and vice versa.³²⁹

As it was, in part, a continuation of the recently dissolved Rovers club, it is unsurprising that the Swallows’ players were also predominantly from skilled working-class backgrounds. However, one slight difference between the two clubs can be identified. During the two seasons analysed, the Swallows featured higher proportions of appearances made by players from the more middle-class ‘Professional’ and ‘Intermediate’ occupation categories. Several of these players were formerly members of the defunct Winchester F.C. who, wishing to continue playing, joined the Swallows.³³⁰

³²⁹ For example, two members of the Winchester F.C. - Oxford student E.G.A. Beckwith and future barrister E. Mears - both also appeared for the Rovers. Equally, Rovers’ E. Gillingham made several appearances for the Winchester F.C.

³³⁰ For example, B. Wooldridge, who had played over fifty games for Winchester F.C., made at least nine appearances for the Swallows between 1893 and 1895.

The economic sectors in which the Rovers' and Swallows' players were employed have been established using the information extracted from match reports, in combination with Census records. These profiles are shown in Graph 8.



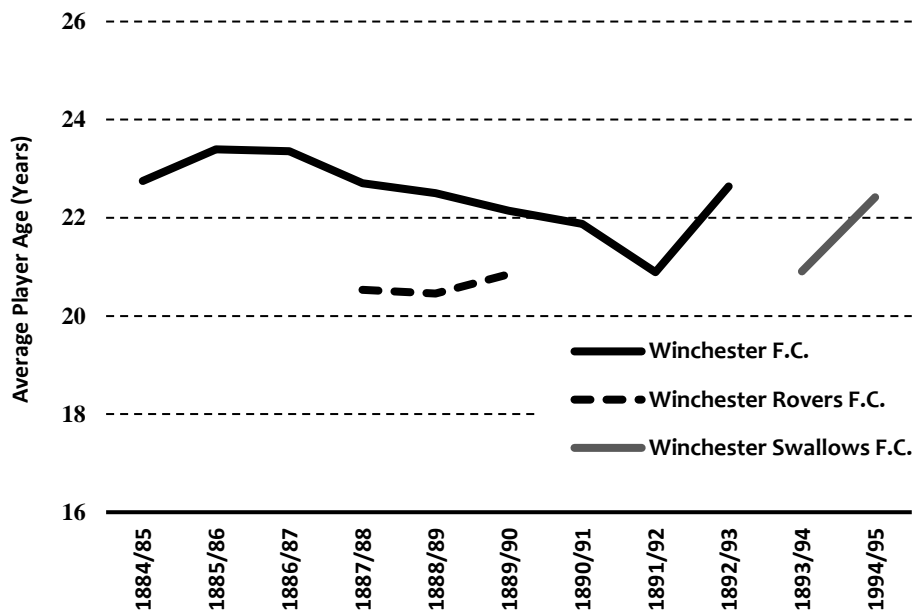
Graph 8. Percentage of player appearances for the Winchester Rovers F.C. (1887-90) and the Winchester Swallows F.C. (1893-95), by economic sector of employment. Note – to aid clarity, appearances made by unidentified players have been excluded.

Although most appearances for both clubs were made by players who held skilled manual jobs, these men were employed in a range of economic sectors. In the case of both clubs, the majority of appearances by players employed in the 'Public Service and Professional' sector were made by military men. In 1888/89 and 1889/90, almost two-thirds of appearances for the Rovers by 'Public Service' sector employees were made by soldiers. This suggests that the social and cultural barriers which, in some towns, existed between the military and the civilian populations were less evident in Winchester at that time. In the two seasons analysed for the Swallows, the 'Public Service' appearances were principally made by a combination of soldiers and teachers. The presence of teachers – a middle-class profession - among the Swallows players reflects the arrival at the club, post 1893, of former members of the Winchester F.C.

Players employed in the 'Building' and 'Manufacturing' sectors accounted for most of the remaining appearances made for the Swallows. The 'builders' were principally physical workers, employed as bricklayers, carpenters, and decorators. The 'manufacturers' also held manual jobs in metalwork, brewing and tailoring. In both instances, the majority of these workers were engaged in wage-based, rather than salaried, employment. Being paid only for the hours in which they laboured, these players benefited from a degree of flexibility over when and how they worked. The proportions of appearances for the Rovers made by builders and manufacturers were smaller than those reported for the Swallows. But the Rovers also featured a comparably high percentage of

appearances by players employed in the ‘dealing’ sector. Among these latter players – who were largely absent among the Swallows’ players – were a few clerks and assistants who were employed in the city’s offices and shops, but also included a licensed victualler and a bicycle fitter.

The average ages of the players that appeared for both clubs, for each of the seasons analysed, has been calculated. These are shown in Graph 9, which also includes, for comparison, the average age data of the Winchester F.C. players.



Graph 9. The average age, by season, of the players appearing for Winchester’s principal soccer clubs, 1884-95.³³¹

During the 1887/88 and 1888/89 seasons, the Rovers’ players were, on average, two years younger than their contemporaries at the Winchester F.C., implying that the Rovers were a comparatively junior side. In contrast, the age profile of the Swallows’ players was similar to that recorded in its final seasons by the Winchester F.C. This is a consequence of former members of the Winchester F.C. who, wishing to continue playing, joined the Swallows club, and reflects the elevation of the club to its senior position among the city’s teams.

A player’s employment affected their availability to play games for the two clubs. As has been shown, many of the Winchester F.C. players held middle-class jobs which permitted a degree of individual flexibility over working hours. Consequently, the club was able to play its games on days throughout the week. Generally, the Rovers’ players jobs were less flexible, resulting in the club’s

³³¹ The average age data presented was calculated from the sum of each player’s age multiplied by the number of appearances made by that player during a season. This sum was then divided by the total number of appearances made in all reported games played by that club in that season. Players whose age was not known were excluded from the calculation.

fixtures being slightly more regular. Of the club's forty-four reported games played over three seasons, 43% were played on a Saturday, and a further 27% were held on a Thursday.³³²

For the Swallows, Saturday games were more common. Of its reported games in the two seasons from 1893, 85% were Saturday matches. Midweek games were occasionally staged, but these could present problems with regard to player availability. When the Swallows played Winchester College one Tuesday in 1895, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reporter noted with surprise that 'the city club was well-represented *for a mid-week match, which is out of their order*'.³³³ Saturday matches became increasingly common in part because the wage-receiving manual workers aimed to complete their week's tasks in time to allow them a free Saturday afternoon. This option was not open to the salaried workers – typically employed in the 'dealing' and 'public service and professional' sectors – who were expected to work for the whole of Saturday, hence their relatively low representation among the players.

Both the Rovers and the Swallows had to find pitches on which to host matches. The Rovers played their home games at the Bar End field which, it was reported in 1886, had been 'kindly lent' to it by the Winchester F.C.³³⁴ Although this arrangement continued until 1890, it is unlikely that access to the pitch remained free of charge as, as shown, the Winchester F.C. generated significant income from subletting its ground. From its foundation in 1891, the Swallows also established Bar End as its base, presumably on the same subletting arrangement inherited from the Rovers. However, after the Winchester F.C. folded in 1893, the Swallows took up a new agreement to lease the Bar End ground directly from the Winchester Cricket Club, a deal facilitated by Arnold Tebbutt who, at the time, was simultaneously the president of the soccer club and secretary of the cricket club.

To be able to hire a pitch, and to cover the general costs of administration and equipment, Winchester's junior soccer clubs needed to generate income. In the absence of any surviving financial records for these clubs, little evidence can be found of how this was achieved. However, it is clear that both clubs had 'members' and it is likely that a proportion of their income was accrued through subscriptions. The clubs may have enrolled high numbers of members - at an 1889 smoking concert held by the Rovers it was reported that 'some sixty members and friends were present'.³³⁵

³³² The percentage of Rovers' games played on Saturday increased in each successive season – in 1889/90, 60% of its matches were Saturday games – illustrating the increasing standardisation of Saturday as the day for soccer.

³³³ The Winchester F.C. players in that match included a whitesmith, a tailor, a coachbuilder, a plasterer and two privates from the Hampshire Regiment. The italicised emphasis was not included in the original text. *HC* 16 March 1895 p6.

³³⁴ *HC* 13 November 1886 p7.

³³⁵ *HC* 4 May 1889 p5

Patrons may also have provided funds to assist with the club's expenditure. In 1894, three years after its formation, the Swallows had acquired a list of vice presidents which was as extensive as that recruited by the Winchester F.C. in 1891.

3.5 Church-based Teams and Other Minor Soccer Clubs

Although most of the local evidence which survives from the period relates to the activities of the Winchester, the Rovers, and the Swallows soccer clubs, there were several additional 'civilian' teams operating in the city for which a few traces of information have been found. While a number of these minor clubs were associated with organised groups connected with local churches, others appear to have been formed independently and to represent specific localities within the city. The existence of these under-reported teams and clubs implies that Winchester's nascent soccer culture may have been more widespread than is suggested in the extant sources.

Winchester's parish churches established youth groups to provide beneficial activities for their young parishioners, especially those from poorer households who were seen as being especially at risk from corrupting influences. The first church group to be established in the city was the St. Alban's Club which, although based in the impoverished city-centre parish of St. Maurice, took its name from a similar club which had been formed at St. Alban's church at Holborn, London. Opened in 1877, the club aimed to provide 'innocent recreation and instruction for young men and boys'.³³⁶ Its 'innocent recreation' was provided by a combination of indoor and outdoor activities, described in its entry in the 1884 *Warren's Winchester Directory* as being 'For young men and boys from the age of 15 upwards [...] there is a cricket and football club, Glee class, dramatic entertainments, and an annual outing'.³³⁷ While reports of two of its cricket matches were published in local newspapers, no existing reports of the club playing soccer have been found.³³⁸

The St. Alban's Club served as a model for other clubs established later by Winchester's churches.³³⁹ One group with similar aims, the Young Men's Friendly Society, was founded - also in St. Maurice parish - in 1883 to promote 'purity, temperance, and general morality [...] thrift and independence [...] and a healthy tone of literature and amusement among young men'.³⁴⁰ The

³³⁶ HC 24 February 1883 p4.

³³⁷ W.T. Warren *Warren's Winchester Directory 1884* (Winchester, 1884) p92.

³³⁸ HC 29 September 1883 p3; HC 23 August 1884 p6.

³³⁹ HC 7 February 1891 p3.

³⁴⁰ HC 28 July 1883 p3.

Society fielded both a cricket and a soccer team. An 1885 report of a game played by the latter is the earliest recorded match to feature a team from a Winchester church group.³⁴¹

One successful church group was the St. Thomas Young Men's Association, which was established in 1887 by the parish rector, the Rev. A.B. Sole. Sole stated that his motivation in founding the club was to distract 'young men engaged in business' from less healthy activities, notably visiting ale houses, in the hope of bringing them to God, and stated that 'the great thing that they must look to was the Bible class on Sunday afternoons'.³⁴² Accordingly, the new Association served a combination of moral instruction and controlled recreation to its members. It established a weekly schedule of indoor recreations while dedicating Sundays to religious guidance.³⁴³ In its first year the club fielded both a cricket and a soccer team. The latter entered the inaugural Hampshire Minor Cup competition, and the club fielded a soccer team intermittently until the outbreak of the First World War.³⁴⁴

Further parochial clubs were established in the city during the late 1880s, although the degree to which each engaged in sport varied. The St. Michael's parish club was briefly active in soccer, its first reported match was played early in 1889.³⁴⁵ In common with the St. Thomas' club, it entered its team for that year's Minor Cup but, after November 1889, no further reports of its games appeared and, presumably, the soccer club was discontinued around that time.³⁴⁶

In addition to these church-based soccer teams, a small number of clubs was also formed that were independent of any pre-existing organisations. Some of these clubs appear to have been linked to specific localities within Winchester, and their teams can be regarded as representing a particular city district or suburb. Three such clubs received more than a single reference in the city's newspapers, and brief details of each of these are provided here.

The West Hill F.C. was first recorded playing soccer on Oram's Arbour in December 1887.³⁴⁷ As West Hill is the area of the city in which the Arbour is situated, and that it chose the nearby St. James's Tavern as its headquarters, it can be assumed that the soccer club was formed by players resident in Winchester's western district.³⁴⁸ The club had a corresponding cricket team; many of its soccer players appeared for the West Hill Cricket Club in 1889.³⁴⁹ Later that year, the club entered its

³⁴¹ *HC* 2 January 1886 p5.

³⁴² *HC* 4 June 1887 p5; *HC* 15 February 1890 p3.

³⁴³ *HC* 7 February 1891 p3.

³⁴⁴ *HC* 12 October 1889 p7.

³⁴⁵ *HO* 19 January 1889 p5.

³⁴⁶ *HC* 19 October 1889 p6; *HC* 9 November 1889 p6.

³⁴⁷ *HC* 31 December 1887 p7.

³⁴⁸ *HC* 15 December 1888 p2.

³⁴⁹ *HC* 15 June 1889 p6.

soccer team to the inaugural Hampshire Minor Cup, implying that several of its playing members were aged under eighteen.³⁵⁰ The final reference to the team was recorded in November 1889, after which it was listed as one of the dissolved clubs which had been incorporated to form the Winchester Swallows F.C.³⁵¹

Two references to the West End Rovers F.C. have been found in contemporary newspapers. The first was in a game held on Boxing Day 1888, with a second match reported a month later. With no further references found, it is likely that the West End Rovers had a very short existence and was possibly formed solely to provide temporary sport over Christmas and other holiday periods. This supposition is supported by an 1889 report of a cricket team, also named West End, which played a single game during the Whitsun holiday.³⁵²

The Waverley F.C. arose from a similarly named cricket club in 1891.³⁵³ The origin and relevance of the name remains unclear. The date of the club's emergence coincided with both the formation of the Winchester and District F.A. and the launch of the Tebbutt Cup knockout competition. In founding both, it was Tebbutt's stated aim to encourage the formation and development of juvenile soccer clubs in the city, and it is possible that the creation of the Waverley F.C. represented a response to that effort.³⁵⁴ Certainly, the Waverley F.C. regularly entered the contest and appeared in each of its three finals. The club survived for longer than most of its local contemporaries, and reports of its games continued to appear as late as 1902.³⁵⁵ Although it appears to have abandoned soccer at this point, the club's cricketing arm continued to play throughout the Edwardian period.

Although the evidence is thin, it is possible to determine some demographic features in relation to the players that appeared for Winchester's minor soccer teams. While no reports of games played by the St. Albans' Club soccer team have been found, it is reasonable to assume that its participants would share a similar age and occupational profile as the club's cricketers. These were all male, principally aged between seventeen and twenty-two years of age, and predominantly employed in skilled manual jobs. Several lived outside the club's home parish of St. Maurice, indicating that the club recruited members from beyond the parochial boundary. If the player profile of the soccer club was similar to that of the cricket club, then the St. Alban's Club provides the earliest instance of working-class boys playing organised football – of any code - in Winchester.

³⁵⁰ *HC* 12 October 1889 p7. It was stipulated that all players entering the Minor Cup should be under eighteen years of age.

³⁵¹ *HC* 30 November 1889 p6; *HC* 12 September 1891 p5.

³⁵² *HC* 29 December 1888 p7, *HO* 19 January 1889 p5, and *HC* 15 June 1889 p6.

³⁵³ *HC* 24 August 1889 p5; *HC* 17 October 1891 p6; *HO* 21 November 1891 p4.

³⁵⁴ *Sporting Life* 4 October 1893 p2.

³⁵⁵ *HC* 22 March 1902 p3.

A few names of the players from the St. Thomas' and St. Michael's soccer teams have been found.³⁵⁶ These, when combined with records from the national Census, provide an indication of the demographic profiles of these teams. In both instances the players were young, the average for St. Michael's being seventeen years and six months, while St. Thomas' players were slightly older, averaging nineteen years. Both clubs, although parish-based, fielded players from all parts of Winchester and, as such, these soccer teams can be regarded as representing the city as a whole. In addition, the players for both teams were chiefly recruited from working-class households, and, while boys from skilled-working-class families predominated, they also included others from households classed as 'Partly Skilled' and 'Unskilled'. This is unsurprising - the church clubs were established to provide wholesome diversions for, and to discourage dissolute behaviour among, the city's poorer boys. In this, the evidence suggests, these clubs were at least partly successful.

The players for the other identified minor clubs shared similar demographic traits to those that appeared for the church-based teams. Based on the surviving records, the average age of the players for both the West Hill and West End Rovers teams was eighteen, and the Waverley team nineteen, years of age.³⁵⁷ Also similar was the social background of these young players. The majority of those identified were working class, with between 80% and 90% of players in each of the three teams coming from households headed by people who held either 'Skilled' or 'Partly Skilled' occupations.

As with other soccer teams active in Winchester, the city's minor teams faced a problem with the limited availability of pitches on which to play. All of the minor teams identified made regular use of the ground at Bar End - the reported games which featured either the St. Thomas' or the St. Michael's teams, and in which the venue was explicitly stated, were all held at Bar End. The West Hill, West End Rovers and Waverley clubs also made use of the ground, although each also played occasional games at other venues within the city. As noted, the West Hill club had made use of Oram's Arbour on at least one occasion and, in 1888, the club faced the West End Rovers on the playing field of the Training College.³⁵⁸ The Waverley club also used alternative venues, and were reported playing at Wolvesey Castle in 1893.³⁵⁹ In the absence of any records, it can only be speculated how these clubs acquired the money to hire these pitches. It may be assumed that the church-based teams were funded directly from the church groups with which they were associated,

³⁵⁶ The St. Michael's soccer players were listed in *HO* 19 January 1889 p5 and *HC* 9 November 1889 p5. The names of the St. Thomas players were recorded in *HC* 2 November 1889 p6 and *SE* 17 December 1889 p4.

³⁵⁷ The West Hill players were listed in *HC* 29 December 1888 p7, *HC* 2 November 1889 p6 and *HC* 30 November 1889 p6; the West End Rovers in *HC* 29 December 1888 p7 and *HO* 19 January 1889 p5; and the Waverley in *HC* 28 January 1893 p7, *HC* 14 April 1894 p2 and *HC* 9 March 1895 p6.

³⁵⁸ *HC* 29 December 1888 p7

³⁵⁹ *HC* 28 January 1893 p7

presumably from money set aside specifically for the purpose. The other minor clubs may have been funded solely from contributions made by their players and members. That the West Hill club had a formal membership, implying a subscription fee, is indicated by a report on a club training session in which it 'had its first run out on Thursday evening when ten members turned out for a spin'.³⁶⁰

Studying the players that appeared for Winchester's church-based and minor teams reveals that, in Winchester in the 1880s and early 1890s, there existed a working-class, youthful culture of soccer playing. These teams were notably younger than those fielded by the 'senior' Winchester F.C. and the 'junior' Rovers and Swallows clubs. In the case of the church teams, they played with the sanction of clergymen seeking to employ soccer and other recreations as a means of exerting influence over their young parishioners. Other minor clubs were established through the individual efforts of their members, possibly motivated by the prospect of success in one of the newly established local cup competitions.

3.6 Football at Winchester's Academic Institutions

The adoption and development of soccer at Winchester's academic institutions during the period is examined here. Evidence is provided, in turn, of the differing experiences recorded at Winchester College, the Diocesan Training College, and at the city's private and elementary schools.

At Winchester College, its distinctive version of football maintained its dominance over other winter sports. Internal games between the three principal divisions of the College were punctuated by occasional matches against sides composed of visiting old boys, with reports on games appearing both in *The Wykehamist* and in Winchester's local newspapers.³⁶¹ Prior to the mid-1880s the College authorities – and many of the boys – held a contemptuous view of alternative codes of football and the Wykehamists retained their belief in the superiority of their own version of the game.

However, while rugby football continued to be rejected – possibly due to its provenance in a 'lesser' public school - the antipathy directed towards soccer - which had discernible roots in the games played at the higher-status Eton College and Harrow School - appears to have weakened.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ HC 15 December 1888 p2

³⁶¹ HC 5 December 1885 p5.

³⁶² This point has been made by Dunning and Sheard who claim that, in the early years of football's development, 'most leading proponents of the embryo soccer game were...old boys of established public schools, whilst most protagonists of rugby were...former pupils of the newer schools formed to accommodate the educational aspirations of the expanding middle class'. From this perspective, Winchester was more likely to favour soccer over rugby as the former had an acceptable pedigree while the latter was regarded as a result of *embourgeoisement*. Dunning and Sheard *Barbarians* 87.

The reason for this relaxing of attitudes against soccer is unclear, but it may have been a response to both the recent successes recorded by the London-based Old Wykehamists F.C. and to the appointment to the College of three soccer-enthusiast masters, combined with the sense that an ignorance of the game was proving to be disadvantageous to Wykehamists after they had left Winchester.³⁶³ Consequently, from the mid-1880s, playing soccer became more tolerated and occasional games were staged at the College.³⁶⁴ In 1887, a College team held a soccer game against local, non-Wykehamist opposition when it faced the Winchester F.C. in a game which was to become an annual fixture.³⁶⁵ In addition, the College also played soccer against sides from New College, Oxford, and several 'scratch' sides assembled specifically for one-off games. Official attitudes towards soccer were changing at the College. In 1889 the College's Headmaster, Dr. Fearon, was asked to present the trophy to the winners of the Hampshire Junior Cup. In his presentation speech Fearon announced that he 'considered [association] football, when properly played, was a splendid amusement for young fellows to indulge in'.³⁶⁶

Despite its inclusion into the College's sporting routine, soccer was regarded as being of a lesser status than both Winchester Rules football and cricket. Unlike college cricket, there were no 'foreign' soccer matches played against other public schools, and there was no annual inter-house competition for soccer as there was for Winchester Rules Football. Attempts were made in the early 1890s to address both of these omissions. The first inter-school soccer match to involve the College, when Winchester faced Eton, took place in 1892. But this was an isolated occurrence, and it would be another ten years before an annual fixture against another public school was established. In 1895 intra-school soccer received a boost when one of the masters, the Rev. R.C. Hawkins, donated a cup to be awarded to the winners of a newly instigated knockout tournament between the constituent houses of the College. Both initiatives illustrate the increasing status that soccer was acquiring at the College during the 1890s.³⁶⁷

By 1884, the rugby-playing Training College football team was the most advanced in the city, benefiting from the active support of the college principal and staff who, like many of their

³⁶³ The London-based Old Wykehamists F.C. had reached the fourth round of the F.A. Cup in both the 1883/84 and 1884/85 seasons. J.A. Fort, M.J. Rendall and M.C. Kemp – all of whom were accomplished soccer players – were appointed as masters at the college during the 1880s. 'Wykehamists do not sufficiently feel the necessity of learning Association, till they come up to the University and wish to play football [...] I am sure men leaving will prefer to know something of the Association game when they come up to the 'Varsity' [...] the Winchester rules are practically of no use, when one has left'. *The Wykehamist* 203 (November 1885).

³⁶⁴ The first recorded game of soccer played was a ten-a-side match held in December 1883. *HC* 22 December 1883 p5.

³⁶⁵ *HC* 26 February 1887 p2

³⁶⁶ *HC* 13 April 1889 p7.

³⁶⁷ EB Noel in Lord Desborough (ed.) *Fifty Years of Sport: Eton, Harrow and Winchester* (London, 1922) 334-5.

contemporaries, viewed rugby football as a fine expression of the Muscular Christian ethos. Having adopted the game six years previously, rugby was firmly established as the college's principal winter recreation. The college team's fixture list for 1883/84 featured regular games against Hampshire's top clubs and, that year, two of its players competed in a trial match for selection to the newly-formed Hampshire Rugby Football Club.³⁶⁸ Throughout the winter, the Training College devoted each Wednesday and Saturday afternoon to rugby.³⁶⁹ The college's commitment to rugby football was demonstrated by its affiliation, as a founder member, to the Hampshire Rugby Union in 1888, a move which permitted its team to enter the inaugural Hampshire Challenge Cup competition.³⁷⁰ In the following season the Training College performed well enough to reach the semi-finals of the contest.³⁷¹

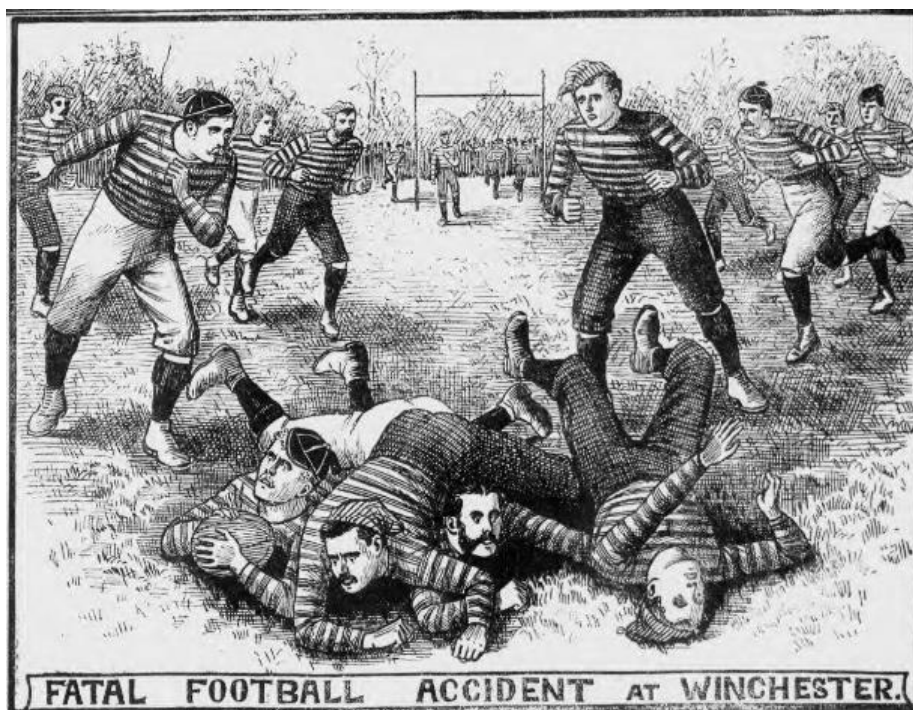


Figure 10. Winchester Training College student E.R. Cheesman's fatal accident, as imagined in the *Illustrated Police News*, 14 December 1889.

Rugby football's dominant position at the Training College was weakened as a consequence of a fatal incident that occurred during a game in November 1889. In an afternoon practice game played on the college field, a student named Cheesman broke his neck after a scrum collapsed on top of him. He died eleven days later.³⁷² The fatality was reported in the national media, and was the subject of an article published in the sensationalist London-based newspaper *The Illustrated Police*

³⁶⁸ *HT* 27 October 1883 p6.

³⁶⁹ *Rose King Alfred's College* 72.

³⁷⁰ *HT* 7 July 1888 p2.

³⁷¹ *HC* 22 March 1890 p6.

³⁷² *HC* 7 December 1889 p3.

News (see Figure 10).³⁷³ In 1893, the college magazine, *The Wintonian*, reported that the fatal game was the last rugby match to be played at the College, and that rugby was subsequently banned.³⁷⁴ There is, however, evidence that rugby continued to be played there for another year but, regardless, by January 1891, the game had been abandoned by the College.³⁷⁵

The resultant sporting void was filled by the adoption of soccer. This was not an entirely new sport at the College; occasional games of soccer were being played there throughout the 1880s.³⁷⁶ This familiarity meant that the change was unlikely to have proved overly disruptive and was eased still further by the arrival at the Training College, in 1889, of a new vice principal, the soccer-playing Rev. D. J. Thomas. Its switch to soccer heralded a period of modest sporting success at the College.³⁷⁷ Several of its soccer players displayed sufficient prowess to earn appearances for other, higher-profile clubs.³⁷⁸ Yet despite having talented soccer players among its staff and students, the College did not compete against teams of a calibre comparable to those faced previously in rugby matches. Instead soccer fixtures were arranged with village sides and smaller clubs from the Winchester and Southampton area. Its games were low-key and local affairs - there is only one record of a game played outside of Hampshire, and the college team did not enter any cup competitions during the period.³⁷⁹

Late nineteenth-century Britain witnessed a growth in the demand for private education as a burgeoning middle class became increasingly aware of the benefits it offered, both through the acquisition of knowledge and through the establishment of valuable social connections. Accordingly, there was a boom in the provision of private education in Winchester, as evidenced by the number of newly opened, fee-paying schools in the city.³⁸⁰ Most of these schools were run as private enterprises, the success of which rested on their ability to attract pupils. In this competitive market,

³⁷³ *The Illustrated Police News* 14 December 1889 p1.

³⁷⁴ *The Wintonian*, No.8 February 1893 p43.

³⁷⁵ A photograph held at the Hampshire Record Office and dated '1890' features a Training College football team of fifteen players, one of whom holds an oval-shaped ball, implying that rugby was still being played at that date. HRO 47M91W/55/4/30.

³⁷⁶ From 1885 the Training College played a pair of fixtures annually against the Winchester F.C. *HC* 21 February 1885 p7.

³⁷⁷ C.E. Creese, a student between 1892 and 1893, described his time at the College as being 'vintage years for football – only one match was lost in two years and this owing largely to the goalkeeper'. HRO 47M 91W Q4/2.

³⁷⁸ Students E. Flux and R.A. Bailey featured for Winchester F.C. in the 1890/91 season, that latter also played for Southampton St. Mary's in 1891. *HA* 12 December 1891 p4.

³⁷⁹ The Training College team travelled to Battersea to face the St. John's Training College in 1895. *HC* 30 March 1895 p3.

³⁸⁰ Early examples include Hyde House School (opened in 1851) and the Diocesan Mathematical and Commercial School (opened in 1854). The number of fee-paying schools in the city increased in the following decades and, by 1888, the *Warren's Winchester Directory* was listing eight private schools for boys, and a further seven for girls.

the headmaster could gain an advantage through a combination of examination successes and the school's approach to its pupils' moral and physical development. This latter demand was met through a school's keenness to adopt games. The range of sports available to pupils was dependent upon the personal preference of the headmaster, who would often participate in games as well as supervising play. Summertime cricket was adopted at most of Winchester's private schools, yet, as late as 1880, a wintertime programme of sporting activities was largely absent. This changed during the subsequent fifteen years and, by 1895, all of the city's principal private schools had accepted soccer as their preferred winter team game.

However, the city's private schools did not take up the game simultaneously. Three factors are presented here which explain the schools' staggered approach to the adoption of soccer. First, a school needed a sufficiently large number of pupils to permit the fielding of a competitive team. It is notable that Winchester's three largest private boys' schools each experienced an expansion in pupil numbers immediately prior to its adoption of soccer.³⁸¹ Second, schools required playing grounds. Activities at the city centre schools were restricted by a shortage of space, and both Northgate and Trafalgar House schools had to rent pitches on which to play, the additional cost of which may have deterred and delayed the adoption of soccer. By contrast, schools located on the city's periphery had the advantage of greater access to playing space - the Winton House and Modern schools both had expansive on-campus sports fields. Third was the appointment at a school of soccer-enthusiast assistant masters. Winchester's schools offer several examples, such as W. Gamon at Northgate School and W.J.S. Hosley at Trafalgar House, both of whom promoted soccer through their active involvement, alongside their pupils, in games.³⁸² Whether these assistants were recruited specifically for their interest in the game is uncertain, but in each instance their arrival marked an expansion of soccer activity at the school.

The contemporary view of soccer in late nineteenth-century private schools may be summarised by a quotation from Meston Batchelor, himself a headmaster at a fee-paying preparatory school. Batchelor states that, while 'games were played for fun and exercise' there was also a recognition by school authorities that the 'genuine value of games [was] as a training in courage, self-reliance, loyalty and patience, not to mention the much-abused phrase "good sportsmanship"'.³⁸³ As for the pupils, many may have enjoyed playing the game but, regardless, they had little choice to engage with sports, including, depending on the school, soccer and rugby. Although no evidence for compulsory participation has been found in the city's schools, it is

³⁸¹ The Modern, Northgate and Trafalgar House schools each began playing soccer – in 1881, 1884, and 1891 respectively - after increasing either the size of its premises, expanding pupil numbers, or both.

³⁸² In 1894, as a parting gift, Hosley donated a trophy to the Trafalgar House School which was to be awarded annually to the winners of a newly established in-house six-a-side soccer tournament. *HC* 21 April 1894 p2.

³⁸³ M. Batchelor *Cradle of Empire* (1981) 29, 77.

noticeable that most devoted a portion of their scheduled timetable to 'games'. It is hard to imagine how pupils could avoid some form of physical exercise.

In contrast to the football activities recorded at Winchester's colleges and fee-paying private schools, there is no evidence at this time of any soccer being played at the city's elementary schools. No reports of inter-school contests in any sport – neither soccer, rugby nor cricket – were published in the local newspapers. More significantly, contemporary logbooks from the city's schools make few references to any physical exercise undertaken by their pupils, with the sole exception of military drill.³⁸⁴ The reason for this absence was partly due to a lack of recognition of the value of physical exercise. Until 1902, Winchester's elementary schools remained under the control of local churches and were funded through voluntary contributions. Seeing little educational value in children playing games – Muscular Christianity was, it seems, suitable for middle-class boys at private schools, but less so for working-class elementary school pupils - the churches did not sanction either soccer or cricket in the schools which they controlled.³⁸⁵ Physical education at the city's elementary schools was also inhibited by a shortage of facilities. By 1895, none of the city's eleven schools had an attached playing field, the only open play space available to each were its playgrounds, which were often restricted in size and, due to its hard surface and the risk of injury, were unsuitable for either cricket or soccer.³⁸⁶

By 1884, the playing of football games was a well-established activity at some of Winchester's academic institutions. Rugby football was regularly played at the local Training College, association football had been taken up at some of the city's fee-paying private schools, and games following the Winchester Rules were a traditional feature of Winchester College. During the decade that followed, the popularity of soccer grew and, with the exception of Winchester's elementary schools, was being played at all schools in the city by 1895. However, as school games were played on private or enclosed spaces, often on midweek afternoons, and, consequently, were largely invisible to the public, these localised football cultures had a limited impact on the popularisation of the game among the city's wider population. In addition, as many of the pupils were boarders who were

³⁸⁴ The logbook of the Holy Trinity School (1884-88) contains several mundane entries relating to the organisation and execution of drill, but there is no mention of any other exercise undertaken by the pupils. HRO 34M66 LB2.

³⁸⁵ I. Dawson *From Danemark Council to St. Bede School: 75 Years of Education in Winchester* (Winchester, 1899) 6-7.

³⁸⁶ Despite the unsuitability of the surface, schoolboys were still able to play rudimentary football games in school playgrounds. In 1886, a man named Burgiss was convicted of assaulting a boy called Burbage in the playground of the Holy Trinity School. At the trial the Burbage stated that 'the defendant ran into the Trinity School yard, where he was playing at football with other boys, hit him in the face and knocked him up against the wall'. *HC* 20 February 1886 p7.

allowed only limited free time, those that attended the football-playing schools were socially isolated from the wider city and enjoyed few opportunities for cultural exchange. The cultural impact of school football on the popular game was most notable with the involvement of teachers – and a few pupils – with football clubs based in the city. A number of local teachers appeared for the city’s clubs.³⁸⁷ Each of these footballing teachers had played the game before arriving in Winchester, bringing with them knowledge and skills which helped the game develop in their schools and in the wider city.

3.7 Soccer among Winchester’s Military

In some areas of Britain, military soccer teams were at the forefront of the game’s local development. The extent to which soccer was adopted and expanded within both the regular army and the Volunteer Force in Winchester during this period, and the impact this had on the popularisation of the game within the city, is examined below.

When compared to their peers in nearby towns, Winchester’s soldiers were late in adopting soccer. Whereas some of the county’s army teams had taken part in Hampshire F.A. cup competitions as early as 1885, no Winchester-based military team did so before 1894. Despite this, there is evidence that, by the mid-1880s, informal football was being played at the city’s barracks. In 1887, the *Hampshire Chronicle* published a letter from ‘Pastime’ in which it was asked:

Why it is that the soldiers quartered here [Winchester] do not form a Football Club [?] There seems to be no lack of energy amongst them, but if this energy were directed into the proper channels instead of being wasted by aimlessly kicking a ball about in the Barrack Square I feel sure that the depot would be enabled to turn out a very fair team. There is no doubt that the game is spreading rapidly and increasing in popularity in Hampshire [...] most military centres, such as Aldershot and Portsmouth, have their football organisations. Why should Winchester be behind hand in this respect?³⁸⁸

Whether Pastime’s plea prompted a response is unknown, but later that year three local military soccer clubs were reported playing in Winchester; the Hampshire Depot F.C., formed by soldiers from the Hampshire Regiment; the Rifle Depot F.C., established by men from the two rifle regiments based in the city; and a short-lived combined team of players from both clubs known as

³⁸⁷ Some teachers were playing members of the Winchester F.C., for example J. A. Fort, M. J. Rendell (both Winchester College), H. Searle and D. J. Thomas (both Training College), and W. J. S. Hosley and A. H. Ozzard (masters at Trafalgar House and Westfields Schools respectively).

³⁸⁸ *HC* 5 March 1887 p6.

the Garrison F.C. Each of the three shared its name with a pre-existing cricket club, and there were clear links between each pair of clubs.³⁸⁹

In its inaugural season, the Hampshire Depot F.C. advertised for opponents in the local newspapers.³⁹⁰ In its first match, played against the Winchester Rovers in October 1887, the Hants Depot's team comprised a combination of non-commissioned officers and rank-and-file soldiers.³⁹¹ In later matches, young commissioned officers were also involved. In one 1889 game, the club fielded a side which consisted of two lieutenants, one sergeant, four corporals, and four privates.³⁹² Similarly, in their early seasons, both the Rifle Depot F.C. and the Garrison F.C. included both officers and men among their players.³⁹³

By 1890, soccer was being actively promoted by the commanding officers of the local regiments. That year, Lieutenant Wellesley Piggott of the Rifle Depot commented that its 'recruits are encouraged to take part in all sports, and cricket and football are much in vogue, according to the season'.³⁹⁴ In 1893, soccer received a further stimulus when an internal regimental knockout competition was introduced at the Rifle Depot. The winners of the tournament - which was open to eight teams, each representing a battalion of the two rifle regiments - were awarded a trophy in the form of the Rifle Depot Challenge Clock.³⁹⁵

However, prior to 1895, most soccer matches played against external opponents were 'friendly' games. The Rifle Depot's fixture list for 1893/94 included twenty-three games, of which seven formed part of the Challenge Clock competition. The remainder were non-competitive matches against civilian teams from Winchester and its surrounding towns.³⁹⁶ However, in 1894, the club, having affiliated to the Hampshire F.A., entered the Junior Cup for the first time. In the competition's second round, the Depot was drawn against the Winchester F.C. This set up the city's first competitive local soccer 'derby' game, a match which attracted a large crowd of spectators.³⁹⁷

No evidence can be found which explains this rapid embrace of soccer by Winchester's military. It is probable, however, that the regiments' motivations were similar to those identified by Tony Mason and Eliza Reidi. These include the benefits gained in the fitness and wellbeing of the recruits through physical exercise, but also as a constructive diversionary activity which deterred

³⁸⁹ The Garrison Cricket Club had been playing regularly since the 1850s, the Rifle Depot C.C. since at least 1881, and the Hants Depot C.C. by 1884. Several individuals were recorded playing both cricket and soccer sports. *HC* 11 June 1881 p3; *HC* 17 May 1884 p3.

³⁹⁰ *HC* 5 November 1887 p2.

³⁹¹ *HC* 22 October 1887 p2.

³⁹² *HA* 25 January 1888 p3.

³⁹³ For example, see the Garrison F.C. team reported in *HC* 19 October 1889 p6.

³⁹⁴ *Rifle Brigade Chronicle*, no. 1 (1890) p120.

³⁹⁵ *HO* 14 October 1893 p8.

³⁹⁶ *HO* 14 October 1893 p8.

³⁹⁷ *HC* 8 December 1894 p6.

some from visiting the city's public houses. Also cited was the positive impact that soccer and sport have generally on recruitment. Soccer might also help bolster regimental identity and serve to commend the military to the local civilian population.³⁹⁸

This final point was of particular importance in Winchester, where the military had a very obvious presence. The barracks were located within the city, a substantial number of serving soldiers lived in the town, and army officers were regularly in attendance at civic functions, contributing to the political and cultural drive of the city. Consequently, soldiers were very visible in the city streets and their behaviour had a direct impact on military-civilian relations. Their presence led to some tensions in the town, as evidenced by a number of cases brought to the city's courts involving drunken soldiers.³⁹⁹ Soccer provided an opportunity, readily taken, for the soldiers and citizenry to mix. Several soldiers played alongside civilians in the city's soccer teams. During the 1889/90 season the Rovers F.C.'s regular goalkeeper was Colour Sergeant Fleming of the Rifle Brigade, and a photograph of the club's team from 1887/88 includes an anonymous player identified simply as 'A Rifleman' (see Figure 9). The military was also evident among the players for the Swallows F.C. where, for one game in its first season, it featured six soldiers in its side.⁴⁰⁰ The inclusion of soldiers within Winchester's soccer teams suggests the cultural divisions between the military and the citizenry which existed in other towns may have been less apparent in Winchester, and were less notable than, for example, that which existed between the town and Winchester College.

Throughout the period, the military presence in the city provided by the regular troops continued to be supplemented by the Volunteer Force. By 1884 there were four companies of Volunteers active in Winchester, all of which had, since 1881, formed part of the 4th Battalion of the Hampshire Regiment. The muster rolls of the local Force are no longer extant and the number of volunteers serving at any one time is hard to establish. However, in 1887, approximately 140 volunteers from the city's A and B companies participated in the civic procession which formed part of Winchester's celebration of Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, an event which might be expected to draw a full muster.⁴⁰¹ Similar numbers were reported at a three-day camp held at Aldershot in 1895, where 144 volunteers from the two companies were in attendance, reinforced by a further ninety-seven from the Training College company.⁴⁰²

The recreations organised by Winchester's volunteer corps, when compared to those undertaken by units in some areas of the country, remained limited. A colonel in the city's volunteer

³⁹⁸ Mason and Reidi *Sport in the Military* 4-5, 38-9.

³⁹⁹ See, for examples: *HC* 23 January 1886 p7; *HC* 24 March 1888 p7.

⁴⁰⁰ *HC* 28 November 1891 p6.

⁴⁰¹ *HC* 2 July 1887 p2.

⁴⁰² *HC* 8 June 1895 p7.

battalion, T.S. Cave, chronicled his men's activities in considerable detail.⁴⁰³ Although he documented the scores registered in the volunteer's numerous shooting competitions, and also provided fulsome notes of the activities undertaken at its annual camps, Cave makes no mention of any form of football being played by the corps. Similarly, no references are found in contemporary newspapers of any football activity involving the city's volunteer companies. Therefore, it is unlikely that, at this time, soccer featured among the organised recreations undertaken by the Winchester Volunteer Force.

3.8 Casual Popular Football

There is some evidence of a popular culture of playing casual, 'kickabout' football-style games in Winchester at this time. This existed in parallel to the more organised activities engaged in by the city's soccer clubs, youth organisations, schools and military. However, much of this evidence is fragmentary. It consists mostly of oblique references included in letters of complaint published in newspapers, in reports of Town Council meetings, or in low-level misdemeanours brought before local magistrates. It is safe to assume that much casual football went unrecorded, and that the extent to which it was played was far greater than implied by the evidence.

Casual football received most attention when its playing came into conflict with other city residents. There was limited public playing space in Winchester at the time, and friction arose from the competing demands from various recreational uses. The need for additional public space in the city was recognised. It was suggested that, to mark Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, a new park should be opened to the north of the city, but this proposal was rejected.⁴⁰⁴ By 1895, the Town Council provided just three areas of park and recreation land, the limitations of each was summarised by the Town Clerk in 1901. He stated that the Council maintained:

Three pieces of ground which might be called pleasure grounds – St. Giles' Hill 9½ acres, which was unsuited for general recreation purposes, though pleasant for walking; it was on a slope and a high hill; then there were the Abbey Grounds a small pleasure ground not used at all as a recreation ground; and there was a piece of ground called Oram's Arbour, used as a rough play ground by boys, but on a slope, and not suited for proper games. With regard to St. Giles' Hill and Oram's Arbour some of the best houses in the city adjoined, and it would be injurious to them if the grounds were used to any great extent for recreation purposes.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ T. Sturme Cave *History of the First Volunteer Battalion Hampshire Regiment, 1859 to 1889* (Winchester, 1905) p398.

⁴⁰⁴ HC 5 March 1887 p5.

⁴⁰⁵ HC May 1901 p5.

Of the three grounds, only Oram's Arbour could be used for games, but its location adjacent to some of the city's 'best houses' rendered it unfavourable for that use. This, combined with the demand to use the space for other recreations, made football playing on the Arbour a constant source of local friction. In 1886, the Arbour was levelled to allow the construction of a new cricket pitch which, in order to protect its newly established grass, later led to calls by some town councillors to ban football playing there altogether.⁴⁰⁶

Simultaneously, some city residents demanded that football games on the Arbour should specifically be banned on Sundays. One of the leading complainants was the Rev. A.B. Sole, the newly installed rector of St. Thomas, who explained in the *Hampshire Chronicle* that he did:

Very strongly deprecate the new departure that gives up the Arbour upon Sundays for games of football and cricket. A score and a half of lads then monopolise the ground, to the exclusion of the many who are driven away by the cannonade of leathern missiles.⁴⁰⁷

Sole argued that any move to further secularise Sundays would be to 'give up a religious bulwark' and that 'noisy games seems to me to be the thin end of the wedge'. But the city's clergymen were not united on the issue. In the same edition of the *Chronicle* the Rev. H.C. Dickens of St. John's parish maintained his favourable view of Sunday sports, claiming that 'rational recreations' such as football, cricket and skating were preferable to 'mere loafing' on a day of 'enforced idleness'.⁴⁰⁸

Correspondence on the issue included further references to the playing of football and other anti-social activities on the field. One town councillor complained that the Arbour 'was used all day by young men and boys, who commenced by rat-catching at half-past seven, rounders, football and cricket followed until night'.⁴⁰⁹ This suggests that unorganised, casual 'kickabout' games involving local boys were a regular Sunday occurrence.

The potential for Wintonians to participate in 'kickabout' games was further constrained, at least for those of working age, by the limited amount of free time that was available to those employed in commercial or clerical occupations. Despite the efforts made since the 1860s by the local Early Closing Movement, no substantial reduction in the city's standard working hours had been achieved. Having struggled to persuade Winchester's shops and offices to shut an hour earlier each day, the Movement's campaign focused instead on encouraging businesses to close several hours earlier on one specific day. In 1885, over one hundred local business owners agreed to close at 5.00pm - two hours earlier than usual - on Thursdays throughout the summer to provide 'the

⁴⁰⁶ HC 30 January 1886 p5; HC 9 February 1889 p3.

⁴⁰⁷ HC 12 March 1887 p3.

⁴⁰⁸ HC 12 March 1887 p3.

⁴⁰⁹ HC 5 March 1887 p3.

opportunity of more recreation being allowed the assistants and others engaged therein'.⁴¹⁰ Attempts were made to extend the scheme to the winter months and, by 1891, it was being reported that 'early closing is almost general on Thursday evenings throughout the year' in Winchester.⁴¹¹ However, closing at 5.00pm had little effect on the playing of football as, being principally a winter activity, the earlier hours of darkness inhibited games from taking place.

For office and shop workers, Saturdays remained a full working day. However, by the 1890s, there is evidence that at least some others had adopted shorter working hours on Saturdays. In an 1891 discussion on how its membership might be increased, the Winchester F.C. considered playing fewer games on Saturdays due to it being 'an inconvenient day to spare any time from their business pursuits'. This remark elicited the response that 'Saturdays suited the classes [i.e., the working class] that more generally played the game, through their *leaving work early on that day*' [my emphasis].⁴¹² The assumption of a half-day holiday enabled a significant proportion of Winchester's working population to attend matches as spectators, and also to play the game either formally with a soccer club or informally in a casual 'kickabout'.

3.9 Spectators

The growth of spectatorism was an important component of soccer's popularisation. Although few references to Winchester's contemporary soccer spectators can be found, it remains possible to draw some general conclusions about popular local support for the game. These are presented here, in addition to some demographic information about the spectators present at Winchester's early soccer games.

The numbers in attendance at local games seem, by modern standards, to be rather modest, but at the time these were regarded as impressive. Attendance figures were rarely documented precisely, and newspaper reporters were content to describe crowds in vague terms, such as 'a fair number of spectators were present' or that a game was 'watched by a considerable number of spectators'.⁴¹³ However, typical crowd sizes were numbered in the hundreds rather than thousands. At a high-profile cup game held at Bar End in 1889 it was approvingly reported that 'hundreds lined the ropes' that surrounded the pitch.⁴¹⁴ In this, Winchester crowds were comparable to those reported in

⁴¹⁰ HC 28 March 1885 p5; HC 4 April 1885 p3; HC 16 May 1885 p5.

⁴¹¹ SE 20 March 1891 p3.

⁴¹² HC 21 November 1891 p5.

⁴¹³ HC 6 November 1886 p6; HC 21 February 1885 p7.

⁴¹⁴ HC 7 December 1889 p7.

nearby towns where important games might attract fewer than one thousand spectators.⁴¹⁵ Yet, at the time, the numbers attending some local matches were acknowledged to be greater than those seen at previous sporting events held in the city. The 1886 cup game between Winchester and Wimborne attracted:

An unusually large attendance of spectators, in fact a greater number than we ever remember seeing at any local cricket or football match, with the exception of the Winchester College versus Eton College [cricket match].⁴¹⁶

The number of spectators present at that match was seen as an indication of the game's increasing popularity, the *Hampshire Observer* commenting that:

If any proof were wanting of the popularity of football it would be found at the large and enthusiastic gathering of Wintonians who, for some two hours, remained excited spectators of the match.⁴¹⁷

However, the level of support enjoyed by the Winchester F.C. during the 1880s was not sustained into the early 1890s. Notably, the money received from gate receipts during 1890/91 amounted to £6 15s. 2d., a figure half that which had been collected two years previously.⁴¹⁸ By the following year the club suffered an apparent loss of interest in spectating among its non-playing members. After a 'very small crowd' attended a club match in November 1892, it was 'hoped that a few more club members show up [for the next game on the following Thursday], especially as some have made the point home matches are played on Thursdays in order that they can watch them'.⁴¹⁹ The club's subsequent dissolution was, in part, a consequence of this loss of support and income. Despite the club's decline, the local population sustained its interest in soccer. By 1893, two years after its foundation, the Swallows F.C. could attract a 'good number of spectators' for its game against the Training College reserve team.⁴²⁰ A year later, the club drew between 700 and 800 spectators to its 'friendly' match with the 9th Lancers from Aldershot.⁴²¹

The biggest soccer crowds were often found at games staged during holiday periods. Holding high-profile games and tournaments on bank holidays had the obvious advantage of maximising the

⁴¹⁵ For example, the game between Hampshire and Dorset and a representative team from Sussex, played at Bournemouth in 1886, attracted 800 spectators. 400 people were watched the 1887 Hants and Dorset Junior Cup final at Wareham. *HA* 27 October 1886 p7; *HA* 30 March 1887 p4.

⁴¹⁶ *HC* 4 December 1886 p7.

⁴¹⁷ *HO* 4 December 1886 p6.

⁴¹⁸ It should be noted, however, that the severe winter and an outbreak of the Russian 'Flu resulted in a number of game cancellations that season. *HC* 14 September 1889 p5; *HC* 12 September 1891 p5.

⁴¹⁹ *HC* 19 November 1892 p6.

⁴²⁰ *HC* 21 October 1893 p7.

⁴²¹ *HC* 29 December 1894 p3.

numbers of both the available players and the potential spectators. Although Christmas Day was ordinarily sport-free, showpiece soccer events were often played on either Boxing Day or the day after. For example, both of the six-a-side Boxing Day tournaments held at Bar End attracted over 1,000 spectators.⁴²² Easter was also a popular time to host soccer events. In 1895, a 'good attendance of spectators' was present for the Good Friday game between the Winchester and Freemantle clubs, while, on the following Monday, the six-a-side tournament for the Tebbutt Cup was held at Bar End.⁴²³

Winchester's soccer enthusiasts benefited from several high-profile games being staged in the city, courtesy of the connection that the Winchester F.C. enjoyed, through C.S. Wooldridge and A. Tebbutt, with the committee of the Hampshire F.A. These games could attract large crowds of spectators. For example, one of the Senior Cup semi-finals of 1889 was played at Bar End and attracted an estimated 2,000 spectators.⁴²⁴ That year, the Junior Cup final was also held in the city and attracted 'a great influx of visitors to Winchester [which] occasioned considerable surprise to citizens', a crowd estimated by William Pickford to consist of 'about a thousand' onlookers.⁴²⁵ Bar End also hosted inter-county games. When Hampshire played Surrey on a Thursday in January 1888, £10 was collected at the gate.⁴²⁶ On that occasion, an entrance fee of 6d. was charged, suggesting that there were at least 400 spectators present. Such county events drew spectators from outside of the city, but it is reasonable to assume that a significant proportion of those present were Winchester residents.

Some local soccer supporters were prepared to travel to watch their team play. Thirty supporters travelled twenty miles by train to Gosport to watch Winchester F.C.'s 1887 cup game with the Irish Rifles.⁴²⁷ Two years later, when the club played at Aldershot, there were reported to be a 'fair number of supporters' from Winchester among the 2,000-strong crowd.⁴²⁸ Trains offered the most reliable means of attending away matches, and local railway companies encouraged travelling supporters by offering reduced priced tickets for specific games. When Winchester F.C. played at Bournemouth in 1888 the London and South Western Railway Company offered 'special cheap tickets [...] and about sixty took advantage of this privilege, enabling them to watch the match and

⁴²² *HC* 29 December 1888 p7; *BG* 28 December 1889 p5.

⁴²³ *HC* 20 April 1895 p3.

⁴²⁴ *HO* 26 January 1889 p7.

⁴²⁵ *HC* 13 April 1889 p7; *BG* 13 April 1889 p2.

⁴²⁶ *HC* 21 January 1888 p3.

⁴²⁷ *HC* 26 November 1887 p6.

⁴²⁸ *HC* 14 December 1889 p2.

support the city men'.⁴²⁹ Later that year, the same company were 'issuing double journey tickets at reduced fares' to Winchester supporters travelling to the Senior Cup final at Southampton.⁴³⁰

Little social or demographic information describing these spectators can be found. However, it appears that the crowds of the late 1880s were socially diverse. In reporting the excitement evident in the city on the day of Winchester F.C.'s appearance in the 1888 Senior Cup final, the *Hampshire Chronicle* noted that the game was:

The topic of conversation and good wishes amongst all classes in the city and neighbourhood. Under these circumstances it was not surprising to find the platform of the Railway Station on Saturday crowded with passengers of all ages, classes and opinions for the 1.06pm down train [to Southampton where the game was held].⁴³¹

The diversity found among local soccer crowds was emphasised further by C.S. Wooldridge later that year. Responding to a complaint from "Nemo" alleging that footballers regularly used offensive language, Wooldridge defended his fellow players by stating that 'the support which the game receives from all classes of society, and from ladies in particular, is sufficient evidence to refute 'Nemo's' assertion without further remarks'.⁴³²

Wooldridge's mention of the presence of women among the spectators was not an isolated one. Several references to female soccer spectators can be found, in particular at games played by the middle-class Winchester F.C. As early as February 1885, four months after the club's formation, it was noted that one of its matches was 'watched by a considerable number of spectators, among whom were to be seen several of the fair sex'.⁴³³ Reports suggest that the women watching were engaged in the proceedings. It was noted at an 1886 game that among the large crowd 'there was also a considerable number of the fair sex, who seemed fully to appreciate any good kicks or runs that were made'.⁴³⁴ The attendance of women was encouraged by waiving the entrance fee and by making specific arrangements for their accommodation.⁴³⁵ For example, a 'special feature' at the 1889 six-a-side tournament was:

The "ladies corner", a specially roped enclosure alongside one of the grounds, in which the lady visitors were able to witness the match under the watchful care of the police, and without the crunch incidental elsewhere.⁴³⁶

⁴²⁹ HC 28 January 1888 p5.

⁴³⁰ HC 10 March 1888 p7.

⁴³¹ HC 17 March 1888 p3.

⁴³² HC 21 April 1888 p7.

⁴³³ HC 21 February 1885 p7.

⁴³⁴ HC 4 December 1886 p7.

⁴³⁵ HC 24 November 1888 p6.

⁴³⁶ BG 28 December 1889 p5.

Women continued to watch local soccer games into the 1890s. While spectators were charged 3d. to attend the 1894 Tebbutt Cup final, women were, again, offered free entry, although there is no record of how many took advantage of this concession.⁴³⁷ However, references to women attending soccer matches became less frequent during the early years of the decade. This coincided with a decline in active public support for the Winchester F.C., and may reflect an increasing proletarianization of the sport locally, a development which may have made the experience of attending games less palatable to many middle-class female spectators.

Those who attended soccer matches were generally well behaved. Certainly, no cases relating to misdemeanours taking place among those watching games were brought before the Winchester City Bench during the period. There are, however, a few examples of crowd behaviour which drew the opprobrium of the local newspapers. For example, at a football match - albeit played to the rugby code – staged at Winchester between the Training College and the Southampton Trojans in 1887, it was reported that the ‘goodly throng’ of spectators ‘did not add to the enjoyment of the game, for in their zeal rather overstepped the boundary line’.⁴³⁸ Similarly, the passion shown by some of the spectators attending the 1894 cup ‘derby’ game between the Winchester and the Rifle Depot clubs was newsworthy for, as the *Hampshire Chronicle* noted, at the final whistle there was ‘a great deal of feeling and excitement’ expressed by those present.⁴³⁹ Although neither incident involved unacceptable behaviour, both illustrate the degree of enthusiasm and emotional involvement that some experienced through watching football.

3.10 Local Media

Local soccer reporting increased substantially in the ten years from 1884, reflecting the growth of interest in the game in the city. In the *Hampshire Chronicle*, match reports, which had previously been dispersed randomly across several pages, began to be collected into a single column and published under the capitalised heading ‘FOOTBALL’.⁴⁴⁰ Each week from the start of the 1891/92 season, the *Hampshire Chronicle* published a list of forthcoming soccer fixtures.⁴⁴¹ By 1894, the

⁴³⁷ *HC* 7 April 1894 p4.

⁴³⁸ *HA* 29 October 1887 p8.

⁴³⁹ *HC* 8 December 1894 p6.

⁴⁴⁰ The first ‘Football’ column published in the *Hampshire Chronicle* appeared on 27 February 1886 p3.

⁴⁴¹ These lists were often extensive – one published in October 1891 included sixty-three upcoming local games. *HC* 24 October 1891 p2.

newspaper's editors acknowledged the local appetite for soccer-related news and, keen to expand its coverage, published a request that:

Secretaries of local football clubs and others interested in the game are required to forward to us their lists of fixtures and also the accounts of matches as they are played.⁴⁴²

The *Hampshire Observer* also expanded its coverage of sport in the 1890s. Previously, the newspaper had included occasional brief soccer reports but, from October 1892, it introduced a weekly 'Sports and Games' column. However, it was acknowledged that its coverage of soccer was restricted owing to limitations of space, announcing in 1894 that 'an attempt to do more here than give the bare result of the leading [soccer] matches would prove impractical'.⁴⁴³ Despite this restriction, sports reporting remained an important part of the *Observer's* content. When, in 1895, it was acquired by a new owner, a new vision for the publication was stated:

In accordance with the spirit of the age, we shall give due attention to sport [...] the day has long since passed when any apology need be made for chronicling, as fully as circumstances permit, the incidents and doughty deeds performed on the cricket and football fields.⁴⁴⁴

By the end of the year, both newspapers were devoting large sections of print to football matters. On one December weekend, each allocated two columns to the sport. In addition, the *Observer* included the comments of 'Goalkeeper', the newspaper's dedicated football correspondent, who reported local soccer developments and provided his thoughts on the game in general.⁴⁴⁵

The city's newspapers prioritised local sporting events, with high-profile soccer games played in the city granted greater coverage than nationally important matches. For example, the *Observer* devoted 1,800 words to a report on the Wimborne cup match, while the *Chronicle* published an 850-word report on the same game.⁴⁴⁶ By contrast, the *Chronicle* made no mention of the F.A. Cup finals of either 1884 or 1885, while those of 1886 and 1889 were summarised in fewer than six lines.⁴⁴⁷ As late as 1895, the national cup final only received twenty-two lines of coverage.⁴⁴⁸ The emphasis on

⁴⁴² *HC* 22 September 1894 p8.

⁴⁴³ *HO* 13 October 1894 p2

⁴⁴⁴ Editorial in the *HO* 5 October 1895 p4.

⁴⁴⁵ *HC* 7 December 1895 p3; *HO* 7 December 1895 p3.

⁴⁴⁶ *HO* 4 December 1886 p6; *HC* 4 December 1886 p7.

⁴⁴⁷ The report of the 1886 final did not include the final score of the game. *HC* 10 April 1886 p6; *HC* 6 April 1889 p6.

⁴⁴⁸ *HC* 27 April 1895 p6.

local games was a commercially-driven response to the challenge presented by the newly-emergent national daily newspapers. Local publications adopted in-depth reporting of local sport in the knowledge that they would be delivering a news service which the national newspapers were unable to provide, while simultaneously helping to develop a sense of local loyalty among its readership.⁴⁴⁹

Despite its focus on the local game, the *Chronicle* did, from the start of the 1892/93 season, publish the results from the Football League.⁴⁵⁰ Later, the newspaper was prepared to include some brief, and often banal, commentary alongside these results. The broadening scope of coverage was encouraged by the success in the early 1890s of the Southampton's St. Mary's F.C. When, in 1891, the club first entered the F.A. Cup, the *Chronicle's* report of its second round tie extended to seventy lines, compared to the nine committed to the Winchester Swallows' game played on the same day.⁴⁵¹ Similarly, when St. Mary's joined the Southern League in 1894, their debut match received extensive coverage in the Winchester newspapers.⁴⁵²

Through the inclusion of soccer-related reports the local media inevitably heightened the Winchester public's awareness of the game. Between 1884 and 1895, soccer in Winchester, which had been the preserve of private schools and adolescent boys, was transformed into a game which occupied the thoughts of an increasingly large number of Wintonians. Although the national media played an important role in this, it was the local media that promoted the local game, helping establish a popular soccer culture in the city and providing a foundation for its development during the following decades.

3.11 Incentives, Motivations and Attitudes to Soccer

The evidence suggests that the motivations which drove Wintonians to adopt soccer in the 1880s were similar to those which had encouraged the city's sports enthusiasts in earlier decades.⁴⁵³ For soccer players these included competitiveness and the desire to win, the opportunity to demonstrate personal masculinity, and the pride in representing the local area. Spectators were drawn to soccer principally for the excitement and amusement that the game offered. But the additional entertainments that were occasionally provided at matches, gambling, and the collective sociability inherent in being part of a crowd presented secondary attractions. These motivations can

⁴⁴⁹ A. Walker 'Reporting Play, the Local Newspaper and Sports Journalism c. 1870-1914' in *Journalism Studies* vol. 7 no.3 (2006) 452-62.

⁴⁵⁰ These first appeared in *HC* 15 October 1892 p3.

⁴⁵¹ *HC* 31 October 1891 p7.

⁴⁵² *HC* 13 October 1894 p6.

⁴⁵³ See Section 2.5.3.

reveal much about contemporary local attitudes towards soccer. Each of these, along with an assessment of the impact of both professionalism and commercialism on the local game, are examined in this section.

While some soccer club members may have championed the amateur ideal of playing the game principally for pleasure, there is, nevertheless, evidence that winning – and the attendant glory – remained important to others. The desire to win was clearly expressed by the president of the Winchester F.C. in 1888. In justifying the club's decision to select its team from a small coterie of experienced players, to the chagrin of its younger members, he said 'if the Club were to win the cup they must play as nearly as possible the same team, which must at the same time be the best team'.⁴⁵⁴ Clubs might occasionally resort to devious measures in their pursuit of victory. In 1894, the Winchester F.C. was forced to play the Rifle Depot with only ten men after one rifleman - who ordinarily played for the city club - was forbidden, on the afternoon of the game, from playing by his commanding officers.⁴⁵⁵

The opportunity for glory was an acknowledged enticement for new players to take up soccer. When, in 1886, the Portsmouth Football Association launched a knockout cup competition for Hampshire and Sussex clubs it did so with the stated intention 'to popularise the national game under Association Rules in the district'.⁴⁵⁶ More locally, the Tebbutt Cup was offered, at the time that the Winchester F.C. was in decline, as a competitive prize in the hope of reviving soccer in the city, it being noted in the *Sporting Life* that 'a cup competition among the smaller clubs there might be the means of raising Hampshire's ancient city to its old place in the football field'.⁴⁵⁷ Similarly in Winchester's schools, the introduction of competitive inter-house contests with trophies for the winners - such as the Hawkins Cup at Winchester College – gave structure to school games and provided an incentive for pupil participation. In the military, too, the glory of winning a trophy served to encourage the playing of the game. The donation of the Rifle Depot Challenge Clock in 1893 initiated the formation of battalion soccer teams within Winchester's rifle regiments.

Soccer also offered the chance for participants to display their individual masculinity. A recurrent theme expressed during the period was that soccer was a manly game and those who played it demonstrated an admirable and heroic masculinity. Certainly, there was a degree of pride detectable in soccer players' stoic acceptance of the well-documented injuries which were incurred

⁴⁵⁴ HC 6 October 1888 p5.

⁴⁵⁵ HC 8 December 1894 p6.

⁴⁵⁶ The Portsmouth Football Association was, confusingly, a soccer club rather than, as its name might suggest, an administrative body. HT 14 August 1886 p2.

⁴⁵⁷ *Sporting Life* 4 October 1893 p2.

during games.⁴⁵⁸ This was evident in an 1888 article published in the *Hampshire Advertiser* in which the author looked forward – with humour, but seemingly genuine - to the forthcoming football season, commenting that:

Usually every season has its list of casualties, but these are now little thought of except by the parties concerned, perhaps, and their friends. What is a damaged shin, or a broken leg, for instance, compared with the honour of having taken part in this Homeric strife?⁴⁵⁹

Similar sentiments - combined with an element of nationalistic jingoism - were voiced in Winchester earlier in that same year. During a game between two military teams, Captain Hornby of the Rifle Depot collided with Lieutenant Westmoreland of the Hampshire Depot, the former breaking his right leg a few inches above the ankle.⁴⁶⁰ A few days later it was reported that Hornby was ‘progressing favourably, and looks forward to more “kicks” with the pluck of an Englishman and an officer’.⁴⁶¹

It was expected that such injuries should be borne – and administered – with a manly indifference. A Winchester F.C. player was lauded in the *Hampshire Chronicle* for ‘showing his pluck by resuming his position’ after he momentarily had to leave the field after receiving a ‘nasty’ kick to his leg.⁴⁶² When playing for the same club, C.S. Wooldridge was subjected to some ‘very rough play’. He responded by knocking an opponent over and breaking his collar bone, an action which failed to generate any condemnation in the subsequent newspaper reports of the game.⁴⁶³ Roughness was an accepted - and often welcomed - component of the game, and an absence of physicality during a match could be viewed disapprovingly. When the Winchester College team played the Winchester F.C. for the first time what ensued was reported to be ‘a tame game with no rough play, if such a thing is possible’.⁴⁶⁴ There were, however, limits to the degree of violence that was acceptable during a match, especially it seems if the culprits were working class. The shipbuilders of the Southampton-based Woolston Works F.C. had acquired a reputation for physical play and, after a match with the Winchester F.C., its players were admonished with the complaint that ‘it is a great pity, however, that the [Woolston] team cannot play according to the spirit of the rules, as it is not in the interest of football to have a man or two laid up after a match’.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁸ ‘We do not hesitate to say that football nowadays too often degenerates into a species of “free fight”. The number of broken legs and other accidents already sustained this season bear tribute to this’. *The Lancet* quoted in *HA* 24 November 1886 p4.

⁴⁵⁹ *HA* 27 October 1888 p6.

⁴⁶⁰ *HC* 21 January 1888 p5.

⁴⁶¹ *HA* 28 January 1888 p7.

⁴⁶² *HC* 28 January 1888 p5.

⁴⁶³ *HC* 20 November 1886 p6.

⁴⁶⁴ *HC* 26 February 1887 p2.

⁴⁶⁵ *HC* 10 March 1888 p7.

Demonstrations of masculinity through playing soccer were made more effective by the presence of women among the spectators. As has been noted, in the late 1880s and early 1890s, a notable proportion of the crowds that attended matches in the city were women. It is tempting to believe that their presence at matches, which provided an opportunity to show off an individual's manly credentials, had an influence over some of the players' decisions to take up the game.

There is evidence that, for some of the individuals involved in Winchester soccer, civic pride and the concept that a club might represent local identity, was a driver for their participation in the game. In 1891, when the Winchester F.C. first considered its own dissolution, the club president thought it would be 'a *disgrace to Winchester* if there was not public spirit enough among the young men to give the necessary practical assistance to such a club, when nearly every village in the kingdom supported a like institution' [my emphasis].⁴⁶⁶ At a more prosaic level, a soccer club's sense of civic identity might be displayed through its involvement in community-led ventures unconnected with its sport. This was demonstrated in 1889 by the predominantly working-class Rovers F.C. who participated in the popular annual Bonfire Night parade by riding 'a well-lighted car' through the city. Also included in the procession were carts supplied by other city institutions, including its police, fire brigade, Volunteer Force, and some local businesses. It is notable that the more patrician Winchester F.C. did not take part in the celebrations of that, or any other, year.⁴⁶⁷

One motivation which was largely absent in Winchester was playing soccer as a means of earning money. After much discussion, in 1885 the national F.A. legislated to permit its clubs to pay their players, introducing professionalism into what had previously been a strictly amateur sport. Despite its sanction from the F.A., professionalism was not immediately or universally accepted throughout the country. Broadly, professionalism was welcomed by some of the northern clubs, but mainly greeted with hostility in the south. However, as William Pickford later wrote, Hampshire presented an exception to this rule:

Hampshire never subscribed to the 'professionals barred' theory, and though professionalism was not encouraged, the growth of the game was not hampered by any sitting on the safety valve. Although this was the case, it was some years before anything like professionalism spread.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ HC 21 November 1891 p5.

⁴⁶⁷ HC 9 November 1889 p5.

⁴⁶⁸ A. Gibson and W. Pickford *Association Football and the Men Who Made It* (London, 1905) vol. 1 104.

Yet professionalism was not common at the Winchester F.C. Although Pickford claims that the ‘first player registered [as a professional] with the Football Association in all the broad countryside between London and Bristol was one William Winkworth, a half back of the Winchester Town Club’, it is notable that, in the 1891 Census, Winkworth recorded his employment as being a carpenter.⁴⁶⁹ This suggests that he regarded any money he received through playing soccer as supplementary to his principal source of income. No other players that appeared for the club during this period were recorded as being professionals, and it is unlikely that any money, beyond some basic reimbursement of expenses, was available to players.

The absence of professionalism among Winchester’s soccer players was matched by the apparent indifference towards excessive commercialism exhibited by the city’s clubs. No local soccer club was established with the intention of generating a profit. The decision to both charge spectators to watch games and to host money-raising smoking concerts were motivated by the need to defray the club’s expenses. This is in contrast to the contemporary situation in other parts of the country, notably in the north and midlands, where financial gain was a driver for an aggressive commercialisation of the game.⁴⁷⁰ In Winchester, no individual appears to have benefited financially from soccer and any surplus funds generated by the club in any one season were carried over in the accounts to help cover any expenditure in the one that followed. At this time, there was little money to be made locally from soccer. To illustrate, when the Winchester F.C. was dissolved, its account stood in credit, after nine operational years, at a mere £1 5s. 11½ d. and that it was believed that, after meeting its outstanding liabilities, the club ‘anticipated that there would be a few shillings in hand’.⁴⁷¹

It can be confidently supposed that spectators at games were primarily attracted by the prospect of excitement. The cost willingly incurred by spectators – both in spare time and money - suggest that they regarded watching two hours of soccer to be a worthwhile activity. There were, however, additional attractions which may have enticed people to games. At higher profile matches a ‘refreshment tent’ was occasionally erected and a band employed to provide musical entertainment before a match, and during the half time interval.⁴⁷² There is also evidence that gambling took place on matchdays. In 1888, it was reported that the rivalry which had emerged between the Winchester

⁴⁶⁹ Gibson and Pickford *Men Who Made It* vol. 4, 59.

⁴⁷⁰ Budd notes that the absences of a local sporting tradition, a local aristocracy, and an established amateur ethos, helped to create an environment in late-nineteenth-century Middlesbrough ideal for the development of commercialised and professionalised sport. These conditions did not apply to Winchester. Budd *Sport in Urban England* (London, 2017) 23.

⁴⁷¹ *HC* 15 July 1893 p5.

⁴⁷² A refreshment tent was installed at Bar End for the 1889 Boxing Day six-a-side tournament. *HC* 28 December 1889 p3.

and Andover clubs had its origins in the latter's supporters having offered 'very long odds' on their team at an earlier match between the two.⁴⁷³ Similarly, at the 1888 Senior Cup final:

Woolston appeared to be the favourite team with those who wanted to add a little to their natural interest by putting something on the game, as odds of 6 to 4 against Winchester were offered and soon taken up.⁴⁷⁴

It is possible to speculate that the social connection which results from being part of a crowd provided an additional attraction for spectators. Although the number of spectators at Winchester soccer games were not especially high, they were sufficiently large to engender a sense of camaraderie among those present, especially for regular attenders. Although not directly referenced in the evidence, it might be expected that a sense of belonging and a communal purpose arose among those watching the city's soccer teams, and that this proved to be an important factor in an individual's decision to attend games.

3.12 Conclusion

The formation of the South Hampshire and Dorset F.A. in 1884 had a galvanising, although not immediate, effect on soccer in Winchester and its surrounding area. By providing a forum through which rules could be agreed, games could be organised, disputes settled and, crucially, cup competitions could be organised, the Association – and its successor from 1887, the Hampshire F.A. – established the infrastructure necessary to facilitate and encourage soccer's development in the local area. This model proved so successful that it was later replicated at the subcounty level throughout Hampshire, including in Winchester with the establishment of the Winchester and District F.A. in 1891. These developments contrasted with those in local rugby football where, despite being the dominant code in the county throughout the 1870s, the Hampshire Rugby Football Union was not formed until 1888. The Union launched its own challenge cup competition that same year but, by that time, soccer was locally ascendant and enthusiasm for rugby was waning.

The Winchester F.C. was originally formed by members of the city's cricket club, and its early teams were composed of a combination of enthusiastic players, interested novices, and local schoolboys. Through its affiliation, in 1886, to the local F.A., the club was able to enter its first competitive cup competition. This, along with its participation in the years which followed, encouraged better players to join the club, garnered heightened exposure for the local game, and drew paying spectators to matches. Each helped the club grow throughout the late 1880s, and to

⁴⁷³ HC 24 March 1888 p3.

⁴⁷⁴ HC 10 March 1888 p7.

popularise soccer among the population of the city. However, the Winchester F.C. remained an exclusive club with a largely middle-class membership. The club was reminiscent of many of the earlier sports clubs which had been established in the city. It received support from the local elite, assumed that it represented the city, played sport principally for the amusement of its members, and the basis of its formation were the social connections which existed between its members. This latter was sustained through a conviviality based partly on its exclusiveness. Consequently, as its longer-term members aged or left the city, it faced difficulties recruiting younger players as replacements. After nine years, and in a further echo of the sports clubs that preceded it, the Winchester F.C. was dissolved largely due to a loss of interest among its members.

But soccer differed from earlier sports in that it attracted an active following among the local working class. In the same year that the Winchester F.C. was founded, a second local soccer club was established, the Rovers F.C. Composed largely of working-class artisans, the Rovers established themselves as the city's 'second' soccer team despite the absence of support from the local social elite. In this they were assisted by their entry to the Hampshire F.A.'s cup competitions, but also benefited from welcoming locally-based soldiers into their side. That a working-class club was able to arrange a lengthy programme of both weekday and Saturday fixtures was the result of several of the Rovers' players having some control over their working time. Many of its players were skilled manual workers employed to complete specific tasks by a specific date, and were not restricted, as shop and office workers were, by fixed hours of employment. At the time, the Rovers were the most successful example of a Winchester sports club which was created and sustained through working-class agency.

This agency was also demonstrated through the establishment of a number of minor soccer clubs in the city. These were formed by younger, often teenaged, working-class boys with no assistance from the local F.A. and no patronage beyond, possibly, the support of a local church. These teams managed to arrange and finance their own games, even on occasion travelling as far as Southampton to play. While these clubs rarely survived more than a few seasons, they provide evidence of the growing enthusiasm for soccer among the youth of the city during the late 1880s.

Neither the Winchester F.C. nor the Rovers survived to 1895. During the early 1890s, the earlier enthusiasm shown in Winchester for soccer deadened slightly. Newspaper reports of games were fewer, the Hampshire F.A. no longer held important matches in the city, and many of the middle-class sports enthusiasts who previously might have joined the Winchester F.C. enrolled, instead, to the newly established Winchester Hockey Club. Despite this, another soccer club in the city, the Winchester Swallows F.C., emerged from the dissolved Rovers. Initially featuring players who had appeared earlier for some of the city's minor clubs, it was boosted in 1893 by an influx of middle-class players from the now-disbanded Winchester F.C. However, the Swallows, remained a

largely working-class soccer club, drawing its players from the same pool of artisan workers and locally stationed soldiers which had sustained the Rovers. The Swallows, who competed in the Hampshire F.A.'s Junior and Minor - but not the Senior - cup competitions, played football at a lower level than the Winchester F.C., but were still able to attract supporters, and, after 1893, benefited from more extensive coverage in the local newspapers. Increased coverage of the sport in the early 1890s, in both the local and national newspapers, encouraged the public's interest in the sport, as did the contemporary successes and national exposure being gained by the St. Mary's team in nearby Southampton.

The games played by all three of Winchester's larger soccer clubs attracted spectators, the presence of whom is an indication of the popularisation of the sport. The limited evidence suggests that, in the early years of Winchester soccer, crowds were diverse and were composed of people of all ages, classes and genders. The universal appeal of soccer declined over time and, as the 1890s progressed, fewer comments are found noting diversity among spectators. But the game remained the most watched winter sport in the city.

The local military also recognised the positive impact of soccer. It could improve the fitness and morale of the soldiers, act as an aid to recruitment, and serve as a means by which the army's relationship with the local population might be improved. From 1887, soccer was more formally organised within the regiments stationed in Winchester, and the teams that were formed played games between themselves, against other regiments, and with local civilian and school sides. As mentioned, several soldiers also appeared for the civilian teams based in the town.

The interest shown in soccer at Winchester's private schools, some of which had been the earliest adopters of the game locally, was maintained and expanded during this time. The growth in pupil numbers at individual schools, combined with a realisation of the character-building benefits to be gained from the game, and the enthusiasm of a new generation of soccer-playing assistant masters, all encouraged the game's development within local academic institutions. At Winchester College, and despite the pride with which it regarded its own version of football, soccer playing came to be adopted by the pupils. By 1895, soccer was the principal sport played during the College's spring term, an inter-house soccer competition had been introduced, and occasional games were arranged against external opponents. But these changes had a limited impact on the wider city and the College remained removed and disconnected from Winchester's growing soccer culture. The success of soccer at Winchester's private schools hastened the local decline of rugby football. Rugby playing had been proscribed by most schools due to the dangers inherent in the game, but the decision, made at the end of 1890, by the authorities at the Training College to abandon rugby football in favour of soccer signalled the moment when Winchester became a wholly soccer town. Rugby football was not played regularly again anywhere in the city for another forty years. However,

these developments had little impact on those schoolchildren - the majority in Winchester - who attended the city's elementary schools. For them, no accommodation was made in the curriculum for soccer or any other football activity.

Individuals engaged with soccer, either as players or spectators, for a variety of reasons. While the enjoyment to be gained from the game was the most likely motive for involvement in soccer, a number of additional drivers can also be detected. Included among these was the desire for victory and glory, the potential for which was greatly enhanced by the proliferation of competitive tournaments which emerged during the period. Locally, however, very few people's involvement with soccer was motivated by financial gain, the game being both amateur and largely non-commercial.

Soccer was also regarded as a physical and unequivocally manly activity, and the opportunity for the public display of masculinity was, for some, an effective inducement for participation. However, the arrival of soccer to Winchester magnifies the class-based discrepancies found within contemporary conceptions of masculinity. At first, the local game, which was initially largely the preserve of the middle class, was celebrated for its physicality, roughness and danger. Kicks, injuries and violence were tolerated, and often actively welcomed, as a mark of the manly forbearance and 'pluck' of the players. It is interesting to note, however, that a very vocal disapproval was expressed when similar levels of aggression were demonstrated by working-class opponents. There was a distinction drawn between the noble and manly physicality shown on the soccer field by the middle class and the barbarism of the workers. As had been the case in earlier decades, the working class were encouraged to play soccer, not with the aim of encouraging self-expression but, instead, with the hope of engendering 'purity, temperance, thrift and general morality' while also deflecting the 'attractions of the ale house'. A similar disparity was to be found at the city's schools. In the fee-paying private sector, games such as soccer were employed as a method of training pupils in courage, self-discipline, loyalty and patience – each a component of middle-class manliness. Working-class pupils attending elementary schools were not granted similar opportunities. Their physical recreation was restricted to military drill, an exercise designed to instil an acceptance of control and external discipline, obedience being regarded as a trait more appropriate to their class than the self-expression encouraged in their middle-class peers.

The growing enthusiasm for soccer in Winchester was constrained by a few practical obstacles. Chief among these was the shortage of space suitable for play. While some of the schools had access to their own playing space, and the military was able to utilise its own cricket ground, other soccer teams had to rent pitches independently. The Bar End ground was in high demand and its tenants, the Winchester Cricket Club, consequently acted as a gatekeeper to the field, controlling who could access the pitch for soccer games, and when. The playing fields owned by the city's

schools and military were also available to rent but access to these was, again, at the owners' discretion. Publicly accessible space for soccer in the city remained largely limited to Oram's Arbour, where conflicts with other users and houseowners provided further pressures on its use. The shortage of available space, and the financial requirements to facilitate access, acted as a brake on the playing and popularisation of soccer in Winchester during this period.

Time was, for some soccer enthusiasts, an equally scarce commodity. While many members of the middle and skilled working classes were, by 1895, able to exercise some level of control over their working time, a substantial proportion of the city's workforce, notably those engaged in clerical and retail occupations, had only limited free time available, affecting their capacity to both play and watch soccer games. The efforts of the local Early Closing Movement, after thirty years of trying, had yet to secure either a half-day closing on a Thursday, or the half holiday on a Saturday afternoon which by that time was a common phenomenon in other British towns.

These obstacles were partly to be addressed in the years between 1895 and the outbreak of the First World War. Their removal, combined with the increasing local popularity of the game during these twenty years, would contribute to a boom in soccer activity, and an increase in the number of active clubs and teams, in Winchester. Soccer's increasing popularity in the city, and the circumstances which drove it, will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Winchester's Soccer Boom, 1895-1914

4.1 Introduction

After the enthusiasm with which soccer was initially taken up during the 1880s, the sport was, by the early 1890s, seemingly losing its appeal. The dissolution of the city's two highest-profile clubs suggested that the local game might prove to be another short-lived sporting fad. In its first few seasons, the successor to the two dissolved soccer clubs - the Winchester Swallows F.C. - showed little potential to stimulate a broader interest in the game and, despite increased soccer activity within the city's schools and the military, the sport had yet to fully establish itself within Winchester's popular recreational culture.

Yet the two decades from 1895 saw a resurgence of interest in the game which is described here as Winchester's soccer boom. These years witnessed the establishment of several new local soccer competitions, and the foundation of numerous soccer clubs and teams in the city. By 1914, soccer was Winchester's principal winter sport, with a popularity to rival that of summertime cricket.

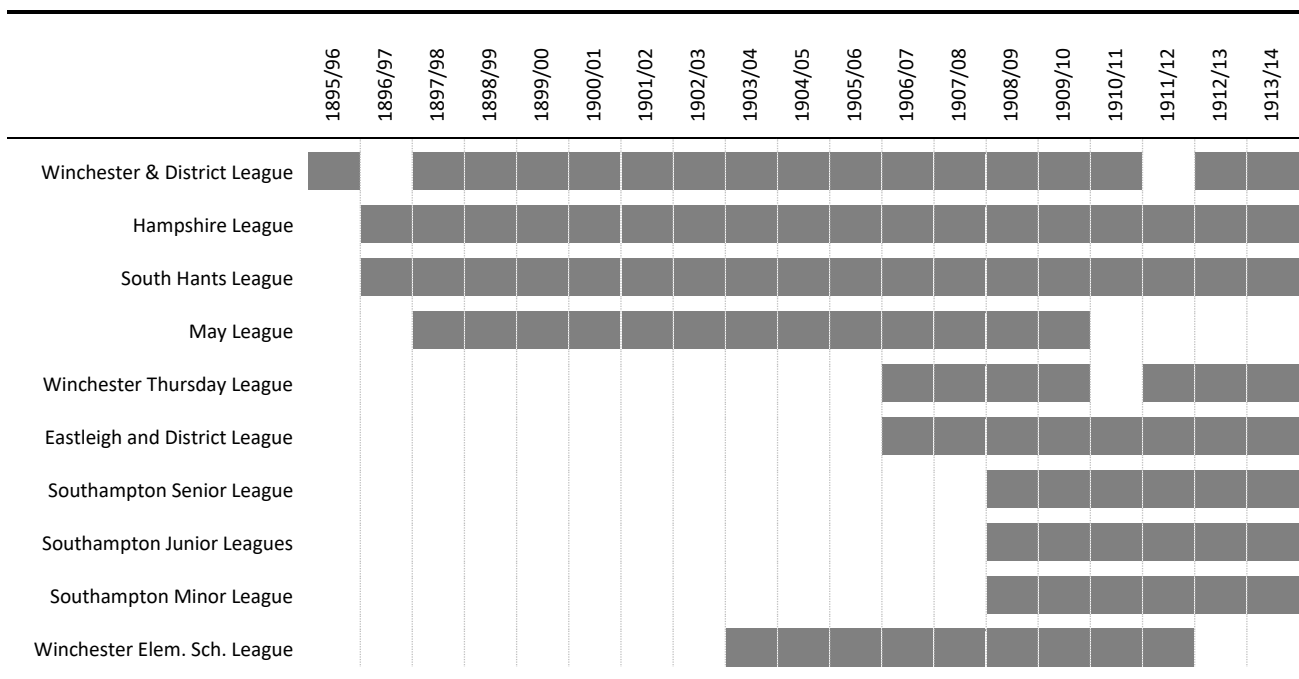
A range of factors enabled this boom in Winchester's soccer. Regionally, the efforts of soccer's administrative bodies in support of an increasingly diverse range of competitive tournaments, and the high-profile national successes of Hampshire's local professional clubs, served to encourage an interest in the game among Wintonians. Locally, changes to working time, availability of playing spaces, the support of patrons, and the ability of even small soccer clubs to raise finances helped to create an environment favourable to the game's development. In addition, the ongoing and expanding enthusiasm for the game within the local education and military establishments added to the diversity of the city's growing soccer culture.

This chapter begins by mapping the expanding range of local soccer competitions which were open to Winchester's soccer teams, and the coincident increase in the number of clubs which were established in the city. The developments in local military and school soccer, and the popular support that the game acquired, are also recorded. Throughout, profiles of the participants, their motivations, popular attitudes towards the game, and the conditions which served to facilitate the development of the sport locally, are analysed.

4.2 New Local Soccer Competitions⁴⁷⁵

By 1895, despite a modest increase in the numbers of clubs and players in the city, soccer’s popular development in Winchester had stalled slightly. What was lacking was the ability for any local club to arrange a series of competitive, as opposed to ‘friendly’, fixtures. The only genuinely competitive matches were those associated with the three knockout cups administered by the Hampshire F.A. Although cup games generated excitement among players and spectators, Winchester clubs experienced few successful cup runs. An early defeat in a cup competition left clubs with only ‘friendly’ games to play for the remainder of the season.

This situation changed in the second half of the 1890s as several new local league-based competitions were launched. The benefits to be gained through league competitions - where all competing teams played each other twice per season – were evident from recent experiences in the north of the country where the Football League had been staged annually since 1888/89. This demonstrated that regular competitive games raised both attendances and revenue. Writing in the *Hampshire Observer* in 1896, the columnist ‘Goalkeeper’ commented that, in the north, only league and cup games were capable of drawing a crowd to a soccer game.⁴⁷⁶



Graph 10. Local soccer leagues open to Winchester-based clubs, by season, 1895-1914

⁴⁷⁵ The local soccer tournaments open to Winchester’s teams between 1895 to 1914, and the city clubs entered each, are shown in Appendix B and Appendix C.

⁴⁷⁶ *HO* 11 January 1896 p3.

The first league competition to be held in the Winchester area, launched in the 1895/96 season, was a small-scale contest for local junior clubs. However, during the subsequent decade, several new leagues were established which were open to Winchester-based soccer clubs. The seasons in which these leagues were contested are shown in Graph 10.

The Winchester and District League

In 1897, the president of the Winchester and District F.A., Arnold Tebbutt, explained what had happened to the cup that, in 1891, he had donated to the local association:

Six years ago I offered a cup and medals for a Football Competition, confined to juniors in Winchester, on the Cup Tie plans. After two years' successful working it fell through, owing to there not being sufficient clubs to compete. It was then altered to a six-a-side competition for Winchester and District, and was fairly successful, until the English Football Association stopped all six-a-side games.⁴⁷⁷

The F.A.'s 1895 ban on six-a-side contests left the Winchester and District F.A. with a trophy without a tournament. Its solution was to establish Winchester's first local league competition - the Winchester and District League - staged in 1895/96. It was founded with the specific aim of encouraging 'the weaker clubs' in the area, for 'as long as there was something to compete for there was more effort put forward and altogether more enthusiasm thrown into the game'.⁴⁷⁸ There was to be no age restriction on the participants and games were to be played on Saturdays.⁴⁷⁹ The winners of the league competition would be awarded the Tebbutt Cup for the year.

The inaugural season of the Winchester and District League was considered a failure. It had been hoped that as many as twelve teams might enter the competition but, ultimately, only four teams did so. Also, the league's rules were regularly broken, resulting in three of the competing clubs receiving points deductions. Consequently, the competition was abandoned after one season.⁴⁸⁰

Despite this early disappointment, the league was relaunched after an absence of one season. Initially, the competition again struggled to attract clubs; only five teams entering in 1897/98 and four in 1898/99. However, the rule infringements which had earlier marred the competition did not recur, and in both seasons the contest was completed satisfactorily.⁴⁸¹ Having established its

⁴⁷⁷ HC 5 June 1897 p6. Tebbutt was misremembering some of this history – the Tebbutt Cup was competed for on a knockout basis over three, not two, consecutive seasons from 1891/92. The F.A.'s 1895 ban on six-a-side tournaments was short-lived.

⁴⁷⁸ HO 26 October 1895 p3.

⁴⁷⁹ HO 9 November 1895 p3.

⁴⁸⁰ HO 25 April 1896 p3.

⁴⁸¹ 'The competition has been a success this season, and hopes are expressed that more clubs will enter next year'. HC 23 April 1898 p6.

viability, the league was able, from the 1899/1900 season, to attract teams in greater numbers. In the subsequent eleven seasons, the league attracted, on average, seven clubs each year from an area covering a ten-mile radius from Winchester.⁴⁸²

The Hampshire League

Of wider regional importance was the establishment, in 1896, of the Hampshire League. The Hampshire F.A. had been keen to form a county league under its auspices for at least three years, but had been impeded by a shortage of enclosed grounds – a necessity if entrance fees were to be charged – and the inability of the top local clubs to cover the expense of frequent journeys for away fixtures.⁴⁸³ By the autumn of 1895, however, the situation had changed. The Hampshire F.A. appointed a subcommittee to examine the possibility of running a countywide league. In February the following year it reported that there was a sufficient number of local clubs with both the financial resources and ground facilities to make the venture viable.⁴⁸⁴ The next month the association agreed to launch the Hampshire League at the start of the 1896/97 season.⁴⁸⁵

For the first seven seasons the Hampshire League maintained a single countywide division, usually of eight teams.⁴⁸⁶ This league split, in 1903/04, into three regional divisions covering the north, west and south of the county, the winners of which subsequently competed in an end-of-season tournament to determine the county champions. The localisation of the leagues reduced travel costs, and aimed to encourage a greater number of participants.⁴⁸⁷ This proved successful – the number of competing clubs rose from eight in 1902/03 to twenty-five in 1903/04.⁴⁸⁸ A further development, from the 1910/11 season, saw the re-introduction of the countywide league, to run in parallel with the regional divisions.⁴⁸⁹ Again, this change was regarded as a success, and the Hampshire League continued as a four-division tournament until it was suspended at the outbreak of the War.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸² The Winchester and District League was 'held in abeyance' during both the 1910/11 and 1911/12 seasons but was restarted again in 1912/13. *HOB*N 14 September 1910 p2; *BG* 14 September 1912 p2.

⁴⁸³ *BG* 20 May 1893 p2.

⁴⁸⁴ *Gannaway Centenary* 3.

⁴⁸⁵ *HC* 14 March 1896 p7.

⁴⁸⁶ There were, however, exceptions in 1900/01 and 1901/02 when fewer teams entered, apparently due to a number of players being away in South Africa fighting in the Boer War.

⁴⁸⁷ *Gannaway Centenary* 15.

⁴⁸⁸ *HC* 2 July 1904 p10.

⁴⁸⁹ *CT* 18 June 1910 p5.

⁴⁹⁰ *HC* 17 June 1911 p10.

The South Hampshire League

A further local league competition, open to 'junior' clubs, was also inaugurated during the 1896/97 season. The creation of the South Hampshire League was the idea of the Winchester F.C.'s secretary, who:

Saw clearly that something was needed to give the local adherents of the game a more thoroughly sportsmanlike system of matches; and at the same time to afford opportunities of playing within a reasonable district and with clubs well fitted to give opposing teams a good sound afternoon's play.⁴⁹¹

It was also hoped that the competition would galvanise support for the city's premier club:

There is a great deal of interest being taken in the prospects of the South Hants League; and when the interest rises to enthusiasm, as it may easily rise, the doings of the Winchester Club will be followed closely by all lovers of athletics in the city.⁴⁹²

Initially, entry was limited to clubs based within fourteen miles of Southampton – an area which included Winchester.⁴⁹³

The South Hants League was instantly successful. In its first year it attracted nine teams, ensuring each entrant club sixteen competitive games throughout the course of the season. The number of entrants remained high – eight clubs featured in both 1897/98 and 1898/99, with ten competing in 1901/02. However, the League's finances were clearly stretched; as late as the 1905/06 season – its tenth – the League's organising committee was expressing the hope that they might be able to raise sufficient funds to purchase a trophy to be awarded to the winners.⁴⁹⁴ Despite this, the competition was run successfully in each year to 1914.

The May League

A further local league competition – the May League - was established in the 1897/98 season. Its origins lay in the preceding season when the Basingstoke brewer and philanthropist, John May, donated a 'challenge cup' to his local soccer club to be awarded to the winners of a new tournament.⁴⁹⁵ Initially the competition was held on a knockout basis and was open to clubs based in north Hampshire. The first season attracted seven entrants and games were played between

⁴⁹¹ *HO* 5 September 1896 p3.

⁴⁹² *ibid.*

⁴⁹³ The qualification radius was extended to twenty miles from Southampton at the start of the League's second season but was reduced to fifteen miles in 1903/04 due to the growth of other neighbouring leagues. *HC* 9 October 1897 p2; *SE* 21 August 1903 p3.

⁴⁹⁴ *HC* 26 August 1905 p8.

⁴⁹⁵ *HBG* 26 September 1896 p6. This was the same John May who, in 1879, had also donated the Basingstoke Cup as the prize for a knockout soccer tournament (see Section 2.4.4.).

February and April 1897, with the Winchester-based Hants Depot winning in the final in front of 600 spectators.⁴⁹⁶ In the following season entry remained restricted to north Hampshire clubs, but the competition was to be conducted on a league basis, a format which was retained for a further thirteen seasons. However, when, in August 1910, only two clubs had applied to join the league for the coming season, it was decided to hold the competition in abeyance for a year. The competition then returned to its original knockout format, open to teams based within 20 miles of Basingstoke, from 1911/12.⁴⁹⁷

The Winchester Thursday League



Figure 11. The Eagle Athletic F.C., winners of the Thursday League 1911/12, with the Citizens' Cup.
Picture courtesy of Dave Fry.

From 1896, Thursday afternoons were gradually adopted as a half-day holiday in Winchester on which shops and offices shut at 2.00pm and, by 1900, this early closing had been widely accepted by the city's business community. The introduction of a work-free midweek afternoon prompted the formation of several Thursday-playing soccer clubs in the city.⁴⁹⁸ An extensive culture of Thursday soccer developed in Winchester but, with no local weekday competitions, these clubs were restricted to playing 'friendly' games. A proposal to establish a Thursday soccer league in Winchester

⁴⁹⁶ *HBG* 10 April 1897 p8. As the draw for the first round of the cup was made late in the 1896/97 season in February 1897, it is possible that the May Cup was run as a knockout competition in its first year may due to time constraints, in which case the subsequent change to a league format may have been pre-planned.

⁴⁹⁷ *HOB* 20 September 1911 p2.

⁴⁹⁸ The first Thursday-playing clubs to be launched in the city were the Albion and the Nondescripts, both formed in 1898. At least two further Thursday clubs were formed in the following year.

was agreed by some of the city's junior clubs during the spring of 1906.⁴⁹⁹ This was submitted to the Hampshire F.A. for approval, which was granted later that summer, and the Winchester Thursday League was launched in the 1906/07 season.⁵⁰⁰

The new league was initially well-received, and in its first season seven city-based sides entered the competition. A trophy was acquired – the Citizens' Cup - to be awarded to the winners, its £7 10s. cost being covered by public subscription (see Figure 11).⁵⁰¹ In future seasons, however, fewer teams competed in the league. Only five clubs entered in its second year, and the league never attracted more than six teams in any of the following seasons. So few clubs expressed an interest in joining at the start of the 1910/11 season that the decision was made to suspend the league for that year.⁵⁰² In 1913, in an attempt to encourage more entrants, the qualification area was extended to permit a Basingstoke-based team to enter, a decision which resulted in the League, in its final season before the War, attracting seven entrants, its largest number since its inaugural season.⁵⁰³

The Eastleigh and District League

In 1906, and in addition to the Winchester Thursday League, the Hampshire F.A. also sanctioned the establishment of the Eastleigh and District League, based in Eastleigh, a town six miles south of Winchester. The new league's designated catchment area substantially overlapped that of the Winchester and District League, and it is probable that Eastleigh's league was created to provide the opportunity for local teams which were too weak to compete in the Winchester League to participate in a meaningful soccer contest.⁵⁰⁴ Consequently, a number of Winchester-based sides featured in the Eastleigh League at the same time as several Eastleigh-based teams were playing in the Winchester League. In its first two seasons, the Eastleigh and District League was won by the Winchester Albion F.C.⁵⁰⁵ Other Winchester-based teams entered the league in subsequent seasons, including the Crescent F.C. who featured in three seasons, and the Congregational Institute F.C. who made a solitary appearance in the contest in 1908/09. However, after the 1909/10 season, no clubs from the city entered the Eastleigh league, possibly indicating that the standard of play had risen to a level comparable with that of the Winchester league.

⁴⁹⁹ At least seven local clubs met in 1906 and agreed to approach the Hampshire F.A. for permission to form a Thursday league. *HC* 2 June 1906 p8.

⁵⁰⁰ *HC* 10 April 1907 p8.

⁵⁰¹ *HC* 22 September 1906 p7.

⁵⁰² *HC* 5 August 1911 p2.

⁵⁰³ *HC* 13 September 1913 p9.

⁵⁰⁴ The suggestion that the Eastleigh League was the weaker of the two is supported by the choice made by two clubs – Eastleigh Locomotive and Chandlers Ford United – in 1906 to enter their first teams to the Winchester and District League and their reserve elevens to the Eastleigh League.

⁵⁰⁵ *HC* 4 May 1907 p8; *HA* 31 August 1907 p10.

The Southampton F.A.'s Leagues

As soccer increased in popularity throughout the county the demands being made of the Hampshire F.A. grew. To ease the pressure, several subordinate sub-county Football Associations were formed during the 1890s, such as those established in Portsmouth (1890), Aldershot (1894), and on the Isle of Wight (1898). Yet, despite the help of these local F.A.s, the workload of the Hampshire F.A. continued to increase. Consequently, a fourth sub-county association was formed in Southampton in 1908. At the founding meeting of the Southampton F.A., William Pickford, the secretary of the county association, asserted that the new association 'ought to help the Hants F.A. very materially', adding that it should also 'give a great stimulus to football in the Southampton district'.⁵⁰⁶ When the area to be administered by the Southampton F.A. was defined, Winchester was included at its most northerly extremity.⁵⁰⁷

Mirroring the work of the Hampshire F.A., the Southampton F.A. immediately launched its own knockout-based Senior, Junior and Minor Cup competitions. The new association also assumed responsibility for the South Hants, the Eastleigh and District and the Winchester and District Leagues.⁵⁰⁸ It was proposed that the South Hants League should be refashioned as the Southampton Senior League, but the decision was taken that the South Hants League should remain, and that a new Southampton Senior League competition be initiated in 1908/09.⁵⁰⁹ Simultaneously, the Southampton F.A. established leagues open to junior and minor clubs. At the end of its first season the Southampton leagues were regarded to have been an 'unqualified success' and were continued in each of the six seasons that preceded the outbreak of the war.⁵¹⁰

The Winchester Elementary Schools League

Although soccer may have provided a popular out-of-school pastime for many boys who attended Winchester's elementary schools, few records of organised inter-school games were recorded. This situation changed in 1903 with the introduction of the Winchester Elementary Schools League.⁵¹¹ The league's establishment was announced by Joseph Monaghan, the headmaster of St. Peter's

⁵⁰⁶ SE 14 April 1908 p3.

⁵⁰⁷ Moody *Southampton Local Soccer* 8.

⁵⁰⁸ *ibid.* 17.

⁵⁰⁹ SE 14 April 1908 p3. The justification for retaining the South Hants League is not clear. The entrants to the South Hants League in both the 1908/09 and 1909/10 seasons were almost identical to those that entered the Southampton Senior League.

⁵¹⁰ SE 9 July 1909 p3.

⁵¹¹ It is possible that the establishment of the Elementary Schools League was motivated by the loss of control of the city's elementary schools by the Anglican-controlled Winchester Elementary Schools Council to the Town Council in 1902.

Catholic School, in a letter published by the *Hampshire Chronicle* in which he asked for donations of both money and pitches to support the new venture.⁵¹² The league was welcomed by many Wintonians, and Monaghan's appeals were met. Local politicians, clergy and prominent members of Winchester society were conspicuous among the subscribers, and pitches at the Roebuck Inn, Bar End, Berewecke Road and - from 1904 - the newly-opened, council-owned North Walls Park were made available to the league.⁵¹³ By its second season the league had also received, courtesy of Police Constable Beavis, a trophy to be awarded to the winners.⁵¹⁴

At the start of its first season the Schools League attracted teams from five of the largest of the city's thirteen elementary schools, with a further two joining before it ended.⁵¹⁵ In most of the subsequent seasons, eight schools entered, providing each with fourteen matches each year.⁵¹⁶ Ordinarily, three or four games were played on two pitches each Saturday morning, often with one of the schools' teachers acting as referee. Each season finished with a match in which the champions played a side selected from the other competing teams, followed by the presentation of the Beavis Cup and medals. Occasionally, a 'Pick of the League' side was also chosen to face representative school sides from nearby towns.⁵¹⁷ For six seasons the league was a success, although funding for the competition remained problematic.⁵¹⁸

However, from 1909 interest in the schools' league appears to have waned. By October that year only six schools had entered the contest, with the number falling still further, to four, for the 1911/12 season.⁵¹⁹ At the end of the latter season, St. Thomas' School won the Beavis Cup for the third consecutive season and, under the rules, were entitled to permanently keep the trophy. At the presentation ceremony, the headmaster of Hyde School stated his hope that more schools would enter next year, but his optimism was misplaced.⁵²⁰ An insufficient number of entrants for 1912/13 resulted in the Schools League being dissolved.

⁵¹² *HC* 17 October 1903 p7.

⁵¹³ *HC* 14 November 1903 p6; *HC* 5 November 1904 p7.

⁵¹⁴ *HC* 3 June 1905 p8.

⁵¹⁵ The late addition of these two school teams meant that the season's fixtures could not be completed, and no champions were declared in the league's first year.

⁵¹⁶ These eight were among the largest of the city's elementary schools. Pupil numbers at other schools may have been too low to compile a competitive side.

⁵¹⁷ The first such fixtures were home and away games against Portsmouth Schools in 1903/04 (*HC* 12 March 1904 p10). Other games were played with picked sides from Basingstoke (*HC* 10 February 1906 p2) and Eastleigh (*HC* 7 May 1910 p2).

⁵¹⁸ In 1906 the league's Honorary Secretary wrote 'the league requires financial assistance' and that he 'will be pleased to receive donations however small'. *HC* 20 October 1906 p11.

⁵¹⁹ *HC* 26 March 1910 p2; *HC* 9 December 1911 p2.

⁵²⁰ *HC* 4 May 1912 p10.

During this period an increasing number of competitive tournaments were open to Winchester's soccer clubs. There were no restrictions in the number of contests to which a club might enter in any one season. For example, in the 1899/1900 season the Winchester F.C. entered four league-based tournaments; the Hampshire, South Hants, May and Winchester and District leagues, while the Winchester Albion F.C entered both the Winchester and District and the Eastleigh and District leagues in 1906/07. Competing in multiple tournaments was a means by which a club might seek to increase the number of 'meaningful' games in its fixture list, particularly as few local leagues featured more than eight clubs in any year, providing less than a season's worth of competitive matches.

4.3 The Winchester Football Club, 1895-1914

Throughout the period, the Winchester F.C. remained the city's leading soccer club. Yet, despite this pre-eminence, it failed in its ambition to develop into one of the leading clubs in Hampshire. Instead, the club experienced cycles of growing optimism followed by periods of frustrated decline. This mirrored the club's finances which presented a bar to its expansion and served to constrain the impact it was able to make on Hampshire soccer.

In 1896 the club was in a good financial shape, it being reported at its AGM that it was £5 in credit.⁵²¹ Buoyed by this, the club announced that it was to enter its first team for a league competition for the first time – the newly-established South Hants League.⁵²² This decision was facilitated by the club's rental of a new soccer ground. Since its formation in 1891, the club had played its home matches at Bar End, on a field sublet by the Winchester Cricket Club. However, the standard of the Bar End ground was insufficient to meet the demands of regular competitive soccer. A more suitable ground became available at a field attached to the Old Red Deer, a public house situated on the western edge of the city.⁵²³ Although an improvement on Bar End, the Old Red Deer ground was not ideal and, shortly after the club had moved in, a new fence was installed around its perimeter, an addition which allowed entrance fees to be collected more efficiently.⁵²⁴

The club's entry to the South Hants League was to prove successful, winning the competition in each of its first four seasons. Seeking to build on this achievement, the club joined the Hampshire League in the 1898/99 season, a move which club president Arnold Tebbutt hoped 'would prove the

⁵²¹ *HC* 27 July 1896 p5.

⁵²² *HO* 5 September 1896 p3.

⁵²³ The Old Red Deer was opened in 1882 to serve as a hotel for railway travellers. The exact location of its attached field is uncertain, but the most likely site was on the opposite side of the Stockbridge Road.

⁵²⁴ The majority of £30 cost of installing the new fencing was provided by the club's secretary (*HC* 7 August 1897 p5).

first step towards bringing the Winchester club up to being the first in the county, and a team which certainly ought to be had in a city like this'.⁵²⁵ In preparation, further improvements to the Old Red Deer ground were made, with a new stand built with enough seats to accommodate fifty spectators 'who wish to see a match [...] without standing on wet ground during the winter months', access to which was available for an additional 2d. charge.⁵²⁶

However, with the club winning just four of its twenty-two Hampshire League games over two seasons, its attempt to join the county's elite was a failure, and it withdrew from the competition in 1900.⁵²⁷ Besides its poor performances, there were two additional reasons for the club's withdrawal. First, during its time in the league, the club accrued a debt of £14 11s. 6½d.⁵²⁸ Second, in the 1899/1900 season, the club had suffered from the absence of several of its players who were in South Africa fighting the Boer War.⁵²⁹ Combined, these factors acted as a brake on the club's ambitions.

After the relative low point of 1900, the Winchester F.C. embarked on a five-year period of steady improvement and growing success. A growing maturity and experience among its core players resulted in better performances, which led to the first team reaching the Junior Cup semi-finals in both 1902 and 1903. At the same time, in 1902 the club relocated again after the Old Red Deer field was sold for housing development. A lease on a new ground sited on the cricket field attached to the nearby Roebuck Inn was agreed, and this was retained as the club's home until organised soccer was suspended in 1914.⁵³⁰ Its successful cup runs and acquisition of a new ground rekindled the club's ambition to join the county's elite soccer teams. In 1903/04, it entered the Hants Senior Cup for the first time and re-joined the now-regionalised Hampshire League. The early signs were promising; the club won the North Division title in 1904/05 and, in the same year, reached the Junior Cup final. Also that season, the club attracted an estimated crowd of approximately 2,000 spectators to the Roebuck for its Hants Senior Cup game against the Southampton Reserves (see Figure 12).

Again, these successes signalled the club's potential to develop further. In 1905/06, the Winchester F.C. competed in a national contest for the first time when it entered for the F.A. Amateur Cup, before abandoning that competition in favour of the F.A. Cup in the following

⁵²⁵ HC 29 October 1898 p2.

⁵²⁶ HC 10 September 1898 p7.

⁵²⁷ S. Farmery *The Hampshire League – A Tabulated History* (Southampton, 1993) 1.

⁵²⁸ HC 8 September 1900 p6.

⁵²⁹ In December 1899, the HC reported that the five of the Winchester F.C. players were shortly to depart for South Africa, where they would join the seven other club members already there. HC 23 December 1899 p2.

⁵³⁰ HC 13 September 1902 p6.

season.⁵³¹ More locally, in 1908, the club - then renamed as Winchester *City* F.C. - joined the Southampton Senior League and entered the Southampton Senior Cup.⁵³² Two years later, the club joined the Hampshire F.A.'s re-established countywide league, a move which was hoped would 'lead to better games and better gates'.⁵³³



Figure 12. The Winchester F.C. team that played the Southampton Reserves, 5 November 1904. The game was watched by approximately 2,000 spectators. Charles Axe, the club's most selected player of the period, is standing third left in the back row. Note, even the city's 'premier' club were unable to field a team wearing uniform kit. *Source: Winchester City F.C.*

In order to meet its ambitions, the club's officials concluded that it needed to recruit better players. Although talented, the players that had served the club in its victorious 1904/05 season were ageing and several retired from playing shortly after. Believing there to be insufficient talent locally, the club sought to recruit replacements from outside of Winchester. In subsequent seasons several of its players lived in Southampton, with a few travelling from further afield.⁵³⁴ These recruits were viewed as essential to the club's development, but they also had a detrimental effect on its finances.⁵³⁵ The non-Winchester players had to be reimbursed for the cost of their travel to the city. Travel to away games in the County League - which included trips to the Isle of Wight - also resulted in substantial costs. To counter this, the club launched a series of fundraising events and sought ways in which costs might be reduced. For example, in 1908/09 the club held an Easter six-a-side

⁵³¹ After the Winchester City F.C.'s final pre-war F.A. Cup campaign in 1912/13, the club did not enter again until 1928/29.

⁵³² *HC* 25 July 1908 p10.

⁵³³ *HC* 20 August 1910 p4.

⁵³⁴ One Winchester City F.C. player travelled eighty miles from Bexhill-on-Sea for home games. *HC* 28 December 1907 p9.

⁵³⁵ *HC* 6 June 1907 p8.

tournament, a fête on Whit Monday, but also, in an effort to save money, dissolved its reserve side for a season.⁵³⁶

Again, the club's hopes of improvement were not realised. Between 1905 and 1914, the club's first team failed to win any trophies, but did succeed in incurring significant debts. By the end of the 1912/13 season it was £37 14s. 2d. in debt.⁵³⁷ Reluctantly, the club's ambitions were lowered. In 1913, as part of its efforts to reduce expenditure, the club decided to field only locally-based players, and to withdraw from the more costly tournaments – the F.A. Cup, the Hants Senior Cup and countywide league. Whether these measures would have had a positive effect on the club's finances remains unknown as, within a year, the First World War had been declared and soccer – at the local level – was suspended before the 1914/15 season was started.

Winchester F.C.'s early development was hindered by financial constraints. An examination of the income and expenditure of the club provides insight to how the club was sustained during the period and reveals the efforts that were made to develop it further. None of the club's annual balance sheets survives, but some of its financial information can be collected from contemporary newspaper reports. Occasionally, the *Hampshire Chronicle* published summaries of the balance sheets which were presented at the club's annual general meetings.⁵³⁸ From these, the club's principal items of annual expenditure have been extracted and are presented in Table 8.

Season	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14
Ground Rental		£10		£22		£15	£15	£15	£15				
Material & Ground Expenses		£5		£24		£13		£18	£10				
Travelling		£24				£47		£52	£58				
Printing				£23				£13	£9				

Table 8: Principal expenses (to the nearest £) incurred by Winchester F.C. by season, 1901-14

⁵³⁶ The Easter Monday tournament was an all-day event with matches played from 11.00am until 5.30pm, followed by an 'Old English Fair' in the evening and dancing until 9.30pm. (*HC* 18 April 1908 pp 6, 8); the Whit Monday fête raised £20 for the soccer club (*HC* 13 June 1908 p10); The Winchester City F.C. reserve side were dissolved at the club's 1907 AGM (*HC* 8 June 1907 p8).

⁵³⁷ *HC* 12 July 1913 p7.

⁵³⁸ *HC* 13 September 1902 p6; *HC* 22 August 1903 p3; *HC* 24 June 1905 p6; *HC* 9 June 1906 p4; *HC* 8 June 1907 p8; *HC* 25 July 1908 p10; *HC* 3 July 1909 p4; *HC* 20 August 1910 p4; *HC* 6 July 1912 p5; and *HC* 11 July 1914 p3.

Ground rental was a substantial expense for the club. Initially, the rental costs of the Roebuck field varied each year but, from 1906 appears to have remained consistent at £15 per season. The ‘material and ground expenses’ items refer to the additional costs associated with the club, such as expenditure on kit, balls, goal nets, flags, and other soccer-related equipment. The high figure incurred during the 1904/05 season included the cost of ‘providing entirely new goals, and in having portions of the field re-turfed’ in addition to repairs to the fence which surrounded the ground.⁵³⁹ Similar, although usually lower, expenses were incurred each season.

The most considerable costs were those attributed to ‘travelling’. Although the club rarely played teams based outside of Hampshire, the cost of intra-county travel was substantial. As mentioned, the debts acquired by the club after its initial two seasons in the Hampshire League resulted largely from the cost of transporting its team to away games. The club re-joined the league only when the competition was restructured into three sub-county divisions with shorter journeys - and cheaper travel - for away games. The increased travel costs reported after 1905 reflect the club’s decision to field non-Winchester players, the cost of which was apparent two years later when, at the club’s AGM, its secretary stated it spent 17s. per week on bringing ‘outsiders’ to play. By the time this policy was abandoned the club’s debts had reached almost £40.⁵⁴⁰

One item which is absent from the club’s list of expenses is any additional payments to players. Throughout the period, the Winchester F.C. remained an amateur club which outwardly expressed a hostile attitude towards professionalism. Speaking at a club event in 1898, president Tebbutt informed his audience that he would rather see their team ‘take a good licking as amateurs than be successful as professionals’ and that he hoped ‘they would be amateurs as long as they existed at all’. How widely this opinion was shared by club members is unknown, but Tebbutt’s views drew applause from those that were present.⁵⁴¹

	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14
Gate Receipts	£31	£53		£93		£63	£66	£61	£53		£70		£59
Subscriptions from President, Vice Presidents & Honorary Members	£13	£16		£21		£18	£18	£10	£14				
Membership Subscriptions	£9	£7		£17		£13	£13	£11	£13				
Sublet of Ground	£2					£13	£13	£13	£12				

⁵³⁹ HC 9 September 1905 p8.

⁵⁴⁰ HC 12 July 1913 p7.

⁵⁴¹ HC 29 October 1898 p2.

	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05	1905-06	1906-07	1907-08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14
Easter Tournament						£11	£11	£7	£11				£5
Whit Monday Fête					£14	£4	£21	£33	£30				

Table 9: Principal income (to the nearest £) of the Winchester F.C. by season, 1901-14

The reports which provided evidence of the Winchester F.C.'s expenditure also included information on the club's income, summary details of which are presented in Table 9. Each year, the club's greatest source of income was money taken at the gate, although the amount collected varied between years, being partly dependent on the team's on-field performance. The highest sum, £93, was taken during the club's successful 1904/05 season but, in later years, the club might expect to collect £60 annually from entrance fees. From 1911, the amount collected was bolstered from the introduction, for the first time, of a charge at reserve team games.⁵⁴² The club was fortunate in being able to offset much of the costs accrued through ground rental by subletting its pitch to other local teams. In 1900/01, the Old Red Deer pitch was sublet to the Forget-me-Nots F.C., a minor club based in the city. Similar arrangements were made with the St. Thomas F.C. at the Roebuck in 1906/07.

Club subscriptions were also an important source of income for the club. Prior to 1910, the cost of an ordinary membership subscription was 3s., after which the price increased by one shilling.⁵⁴³ Further, and more generous, subscriptions were expected from the club's honorary members and officials. Prominent members of the local elite were approached to serve in these roles, with the dual intention of benefiting the club from their largesse and enhancing its status through its association with these high-profile individuals. Table 10 provides a list of all of the recruits who served as the Winchester F.C.'s Vice Presidents for the 1897/98 season, a list which includes several members of the city's political, religious and business communities.⁵⁴⁴ The club continued its policy of enlisting influential individuals to official positions at the club into the Edwardian period - in 1906, it recruited Guy Baring, the city's newly elected M.P., to serve as its president.⁵⁴⁵

However, while the generosity of these contributors was acknowledged, it was noted that the club lacked the sizeable financial support that was often found in other towns:

⁵⁴² In 1911/12 gate receipts collected at games featuring the reserves totalled £24 9s. 2d. - almost half the amount taken from first team matches. *HC* 6 July 1912 p12.

⁵⁴³ *HC* 20 August 1910 p4.

⁵⁴⁴ *HC* 7 August 1897 p5.

⁵⁴⁵ *HC* 9 June 1906 p4.

There is a lack of support from a certain class which is wanted, and which is given in other towns. Until this obstacle is overcome Winchester cannot expect to take a proper place among the leading clubs of the county, and there is a splendid opportunity for someone to do Winchester a good turn by bringing it to a level of other clubs.⁵⁴⁶

This comment was aimed at the city's entrepreneurs, who were reluctant to provide financial support for local soccer clubs. Elsewhere, this class had been conspicuous in their patronage in their local teams. For example, the Southampton F.C. had emerged as one of the most successful clubs in the south of England largely due to the financial investments it had received from that city's business community. The absence of similar investment stunted the growth of the Winchester F.C.

<i>Vice President</i>	<i>Description</i>
Mr. Harold Webb	Mayor of Winchester
Rev. William Stephens	Dean of Winchester
William H. Myers MP	Member of Parliament for Winchester
Henry Campbell Bruce	Lord Aberdare
Rev. James H. Thresher	Rector of St Maurice, Winchester
Rev. Walter Naish	Headmaster of Trafalgar House School
Mr. Frederick W. Flight	Military tailor
Mr. Thomas Stopher	Architect and surveyor
Mr. Herbert E. Johnson	Proprietor of the <i>Hampshire Chronicle</i>
Mr. Edward C. Hawkins	Bank manager
Mr. Walter Bailey	Winchester Town Clerk
Mr. Charles Bailey	Retired brewer
Mr. James A. Fort	Master at Winchester College
Mr. William T. Warren	Proprietor of the <i>Hampshire Observer</i>
Mr. Frank C. Bromley	Dental surgeon and former Southampton F.C. Player

Table 10: Winchester F.C. Vice Presidents, 1897/98 (listed as per the order printed in *Hampshire Chronicle* 7 August 1897 p5).

The Winchester F.C. had long sought to generate income through fundraising events. Initially, these took the well-established form of holding smoking concerts.⁵⁴⁷ However, after 1906, these events diversified as the club staged a broader range of public-facing events in its bid to generate income. On Easter Monday 1907, the Winchester F.C. held its first six-a-side soccer tournament.⁵⁴⁸ The event attracted teams from throughout Hampshire and proved sufficiently popular for it to become a yearly event, raising approximately £10 annually. Another novel event, launched in 1912,

⁵⁴⁶ HC 6 May 1899 p5.

⁵⁴⁷ For example, in 1902 concert goers raised a £6 10s. for the club. HC 13 September 1902 p6.

⁵⁴⁸ HC 6 April 1907 p9.

were the club's whist drive and dance evenings held at the city's Guildhall, the first of which attracted 560 participants and raised almost £20.⁵⁴⁹ However, the most profitable club event was its Whit-Monday fête, which it held annually from 1906 to 1912.⁵⁵⁰ The first event - which featured sideshows, rides, dancing and a 'comic cricket match' - was a great success and generated a £14 profit.⁵⁵¹ The fête expanded in subsequent years and, in 1909, there were estimated to have been four thousand visitors present.⁵⁵² The 1912 event, which was attended by two thousand people, raised £20 and cleared all the club's debts.⁵⁵³

Despite these various sources of income, the Winchester F.C. remained in a parlous financial state throughout most of the period. Periodically, the club was able to clear its debts, but its attempts to remain in credit met with little success and it usually reported being in debt at its AGMs. By the outbreak of the war the club was over £60 in debt.⁵⁵⁴ Its status as an amateur club meant that it was difficult to attract financial investors and, unlike professional clubs which formed themselves as limited liability companies, it was unable to recruit shareholders. Consequently, the club was largely dependent on patrons, donors and members for its income, combined with any additional money that could be generated through games and fundraising efforts. Due to its dependence on these relatively modest and unreliable income sources, the club was unable to establish a stable financial base for itself.

Names of the players who appeared for the Winchester F.C. were often included in newspaper reports of the club's games. These names have been linked to entries recorded in the Census, enabling additional information on individual players to be collected. This information has been used to produce social, economic and demographic profiles of the club's players.

Approximately 325 individuals appeared for Winchester F.C.'s first team between 1895 and 1914. Of these, almost half (49%) – who, between them, accounted for over three-quarters (77%) of all appearances made for the club - have been linked to an entry in the Census, allowing the identification of their occupations. This employment information has been used to produce social profiles of the club's players for each season. These are illustrated in Graph 11.

⁵⁴⁹ *HC* 9 March 1912 p7.

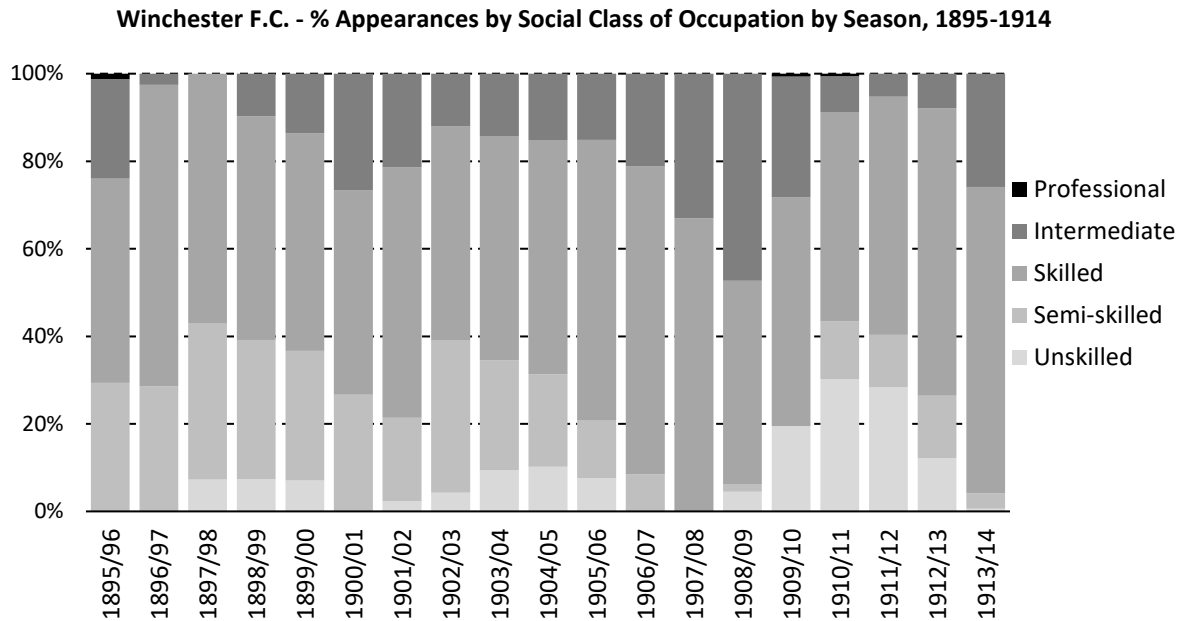
⁵⁵⁰ 1907 provided an exception as the fete was held on a Thursday evening in mid-May, attracting fewer attendees and raising less in funds. *HC* 18 May 1907 p7.

⁵⁵¹ *HC* 9 June 1906 p4.

⁵⁵² *HC* 5 June 1909 p3.

⁵⁵³ *HC* 1 June 1912 p5.

⁵⁵⁴ *HC* 11 July 1914 p3.



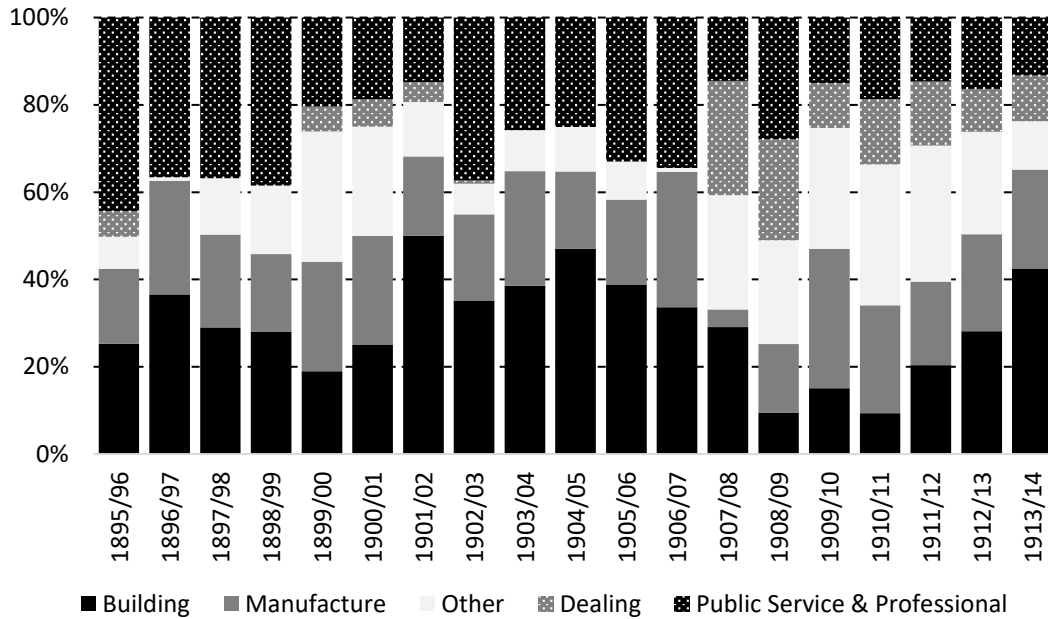
Graph 11. Percentage of player appearances for Winchester F.C. by social class, 1895-1914.

In the years before 1895, the Winchester F.C. included a small group of players that were employed in professional occupations. Over time these individuals left the club, and the last trace of their presence is identifiable during the 1895/96 season. In contrast, players that held ‘intermediate’ occupations – for example, as clerical workers and schoolmasters – maintained a presence among the club’s players throughout the period, making on average 15% of all appearances in each season. This group was especially evident in the seasons which coincided with the Boer War, when the club was recruiting new players between 1907 and 1910, and in 1913 when the club decided to field solely Winchester-based players.

But the players of the Winchester F.C. were predominately working class. In any one season, the largest proportion of appearances for the club – between 45% and 70% of the total - were made by players employed in ‘skilled’ occupations. The other working-class groups – those in ‘semi-skilled’ and ‘unskilled’ employment – were less well-represented. Many of those employed in ‘semi-skilled’ jobs were either soldiers or were working as gardeners. Only five players were identified as holding ‘unskilled’ occupations but, collectively, they made over 250 appearances for the club.

The occupations held by the players have also been used to generate player profiles for each season based on economic sector of employment. For clarity, the economic sectors have been amalgamated into five high level categories. These are presented in Graph 12.

Winchester F.C. - % Appearances by Economic Sector of Employment by Season, 1895-1914



Graph 12. Percentage of player appearances for Winchester F.C. by generalised economic sector of employment, 1895-1914.

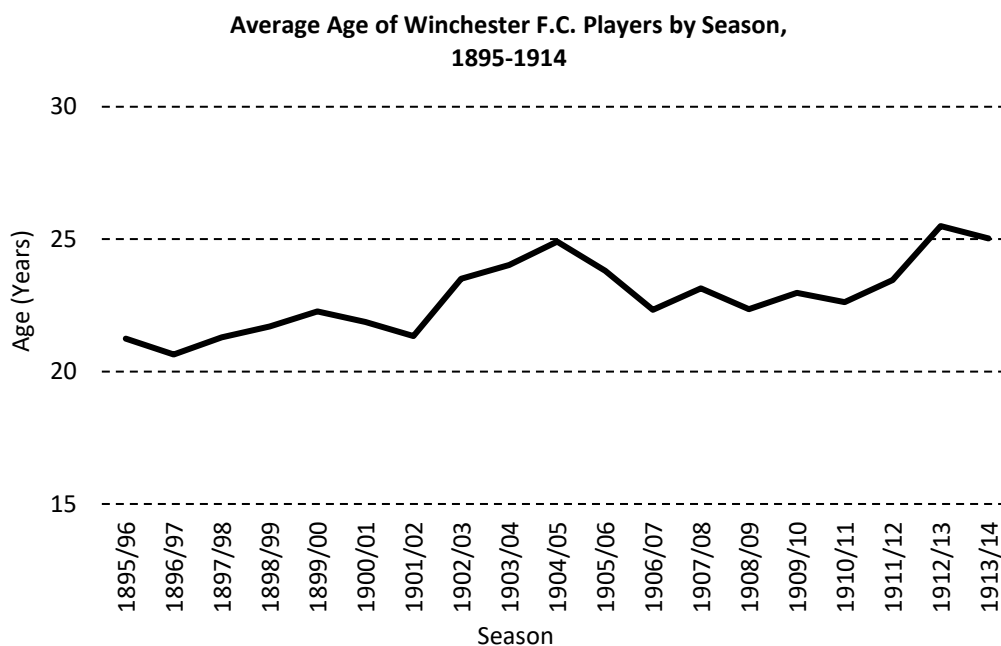
Throughout the period, a sizeable majority of the club’s players were employed in one of three economic sectors: building, manufacturing, and public service and professional. The ‘building’ sector consisted both of ‘operatives’ – men involved in construction working, for example, as bricklayers or plasterers – and ‘management’, such as architects and surveyors. Of the two, the ‘operatives’ were the more prevalent, accounting for 27% of all appearances. Typically, these players were self-employed and able to exercise some control over their working hours, permitting them to play on Saturday afternoons.

Several players were employed in ‘manufacturing’ trades, often in small-scale or single-employee enterprises, for example, as printworkers, woodworkers or tailors. As with the builder ‘operatives’, players employed in ‘manufacturing’ could also dictate when they undertook their work and were able to make time on Saturdays for soccer.

The ‘public service and professional’ category of Winchester F.C. players consisted mainly of soldiers serving in one of the city-based army regiments. This was reflected in their reduced presence both at the time of the Boer War (between 1899 and 1902), and after 1906 when the city’s two principal military teams began to play more regularly and demanded that the soldier-players prioritised their regimental clubs above the city team.⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁵ Several individuals who had played for Winchester F.C. can be identified in a report of a soccer match played at Quagga Poort Camp, South Africa in 1901. *HC* 9 March 1901 p7.

Information included in the Census has been used to determine the players' ages in each year and, collectively, to calculate the average age of the club's teams in each season. The results are shown in Graph 13.



Graph 13. The average age, by season, of the Winchester F.C players, 1895-1914.⁵⁵⁶

The average age of the players increased over time, ranging from twenty years in 1896 to twenty-five in 1913. However, variations are observed within this increase. A peak where the average reached twenty-five years was recorded in 1904/05, a season which witnessed the culmination of many of the club's established players' soccer careers. Their subsequent retirement led the club to recruit a new, younger cohort of players in the following season, reflected in a decrease in the average age in the following two years. Ten years later, in 1913/14, a further drop in the average is apparent, suggesting the start of a second cycle of retirement and recruitment, but one which was interrupted by the outbreak of the War.

The reasons why individuals continued to be involved with the Winchester F.C., either as a patron or a player, are not always made explicit in the evidence. However, the records do provide a few indications of the various inducements for involvement. Previously, patrons sponsored local sports clubs in the belief that they provided constructive diversions for their members, encouraged social stability, and from a sense of public-spirited altruism (see Sections 2.5.3. and 3.11.). However, from

⁵⁵⁶ The average age data presented was calculated from the sum of each player's age multiplied by the number of appearances made by that player during a season. This sum was then divided by the total number of appearances made in all reported games played by that club in that season. Players whose age was not known were excluded from the calculation.

the start of the twentieth century, an additional incentive for their support is apparent. As with the Crimean War fifty years earlier, the Second Boer War had exposed the shockingly poor physical condition among British soldiers, leading to widespread anxieties over the health of the nation's youth. These concerns were heightened further as an emergent and industrialising Germany made the prospect of a war between the two nations ever more likely. Participating in athletic sports, particularly soccer, was seen as a means by which medical failures among military recruits might be reduced. Writing to the *Hampshire Chronicle*, F. Trippel argued that the benefits of a widespread adoption of physical exercise:

Of which the most important and valuable of all is football...from a bodily point of view, as well as morally and intellectually, would be immense, and the majority of the population would be enabled to answer a future call to arms in a way which would double and treble the value of their patriotic devotion.⁵⁵⁷

These views were received sympathetically by some of Winchester F.C.'s patrons. These included Guy Baring M.P. who, in a speech made at a Winchester F.C. dinner, articulated what he saw as the advantages that Britain gained through playing sport:

Foreign nations, no doubt, gained a great deal from their compulsory [military] service, by means of which they got their young men set up and trained in the defence of their country, but they did not get that training and discipline, not the same sort of common feeling which we got in our games.⁵⁵⁸

In a speech made at the conclusion of the 1910 Easter six-a-side soccer tournament, the city's mayor, the ex-player and club patron Harold Stratton, made a more explicit reference to the benefits of sport as preparation for a future conflict, stating that:

It is in the sports of the country that the young men of England were enabled to improve their physique and to learn discipline, which are of the utmost value, for it was upon the young men that England would have to depend in the event of war.⁵⁵⁹

Baring and Stratton recognised the fitness, teamwork and collective endeavour inherent in playing soccer would also prove useful in any forthcoming war. Whether this opinion was shared by the club's players is uncertain, but it is notable that Baring's speech was received with applause from his audience, which included 'numerous members and supporters of the club'.

⁵⁵⁷ HC 8 November 1902 p7.

⁵⁵⁸ HC 30 May 1908 p4.

⁵⁵⁹ HC 2 April 1910 p4.

It can be assumed that the chief motivation for the players to join the Winchester F.C. continued to be the enjoyment that they received from soccer. But there were additional, albeit secondary, motivations for joining the club. As had previously been the case, affiliation gave older, non-playing members access to a social sphere which may have provided a valued, though temporary, refuge from an increasingly alien domestic realm. John Tosh has argued that, during the late Victorian period, middle-class men sought a 'flight from domesticity'. He contends that these men, finding themselves ever more removed from their familial role in the domestic sphere, were progressively driven to all-male company in the public sphere, for example, into gentlemen's clubs, and sports organisations.⁵⁶⁰ A similar case is made by Ellen Ross for a parallel domestic expulsion of working-class men, whereby they spent their days at work, and their evenings - having been stripped of most of their wages by their wives and of any meaningful role within their household - in all-male company.⁵⁶¹ Accordingly, club membership, through its associated social activities, provided an all-male, public sphere homosocial refuge for both middle- and working-class older men.

The members of the Winchester F.C. enjoyed a well-developed, and inter-class, range of social activities. The club's smoking concerts were highly hospitable affairs at which 'harmony reigned', and where their fundraising purpose was almost regarded as incidental. Its first annual club dinner, held in 1908, was attended by sixty club members and was described as 'a most convivial and pleasurable gathering'.⁵⁶² In the years before the First World War the club hosted several further dinners, dances and whist drives, ostensibly to raise funds for the club, but which also consolidated a sense of camaraderie among club members.⁵⁶³ While it is doubtful that these public and well-reported social events were patronised solely in response to the need to flee from the domestic sphere, they did nevertheless provide an incentive for club membership.

Academics have only recently begun studying working-class masculinities in late Victorian and Edwardian communities. In 2004, Heathorn stated that 'what little we know about working-class gender roles suggests that, prior to the First World War, masculinity was tied to respectable employment and physical labour'.⁵⁶⁴ If true, then several of the Winchester F.C.'s players - many of whom held 'respectable' self-employed and physical jobs, or were military men - met the contemporary standards for working-class masculinity. But playing soccer, especially in front of a crowd, presented an opportunity to underscore that masculinity publicly.

⁵⁶⁰ J. Tosh *Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (Yale, 1999) 170-94.

⁵⁶¹ E. Ross *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford, 1993) 76.

⁵⁶² *HC* 30 May 1908 p4.

⁵⁶³ The Winchester F.C.'s whist drive and dance, held on a Monday evening in March 1912, attracted 560 people, including the city's M.P. and mayor, to the Guildhall.

⁵⁶⁴ S. Heathorn 'How Stiff were their Upper Lips?' in *History Compass* vol. 2 no. 1 (2004) 2.

It was through public display that the difference between middle- and working-class ideals of masculinity are perhaps most evident. During the 1880s, any aggressive play conducted by the players of the predominantly middle-class Winchester F.C. was interpreted as an expression of ‘pluck’ and ‘character’ which, ultimately, would be forgiven with a handshake after the match (see Section 3.11.). But similar actions by Edwardian working-class players were less readily excused. Charles Axe, a bricklayer who played for the Winchester F.C. between 1894 and 1906, was, on at least two occasions, banned from playing by the middle-class members of the Hampshire F.A.’s disciplinary committee. The first of these bans, issued in March 1898, saw Axe barred for the remainder of the season for inciting spectators to assault the opposition players after a Junior Cup semi-final.⁵⁶⁵ The second saw the Winchester player suspended for five weeks after an unspecified violent misdemeanour during a match in January 1901.⁵⁶⁶ How Axe’s actions were viewed at the Winchester F.C. is not known, but it is notable that he was reinstated to the team immediately after serving both bans. The club may have disapproved of Axe’s violent conduct, but seemingly they were prepared to accept it.

4.4 Winchester’s Minor Soccer Clubs

At an 1899 smoking concert held by the Winchester F.C., the club’s president, Arnold Tebbutt, was reported saying that:

In spite of the number of football clubs which are rising up in Winchester – and perhaps, in reason, the more the merrier – he [Tebbutt] thought their club could still claim to be *the* club of the city [original emphasis].⁵⁶⁷

Tebbutt’s observation regarding the number of recently formed clubs in Winchester was an astute one; while the city’s newspapers had previously carried match reports for only a few Winchester-based soccer teams, from 1895 that number grew substantially. Between 1895 and 1914, the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported on a total of thirty-four minor soccer clubs - excluding school and military teams - based in the city.⁵⁶⁸ It is probable that there were further, unreported, teams. These soccer clubs, the seasons in which they were extant, and the days of the week on which they generally played, are shown in Graph 14.

⁵⁶⁵ SE 4 March 1898 p3.

⁵⁶⁶ Minute Book of the Hampshire F.A. vol. 3, minutes of meeting held 28 January 1901.

⁵⁶⁷ HC 14 October 1899 p2.

⁵⁶⁸ There were, in addition, several teams that were mentioned just once in contemporary newspaper reports. To maintain clarity, these teams have been omitted from Graph 14.

	1895/96	1896/97	1897/98	1898/99	1899/00	1900/01	1901/02	1902/03	1903/04	1904/05	1905/06	1906/07	1907/08	1908/09	1909/10	1910/11	1911/12	1912/13	1913/14	
Waverley	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa													
Crescent	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa					
Athletic		Sa	Sa																	
Albion				Th	Th	Th	Th	B	Sa	Sa	B	Sa	Sa	Sa	B					
Nondescripts #1				Th	Th	Th	Th													
Forget-me-nots				Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa												
Alfred				Th	B	B	Th													
Thursday				Th	Th															
St Thomas Wanderers					Th															
St Maurice					Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th										
St Thomas					Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th					
St Clements							B													
Gladstone Star						Th														
Wanderers								B												
Hyde Park Rangers								Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th					
Shamrock								Sa	Sa											
Church Lads Brigade								Sa												
Post Office								Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	
Bar End United									Th											
Red Rovers									B	B										
West Hill									Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa								
East End Athletic										Sa	Sa									
Wolsey										B	B	B								
Cathedral Athletic													Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa		
Institute														Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	Th	
Eagle Athletic															Th	Th				
Winchester United															Th	Th	Th			
Congregational Institute																Sa	Sa	Sa		
Nondescripts #2																	Th	Th	Th	Th
St Maurice (Argyle)																	Th	Th	Th	Th
YMCA																	Th	Th		
St Pauls																		Sa	Sa	
St Cross																			Sa	Sa
Trinity Athletic																				Th

Graph 14. Reported soccer clubs in Winchester, their years of operation, and primary day for playing (Th = Thursday; Sa = Saturday; B = Both), 1895-1914. Source: Hampshire Chronicle 1895-1914.

There is insufficient space in this study to look at each of these clubs in detail. However, some general points can be made regarding the minor clubs formed in Winchester during this period. A distinction can be made between the city's minor clubs which predominantly played their games on Saturdays and those which ordinarily played on Thursdays. By the early 1890s, Saturday had emerged - both nationally and locally - as the day for games preferred by most soccer clubs. In many parts of the country, but especially in the more industrial areas, this was due to Saturdays having acquired the status of a half-day holiday, allowing both players and spectators to attend soccer matches. Despite its limited industrialisation, in Winchester Saturday football had also become the standard. This was a consequence of a sizeable proportion of working-class men who exercised sufficient control over their working time to permit the orchestration of a free afternoon on that day.

From the late 1890s, playing soccer on Thursday afternoons also became common practice in the city, owing to a shift in locally accepted working hours. This change was the result of a widespread call for a reduction in the business hours of local shops and offices. By 1895, the closing of businesses at 4.00pm or 5.00pm on Thursdays had been widely adopted, but pressure continued to reduce working hours still further. The city's mayor, when speaking to local business owners, derided the 'miserable quarter-day closing now in vogue', and urged that his audience 'not be shilly-shally with regard to the half-day closing question, but make up their minds to have a real half-day'.⁵⁶⁹ Unsurprisingly, this view was supported by those who worked in shops and offices, one of whom argued that closing at 2.00pm on Thursdays would provide:

Assistants with the longed for half day per week which would be a great boon during the spring and summer months by enabling them to seek the fresh air and outdoor enjoyments which are so essential to health.⁵⁷⁰

Initially, many employers resisted this proposal, but the number of businesses which shut on Thursday afternoons grew steadily and, by 1900, the midweek half-holiday was an established part of Winchester's working week.⁵⁷¹

In response, several minor soccer clubs were formed which played on the newly work-free Thursday afternoons. In 1898, the Winchester Albion F.C. was formed 'to enable clerks, shop assistants, and others, who are only free on Thursday afternoons, to enjoy the winter pastime'.⁵⁷² In the same year, the Nondescript F.C. were reported playing on Thursdays, and two additional

⁵⁶⁹ *HC* 2 November 1895 p3.

⁵⁷⁰ *HO* 25 April 1896 p5.

⁵⁷¹ In 1896 only a quarter of respondents to a survey conducted by the Early Closing Movement were in favouring of shutting at 2.00pm on Thursdays. *HC* 13 June 1896 p4.

⁵⁷² *HC* 24 September 1898 p6.

Thursday clubs – the Winchester Alfred and the Winchester Thursday – were founded in 1899. Thursday was rapidly established as the city’s secondary day for soccer and, by 1906, there were a sufficient number of local midweek clubs to permit the foundation of the Winchester Thursday League.

Beyond their preferred days for play, Winchester’s minor soccer clubs can be further classified on the basis of their origins. In 1980, Tony Mason presented a generalised classification for English soccer clubs.⁵⁷³ He noted that a substantial proportion of clubs emerged from pre-existing social organisations, in particular from church groups, public houses, workplaces and cricket clubs. In addition, he identified community-based teams formed by players who lived close to each other. Mason’s classification is used here to further examine Winchester’s minor soccer clubs.



Figure 13. St. Paul’s F.C. 1911/12. The prominent position of the Rev. C.H. Gould in the front row implies the team was sanctioned by the church of St. Pauls. Ten years earlier, the Rev. Gould had served as the president of the Forget-me-Nots F.C. *Picture courtesy of Dave Fry.*

Mason states that church organisations embraced soccer, recognising its potential for maintaining church solidarity and for recruiting new members to their congregations.⁵⁷⁴ This was also a motivating factor in Winchester, where a number of minor clubs had strong church connections and several adopted names which imply a church-linked origin. For example, the Congregational Institute F.C. was the sporting arm of the recently established Congregational Church Boys’ Institute - an organisation aimed at the educational and cultural betterment of local young

⁵⁷³ Mason *English Society* 21-31.

⁵⁷⁴ *ibid.* 25.

nonconformists - while both the Church Lads' Brigade team and the Y.M.C.A. F.C. had obvious links to local Christian organisations. Any direct connection with the church is less overt where clubs shared their names with one of the city's parishes. However, at least two of these teams did have links to Winchester parish churches. Both the St. Maurice F.C. in 1902 and the St. Thomas F.C. in 1906 elected the rectors of their respective parishes to the presidency of their clubs.⁵⁷⁵ Furthermore, a photograph of the St. Paul's F.C. team of 1911/12 features the vicar of St. Paul's, the Rev. C.H. Gould, sitting proudly in the middle of the front row, implying at the very least a sanctioning of the team by his church (see Figure 13).

Any connections between the city's minor clubs and local public houses are less obvious, although there is some evidence of possible links. The Alfred F.C. provides one example. The club adopted the Coach and Horses Inn - a public house which formerly stood at the eastern end of Winchester's High Street - as its headquarters and appointed the inn's landlord to serve as its treasurer.⁵⁷⁶ In addition, many of the Alfred F.C.'s players, especially in its early seasons, lived near the public house, reinforcing the impression that it might be a 'pub side' similar to others identified by Mason. Similarly, in 1905, the Albion F.C. was reported to be using the India Arms as its 'headquarters', although whether the club was a genuine 'pub side' or whether it was just using the tavern as a convenient meeting place is unclear.⁵⁷⁷ The Gladstone Star F.C. may also have been linked to a public house. There seems little reason for a team based in a strongly Conservative city to name itself after a Liberal statesman. However, there is a Gladstone Street in the city on which formerly stood a tavern named the Gladstone Arms.⁵⁷⁸ Although not conclusive, it is possible that the Gladstone Star was a soccer team connected to the eponymous public house.

Several soccer teams emerged from workplaces. This was more common in towns with large-scale enterprises in which the number of employees was sufficient to form a team. Even by the early twentieth century, Winchester remained relatively unindustrialised, had few large employers and, consequently, the opportunities to establish works' teams were rare. The city did, however, offer at least two examples. The Winchester Post Office employed enough young men to form a soccer team in 1902, which continued until at least 1913.⁵⁷⁹ A further example is provided by the Winchester Cathedral Athletic F.C. Formed in 1906 and in existence for six years, the club was associated with the workmen employed on the engineering works then being undertaken to prevent the east end of the cathedral from collapsing. This effort attracted workers from across Britain, many of whom were

⁵⁷⁵ HC 6 September 1902 p4; HC 1 September 1906 p9.

⁵⁷⁶ HC 24 August 1901 p4.

⁵⁷⁷ HC 25 November 1905 p5.

⁵⁷⁸ Yates *Time Gentlemen, Please!* 125.

⁵⁷⁹ The Post Office team won the South Western District Surveyors Postal Challenge Cup in 1912. HC 30 March 1912 p2.

boarding in the city. To provide these workers with a constructive distraction in their spare time, the works managers established both a cricket and a soccer club (see Figure 14). Occasionally, other teams formed by co-workers were recorded playing soccer. For example, the employees of Warren's printworks compiled a team in 1903, while, in 1911, the 'Winnall Stokers' from the local gasworks beat the 'Rest of the World' by twelve goals to nil.⁵⁸⁰



Figure 14. The Winchester Cathedral Athletic F.C. in 1912, posing outside of its workplace, with the Winchester and District League trophy and the Southampton Senior League shield that it won during its six-year existence. Source: *I.T. Henderson and J. Crook 'The Winchester Diver'*.

Mason also identifies a number of soccer teams which had links to cricket clubs. Unlike the 1880s, when the Winchester F.C. was formed by a cricket club and the Winchester Rovers F.C. formed its own cricketing side, there is little evidence of cricket clubs forming soccer clubs in the city between the years 1895 and 1914. With the exception of some of the church-based clubs, none of the local soccer teams shared an equivalent name with a local cricket club.

More locally commonplace were soccer clubs formed based in the city's communities. Club names give an indication of the city districts from which these clubs emerged. The names of the Hyde Park Rangers, Bar End United, West Hill, East End Athletic and St. Cross clubs all reference an estate, suburb or locale within Winchester. Some of these clubs retained a strong local identity. For example, the Hyde Park Rangers F.C. was formed in 1902 and won the Thursday League in 1908, for which thirteen of its players were awarded winners' medals. Of these, eight were still resident in Hyde parish at the time of the 1911 Census.⁵⁸¹ In contrast, the Forget-me-Nots F.C., which was

⁵⁸⁰ *HC* 7 March 1903 p7; *HC* 4 November 1911 p2.

⁵⁸¹ The names of the fourteen players presented with Thursday League medals are included on a postcard photograph of the winners held at the Hampshire Record Office *HRO* 68M94/1.

formed in 1898, was initially based in the city's western district of Fulflood - the club's president was the parish rector, its treasurer was a local schoolmistress, and the other club officials all lived in the area.⁵⁸² Yet, despite its suburban origins, the Forget-me-Nots developed to become a citywide club which, in its final season, drew its players from all areas of Winchester.

As a small city it is unsurprising that several of Winchester's minor clubs came to represent the whole of the city. Some, such as the Crescent (1895-1910) and the Albion (1898-1910) clubs, proved fairly resilient but others, for example the Shamrock (1902-04), Wolvesey (1904-07) and Eagle Athletic (1908-10) clubs, were shorter lived. Generally, the city-wide clubs were more ambitious than the city's other minor clubs, and had sufficient confidence, funding, and commitment to enter for local league and cup competitions. In its first season, the Wolvesey F.C. entered the Hants Minor Cup and, in its second year, extended its fixture list to include the Winchester and District league, adding the Thursday League in its third and final season. The Albion F.C. entered league and cup competitions in every year from 1903 to 1910. These clubs attracted some of the city's best young players, a fact which was acknowledged by the Winchester City F.C. in 1908 when it decided to disband its reserve team partly, according to its team manager, because:

There were too many small clubs in the city, and if they happened to have a good man he preferred to remain with them rather than join the Winchester [City F.C.] reserves.⁵⁸³

The growth of minor club soccer in Winchester illustrates the game's increasing local popularity in the two decades before the First World War. After the war, most of these clubs were not reformed.

To operate, the city's minor clubs required money. Few financial records survive from these clubs and identifying how they were funded and what expenses they incurred is not always clear. An exception is provided by the Nondescripts F.C., a minor club based in the city suburb of Highcliffe which was in existence from 1910 to 1914. The club's 1912/13 balance sheet, originally sent to one of the club's patrons supporting its request for further financial backing, has been found and is employed here as representative of the income and expenditure of the city's other smaller teams.⁵⁸⁴ The balance sheet is shown in Figure 15.

⁵⁸² HC 29 September 1900 p7.

⁵⁸³ HC 25 July 1908 p10.

⁵⁸⁴ It is not known who the original recipient of this request was. However, the letter is held in the archives of the Bursar of Winchester College, H. Chitty. Chitty was among four members of Winchester College that were listed that year as a vice president of the Nondescripts F.C. WCA K2/326.

WINCHESTER NONDESCRIPT FOOTBALL CLUB.

BALANCE SHEET 1912-13.

Balance in hand	3	Rent of Ground	4 : 0 : 0
Subscriptions - President	1 : 1 : 0	Affiliation Fees	7 : 6
Do. President Honorary Members	4 : 1 : 0	Stationary	3 : 10½
Do. Playing Members	2 : 5 : 0	Referees fees	10 : 0
undry Receipts	5 : 5½	Hire of Room	1 : 0
		Postages etc.	3 : 8
		Engraving Shield	1 : 6
		Footballs, repairs etc.	17 : 7
		Registration forms	6
		Five Medals	1 : 0 : 0
		Photo and Frame for Mrs Goodenough	3 : 6
		Balance in hand	3 : 7
	<u>£.7 : 12 : 8½</u>		<u>£.7 : 12 : 8½</u>

Audited and found correct:-
F.J.CHEAPMAN.
Hon. Auditor.

Figure 15. Nondescript F.C.'s balance sheet, 1912/13. Source: WCA K2/326.

In the absence of any revenue from gate money – presumably the club felt unable to charge an entrance fee - the Nondescript F.C. were almost wholly reliant on subscriptions for its income. It was reported at the club's 1912 annual general meeting that member subscriptions for the coming season were to be raised from 2s. 6d. to 3s.⁵⁸⁵ Consequently, fifteen 'playing members' collectively contributed £2 5s. to the club's funds. The remaining £5 2s. – more than double the active members' contribution - was donated by the club's president and its honorary members. The names of these patrons were recorded in a report of the club's AGM of 1912 - the club president was the city's M.P. and the list of vice presidents included three masters from Winchester College, the College bursar, the M.P. for Andover, a solicitor and a Justice of the Peace.⁵⁸⁶ Despite its low profile and minor status, the Nondescript F.C. had, perhaps surprisingly, recruited several prestigious members of the local elite to act as its officials. It is probable that several of the city's other minor clubs were similarly dependent on the largesse of wealthy sponsors for their survival.

⁵⁸⁵ HC 3 August 1912 p7.

⁵⁸⁶ HC 3 August 1912 p7.



Figure 16. The Nondescripts F.C. in 1912/13, with the Citizens' Cup. The team's kit is similar to that worn in the previous season by the Winchester Cathedral Athletic F.C. (see Figure 14), and it is likely that the Nondescripts purchased their kit from the recently disbanded club. *Picture courtesy of Mike Pettigrew.*

The Nondescripts F.C.'s main expenditure – at £4 it was over half of all its outgoings - was the cost of renting a pitch at Bar End.⁵⁸⁷ Repairs and equipment accounted for a further 17s. 7d. and routine administration costs - covering the club's affiliation to the Hampshire F.A., stationery, postage, room hire for meetings, etc. – added a further 16s. 6½d. Clubs were expected to pay for match referees, which that year cost 10s. The club had had a successful season, having won both the Thursday League and Easter Monday junior six-a-side tournament (see Photograph 16).⁵⁸⁸ As a result, the club incurred three atypical costs – five medals, the engraving of a shield, and a framed photograph for 'Mrs Goodenough' – which collectively added a further £1 5s. to expenses.

Accessing a soccer pitch was a common hurdle for all of Winchester's minor clubs, none of which owned its own ground. Having assured and guaranteed access to a pitch was a prerequisite for entry to a local league and, as such, had a direct impact on a club's development. Access could be secured through striking a rental agreement with either a private landowner, the local corporation, or subletting a ground from another club.

While it was based at Bar End, the Winchester F.C. generated additional income through subletting its pitch to other soccer clubs. Similar arrangements were made after the club's move, in 1896, to its new ground at the Old Red Deer. For example, the club leased its ground on Thursdays

⁵⁸⁷ Finding and paying for a pitch proved a burden for many of Winchester's minor soccer clubs. The Alfred F.C. reported that the cost of hiring a ground had, in the past, 'drained' the club's finances. *HC* 24 August 1901 p4.

⁵⁸⁸ *HC* 29 March 1913 p2.; *HC* 3 May 1913 p4.

to the St. Maurice F.C. during the 1901/02 season. After a further move, the club transferred its arrangement with St. Maurice F.C. to the Roebuck ground. The club later leased its ground to the St. Thomas F.C. (1905/06) and the Eagle Athletic F.C. (1911/12), arrangements which enabled both clubs to enter the Thursday League. At Bar End, the Winchester Cricket Club continued to sublet its ground throughout the winter, for example, leasing the pitch to the Winchester Alfred F.C. for four consecutive seasons between 1898 and 1903.

In addition to the grounds at Bar End, the Old Red Deer and the Roebuck, a few privately-owned pitches were made available for rent during the period. One, located at Bereweeke Road in the west of the city, was secured as a home ground by the Forget-me-Nots F.C. in 1901/02, by the Crescent F.C. in 1902/03, and by the Congregational Institute F.C. in 1908/09.⁵⁸⁹ The ground was also regularly used by the Winchester Elementary Schools League for games. Elsewhere a pitch was opened at the Fair Field, sited across the road from the Bar End ground. This ground was used by both the Albion and the East End Athletic clubs on alternate Saturdays during 1905/06, an arrangement which enabled both to enter the Winchester and District League.⁵⁹⁰

However, despite these new venues, there remained too few affordable soccer pitches to meet the needs of local clubs, as was noted at the Winchester F.C.'s AGM in 1910:

It was decided a reserve team should be run during the season, it being pointed out that one or two minor clubs in the city had been wound up, chiefly owing to the difficulty of securing a playing ground and that the former members of these clubs would form the material for a reserve eleven.⁵⁹¹

A shortage of pitches presented a significant barrier to soccer's development as a popular participative sport in Winchester.

In comparison to that given to the Winchester F.C., the city's minor soccer clubs were afforded little coverage in local newspapers, the result of space limitations combined with the varying willingness of club officials to submit reports. Consequently, names of minor club players were infrequently published. However, sufficient information from a limited number of Winchester's minor clubs, for a few isolated seasons, has been collected to permit the compilation of social and economic profiles of these teams' players. In this section, data from seven of the city's teams is analysed to present a social demographic insight to the players that appeared for each. These seven, a combination of Saturday- and Thursday-playing teams, are:

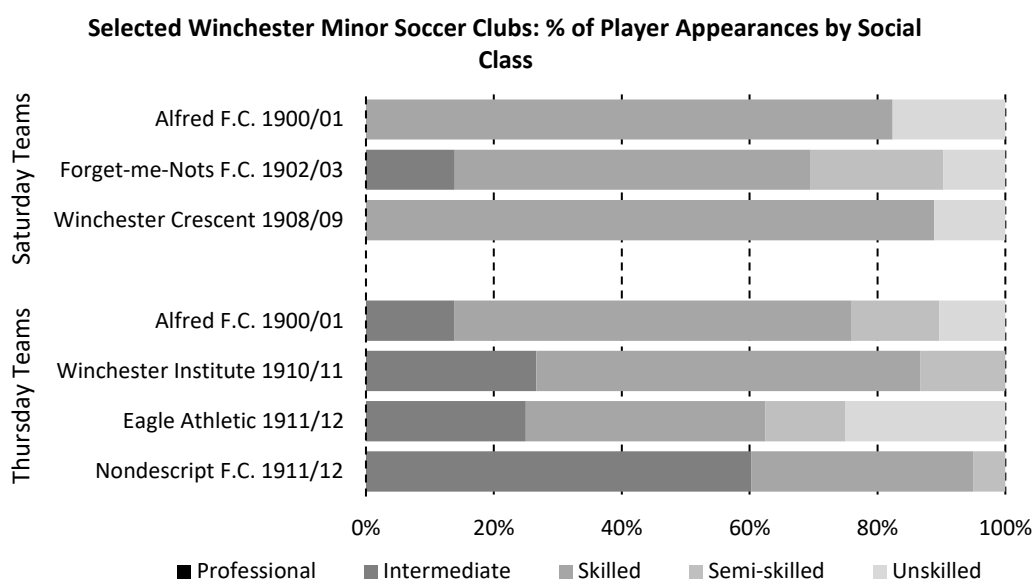
⁵⁸⁹ *HC* 2 November 1901 p6; *HC* 18 October 1902 p6; *HC* 17 October 1908 p4.

⁵⁹⁰ *HC* 9 September 1905 p6.

⁵⁹¹ *HC* 20 August 1910 p4.

- Alfred F.C. (Saturday team, 1900/01 – 6 games, 17 individuals)
- Alfred F.C. (Thursday team, 1900/01- 7 games, 18 individuals)
- Forget-me-Nots F.C. (Saturday team, 1902/03. 13 games, 27 individuals)
- Crescent F.C. (Saturday team, 1908/09 – 11 games, 23 individuals)
- Institute F.C. (Thursday team, 1910/11 – 6 games, 22 individuals)
- Eagle Athletic F.C. (Thursday team, 1911/12 – 3 games, 12 individuals)
- Nondescript F.C. (Thursday team, 1911/12 – 21 games, 35 individuals)

The proportions of player appearances for the seven clubs, classified by the five social categories, are shown in Graph 15.

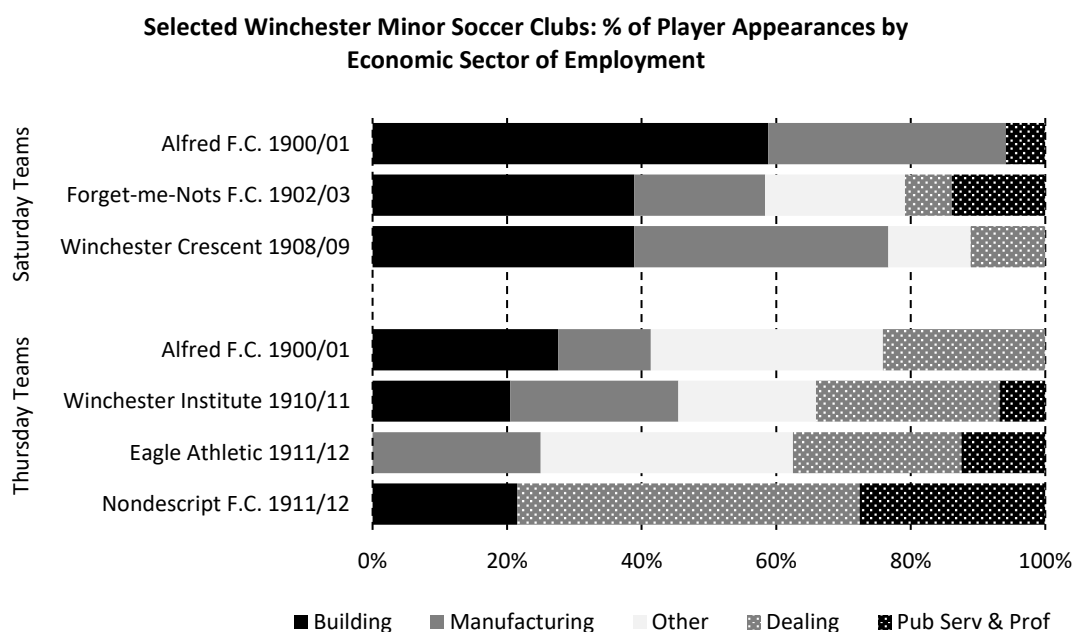


Graph 15. Percentage of player appearances for selected Winchester minor soccer clubs in selected seasons, by social class.

The data reveals that the city’s minor club players, for both Saturday and Thursday teams, predominantly held ‘skilled’ working-class occupations. In the Saturday teams, these were supplemented by players who were employed largely in either ‘semi-skilled’ or ‘unskilled’ occupations. The Thursday teams, however, also included a higher proportion of appearances by players who held ‘intermediate’ occupations, for example, as apprentices or clerical workers.⁵⁹² Their presence illustrates the effect that Thursday soccer had in broadening participation in the game by making it accessible to a wider social group.

⁵⁹² The Nondescripts F.C., possibly atypically, had an especially high proportion of such players, with 60% of all appearances for the team being made by individuals with ‘intermediate’ occupations.

The effect of the Thursday half-holiday is also evident through an analysis of the economic sectors of employment of the minor club players. The proportions of appearances made, categorised by the generalised employment sector, for each club are shown in Graph 16.

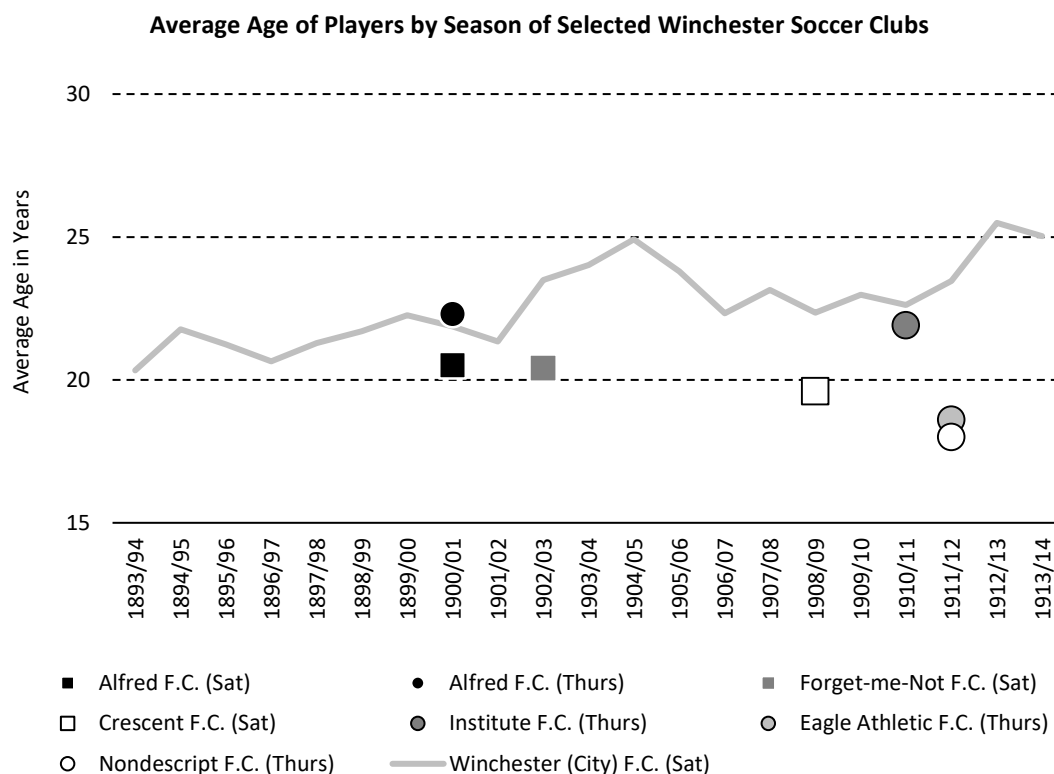


Graph 16. Percentage of player appearances for selected Winchester minor soccer clubs, for selected seasons, by generalised economic sector of employment.

For the Saturday-playing clubs, the majority of appearances were made by players employed in ‘building’ or ‘manufacturing’ occupations.⁵⁹³ These teams also featured low proportions – less than 20% - of appearances by players employed in the commercial (‘dealing’) and ‘public service and professional’ trades. In contrast, the economic profiles of the Thursday sides feature a more diverse range of player employment sectors in which ‘building’ occupations are less prominent. Of particular interest is the Alfred F.C. which, on Thursdays, fielded half the proportion of ‘builders’ than it did in its Saturday teams. The other Thursday teams each included both a smaller proportion of appearances by ‘builders’ and a higher proportion by players holding ‘dealing’ occupations. This is especially evident with the Nondescripts F.C. for which over half of all appearances were made by players employed in the ‘dealing’ sector. The increased representation of ‘dealing’ employed players in Thursday teams is, again, the result of the adoption by the city’s offices and shops of midweek half-day closing.

⁵⁹³ In the case of the Alfred F.C., over 95% of appearances made for the club on a Saturday were made by such players.

The average player ages for each of the seven teams has been calculated and are shown in Graph 17, which also includes, for comparison, the annual average age for the players of the Winchester F.C.



Graph 17. The average age of players for selected Winchester minor soccer clubs, with data for the Winchester F.C. added for comparison

The data presents a mixed picture. The average age of the players that appeared for the three Saturday teams (square points) was fairly constant, each recorded at approximately twenty years, and in each instance was lower than that of the Saturday-playing Winchester F.C. The average age recorded for the Thursday clubs (circular points) is more varied. Both the Eagle Athletic and Nondescript clubs fielded relatively young teams whose average age was eighteen, which contrasts with the Institute F.C. players who were, on average, four years older. Notably, the Thursday players of the Alfred F.C. were older than the club’s Saturday players. Despite the absence of any clear patterns in the data it does, nevertheless, illustrate the varying age profiles that existed between the city’s minor clubs.

The reasons why individuals chose to join one of the city’s minor clubs were similar to those identified in relation to the city’s earlier sports clubs (see Section 2.5.3.), and are comparable to those which led others to join the Winchester F.C. Some of these clubs’ officials maintained the long-

established view that soccer, as with other sports, had the capacity to cultivate the players' physical, mental and moral wellbeing. They regarded soccer as a character-building exercise, through which the desirable personal attributes of physical endurance, strength and fortitude could be developed, along with an honest, fair-minded and resourceful personality. This attitude was evident in a report of a 1901 match featuring the Forget-me-Nots F.C in which the report's author - possibly the club secretary - felt the actions of the team's players were worthy of condemnation. When, after conceding two goals in quick succession, he wrote that the team showed 'a want of pluck, and it is hoped such a spectacle as a player standing with his arms folded while his side loses will never again be seen in connection with the Forget-me-Nots'.⁵⁹⁴ The belief remained that 'pluck' was an essential attribute for any successful soccer player.

The players themselves may have had less high-minded motives for playing the game. Many may have joined minor teams seeking local fame and glory, both of which clearly remained important to both clubs and their players. The first season of the Winchester and District League was considered unsuccessful partly because, in their desire to gain league points, the teams were unable 'to play a match without the losing side protesting for some reason or other'.⁵⁹⁵ Personal glory was also a motive to join a soccer club. When the Nondescripts F.C. won the 1913 Easter Monday six-a-side tournament it was only awarded a single medal. The club thought it important that each player should have his own, hence the entry in the expenditure column of the club's 1912/13 balance sheet for five additional medals, at a cost of 4s. each (see Figure 15).

Non-soccer social activities may also have attracted people to join a minor club where, again in common with the Winchester F.C., membership provided access to a range of social events. For example, when the Alfred F.C. held its club dinner at the Coach and Horses Inn in 1901, it attracted an impressive sixty attendees.⁵⁹⁶ Also popular were club smoking concerts, such as the one held by the Albion F.C. at the India Arms in 1905, which included 'a full programme' of performers, all of whom 'contributed to the harmony of the evening' which concluded with a communal singing of the National Anthem.⁵⁹⁷ Equally successful were the two evenings of whist playing and dancing hosted by the St. Maurice F.C. in 1913, one of which attracted over seventy members and continued until 2.00am.⁵⁹⁸ It is uncertain whether these events represented further examples of Tosh's 'flight from domesticity', but the staging of dinners, concerts and whist drives – often exclusively-male occasions - did provide additional attractions, beyond sport, to joining Winchester's minor soccer clubs.

⁵⁹⁴ HC 2 November 1901 p6.

⁵⁹⁵ HO 25 April 1896 p3.

⁵⁹⁶ HC 24 August 1901 p4-5.

⁵⁹⁷ HC 25 November 1905 p5.

⁵⁹⁸ HC 12 April 1913 p7; HC 22 November 1913 p7.

A willingness to display one's masculinity in public may also have provided a motivation to play soccer for a local team. Like the Winchester F.C., the Saturday-playing minor club teams were formed largely of young working-class men, many of whom held 'respectable' occupations in the building and manufacturing trades. It may be assumed that these players shared a similar outlook to those that played for the city's senior club and accepted – possibly even welcomed - a moderate degree of controlled violence in games. A demonstration of manly aggression, especially in front of a crowd of spectators, underscored the claims to masculinity of the individual player.

The Thursday club players offer an interesting contrast. A sizeable proportion of these were employed in offices and shops, holding what were regarded as subordinate and sedentary jobs. Neither did they earn their livings through physical labour – to working-class contemporaries an indication of a lack of masculinity. Furthermore, few were self-employed, and so could not claim the 'respectability' of independence, a point which was emphasised by the fact that many were young, unmarried, and usually living in their parental home. Tosh identifies young men such as these as experiencing a particular crisis of masculinity, one which left them open to accusations of effeminacy, viewed as 'servile' by the middle class, and seen as 'weak' by the working class.⁵⁹⁹ Playing soccer provided these young men with an opportunity to publicly assert their questioned masculinity, and may explain the appeal of Thursday soccer to the shop and office workers that made up a substantial proportion of midweek players.⁶⁰⁰

4.5. Winchester's Military Soccer Clubs

Before the devastating fire of 1894, two military soccer clubs were based at Winchester barracks: the Hants Depot F.C. and the Rifle Depot F.C. After the fire the Rifle Depot was relocated to Gosport, where it remained until its return in 1904. Consequently, for ten years the Hants Depot F.C. was the sole military soccer club playing in Winchester. During this period, the Hants Depot entered competitive soccer tournaments for the first time. In 1896, it was invited to enter the inaugural May Cup tournament, a competition that it won both in that season and the one that followed.⁶⁰¹ Entry to such contests were, however, infrequent and, prior to 1906, the club rarely competed in tournaments, limiting itself to one entry to the Hants Junior Cup (1898/99) and a single season playing in the Winchester and District League (1903/04). The Hants Depot F.C. preferred to play its matches during the week, stating that it did so as it 'wished to avoid clashing with other [Hants

⁵⁹⁹ Tosh 'What Should Historians do' 186.

⁶⁰⁰ The Winchester Thursday League pitched teams of clerks and shop assistants against the city's three military teams, heightening the masculine credentials of the competitors.

⁶⁰¹ *HBG* 10 April 1897 p8; *HBG* 16 April 1898 p3. At the time many of the club's players were also members of the Winchester F.C.

Depot] club meetings'.⁶⁰² The club's reluctance to play at weekends precluded its entry to most local soccer competitions, for which matches were generally held on Saturdays.

In the late 1890s, the Hants Depot F.C. did not have access to its own playing fields and, consequently, resorted to hiring a variety of pitches as required. However, from 1901, it secured a long-term rental agreement with a 'Mr Stratton' for his field located on Stanmore Lane.⁶⁰³ Having guaranteed access to the ground enabled the Hants Depot to arrange games in greater number than it had previously, a development which was reflected in the club receiving more extensive coverage in the city's newspapers. Guaranteed access to the pitch also enabled the club's entry to the Winchester and District League. The ground at 'Stratton's Field' remained the home of the Hants Depot F.C. for the following five seasons, after which it relocated to a new ground at Airlie Road.

For the ten years between 1894 to 1904, the Rifle Depot F.C. was based in Gosport, a temporary arrangement which lasted until the regiment's Winchester barracks was rebuilt. While absent from the city, the club continued to enter local soccer competitions, including, in the 1898/99, one season in the Hampshire League. On the Depot's return to Winchester it became evident that the Army's local sporting facilities were inadequate for the city's now-increased number of military personnel. To remedy the problem, in 1906 the Army purchased land at Airlie Road, a short walk from the barracks, and developed it into a playing field - incorporating a soccer pitch - intended for the combined use of the Hampshire and Rifle Depots.⁶⁰⁴

The opening of the new sports ground heralded an expansion in the activities of both military soccer clubs. The 1906/07 season saw the Rifle Depot F.C. both enter the South Hants League for the first time and win the Winchester Thursday League in its inaugural year (see Figure 17).⁶⁰⁵ The following year, seeking to advance further, the club re-entered the Hampshire League. The Rifle Depot F.C. was also a regular entrant to the Hants Junior Cup, appeared in the national F.A.'s Amateur Cup, and, from 1910, annually entered the Southampton F.A.'s league and cup competitions. The purchase of Airlie Road also encouraged the Hants Depot F.C. to enter tournaments more regularly, competing in the Winchester Thursday League each season, and entering the South Hants and the Winchester and District Saturday leagues, both for one season each.

⁶⁰² HO 5 October 1895 p2.

⁶⁰³ HC 28 September 1901 p6.

⁶⁰⁴ HC 28 April 1906 p4.

⁶⁰⁵ The decision to join the South Hants League was made because 'local clubs are too weak to give us a good game'. *Rifle Brigade Chronicle* (1906) 157-8.



Figure 17. The Rifle Depot F.C., Winchester Thursday League champions, 1906/07, at their Airlie Road ground, with the Citizens' Cup and winners' medals. Source: *Rifle Brigade Chronicle 1907*.

The local military clubs' attitude towards soccer contrasted to that held by the city's civilian teams, in particular in relation to their approach to winning. After securing the Thursday League championship in 1907, the committee of the Rifle Depot F.C. decided to seek a more demanding challenge in the following season, explaining that:

After our successful season last year, when we ended up winning the Citizens' Cup, we decided to fly at higher game, and accordingly dropped out of the Winchester [Thursday] League and entered the South Hants League, Hants League and Hants Junior Cup. We have no expectation of winning either of the league competitions, but we get better football which, after all, is the main thing.⁶⁰⁶

The committee's apparent nonchalance towards winning provides insight into how the military viewed soccer. Whether this view was shared by the other players is unknown.

Unsurprisingly, the military acknowledged the part that soccer played in improving fitness and the role that it had in army life. In a speech made at a smoking concert held to celebrate the club's Thursday League win, Captain White of the Rifle Depot referred to the advantage that military teams held over civilian clubs in that 'sport was looked upon as part of their training' and so could be included in the weekly schedule of the soldiers.⁶⁰⁷ From White's perspective, the physical training gained through playing soccer was of greater importance than the results of games.

⁶⁰⁶ *Rifle Brigade Chronicle 1907* 203.

⁶⁰⁷ *HC* 13 April 1907 p2.

The local Volunteer Force was late in taking up soccer. The first recorded soccer involving the Volunteers was in 1903 during the annual two-week camp of the Hampshire Volunteer Battalion held in the New Forest. This took the form of a soccer knockout competition between teams representing each of the battalion's ten companies – three of which were Winchester-based - with the winners being awarded a cup and medals. Initially, the tournament was a regular event at the Battalion's annual camps but, by 1908, the cup final was staged as an independent event held in front of a paying audience of spectators.⁶⁰⁸

Despite these developments, until 1907 the amount of soccer played by Winchester's Volunteers remained limited. That year, in accordance with Haldane's military reforms, the Volunteer Force was combined with the local Yeomanry and renamed the Territorial Force. In Winchester these reforms coincided with the formation of a new soccer club, the Winchester Territorials F.C. By October 1908 the new club was sufficiently established, confident and forward looking to seek an agreement with the Town Council to guarantee it access, on both Thursday and Saturday afternoons, to a recently opened soccer pitch at North Walls Park.⁶⁰⁹ Securing its own ground permitted the club to join the Winchester and District League in 1908/09 and again in the following year. By 1912, presumably in an attempt to serve the needs of its members who worked on Saturdays, the club sought to add midweek games to its list of fixtures, a move which resulted in its entry to the Thursday League.

4.6 School Football

In the early 1880s, Winchester's private schools were among the city's earliest adopters of soccer, and its fee-paying establishments retained a prominent position in the local soccer culture into the early 1890s. In this section, the development of the game within Winchester's educational institutions is charted. An examination of the game's development at Winchester College, the Training College, and the city's private schools is provided, followed by an account of how formalised soccer was introduced to local elementary schools during the Edwardian period.

After its introduction at Winchester College in the late 1880s, soccer initially remained a rather unfashionable and underplayed sport. Although a few matches were played each year against external opponents, the College's soccer season was restricted to a short period in the early Spring. While not prohibited, soccer was not vigorously encouraged by the College authorities, who feared

⁶⁰⁸ HC 15 February 1908 p8.

⁶⁰⁹ HC 7 November 1908 p4.

that it might detract from Winchester Rules Football.⁶¹⁰ By the early 1890s, however, these concerns were seen to have been unfounded. The establishment of an inter-house knockout tournament, with the Hawkins Cup being awarded to the winners, in 1895 raised the game's status at the school, and Wykehamist interest in the game grew thereafter. In its review of the College's 1896 soccer season, *The Wykehamist* observed that 'on the whole the past season may be considered distinctly satisfactory; the game, which seemed to be moribund for several years, took a new lease of life'.⁶¹¹

Yet, despite soccer's elevation, it remained a distant third in the hierarchy of College sports behind Winchester Rules Football and cricket. Its lesser standing was illustrated by the continued shortness of its playing season. At the College it was insisted that *only* Winchester Rules Football could be played in the months before Christmas, with the soccer season commencing in the new year. Furthermore, soccer had to be concluded by the end of February to ensure that the grass on the playing fields could recover in time for post-Easter cricket.⁶¹² In an 1897 edition of *The Wykehamist*, soccer was referred to as 'the inferior game' and, five years later, it proposed 'the entire abolition of soccer' due to the low number of pupils involved and its consequent encouragement of 'a widespread idleness'.⁶¹³ Despite soccer's inferior status, the game's popularity at the College grew throughout the Edwardian decade. The introduction of annual matches against rival public schools - with Charterhouse from 1902 and Westminster School from 1906 - helped raise the game's profile still further.⁶¹⁴ In 1907 it was conceded in *The Wykehamist* that 'soccer seems to have come to stay'.⁶¹⁵

For a while, Winchester College soccer teams were prepared to arrange fixtures with non-College teams from the town. Throughout most of the 1890s, the College maintained an annual game with the Winchester F.C. (in both its middle- and working-class incarnations) and, in 1894, introduced regular matches against the Training College team. However, during the following decade, the College gradually withdrew from these arrangements. The Winchester F.C. fixture, which was only held intermittently from 1896, was staged for the final time in 1906. In the same year matches with the Training College ceased and, in the following year, the College played its last game against the Rifle Depot F.C.⁶¹⁶ No further matches were played against opponents from the town.

In the years before the First World War, non-local middle-class teams increasingly provided the external opponents for the College team, and its soccer became more class exclusive. In 1912,

⁶¹⁰ *The Wykehamist* 298 (February 1894) 459.

⁶¹¹ *The Wykehamist* 321 (March 1896) 181.

⁶¹² In the early Edwardian period, the College had no grounds specifically dedicated to soccer.

⁶¹³ *The Wykehamist* 331 (February 1897) 271; *The Wykehamist* 390 (March 1902) 381.

⁶¹⁴ E. B. Noel *Fifty Years of Sport* (London, 1922) 335.

⁶¹⁵ *The Wykehamist* 442 (March 1907) 387.

⁶¹⁶ *The Wykehamist* 432 (March 1906) 293; *The Wykehamist* 442 (March 1907) 390.

the scheduled list of 'school games' for the forthcoming season consisted of ten matches against 'external' opponents, each of which had a distinctly patrician profile. These included visiting Oxford colleges, scratch sides formed by old boys, and the Old Wykehamists F.C. The final and most important games were to be against the 'gentleman-amateurs' of the Casuals F.C., followed by matches with Westminster and Charterhouse schools.⁶¹⁷ The cause of this increased exclusivity is uncertain, but may have been driven by a fear of being beaten by socially inferior teams – a danger which was avoided by playing matches only against teams of a comparable social standing.⁶¹⁸

Soccer may have proved popular at Winchester College because it provided additional opportunities for Wykehamists to demonstrate their own version of masculinity. While some of those taking part are certain to have done so from simple enjoyment, a claim of a further, more moral justification for playing sport could be made - sport was a means by which participants might develop the quality of 'manliness'. An editorial from a 1911 edition of *The Wykehamist* concluded that 'manliness' consisted of individual physical hardiness combined with the virtues of truthfulness, equity and helpfulness. Of hardiness it was commented that:

It is the boy's first lesson to bear some degree of pain; it is a large part of his training later to fit his body for labour and endurance; the mastery of the body is the first step in every effort throughout life; enough strength to bear the ordinary ills of life and to hold his own under ordinary conditions against his fellows is part of the necessary outfit of a man for life. Hardiness is the framework round which the whole of Manliness is built.⁶¹⁹

This assertion of the benefits of physical development encapsulates the attitude towards games, including soccer, held by many at the College. While personal glory, enjoyment, or the chance to represent the school may have motivated individuals to play the game, they were sanctioned to do so by the widely held belief in the moral benefits to be found in soccer. The masculinity promoted at Winchester College was one based on individual physical strength and courageous personal morality.

Soccer was more extensively played at the city's Training College than it was at Winchester College. During the 1890s and 1900s the Training College – which by that time had increased its number of students to eighty - was regularly able to field both first and reserve teams. These were capable of

⁶¹⁷ HC 27 January 1912 p11.

⁶¹⁸ Despite this, Winchester College did not, at this time, face either Harrow or Eton – the two schools which Wykehamists most readily accepted as their peers – at soccer. In the case of the former this was because Harrow had, in 1905, abandoned the playing of soccer in the Easter term in favour of a 'temporary enthusiasm' for rugby. At Eton, soccer was not widely played before the First World War and, even in the 1920s, was only available at the school 'to some extent' in the term after Christmas. Desborough *Fifty Years of Sport* 1, 242.

⁶¹⁹ *The Wykehamist* 486 (17 March 1911) 350.

matching some of the most accomplished local sides. Its first team played fixtures against both the Winchester F.C. and Winchester College, and, in 1903, was one of the few teams that managed to beat the reserve team of the professional Southampton F.C.⁶²⁰

The talent for soccer exhibited by its students prompted the Training College to seek games which were more competitive than the friendly games that they had played to that date. As commented in the College's magazine, *The Wintonian*:

The Principal has most kindly given his permission for our entry to the South Hants League. For the last year or two there has been some difficulty in arranging games with clubs of good standing, owing to their league arrangements, but this is now past and over, and we may confidently look forward to brighter, brisker and more enjoyable games than usual.⁶²¹

Consequently, the Training College first team entered for the South Hants League in the 1904/05 season.⁶²² It again entered the League in the following year but, for reasons that are unknown, had withdrawn from the competition by the start of November.⁶²³



Figure 18. Postcard featuring the 1909 winners of the Winchester Training College Sectional League, the Olympians, posing with a board which displays the final league positions. *Picture courtesy of Mike Pettigrew.*

League games against external opponents were replaced, in 1906, with an internal soccer league tournament. In October of that year, the student body were separated into five 'sections', each

⁶²⁰ *HI* 21 March 1903 p2.

⁶²¹ *The Wintonian* October 1904 p16.

⁶²² *SE* 2 May 1905 p4.

⁶²³ *HC* 26 August 1905 p8; *HC* 11 November 1905 p3.

consisting of sixteen students.⁶²⁴ Each section formed a soccer team which competed in the Sectional League. Given the numbers in each section, it is unlikely that many students could avoid playing. A photograph of the 1909 Sectional League winners – the Olympians – features the team posing proudly with a board on which the final league positions are displayed (see Figure 18).

The Training College team made one further entry to an external soccer competition. In a move described as ‘an interesting innovation’, it entered the Winchester and District League in the 1913/14 season.⁶²⁵ This was conducted in parallel with a series of friendly matches and, in total, the College first team played twenty-nine games – approximately twice each week – that season.⁶²⁶

Tony Mangan and Colm Hickey identify a motivation for the adoption of soccer that was unique to the training colleges.⁶²⁷ They argue that, in their attempts to enact the recommendations set out by the Cross Commission’s 1888 report, the training colleges sought to appoint public-school and university-educated tutors. These appointees, through their experiences at these elite institutions, had an appreciation of the Cult of Athleticism.⁶²⁸ It was hoped that, through their influence, middle-class experiences, ideals and values – with a particular emphasis on a moral masculinity founded on robustness, decency and conscientiousness – might diffuse from the public schools to the trainees at the colleges, and later to the elementary schools in which the latter would subsequently teach. In the opinion of Mangan and Hickey, the new attitude at the training colleges, was that:

There were moral values to be learnt on games fields, that in part ‘manliness’ was to be achieved there, that in part masculinity was to be learnt there, that in part by way of these things a ‘proper’ masculinity was to be transmitted via the elementary school to the working-class boy to his advantage, for his betterment and for the harmonious well-being of society.⁶²⁹

The view of manliness held at the training colleges was in accord with that held at Winchester College. The training colleges’ mission was to ensure that these attitudes were diffused to the working-class boys who attended the elementary schools.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁴ *The Wintonian* October 1906 p24. The names adopted for the ‘sections’ - Arcadians, Athenians, Corinthians, Olympians and Utopians - imply a reverence for the classics more attuned to the public schools than the elementary schools at which most Training College students would later teach.

⁶²⁵ *The Wintonian* October 1913 p21.

⁶²⁶ *The Wintonian* June 1914 p93.

⁶²⁷ J.A. Mangan and C. Hickey ‘Athleticism in the Service of the Proletariat’ in J. A. Mangan (ed.) *A Sport Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play* (Abingdon, 2006) 199-41.

⁶²⁸ These recommendations were intended to raise standards at both church-controlled and local boards schools.

⁶²⁹ Mangan and Hickey *Proletariat* 137

⁶³⁰ Mangan and Hickey suggest further reasons why these students may have been willing to embrace soccer, citing the both the alleviation of boredom and the opportunity to emulate the public schools.

Soccer continued to be played at the city's two largest private boys' schools – Northgate and Trafalgar House – into the twentieth century. When a third - Peter Symonds' School - was opened in 1897, it too adopted the game. The number of matches staged each season varied between schools, with each facing both school and non-school opponents. For example, in the 1899/1900 season, Northgate School played twenty-three 'external' games of which nine were played against other school teams, the remainder were against local 'civilian' sides.⁶³¹ Likewise, the Trafalgar House team played a combination of school, civilian and military teams. The availability of playing space remained a problem for schools, with both the Trafalgar House and Northgate schools having to hire pitches for soccer. Considering the importance that was placed on school sports at that time, it is unsurprising that when Peter Symonds' School moved, three years after it originally opened, to a new purpose-built location on the outskirts of the city, the new premises were set within its own extensive playing fields.

But soccer's position as the primary winter sport at these schools was not unassailable. At Northgate School it was decided that, for the 1901/02 academic year, soccer would be confined to the autumn term, and that a new sport – hockey - would be introduced in the spring.⁶³² By 1905 the same decision had been taken at Trafalgar House.⁶³³ It is unclear why these schools chose to diversify their winter sports. Possibly soccer had come to be regarded as too proletarian a sport, tainted by professionalism, while hockey retained the respectability of amateurism, much as soccer had previously. Equally, the change might reflect the arrival at the schools of assistant masters who had had experience of hockey playing. Or, because similar moves had been made by other nearby private schools, choosing to do likewise helped facilitate inter-school matches. Whatever the reason for the adoption of hockey, the decision inevitably led to a decline in the amount of school soccer played.

The attitude towards soccer playing held at the city's private schools was similar to that expressed at both Winchester College and the Training College. In a 1902 speech made at a Trafalgar House School prize giving event, the Dean of Winchester outlined – presumably to the agreement of the school's headmaster - what he saw as the benefits of sport, claiming they 'were of value for their physical, mental and moral development. They trained the body and the mind, while they had also a great effect on the character of the person.' In this the Dean was echoing views which had frequently been expressed during the preceding decades by proponents of Muscular Christianity. But he went on to add:

⁶³¹ HC 31 March 1900 p6.

⁶³² HC 19 July 1902 p2.

⁶³³ HC 24 December 1904 p3.

If these sports at Trafalgar House continue to flourish, as in past times – and he knew they would – their school would continue to turn out, as it already had done, men well fitted to be good citizens, and useful members of the community, and who would do honour and credit to their country and Empire of which they were so justly proud.⁶³⁴

In a reflection of how contemporary attitudes towards soccer were evolving, the Dean was emphasising the benefits of sport both to the individual *and* the nation, connecting an enthusiastic embrace of sport to both the school's reputation - and to the success of Britain and its Empire.

Prior to the passing of the 1906 Education Act, there was no requirement for any form of physical exercise, beyond drill, in any elementary school. However, as Mangan and Hickey note, the Act did not herald the introduction of sport to these schools. Instead, it ratified a process which had been independently instigated by elementary school teachers in the preceding years. These teachers, they claim, having been imbued with a public-school-like appreciation of the moral value of games at their training colleges, voluntarily introduced games to their working-class pupils.⁶³⁵

It is unclear whether attempts to diffuse this middle-class model of manliness to working-class schoolboys led directly to the introduction of soccer at Winchester's elementary schools. However, there is evidence that the game was being played at these schools prior to 1906 - the date from which cricket, hockey and soccer's incorporation into school hours was mandated – suggesting that the sport was taken-up voluntarily and not in response to national policy.⁶³⁶ As early as 1895, writing in the Winchester-based *Hampshire Observer*, 'Goalkeeper' observed that:

Football is the most popular physical exercise taken part in by our school boys, and anyone who has seen matches between them must have thoroughly appreciated the skill shown by the boys belonging to the elementary schools.⁶³⁷

In 1903, a team from the Western Boys' School were reported playing against both 'A. Richards' XI' and another elementary school side from Hyde.⁶³⁸ There was also a soccer club established at the St. Thomas Higher Grade School in 1901 which, in its first season, played fourteen matches. However, this club – for whom the secretary, treasurer and referee were all pupil teachers based at the school - was the only local elementary school to have a formally organised and regularly playing soccer club

⁶³⁴ HC 9 August 1902 p2.

⁶³⁵ J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised' in J. A. Mangan (ed.) *A Sport-Loving Society, Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play* (Abingdon, 2006) 72-73.

⁶³⁶ *ibid.* 69.

⁶³⁷ HO 9 November 1895 p3.

⁶³⁸ HC 3 January 1903 p7; HC 28 February 1903 p7.

at the time; at a club dinner the hope was expressed that 'other schools in the town would follow the example of the Higher Grade School and form clubs'.⁶³⁹

However, it was only with the foundation of the Winchester Elementary School League that inter-school matches were arranged in a formalised and regular manner. The creation and administration of the school league was undertaken voluntarily by local elementary school teachers - its first secretary was a local headmaster and the referees were often teachers from the participating schools.⁶⁴⁰ As all league games were played on Saturday mornings, outside of school hours, this work was additional to the teachers' contracted work, implying they recognised its value to their pupils.



Figure 19. Hyde School, winners of the Winchester Elementary Schools League 1907/08 and 1908/09, with the Beavis Cup. *Picture courtesy of Nick Kearns.*

The Elementary Schools League had a positive effect on local schoolboys (see Figure 19). Among its advantages the city mayor cited 'the healthy rivalry and beneficial recreation which is encouraged amongst them by the league'.⁶⁴¹ Another recognised benefit was that soccer offered a positive diversionary activity. In donating a silver trophy to be awarded to the league winners, Police Constable Beavis aimed 'to foster an interest among boys in outdoor sports' and to see such sports 'generally practised by boys instead of their congregating about the streets'.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁹ HC 19 April 1902 p6.

⁶⁴⁰ HC 17 October 1903 p7.

⁶⁴¹ HC 3 June 1905 p8.

⁶⁴² HC 3 June 1905 p8.

4.7 Casual Football and Public Play Space

Casual, 'kickabout' soccer games continued to be played by local children throughout the period. But the shortage of suitable spaces within Winchester on which to play led to tensions between the youngsters and some city residents. Playing 'football' in the streets was reported to be 'rather a frequent nuisance' in certain city streets.⁶⁴³ But tensions were most apparent in the competing demands that were made on public open spaces on Sundays, a problem compounded by the offence these activities caused to those holding Sabbatarian principles. One resident, after being 'pained to find football going on' at Oram's Arbour one Sunday in 1901, wrote in complaint:

For the honour of God I would earnestly plead that every effort should be made to put a stop to a practice [football] which seems to me to be a gratuitous, though unintentional insult to common Christian feeling, to say nothing of the spirit of the IVth Commandment.⁶⁴⁴

At the time the Town Council, which maintained Oram's Arbour, did not take action to ban Sunday games. However, during the years which followed, the number of objections received about Sunday play in the city's public parks increased, the issue being exacerbated by 'some of the best houses in the city' being located on the periphery of these sites.⁶⁴⁵ On receipt of a petition signed by nearby residents, the Council felt compelled to act, voting unanimously to enforce an existing byelaw prohibiting all football games at the Arbour on Sundays.⁶⁴⁶

The Town Council's response was prompted less by Sabbatarian concerns than by worries regarding overcrowding in its open spaces. It had long recognised the need to provide additional playing space in the city.⁶⁴⁷ With this aim in mind, in 1902 the Council purchased a substantial parcel of land near the city centre with the intention of creating a new public recreation ground, the future North Walls Park.⁶⁴⁸ To enable the development work to begin, the Council agreed a thirty-year loan of £10,000 from the Local Government Board, which was to be paid back by an increase in the local rates.⁶⁴⁹ This arrangement prompted strong objections from many ratepayers.⁶⁵⁰ These protests increased after it became clear that the project was running significantly over budget, and led directly to the formation of the Winchester Ratepayers' Association, which had the stated aim of

⁶⁴³ HC 21 April 1901 p7.

⁶⁴⁴ HC 16 March 1901 p6.

⁶⁴⁵ HC 25 May 1901 p5.

⁶⁴⁶ HC 12 December 1908 p11.

⁶⁴⁷ HC 5 March 1887 p5.

⁶⁴⁸ HC 7 June 1902 p3

⁶⁴⁹ HC 4 April 1903 p3.

⁶⁵⁰ Before the purchase was finalised, a 616-signature petition was submitted by ratepayers urging the Council to abandon their plans (HC 21 June 1902 p3).

opposing 'all useless and extravagant expenditure' by the Council.⁶⁵¹ Responding to this public dissent, the Council decided, despite its unfinished state, to open the park in a limited form as soon as possible.⁶⁵² Consequently, an area of the park nearest to the town was opened, without ceremony, in August 1904.⁶⁵³ But progress towards completing the development remained slow. It was not until October 1908 – two months prior to the ban on Sunday soccer on the Arbour - that two full-sized soccer pitches were marked out in the park for the first time. From this point, both casual and formal soccer – the Territorials F.C. played their Winchester and District League games there - became a regular activity at the park.⁶⁵⁴

4.8 Winchester's Soccer Spectators

The growing number of active soccer clubs in Winchester during this period, and the competitions that were open to them, was not reflected by a corresponding increase in the number of spectators who attended local games. Although the Winchester F.C. could occasionally attract crowds of up to two thousand, a more representative attendance figure was between 250 and 300 people.⁶⁵⁵ Estimates of the club's home gates during the 1911/12 season suggest that the level of support the club received was quite stable throughout the period.⁶⁵⁶ Similar crowd numbers were seen at games played in the city during the 1880s.

The limited support given to the city's soccer teams was commented upon at the time. In 1897, as the Winchester F.C. was on the brink of winning the South Hants League for the first time, it was felt that the club was 'deserving to be better supported from so large a town'.⁶⁵⁷ A year later, it was hoped that the club's entry to the Hampshire League might encourage attendance but, after two seasons, it was noted that 'the attendance at matches are not what it should be for a place the size of Winchester'.⁶⁵⁸

Poor attendances at games had a detrimental effect on the Winchester F.C.'s finances. After a particularly poor attendance at a 1903 league match, it was complained that:

⁶⁵¹ HC 13 February 1904 p2.

⁶⁵² HC 4 April 1903 p3.

⁶⁵³ HC 13 August 1903 p4. It was this section of the park which was reserved on Saturday mornings for games in the Winchester Elementary Schools soccer league.

⁶⁵⁴ HC 7 November 1908 p4.

⁶⁵⁵ HC 2 December 1899 p6; HC 25 January 1902 p6; HC 1 February 1902 p6; HC 8 March 1902 p7.

⁶⁵⁶ The club reported collecting £46 5s. in gate receipts from 15 home games in 1911/12 (HC 6 July 1912 p12), an average of approximately £3 2s. per game. Entrance to games cost 3d, giving an average attendance of approximately 250.

⁶⁵⁷ HC 6 February 1897 p6.

⁶⁵⁸ HC 27 August 1898 p7; HC 6 May 1899 p5.

The officials at the Winchester Club are deploring that they do not get better attendances at the matches, and Saturday last was a real disappointment in this way. Rarely does the club derive any financial benefit worthy of the name from the takings at the gate [...] those who gratuitously undertake the management of the club affairs, and give up so much time to serve its interests, have surely a right to expect a little more solid support and encouragement from those who are, or pretend to be, interested in football, and for whose amusement they cater for.⁶⁵⁹

The impact that low attendances had on the club's finances was again highlighted after a 1907 'derby' game against the Rifle Depot F.C. Although there were three hundred in attendance, 150 were riflemen who, as servicemen, were granted free entry, and a further fifty were club members, who also gained free admission. This left just one hundred paying spectators who, collectively, provided £1 5s. in gate receipts, prompting the desperate plea that 'No club can exist without support, so come along Winchester sportsmen, and assist your city name!'⁶⁶⁰



Figure 20. One of the few photographs to feature local soccer supporters, seen here with Winchester F.C Reserves after securing the Winchester & District League championship in 1905. One supporter carries a cornet - musicians provided additional atmosphere at games. *Picture courtesy of Mike Pettigrew.*

Winchester supporters were less enthusiastic than those from other nearby towns. After another low home gate at a cup tie with Eastleigh Athletic, the match reporter negatively compared the home supporters with those of the visiting team:

Interest in the game was evidently keener in Eastleigh than in Winchester, as shown by the fact that not only were the visiting team accompanied by a good number of

⁶⁵⁹ HC 5 December 1903 p7.

⁶⁶⁰ HC 16 February 1907 p9.

supporters, but also by a capable band whose selections both before and after the game, and also during the interval, were greatly appreciated.⁶⁶¹

Not only were the spectators who attended Winchester City's games few in number they were also, it seems, less vocal and passionate in their support (see Figure 20).

Some potential spectators may have been deterred from attending games by poor behaviour within soccer crowds, and a few examples of disorderliness among local supporters can be found. From a modern perspective, most appear to be nothing more than boisterous displays of over-excitedness, but these earned condemnation at the time. The reporter for the *Hampshire Observer* took to sarcasm when commenting on a noisy crowd attending a Winchester F.C. game in 1895:

A momentous question would be settled if someone learned in those subjects could tell us the origin, meaning, and effect of the 'whoop' and hullabaloo such as used to signalise the attacks of Red Indians.⁶⁶²

Later that season, it was reported that the same supporters, while their team were playing away, were 'rather unruly, showing their feelings by hissing and hooting the home team'.⁶⁶³ The *Hampshire Chronicle's* reports of misbehaviour among supporters were more indignant. After a 1903 game it was reported that:

One always expects to find a certain amount of feeling among football spectators, but when it comes to hooting a team or an individual player [...] this feeling may be said to have got quite beyond reasonable grounds and to have reached extreme rudeness.⁶⁶⁴

Other incidents were more serious. In 1895, concerns over pitch encroachment at Bar End were sufficient for nets and posts to be installed 'to keep the spectators back'.⁶⁶⁵ Ten years later, and after taking a two-goal lead, Winchester Albion F.C. supporters were roused to 'a high pitch of enthusiasm, so much indeed that they encroached upon the playing area, causing the referee to [temporarily] stop the game'.⁶⁶⁶ Although not involving spectators from the city, a further incident, in which the Winchester F.C. players were 'waited upon by a mob of close on forty roughs [supporters of the team's opponents], who assaulted them and used them badly', was more shocking.⁶⁶⁷ However, Winchester

⁶⁶¹ HC 28 October 1911 p10.

⁶⁶² HO 26 October 1895 p3.

⁶⁶³ HO 4 April 1896 p3.

⁶⁶⁴ HC 21 March 1903 p6.

⁶⁶⁵ HC 28 December 1895 p3.

⁶⁶⁶ HC 28 January 1905 p8.

⁶⁶⁷ HC 14 April 1900 p3.

supporters were culpable in an incident in which a group of spectators, enraged by some poor refereeing decisions, staged 'an ugly demonstration, a good deal of hooting being indulged in, while it is asserted that turf was thrown at the referee'. The police were called and attempted to arrest a spectator, who escaped towards the town 'followed down the hill by a rushing and somewhat reckless rabble'.⁶⁶⁸

These rare occurrences created the impression that soccer matches held the potential for unpleasantness, deterring some from attending. The construction of a stand capable of seating fifty spectators at the Old Red Deer ground, with a 2d. entrance fee, may represent an effort by the Winchester F.C. to provide a more genteel environment for reticent spectators. Yet, in this period, despite attempts to create a more comfortable experience, few references are found to the presence of the 'gentlemen' that were formerly noted at games during the 1880s. Similarly, reports of women attending matches - increasingly rare in the early 1890s - were, in the years before 1914, non-existent.

Although poorly supported, Winchester's soccer clubs could, occasionally, attract larger attendances. Bumper crowds were often present at games held at holiday periods, for cup ties, or for matches against high-profile opponents. Boxing Day matches could attract five hundred supporters, while a Christmas Day fixture drew a crowd of a thousand.⁶⁶⁹ Winchester City F.C.'s 1912 Good Friday match against Portsmouth Reserves also attracted a thousand spectators.⁶⁷⁰ The city's minor clubs, in the hope of drawing good crowds, also sought to arrange attractive matches on Bank Holidays – in 1902, the Alfred and the Forget-me-Nots clubs scheduled a local 'derby' for Easter Monday, successfully attracting 'a large number of spectators'.⁶⁷¹

Cup ties also proved attractive. In 1902, a crowd of three hundred turned up in atrocious weather to watch Winchester F.C. play in the Junior Cup, a notable improvement on the one hundred present at a league game held the previous week.⁶⁷² 'Something like 900 spectators' were at the Roebuck to watch Winchester F.C. play in their Junior Cup semi-final in 1905 – a game which generated £12 in gate receipts – and, in 1910, eight hundred supporters watched a Southampton Senior Cup match against the obscure Southampton Olympians F.C.⁶⁷³ Cup ties also enticed supporters to travel to away games. In 1905, between two and three hundred travelled to Basingstoke to watch Winchester F.C play in the Junior Cup final and, when the Rifle Depot F.C. reached the Southampton

⁶⁶⁸ HC 28 December 1907 p9.

⁶⁶⁹ Crowds of 500 were reported at the Boxing Day games in 1898 and 1901 (HC 31 December 1898 p6; HC 4 January 1902 p6). 1,000 spectators attended the game on Christmas Day 1902 (HC 3 January 1903 p7).

⁶⁷⁰ HC 6 April 1912 p5.

⁶⁷¹ HC 5 April 1902 p3.

⁶⁷² HC 6 December 1902 p6; HC 13 December 1902 p3.

⁶⁷³ HC 25 March 1905 p8; HC 31 December 1910 p5.

Senior Cup final in 1914, a 'special trainload of military and civilian supporters' travelled from Winchester to watch the game.⁶⁷⁴

However, the largest pre-war soccer crowds seen in Winchester were recorded when the most successful local professional club, Southampton F.C., played in the city. Six hundred spectators were present when Southampton's reserves – which, as advertised in advance, included three Scottish international players - visited for a Hampshire League game in 1898.⁶⁷⁵ Likewise, when the same teams played in a Senior Cup tie in 1903, the crowd was estimated at between seven and eight hundred.⁶⁷⁶ The two sides played again the following year, when spectators lined 'three or four deep' along the boundary ropes in a crowd that was described as 'the largest on record for the Roebuck ground'.⁶⁷⁷ While welcomed, it was lamented that such large crowds were not a regular occurrence. In 1907, after another large turnout for a cup tie against Southampton, it was complained that if there were 'half such a gate at every match there would soon be an end to the Club's perpetual indebtedness'.⁶⁷⁸

That high-profile visitors attracted large crowds suggests that local interest in soccer extended beyond Winchester's boundary. Two local professional clubs - Southampton and Portsmouth - were performing at a higher level, fielding better players, and drawing substantially larger crowds than any Winchester club. Significantly, these clubs' home grounds were both easily accessible by train from Winchester, and it is probable that many from the city were regular spectators at their matches. Local support for the Southampton team is evident by the advertisements published in the city's newspapers which offered reduced price railway tickets from Winchester to watch Southampton's away matches.⁶⁷⁹ Also, support for the professional club was sufficiently strong in Winchester that the city's leading team would occasionally reschedule or postpone its own matches when they coincided with high-profile games played by the bigger club. For example, in 1898, Winchester F.C. staged an early kick-off to avoid clashing with Southampton's F.A. Cup tie that afternoon and, in 1900, postponed both its first and reserve team fixtures 'owing to the English Cup tie at Southampton'.⁶⁸⁰

Although playing soccer became increasingly popular during the period in Winchester, the number of spectators attending games in the city was disappointing. Generally, crowds remained at much the same level as they had been when soccer first gained a following in the city during the late 1880s.

⁶⁷⁴ HC 8 April 1905 p8; HC 11 April 1914 p5.

⁶⁷⁵ HC 19 November 1898 p7. That the advertisements in the local newspapers mentioned that these three would be playing implies that they were well known to some of the city's soccer enthusiasts.

⁶⁷⁶ HC 14 November 1903 p6.

⁶⁷⁷ HC 12 November 1904 p10. £14 was collected in gate money, suggesting that 1,120 people paid to watch the game.

⁶⁷⁸ HC 30 November 1907 p4.

⁶⁷⁹ Local railway companies offered cut priced tickets from Winchester's to Southampton's away games in both the F.A. Cup and Southern League.

⁶⁸⁰ HC 29 January 1998 p6; HC 27 January 1900 p7.

Although there was certain to be a variety of reasons for the meagre support for soccer in the city, stories of poor crowd behaviour at games were likely to have had a detrimental effect on attendances. However, crowds were encouraged by the introduction of the regular competitive matches which were part of league tournaments, and games in cup competitions remained the biggest attraction for supporters. In addition, the success of the two local professional clubs, Southampton and Portsmouth, helped develop a base of supporters in Winchester. This local support for non-Winchester clubs ensured that visits by their reserve teams were met by good-sized crowds, and also resulted in many of Winchester's soccer enthusiasts attending matches away from the city.

4.9 Conclusion

In contrast to the 1880s when soccer in Winchester was a predominantly middle-class recreation, the period from 1895 saw the reinforcement of the local game as a working-class pastime. The two decades which followed witnessed an expansion of the local game, with a wider range of competitions open to a greater number of clubs and players active in the city, creating a period of time which can be typified as Winchester's soccer boom.

The Hampshire F.A., and its subordinate subcounty associations based in Winchester and later in Southampton, played a significant role in developing soccer in the local area. By 1895, the county association had demonstrated its ability to promote the game through its successful introduction of cup competitions and six-a-side tournaments which were open to clubs of all abilities, and also in organising a representative Hampshire side. Its subsequent launch, in 1896, of a countywide league competition modelled on the successful national Football League was a similarly forward-looking development. This presented the best local teams with an opportunity to schedule a list of competitive fixtures throughout the season, which both raised the standards of play and proved attractive to paying spectators. The league and cup competitions which were introduced by both the Winchester and Southampton F.A.'s had a similar effect on local soccer clubs and supporters. As a consequence, in the Edwardian period the number of competitive matches far outnumbered the friendly games which had formerly dominated the fixture lists of most Winchester soccer clubs.

The increased number of competitions was mirrored by a notable increase in the number of clubs playing the game in Winchester. Almost forty distinct city-based soccer clubs were included in local newspaper reports published in the twenty-year period from 1895. Considering that soccer had, in 1880, been a relatively unknown minority sport played largely by schoolboys, and that the city's first soccer club had been formed as recently as 1884, this expansion represents an extraordinary growth in the game's local popularity.

It is unclear whether the growth in the number of soccer contests encouraged the formation of local clubs, or whether competitions were established in response to the growing number of clubs. Not all of Winchester's soccer clubs competed in local tournaments, preferring instead to play friendly matches, presumably content to play the game purely for fun, exercise and to provide a 'constructive' recreation for their members. Others, however, were more clearly motivated by the prospect of success in a cup or league contest, and it is probable that the burgeoning number of local tournaments provided an incentive for the formation of these clubs.

The local soccer club with the highest profile was the Winchester F.C. which, after a low-key launch as the Swallows F.C. in 1891, acquired the mantle of the city's premier team in 1894, a status which it retained to the outbreak of the First World War. The club was an ambitious one which sought to establish itself among the top amateur teams in Hampshire. Although it experienced a few successes, notably in the 1904/05 season, a combination of structural problems and poor luck stymied the club's progress. Structurally, the club never acquired ownership of its own ground and relied, instead, on renting a series of poor standard pitches which, although some income was raised from subletting, provided a regular drain on its finances. Its attempt to join the elite county teams also led the club to incur additional travel costs for away games, a problem compounded by its decision, in 1906, to recruit players from outside of Winchester. As an avowedly amateur organisation, it was unable, unlike its near neighbour the professional Southampton F.C., to attract private investors and outside capital to the club. The club relied largely on member subscriptions, donations from patrons, fundraising events and gate money for its revenue. Each was an unreliable and irregular source of income and failed to provide the solid financial base from which the club could develop. The Winchester F.C. was also hampered by bad fortune. As the club recruited many of its players from the ranks of locally based soldiers, the Boer War had a disproportionate impact on its ability to field its strongest team. In addition, the city's proximity to Southampton, a city which was home to one of Southern England's most accomplished pre-War clubs, led many local spectators to attend higher-profile and more exciting matches away from Winchester.

Yet, despite its financial problems, the Winchester F.C. was better off than most of the city's minor clubs. These were funded by a range of means. Some received financial support from the local churches and employers to which a club may have been associated. Most received subscriptions from its members, and several benefited from the generosity of their patrons. But a shortage of public playing spaces in the city forced each to acquire their pitches through private rental arrangements. Few were sufficiently confident to charge an entrance fee to watch their matches. Although some of the city's minor clubs were active for over ten years, the majority survived for three or four seasons. This was possibly a result of problems with raising finances but may also reflect the ageing and changing marital status among a cohort of players who had played together for several years.

The players who appeared for the city's senior, junior and minor clubs during this period shared several socio-economic characteristics. The majority were from upper working-class backgrounds, with a substantial proportion engaged in skilled, manual employment. A number worked in the building and manufacturing trades and, based on their availability on Saturday afternoons, it is probable that they were able to exercise some control over their working time. Office and shop workers were under-represented in Saturday teams but, with the acceptance by 1900 of the midweek half-day holiday, this economic group provided the impetus behind the plethora of Thursday clubs which emerged in the city during the Edwardian period. Both Saturday and Thursday players participated in games for a variety of reasons. Although motivated principally by the joy of playing, there is evidence that the desire to compete and win, local pride and the opportunities for social connection also presented possible incentives for involvement.

A further inducement for participation can be identified, the establishment of personal masculine credentials. After 1895, soccer in Winchester, outside of its schools, was an almost exclusively working-class sport. This development was accompanied by a change in the manner in which games and the sport was reported and, consequently, how it was viewed by the public. Fewer references to 'pluck', 'character' and 'courage' are found in the game's coverage in newspapers, the emphasis switching instead to an emphasis on hard work and discipline, and also a more moderate and controlled level of acceptable violence. This led also to a different form of masculinity being expressed through play. For the new working-class players manliness on the field was an extension of the masculinity of employment, where physical strength, skill, and a balanced combination of independence and teamwork were respected. Local soccer became less about individual flair and more of a team endeavour.

A further shift in the ideal of masculinity emerged in Winchester during the Edwardian decade. Since the 1870s, the concept of the British Empire had acquired widespread approval among the national population and, by the end of the century, was regarded by many as a source of pride and something that was worth defending. Britain's ability to do so was brought into question by the Boer War and, from that point, many aspects of national life were brought under scrutiny in the aim of developing 'national efficiency'. This included redefining both the purpose of sport and accepted notions of masculinity. At Winchester's private schools, sport came to be justified as training for the honour – presumably as military officers – of the Empire. Members of the city's civilian soccer clubs were also entreated to play partly in preparation for war, albeit for them the focus was on discipline and fitness, as befitted their assumed future station among the military's rank-and-file.

Soccer experienced differing fortunes at Winchester's schools and within its military during the period. The private schools, which had been the forerunners of the game's local development, initially

maintained their interest in the game but, after 1900, registered a notable decrease in soccer activity in favour of hockey, possibly in reaction to the former's increasingly proletarian profile. The early resistance to soccer evident at Winchester College was lessened but, after a decade of playing local teams, the College team withdrew its local engagement and concentrated, instead, on playing patrician sides from further afield. The Training College enthusiastically adopted the game, but it was largely an inward-looking activity in which competitive matches against external opponents were avoided. In a further indication of the game's increasing proletarian appeal, organised soccer was introduced, after 1902, to the city's elementary schools, when control of these schools was passed from local churches to the Local Education Authority.

The city's military, which had been relatively slow in adopting the game in the 1880s, expanded its soccer activity in the 1890s and 1900s. Local army soccer developed significantly with the return to the city of the Rifle Depot in 1904. The resultant increase in military personnel stationed in Winchester led to the Army's acquisition, in 1906, of a new playing field, which included a soccer pitch, for use by the soldiers. Guaranteed access to this ground enabled both the Rifle Depot and Hants Depot teams to enter local league contests and to compile extensive schedules of regular competitive fixtures.

In parallel with the expansion of organised soccer in Winchester was the continuance of a largely unreported popular culture of informal football playing. This took the form of unstructured 'kickabout' games which took place on the city's streets and in its few publicly accessible open spaces. These were regarded by many as a nuisance, especially when play came into conflict with other recreational activities. The issue grew sufficiently problematic for the Town Council to ban Sunday football playing at certain locations in the city, a decision that was partly mitigated by its opening of a large public park near the city centre at which such games were encouraged.

The soccer boom which was evident in Winchester between 1895 to 1914 resulted from a combination of the enhanced organisation of the game by the Hampshire F.A., by the increased amount of free time available to many of the city's residents, the ongoing support provided by local patrons, church groups, employers, and by the industry and determination of young players keen to play the game. The city's interest in soccer was raised still further by the game's increasing national profile which, locally, was manifest in the success of the professional clubs in Southampton and Portsmouth. The interest in the game was maintained in the city throughout the Edwardian period and showed no signs of abating into the 1910s. As late as July 1914, the Winchester F.C. was preparing for the forthcoming soccer season. But, within a month, war was declared, the Hampshire F.A. postponed all its tournaments, and a prolific and diverse period of local soccer activity was brought to an abrupt end.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

During the twenty-five years which followed from 1860, Wintonians had grown familiar with the introduction of new sports. In that time, a series of novel recreations had been eagerly adopted by inhabitants seeking to occupy their increasing amounts of spare time. But the introduction, in 1884, of organised soccer had a greater impact on the city than any of those earlier sports. By the outbreak of the First World War, the city had produced almost fifty soccer clubs and teams, the game was being played in almost all of its schools, its military teams were among the most successful in the county, and a substantial proportion of the city's male working-class population were engaging with the game, either as a participant or as a spectator. No other sport, with the exception of cricket, could claim equivalent levels of local interest, participation, and support. In a short period of time, soccer had rapidly risen to dominate the sporting life of Winchester.

The processes by which this local dominance was achieved have been charted and analysed in this thesis. In doing so, much new information about the game's local origins, the impact of social class on its development, the relative influences exerted by schools, church and the military, and the attitudes expressed towards - and the motivations for playing - the game have been examined. The key discoveries relating to each of these facets of soccer's local expansion, and the implications of these for the historiography of the early development of soccer, are highlighted in this concluding chapter.

For the past twenty years, a debate has been conducted among football historians over the origins of the game. The 'orthodox' view argues that the game originated in England's public schools, before being diffused to the wider population. A counterargument is offered by 'revisionist' historians who claim that football had been a popular pastime prior to its adoption by the elite schools, and the game was widely played throughout the early nineteenth century. Winchester's experience does not support the revisionists' view. Evidence of early popular football similar to that found in other areas of the country, such as court cases involving football, casual games played at festivals, and formally organised matches, has not been found in Winchester. The only football games recorded in the city prior to 1860 were those played at Winchester College. Moreover, as football playing in the city spread more widely during the 1860s, the game remained largely the preserve of local schools. In contrast, the earliest reports of popular 'kickabout' games in Winchester appeared as late as the 1870s, shortly before the establishment of the city's first formally organised football clubs.

Collectively, these events offer clear support for the orthodox interpretation of football's development and popular expansion. Certainly, the thesis promoted by Peter Swain - that there was a widespread and continuing culture of popular football playing throughout Britain - is not supported by the evidence from the city.

The revisionists further argue that the rapid growth in football's popularity could only have occurred if the wider public were already familiar with the game, itself an indication of a pre-existing popular football culture. However, Winchester's experience offers an alternative explanation of how the game gained such speedy acceptance: the game dovetailed with the broader sporting culture that had developed in the city since the 1860s. This culture encompassed a variety of sports, each of which was pursued by a dedicated club. A pattern for the acceptance and development of new games had been established in the city, most of which were willingly and successfully embraced, in advance of soccer's arrival. In this context, it is unsurprising that a soccer club was established, and the game actively pursued, with such enthusiasm.

Initially, the new sport of soccer was sufficiently well-matched to the city's existing sporting culture to be accommodated with ease by Wintonians. But it was later to develop into something which was conspicuously different from other sports and represented a notable break with the past. From the start, soccer received local support from a regional administrative body, something which was lacking for many of the other sports being pursued in the city. The founding of the South Hants and Dorset F.A. – later the Hampshire F.A. – in 1884 provided the infrastructure to facilitate the arrangement of inter-club matches and cup competitions, in addition to supporting a countywide coordination of soccer's early development. The county F.A. was, itself, subordinate to the national F.A.; thereby its affiliated clubs – which, from 1886, included the Winchester F.C. – were, from an early date, part of the game's national structure. Soccer also differed from Winchester's other sports in the degree of support it received, both as participants and as spectators, from the city's working class. Although the membership of the city's first soccer club was predominately middle class, the players at the clubs which followed were almost exclusively drawn from working-class backgrounds. This process of proletarianisation had not previously been seen for any other sport, and the game's popular profile came to be one of its defining characteristics, earning soccer the sobriquet of 'the people's game'.

Contrary to the assertions of revisionist historians, the game had no popular local precedent, and upon its arrival in the city it was seen as a novel recreation. Nonetheless, it was quickly assimilated to Winchester's sporting culture, whose adherents had enthusiastically welcomed several new sports during the previous two decades. In its early years, there was little to suggest that soccer would be too dissimilar from those games that preceded it. But Winchester's soccer culture proved to be different, partly because the game benefited from being organised by a

hierarchy of Football Associations at the local, regional and national levels, but also in the popularity that it gained with the city's workers. Within twenty years of its arrival, soccer had become the city's principal winter sport.

Historians of soccer have long recognised social class as an influential factor in the emergence and popularisation of soccer. Despite this, very few class-based profiles of small, non-professional early soccer clubs are included in the historiography and, where they are to be found, these often focus on clubs based in the soccer 'heartlands' of Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands. Developments from outside these regions have been almost wholly overlooked. This omission is addressed in this thesis.

In Winchester, soccer was initially a game principally of the middle class. The amateur players at the city's first soccer club, which was active from 1884 until 1893, were largely employed in professional, public service or business occupations. There were clear reasons for this early domination. The ability to participate in any sport was determined in large part by the relative access an individual had to three resources: free time, money, and space on which to play. Access to each was influenced by an individual's class. Middle-class sports enthusiasts enjoyed a greater degree of access - and at an earlier stage - than their working-class peers to all three resources. This extended to soccer. The members of the city's first soccer club held occupations which were suitably flexible to allow a scheduling of their work to accommodate matches. These players, in middle-class employment, were equally able to muster for matches played on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays or Saturdays. Access to money and playing space were linked. There were only a limited number of publicly accessible playing spaces in the city, and these were small in area. Therefore, to play soccer, pitches needed to be hired or leased – and both options required finance. Money was also needed to buy boots and kit, and funds were also necessary for the club to cover the purchase of nets, balls, travel, and other costs. Clubs with middle-class affiliates had the potential to raise higher levels of funds through member subscriptions and donations. In addition, access to a pitch was eased for the Winchester F.C. through its links with the city's cricket club, with which it agreed to sublet its ground throughout the winter at a generously low rate, a cost which it subsidised by further subletting the pitch to other soccer clubs.

Time, space and money were not so readily available to the city's working-class players. In the late nineteenth century, not many of Winchester's workers were able to exert control over the hours that they worked. While some of Winchester's skilled craftsmen and self-employed artisans were able to arrange their work schedules to accommodate games, the participation of those employed in shops and offices – of whom there were many in a city where the economy was dominated by the commercial and service sectors – was inhibited by long working hours on six days of the week.

Initially, therefore, the local workers' engagement with soccer was limited; for example, the working-class Rovers F.C. played just eight games in its first one-and-a-half seasons. However, from the late 1890s, with the gradual and voluntary adoption of a Thursday half-working day by Winchester's commercial and professional employers, the number of working-class players and clubs active in the city increased. But, for these clubs, the availability of money, and therefore access to pitches, remained a problem. One solution was to secure the support of local patrons and sponsors, usually members of the city's wealthy social elite. This support was essential to a club if it were to continue; the surviving records show that minor clubs acquired approximately two-thirds of their funds from patrons and only a third from membership subscriptions.

In Winchester, the middle class was in the vanguard of the game's development. But, as noted by Walvin in the more industrialised regions of the country, the city's working-class population later became active participants in the game once both time and money were more widely available. Soccer's appropriation from the middle class by Winchester's workers was unprecedented in local sport and represents a social change of a similar magnitude to that observed by Walvin in the industrial north. The city's experience confirms that the class dynamics associated with the game's early development elsewhere in the country, were also apparent in the non-industrial, semi-rural settings of Southern England.

The role taken by the nation's schools and schoolteachers in the development of football, the formulation of its rules, and the diffusion of its play, feature extensively in the historiography of early football. Due to its diverse range of schools and colleges – public, private, elementary and training college - Winchester provides the opportunity to assess the relative influences of various educational establishments on early soccer.

Winchester's elite schools were in the vanguard of the local development of both football and soccer. The earliest form of football to be played in the city was that which emerged at Winchester College from the early nineteenth century and, by 1850, a sophisticated culture had evolved around the game which had acquired a complex and, to outsiders, impenetrable set of rules. Wykehamists venerated their own version of football but, nonetheless, experimented with other forms of the game at various times between 1860 and 1890. Most were rejected, with only soccer being retained as an alternative to the College's homegrown version of football. The city's private schools adopted football at a later date. Although some were playing football from as early as the 1860s, school matches were only being regularly reported from 1880. These schools took up football partly in emulation of the superior public schools, such as Winchester College, where such games had become a recognised component of a quality education. However, owing to the relatively small numbers of pupils at the private schools, internal games of football were less practical, so, instead,

matches were sought against neighbouring schools. This required inter-school coordination, both in terms of the scheduling of matches and deciding on which rules were to be followed. Soccer was the code of football agreed upon by the local schools, rugby being considered too dangerous, especially for younger children. Despite private school soccer teams regularly playing against rival schools, local military sides and civilian clubs, throughout the 1890s, this level of interest in the game was not sustained. From the start of the Edwardian period, hockey was introduced at some schools as an alternative winter sport and this, combined with the decline in pupil numbers that followed from the 1906 Education Act, resulted in fewer soccer games being played.

The Winchester Diocesan Training College resembled the local private schools in a number of ways: its students were exclusively boarders, there was very little free time built into its students' timetable, and it placed a strong emphasis on the importance of sporting activities. But, unlike its fee-paying contemporaries, its students were largely recruited from working-class backgrounds. As maintained by Mangan and Hickey, this arrangement facilitated the transfer of the public-school ethos through to the state education system; public school educated men taught the trainees who, in turn, would serve as teachers in the elementary schools. A central component of this ethos was the cult of athleticism and an appreciation of the value of games for promoting a virtuous masculinity and the nurturing of high moral values. Therefore, it is unsurprising that football was adopted at the Training College, first in its rugby form before switching, in 1890, to soccer. The reason for this change is unclear, but it was plausibly a reaction to a recognition that soccer was the more appropriate game for the working-class children of the elementary schools. Despite the trainee teachers' experience of the game, Winchester's elementary schools were, in comparison to those in other nearby towns, late in taking up soccer. Although some soccer activity was conducted during the 1890s, it was only from 1902 – a year which also, and not coincidentally, saw responsibility for Winchester's elementary schools transferred from the city's churches to the newly established Local Education Authority – that inter-schools matches were reported being played. Winchester's elementary school teachers were instrumental in facilitating soccer between the city's working-class boys; as a result of their efforts, an elementary schools league was established in the city in 1903, three years in advance of national legislation compelling schools to provide organised team sports.

Winchester's various academic institutions exerted differing influences on the promotion and development of soccer in the city. Any enthusiasm for soccer held at the city's elite schools was not exported to the wider population. These schools, although close to the centre of the city, were, at the same time, socially and culturally remote from it. There were few opportunities - and probably little desire, especially from parents - for these schools' pupils to engage with Winchester's public. As a consequence, their most notable impact on the development of local soccer was through its schoolmasters, several of whom appeared as players for the Winchester F.C. during the 1880s and

who later would serve as patrons, sponsors and officials for a number of the city's clubs. Despite sharing a similar remoteness, developments at the Training College were more influential on the popularity of soccer within the local community. Its former students, when later employed throughout the country as elementary school teachers, brought an experience of the game, which they had acquired at the College, to working-class schoolboys. Similar diffusion processes have been identified elsewhere by Mangan and Hickey, who describe the training-college-educated schoolteachers as the 'missing men' in soccer's historiography, an acknowledgement that their contribution to the popularisation of the game among the working class has, until recently, been overlooked.

The reluctance of Winchester's religious leaders to encourage soccer at the city's elementary schools, which they controlled under the voluntary church schools system, stands in contrast to the attitude they showed in encouraging the game among their parishioners. The city's churches, of all denominations, promoted soccer to a substantial proportion of the city's young through the activities organised by their associated youth groups, the earliest of which was opened in 1877. However, reports of local youngsters enjoying unstructured 'kickabout' football games before this date imply that the church organisations did not introduce the game to their members. Instead, these groups provided the opportunity to play soccer on a more structured and organised basis and facilitated play through the provision of financial and social support. However, fun and exercise were not the primary motives for encouraging youngsters to engage with soccer. The church groups' stated aims in organising sport were to provide a positive and constructive diversion to their members, but also to encourage their engagement with the churches' more morally uplifting activities, such as attending voluntary additional religious instruction. The church viewed soccer as one means by which the activities of its young parishioners might be brought under tighter control. It is possible, however, to imagine that some young parishioners were happy to concede to the church's requirements, if doing so meant that they might exploit the opportunity it provided to play soccer.

Church-sponsored youth groups founded and sustained several local soccer clubs. Some of these were among the first junior teams from the city to enter the Hampshire F.A.'s cup competitions, while others were regular entrants to the city's local leagues in the years before the First World War. At least ten of the thirty minor clubs identified playing soccer in the city during the Edwardian decade can be linked to a church or church group. A feature of many of these clubs was their longevity, the result of the sustained financial support they received from the churches, an ongoing recruitment of young players, and a greater willingness among local property owners to agree access to playing space.

Prior to 1903, when soccer was largely absent from the city's Anglican, Catholic, and Nonconformist controlled schools, the local churches provided the most structured and organised means by which young working-class Wintonians could play soccer. The city's clergy maintained an interest in the game throughout the period, as did the members of their youth groups. But, unlike those noted by Holt, the church-based soccer clubs retained their connection to their parent organisation. Through its work in promoting soccer at an early date among the city's poorer communities, the local churches made a significant contribution to the development of the popular game in Winchester.

In discussing football's diffusion through British society, Walvin stresses the importance of 'points of entry' where middle- and working-class cultures came into contact and through which ideas were exchanged. Specifically identified were the institutions of school, church, and the workplace. It is justifiable to add the military to Walvin's list of cultural entry points. However, the historiography contains few studies of early soccer in the armed forces. Where the subject has been addressed, the military has been treated as a separate and isolated entity, for example examining the growth of the Army F.A. or the development of the game within a specific regiment. But the Army was never wholly isolated from local communities and wider society. Often soldiers were stationed, sometimes for lengthy periods, in garrison towns where they inevitably shared civic space with civilians. The interface between the military and civilian populations, and the resultant impact on the development of soccer in a local context, is an under-researched area in sport history.

Where two distinct cultures come into contact, conflict and attrition might be anticipated, and, in late nineteenth-century Winchester, several court cases were reported involving violent confrontations between soldiers and locals. But such instances were in contrast to the more harmonious relationship which existed between servicemen and the city's civilians on the soccer field. The inclusion of servicemen in civilian soccer teams was not unusual; soldiers are recorded playing in non-military teams during the 1880s and regularly appeared for the city's clubs throughout the 1890s. That some local soccer clubs came to rely on the military for their players is illustrated by the difficulties that the Winchester F.C. faced when trying to field a strong side during the Boer War. Moreover, the soldier-players took an active part in the social events organised by local soccer clubs, suggesting that the military was, in controlled circumstances, comfortably enmeshed within the city's civilian community.

In comparison with those based in other nearby military towns, the regiments stationed in Winchester were relatively late to form soccer clubs, the first being established in 1887. But, in common with other local army clubs, and unlike the city's schools, the Winchester regiments entered their teams for local cup and league tournaments. The number of competitive games played

by these clubs increased after the purchase by the Army of a soccer ground in the city in 1906. The clubs' active involvement in the local game raised the profile of the military clubs and earned them a degree of support from Winchester's civilian spectators, as demonstrated by the number of Wintonians who travelled to watch the Rifle Depot F.C. play in the 1914 Southampton Senior Cup final.

Through its supply of players, its engagement with local competitions, and its access to a good quality soccer ground, Winchester's military made a significant impact on the city's early soccer culture. The ease with which Winchester-based soldiers integrated with the city's civilian soccer players was partly aided by the two groups sharing similar working-class backgrounds, but also from the comfort felt by the locals - several of whom were enlisted to the part-time Volunteer Force - in the company of military men. Similarly harmonious relationships may not have developed in other towns. Further research into the relationships which developed between soldiers and civilians in other garrison settlements, and an analysis of the ways in which these relationships influenced the advance of soccer, would reveal much about the game's early development at the local level.

This research has identified some of the motivations which encouraged Wintonians to engage with soccer and the aspects of the game which made it attractive. Central to both were the prospects of winning, being awarded cups and medals, and achieving glory. It was the establishment of competitive inter-club tournaments which initially set soccer apart from other sports. It is notable that the first soccer team to name itself 'Winchester' was formed solely to enter the newly launched Basingstoke Cup competition in 1879. Further tournaments established by regional and local F.A.s over the three following decades provided Wintonians with an incentive to form soccer teams. An absence in the region, prior to 1888, of any similar contests for rugby football clubs offers one reason for that sport's local decline. Additional attractions for soccer players included the opportunity to maintain and improve physical fitness, the joy of playing, and the prospect of acquiring a level of local fame. Soccer clubs, like other sports clubs operating in the city, also provided an environment in which members could socialise and enjoy the convivial benefits of association. Club patrons had their own reasons for choosing to finance local clubs. These included a sense of paternal obligation, the seeking of political capital, a belief in the social and moral benefits the game offered, and from a sense of local pride. Spectators attended games for entertainment, the love of sport, companionship and, occasionally, the chance to gamble.

Two of the roles played by soccer in the social and cultural structure of the city – the capacity of soccer to galvanise local pride, and the platform the game provided for demonstrations of masculinity – deserve fuller attention. Both Brad Beaven and Catherine Budd cite the positive impact that soccer clubs had on generating a sense of civic belonging among migrant workers in

industrialising towns. A similar effect may have been made by Winchester's soccer clubs, although the circumstances differed slightly insofar as migrants to the city had generally travelled shorter distances - most arrived from rural parts of Hampshire - and, consequently, had the advantage of sharing cultural memories that were similar to those of their new neighbours. Yet it should be recognised that there was no single and universally agreed notion of 'civic identity' and, consequently, there existed multiple interpretations of civic pride, and that soccer had a part to play in both the creation and maintenance of each.

For the middle class, Winchester's civic identity had been forged over the preceding centuries. Their view of the city was based on its historic associations with royalty, its academic excellence, and its reputation for piety gained through its long-established religious connections, manifested most strikingly by its imposing medieval cathedral. This version of Winchester was actively promoted during the Victorian and Edwardian periods through a series of high-profile civic events staged to celebrate the city's history. These included public celebrations to mark the 700th anniversary in 1884 of the creation of the office of the city mayor, the quincentenary of Winchester College in 1887, and the millennium of Alfred the Great's death in 1901. This last saw the erection of an imposing statue of the Saxon king in the city centre, a material statement of the city's antiquity and importance. At its core, this vision of civic pride was outward facing, seeking to assert the city's identity within the national fabric and to reaffirm to outsiders the widely held, popular image of Winchester. This was the conception of civic identity that drove some patrons to provide financial support to local soccer clubs, and the city's middle-class soccer players took a clear sense of pride in this version of Winchester's status; for them, playing for their team equated to being a representative of the city, and any failings on their part did not just bring dishonour to the players, but was also considered a 'disgrace to Winchester' as a whole.

There is evidence that some of the city's working-class soccer teams may have shared this view. One club, formed in 1899 at the start of the preparations for the millennium of 1901, took the unusual name of Winchester Alfred F.C. in tribute to the famous monarch. But, where it can be detected, the city's proletarian soccer clubs appear to have subscribed to a different interpretation of civic pride, one which was more inward looking and focused more on the city as a community. Earlier in the century this had manifested itself most clearly through the Bonfire Night celebrations. These were disorderly affairs where, by tradition, the less wealthy Wintonians paraded, lit fires in the streets, burnt effigies and set off fireworks. The activities occasionally bordered on criminality and, after a series of semi-riotous Bonfire Nights in the late 1870s, the Town Council effectively banned the event. When Bonfire Night returned in 1885 it was more rigidly organised and supervised by an especially convened 'Bonfire Boys' committee consisting of middle-class residents. Nevertheless, it remained a popular event among the city's poorer residents, as a celebration of

their lived experience of Winchester, not the history-heavy version embraced by the middle class. It was this current of civic pride into which the working-class soccer teams tapped. It was entirely appropriate for the working-class Winchester Rovers F.C. to enter their 'well lighted cart' in the 1889 Bonfire Night procession, and equally fitting that the middle-class Winchester F.C. chose not to be involved. Elements of this interpretation of civic pride were also to be found among the city's soccer spectators. Soccer presented an opportunity for enthusiastic and occasionally rowdy public behaviour, channelled through the outward support of the city's clubs. Games could become a celebration of a popular civic identity and an expression of the proletarian city which had few other contemporary outlets.

Early soccer in Winchester also provides an insight into Victorian perspectives on masculinity. The evidence from Winchester's early soccer supports the argument, made by Tosh, for multiple, coexistent masculinities. Subtle variations in the interpretation of masculinity, dependent on social class, can be identified, as can an evolution in how 'manliness' was conceived over time. The clearest contrast was that which existed between middle- and working-class ideals of masculinity. The middle-class version of manliness, as expressed by the city's earliest soccer players, was one which incorporated individual flair and courage – or 'dash' and 'pluck' as they were contemporarily described – with a high level of physical violence, tempered by a degree of courteous civility. Rough play was expected, its absence was regretted. When the game later became the preserve of the local working class, the parameters by which masculinity was measured changed in response. There remained an emphasis on strength, but excessive physicality was less acceptable than it previously had been. Players were expected to exercise a greater level of self-control, and increasingly those found guilty of overly violent conduct were subjected to fixed-term bans from the game. Also, in contrast to the game of the 1880s, by the Edwardian period a greater appreciation was given to teamwork and collective effort in matches, both of which were admired components of working-class masculinity. Popular local interpretations of masculinity were diversified further both by the definitions of manliness expressed at some of the city's schools, which aspired to the display of a hardy stoicism among young men, and by the heightened nationalistic and bellicose version of masculinity which was voiced with more regularity as the prospect of war became increasingly likely. Clearly, there were several differing versions of masculinity in operation within Winchester's early soccer culture.

For analytical purposes, the differing notions of civic pride and masculinity discussed above have been presented as separate and distinct entities. But neither of these aspects of Winchester's cultural life existed in isolation. Instead, Wintonians experienced both as part of the broader and more complex configuration of influences and attitudes which, collectively, defined how an

individual experienced soccer. The relative influence of the city's schools, military, and churches, and how these were collectively interpreted, were, in large part, also dependent on one's social class. As a consequence, the working class of the city experienced soccer differently from their middle-class neighbours. As an example, for much of the period school exerted a minimal influence on the early appreciation of soccer among Winchester's workers. Instead, this was most likely to be acquired through the efforts made by the local churches. Therefore, the city's young working-class players experienced soccer through the churches' view of the game as a 'rational' diversionary activity. The middle-class, in contrast, were introduced to soccer at their schools, where the game was regarded not as a distraction but, instead, a positive exercise in character-building through which admirable moral attributes could be developed. The relative impact that the churches and schools had on the interpretation of soccer varied by class.

The influence that the military had on the local game was also class-determined. Military men featured among the players of the middle-class Winchester F.C. of the 1880s and, in later years, also appeared for several of the city's civilian clubs. But the former recruited principally from the junior officer class, the latter from the rank-and-file soldiery. The officers shared a similar class and education background to the Winchester F.C. players, and played soccer with the same dash, individuality and brio as their civilian teammates. In contrast, the soldiers that played for the civilian teams of the 1890s and 1900s were more accustomed to following orders and to working collectively. Such assets were familiar to their working-class fellow players and were seen to be of much benefit to the city's clubs as soccer evolved into a more team-centred game during those decades.

But social class was not the sole determinant of how soccer was experienced. There were a range of divisions, in addition to the partition between the middle and working classes, which affected an individual's experience. The working class itself was not homogeneous, but contained numerous splits, including those between skilled worker and labourer, artisan and office worker, civilian and soldier, younger and older, male and female. As a result, soccer was viewed from a variety of perspectives, generated a mix of opinions, and was engaged with through a range of approaches. Similar divisions can also be identified among the middle class. People came to soccer via a number of different routes and, due to the intersectionality of these influences, it is too simplistic to offer a single, universally applicable model of the processes by which soccer gained its pre-war popularity.

The local focus applied in this study allows for the complex interaction of these varied influences to be more fully understood and underlines the value gained from adopting a local studies methodology. This thesis has revealed the interoperation of these influential variables and the range of resultant outcomes that were subsequently experienced by those involved in the soccer culture of

Victorian and Edwardian Winchester. In doing so, important locality-based material has been provided which will enrich the national historiography of the game and inform a greater understanding of the factors which affected its early development.

Due to some limits to the range of, and lack of depth within, the available sources, a few omissions in the historic narrative remain. Possibly the most significant is the absence of personal testimonies, diaries, correspondence, and reminiscences of those involved. Although media reports often included summaries of speeches made by individuals who were central to the development of local soccer, these were curated and adapted by the newspapers' reporters and editors. In addition, what was said publicly did not necessarily reflect what was thought privately. Of particular interest would be the opinions held by the local working-class participants in soccer, whose views, which were less reported than those of their middle-class contemporaries, are the most difficult to determine.

A further omission in the sources constraining the research was the shortage of surviving records from the numerous soccer clubs themselves. The absence of financial records for most of the city's clubs led to those of the Winchester City and the Nondescripts clubs having to serve as a proxy for the remainder. The limited number of surviving club records also led to problems in identifying a number of the players involved in games, compromising the detailed information generated relating to the age, class, and occupation of participants. Similarly, the shortage of detailed records from the city's schools and its military resulted in a degree of speculative deduction over the attitudes and motivations that both displayed toward soccer. Finally, the scarcity of information within the sources relating to spectators left this important aspect of the game's popularisation relatively under researched.

Areas for potential further research were identified during the writing of this thesis. One focus for study is a comparison of Winchester's experience of soccer's development with other cities and towns. In particular, it would be of interest to contrast the game's emergence in locations which shared similar attributes to Winchester, for example, in Canterbury, Exeter or Salisbury. There is also the potential to investigate how soccer was re-established as a popular recreation in the aftermath of the First World War, and why certain clubs were reformed while others were not. Lastly, a more detailed investigation of the forces which drove the emergence of rugby football in Hampshire during the 1870s, and its virtual disappearance a decade later, would reveal much about contemporary local attitudes to football.

On 4 August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany. This development did not, initially, deter English soccer's two national organising bodies - the Football Association and the Football League - from staging its annual competitions. Despite vocal condemnation by some politicians, newspapers, and

members of the public, both the F.A. Cup and the F.A. Amateur Cup were completed in the 1914/15 season, as also was that year's national Football League. However, all three were suspended for the following season and were not resumed until 1919/20. In contrast, the announcement of hostilities had an immediate impact on soccer at the regional level. Shortly after the declaration, both the Hampshire and the Southampton F.A.s agreed to suspend their planned league competitions for the foreseeable future. These were also not resumed until the 1919/20 season.

The suspension of competitive local soccer brought an abrupt cessation to Winchester's soccer boom. Thirty years previously, organised soccer had been introduced to the city as a new sport. In the intervening years its popularity had grown at a remarkable rate. Its success had been aided by a combination of the receptiveness of Winchester's pre-existing sporting culture, the active support provided by local patrons, and some significant changes to the city's work patterns. The coincidence of these factors enabled the popular development of the game in Winchester, resulting in soccer becoming the city's first working-class dominated organised sport. Soccer returned to Winchester in 1919 and was successfully continued through the 1920s and 1930s, but the game's scale, breadth and diversity never surpassed that of its Edwardian heyday.

Given the rapidity with which the game acquired its unchallenged position as the city's favourite winter sport, and the appeal that it had for a significant proportion of the city's working-class population, the emergence and popularisation of soccer should be recognised as a sporting development of great local significance. This study has examined this change in detail. The emergence in Winchester of a modern culture of popular sport in the second half of the nineteenth century, the form that it took, and the people involved – as participants and patrons – have all been identified. Both the earliest football to be played in the city and the evidence for popular forms of the game have been scrutinised. The introduction of soccer to the city has been analysed, as have both the influence that social class had on the game's adoption and the administrative infrastructure which enabled it to flourish. The positive response to soccer by Winchester's working class - and the changes to working patterns and the ongoing support of the local elite which made it possible - have been dissected. In the process, much has also been revealed about the interaction of sport, society, politics and religion in Winchester, and about everyday life in the Victorian and Edwardian city in general. This thesis presents a local study of the development of popular sport and the emergence of soccer that is both broad in scope and comprehensive in detail. Through this local focus, the thesis both draws on and contributes to historiographies of society, culture, demographics and economics, applying each to understand the context which enabled the game to thrive in a non-industrialised, southern urban setting.

Today the impact that soccer made in the towns and cities of southern England is easily overlooked, particularly when its effect in the more northerly towns, where professionalism was

more readily embraced, and from which many of the elite clubs of the present day emerged, have been more widely researched. Yet, as this study demonstrates, the game's impact in locations such as Winchester was no less dramatic and, in the decades that straddled the turn of the twentieth century, even the lesser towns and villages of Britain were not immune from being infected by the 'football microbe'.

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GLOSSARY, ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

Glossary

- *Football* In Britain at the current time, 'football' is usually understood to indicate the form of the game more properly known as association football. However, this was not commonly understood during the nineteenth century. At that time, 'football' could be used to describe one of any number of ball-based games, that is, the word was not specific. Consequently, throughout this thesis, 'football' has been used either to describe games for which the specific code employed is unknown, or generically to refer to the range of such games played.
- *Kickabout* The term is used throughout this study to describe the casual, relatively disorganised and unstructured football-style games that were popularly played during the period. While several of these might have been bound by rules, some of which may have been fairly sophisticated and adapted to suit the environment in which they were played, their exact form was unrecorded, and the nature of these games remains unknown.
- *Soccer* This is the widely-used term used to describe association football. It is used throughout this thesis to avoid any confusion when using the currently more familiar phrase 'football'. In the nineteenth century, 'football' was applied in descriptions of games played by association, rugby or even the Winchester College rules. To ensure the code employed in games is correctly understood, the word 'soccer' is adopted for association football.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been employed in this study:

- C.C. Cricket Club
- F.A. Football Association
- F.C. Football Club
- Hants The commonly used short form of the county of Hampshire
- HRO The Hampshire Record Office
- WCA The Winchester College Archives

In addition, the following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes for the following local newspapers:

- BG *Bournemouth Guardian*
- CT *Christchurch Times*
- HA *Hampshire Advertiser*
- HBG *Hampshire and Berkshire Gazette*
- HC *Hampshire Chronicle*
- HI *Hampshire Independent*
- HO *Hampshire Observer and Winchester News*
- HOBN *Hampshire Observer and Basingstoke News*
- HT *Hampshire Telegraph*
- PEN *Portsmouth Evening News*
- SE *Southern Echo*
- SWJ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*

Definitions

- *Hampshire* The county in its extent at the turn of the twentieth century, in effect its boundaries as were prior to Local Government Reorganisation in 1974. The definition adopted here includes the settlements of Bournemouth and Christchurch, both of which are currently located in Dorset.
- *Winchester* ‘Winchester’ is used here to describe the built-up, urbanised area of the contemporary city of Winchester. This includes its suburbs and may extend beyond the area administered at any particular time by the Winchester Town Council.
- *Wintonians* The residents of the city of Winchester.
- *Wykehamists* The pupils, masters and alumni of Winchester College.

Appendix A. Local Studies of Early British Football in Academic Articles, 2003-20

Year	Author	Journal	Edition (<i>Vol./No.</i>)	Study Area
2003	David Kennedy	SH	23/1	Liverpool
2004	David Kennedy	SS	5/3	Liverpool
2005	David Kennedy	IJHS	22/5	Liverpool
2007	David Kennedy & Peter Kennedy	IJHS	24/7	Liverpool
	Graham Curry	SS	7/2-3	Sheffield
2008	Adrian Harvey	SH	28/ 3	Sheffield
	John Hutchinson	SH	28/4	Edinburgh
	Peter Swain	SH	28/4	Lancashire
2010	Alexander Jackson	SS	11/5	Chelsea (London)
2011	Gavin Kitching	IJHS	28/6	Alnwick (Northumberland)
	David Kennedy	SS	11/4	Liverpool
2012	Matthew McDowell	SH	32/3	West Scotland
2014	Gary James & Dave Day	SH	34/1	Manchester
2015	Gary James	IJHS	32/9	Manchester
	Peter Swain & Robert Lewis	IJHS	32/9	Manchester
	Gary James and Dave Day	SS	16/2-3	Manchester

Year	Author	Journal	Edition (Vol./No.)	Study Area
2016	Richard Mills	SH	36/2	Ipswich
2017	Adam Benkwitz & Gyozo Molnar	SS	18/7	Birmingham
	Graham Curry & Eric Dunning	SS	18/7	Nottinghamshire
	Peter Swain	IJHS	34/7-8	Lancashire
2018	Kevin Neill, Graham Curry & Eric Dunning	SS	19/1	Sheffield
	Paul Joannou & Alan Candlish	SS	19/1	Tyne and Wear
	Martyn Cooke & Gary James	SS	19/1	Stoke on Trent
	Graham Curry	SS	19/1	Derbyshire
	Gary James	SS	19/1	Manchester
	John Hutchinson & Andy Mitchell	SS	19/1	Edinburgh
2019	Martyn Cooke	SH	39/1	Stoke on Trent
	Graham Curry	SS	20/3	London
2020	Martyn Cooke	SS	21/4	Stoke on Trent
	Ian Denness	SS	21/4	Winchester

Key

IJHS *International Journal of the History of Sport*

SH *Sport in History*

SS *Soccer and Society*

Appendix B. Local Knockout Competitions with Winchester-based Soccer Club Entrants, 1884-1914

Note: Tournaments held in seasons shaded grey. ©Denotes Champions.

Season	Hants Senior Cup*	Hants Junior Cup*	Hants Minor Cup	Tebbutt Cup	May Cup	Southampton Senior Cup	Southampton Junior Cup	Southampton Minor Cup
1884/85								
1885/86								
1886/87	Winchester FC							
1887/88	Winchester FC	Winchester Rovers						
1888/89	Winchester FC	Winchester FC B Winchester Rovers						
1889/90	Winchester FC	Winchester Rovers	St Michaels St Thomas Swallows Winchester Rovers B West Hill					
1890/91	Winchester FC							
1891/92	Winchester FC	Swallows FC	Swallows B	Ark of Safety Rangers St Johns St Thomas A St Thomas B Waverley A © Waverley B				
1892/93	Winchester FC	Swallows FC	Swallows B	Waverley © - Others Unknown -				
1893/94		Swallows FC	Swallows B	Ark of Safety Silver Star Waverley				
1894/95		Rifle Depot Winchester FC	Winchester FC B	6-a-Side Contest				
1895/96		Winchester FC	Winchester FC B					
1896/97		Winchester FC	Winchester FC B		Winchester FC Hants Depot ©			
1897/98		Winchester FC	Winchester FC B					
1898/99		Hants Depot	None					
1899/00		None	None					

<i>Season</i>	<i>Hants Senior Cup*</i>	<i>Hants Junior Cup*</i>	<i>Hants Minor Cup</i>	<i>Tebbutt Cup</i>	<i>May Cup</i>	<i>Southampton Senior Cup</i>	<i>Southampton Junior Cup</i>	<i>Southampton Minor Cup</i>
1900/01		Winchester FC	Winchester FC B					
1901/02		Winchester FC	Winchester FC B Winchester Forget-me-nots					
1902/03		Winchester FC	Winchester Forget-me-nots Winchester Wanderers					
1903/04	Winchester FC	Winchester FC	Winchester Albion Winchester Shamrock Winchester Crescent					
1904/05	Winchester FC	Winchester FC	Winchester Albion Winchester Wolvesey Winchester Crescent					
1905/06	Winchester FC	Winchester FC	Winchester Wolvesey Winchester Albion Winchester East End Hyde Park Rangers					
1906/07	Winchester FC	Winchester FC B Rifle Depot	Winchester Albion					
1907/08	Winchester FC	Winchester FC B Rifle Depot	Winchester Crescent					
1908/09	Winchester City	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>			Winchester City	Rifle Depot Winchester Albion	<i>None</i>
1909/10	Winchester City	Rifle Depot	<i>None</i>			Winchester City	Winchester City B	<i>None</i>
1910/11	Winchester City	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>			Winchester City	<i>To be confirmed</i>	<i>None</i>
1911/12	Winchester City	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>		<i>None</i>	Winchester City Rifle Depot	<i>To be confirmed</i>	<i>None</i>
1912/13	Winchester City	Winchester City B	<i>None</i>		<i>None</i>	Winchester City B Rifle Depot	<i>To be confirmed</i>	<i>None</i>
1913/14	<i>None</i>	Winchester City	<i>None</i>		<i>None</i>	Winchester City Rifle Depot	Winchester City B	<i>None</i>

** Known in 1884/85 as the South Hants and Dorset Senior/Junior Cups, and in 1885/86 and 1886/87 as the Hants and Dorset Senior/Junior Cups.*

Appendix C. Local League Competitions and Winchester-based Soccer Club Entrants, 1895-1914

Note: Tournaments held in seasons shaded grey. ©Denotes Champions.

Season	Winchester & District League	Hampshire League	South Hants League	May League	Thursday League	Eastleigh & District League	Southampton Senior League
1895/96	Winchester FC B						
1896/97		None	Winchester FC ©				
1897/98	Winchester FC B	None	Winchester FC ©	Hants Depot ©			
1898/99	Winchester FC B ©	Winchester FC	Winchester FC ©	Hants Depot			
1899/00	Winchester FC B	Winchester FC	Winchester FC ©	Winchester FC			
1900/01	Winchester FC B	None	Winchester FC	Winchester FC			
1901/02	Winchester FC B Winchester Alfred	None	Winchester FC	Hants Depot			
1902/03	Forget-me-nots	None	Winchester FC	Winchester FC			
1903/04	Winchester FC B Hants Depot	Winchester FC	Winchester FC ©	None			
1904/05	Winchester FC B © Winchester Albion	Winchester FC ©	Winchester FC Training College	None			
1905/06	Winchester FC B Winchester Albion Winchester East End Winchester Wolvesey	Winchester FC	Winchester FC Training College (<i>withdrew</i>)	Winchester FC B			
1906/07	Winchester FC B Winchester Wolvesey Winchester Albion	Winchester FC	Winchester FC Rifle Depot (3 rd)	None	Rifle Depot B © St Thomas Hants Depot East End Wolvesey Hyde Park Rangers St Maurice (<i>withdrew</i>) Hyde Guild (<i>withdrew</i>)	Winchester Albion ©	
1907/08	Winchester FC Reserves Winchester Cathedral Ath	Winchester FC Rifle Depot	Winchester FC Rifle Depot Hants Depot	None	Hyde Park Rangers © Hants Depot Institute Winchester Crescent Southampton House	Winchester Crescent Winchester Albion ©	
1908/09	Winchester Cathedral Ath © Winchester Albion Winchester Territorials	Winchester City	Winchester City ©	None	Institute Post Office Hyde Park Rangers	Winchester Crescent Congregational Institute	Winchester City

<i>Season</i>	<i>Winchester & District League</i>	<i>Hampshire League</i>	<i>South Hants League</i>	<i>May League</i>	<i>Thursday League</i>	<i>Eastleigh & District League</i>	<i>Southampton Senior League</i>
					Hants Depot Rifle Depot © St Thomas		
1909/10	Winchester Territorials Winchester Cathedral Ath © Rifle Depot Winchester Albion	Winchester City	Winchester City B	<i>None</i>	St Thomas Eagle Ath Institute Hants Depot Rifle Depot Hyde Park Rangers	Winchester Crescent	Winchester City
1910/11		Winchester City	<i>To be confirmed</i>			<i>None</i>	Winchester Cathedral Ath © Rifle Depot
1911/12		Winchester City	Winchester City B Winchester Cathedral Ath		Hants Depot Eagle Ath © St Maurice Argyle Nondescripts YMCA	<i>None</i>	Winchester Cathedral Ath © Rifle Depot Winchester City B
1912/13	Hants Depot	Winchester City	Winchester City B ©		Nondescripts © Hants Depot © Territorials Post Office	<i>None</i>	Winchester City B Rifle Depot
1913/14	St Cross Hants Depot Winchester City B Training College	Winchester City	Winchester City Rifle Depot ©		Hants Depot Nondescripts St Maurice Rifle Depot B Territorials Trinity Athletic	<i>None</i>	Winchester City Rifle Depot ©