

Reproducing The Gentleman's Game: Cricket and Social and Cultural Reproduction in the British Empire 1853-1862

Submitted by

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Abstract

Cricket in the Victorian-era Empire of the 1850s reproduced and transferred social capital. My thesis applies phenomenological approaches to studies of cricket to trace changes in the hegemonic culture of 'the gentleman'. My study illustrates sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's model of hegemony as a fluid mix of cultures, politics, and economics. Received rigidities of class eroded when encountering colonial possibility and "muscular Christianity'. From the Public School's Week of 1853, through the troubles of the first professional touring All England Elevens, to the first Intercolonial cricket matches in Australia, and the first international tour, I examine how traditions were maintained and new values promoted, and how established and potential gentlemen came together across key Dominions of the British Empire. Seeking to understand the past, rather than to explain it away, I am influenced by a model of history as a hermeneutic. I therefore chose to 'show' my sources in more fulsome ways

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Anthony Condon 19 December 2022

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Foreword

Boys In The Bush

I would not call myself a 'cricket nut'. I start by mentioning this as it is the number one question I am asked about my thesis. I played a game or two as a teenager, and occasionally enjoyed the background aesthetic of a test match, but cricket was never my passion.

I do love the bush in Victoria, and seek any excuse to go and *be* in it. The phases of light, from the gold of the midday sun to the purplish hue of the twilight, as seen by Streeton (Fig. 1) captivate me as does the intoxicating fumes of the eucalyptus in summer or the smell of snow in the mountains in the winter. The sound of nothing. The sound of everything. A chat with a mate around the campfire.

Silvan Dam Redacted

Figure 1: *Silvan Dam* by Arthur Streeton

I share this love of the bush with my mate Ben. Around a decade ago, as the life and times of the social circle in which we met each other through inevitably ebbed and flowed, more often than not it was just Ben and I around the fire. And I do not think I would be offending Ben by telling you he *is* a cricket nut. So, my interest in cricket began; to keep up in the campfire conversation.

Out bush, over the summer, we would have the Test Match on the radio. We would play like boys on summer holiday again. Building dams, making forts, living in a pretend world. Of course, we

would give our activities the veneer of seriousness one must do as an adult to escape back to these childlike adventures – but it does not take much to *be* once again.

One of the true joys of cricket is the way it can become a background buzz. Not a lot happens for a long time. A boundary may lure you in. The fall of a wicket is always cause to take time out. But then there is a remarkable space in between that cricket allows you to fill.

And I could have left it there, happy for cricket to be a backdrop to summer. Not even an affair. A fleeting acquaintance I see a few times a year, but have little correspondence with outside of these shared moments.

White Line Wireless

Geoff Lemon and Adam Collins began *White Line Wireless* in response to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation not providing radio coverage of the 2013 tour of India by The Australians.¹ In September 2014, I responded to a Facebook message from Geoff: *White Line Wireless* had called a number of matches over the previous summer, and for the upcoming tour of Pakistan (in the United Arab Emirates), were looking for some more help to do the sound side of things. I am far from a sound engineer, but I grew up around amplified instruments, and had put on music festivals with my friends – again, any excuse to *be* in the bush – so I figured I would take advantage of the Test series falling inside the non-teaching period of my day job. I went along to help.

¹ Mike Williams, “‘Playing With a House Deposit’: The Mates Who Bought the Rights to the Cricket on a Credit Card”, Text, ABC News, 3 August 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-08-03/geoff-lemon-adam-collins-changing-cricket-coverage-in-australia/11345286>.

One of the things about running a pirate cricket broadcast in the middle of a weeknight is that things do not always go according to plan. So, in addition to twiddling the dials and adding in the fake cheers to make the audience feel like 'The Box of Dreams' was really *there*, I had a microphone thrust into my hands and was told to talk.



Figure 2: Despite its name, *The Box of Dreams*, and despite its mythical location 'at the ground', it was actually a former clergy house now filled with students and artists that should evoke all the images 'Inner City Sharehouse' implies.

There are two main roles inside the cricket commentary booth: the Colour, and the Ball-by-Ball (BBB).² The BBB *really* has to know what they are doing. They describe the play to a level of detail that allows the listener to draw a mental image of the play. The BBB has to appreciate in real time

² By Bloody Ball – to complete the White Line Wireless tag line. 'White Line Wireless - Ball by Ball by Bloody Ball', White Line Wireless, accessed 13 October 2021, <https://whitelinewireless.com/>.

the subtleties of spin and swing. They have to discern a wild, panicked swipe from a thoughtful lusty blow. They have to know the field positions intuitively, and instantly translate those from a reversed camera angle. A skill that to this day remains beyond me.³

The Colour is different.⁴ The Colour caller fills the gaps in between – to literally colour the picture. To quote Geoff Lemon: ‘Hearing a radio description, if it's done well, lets you see the game in your own imagination. So there was a real emotive connection with that’.⁵ The Colour caller brings the *emotion* to the game.

This may take many different forms: the ex-player reminiscing about their time on the team helps to bring us closer to the experience the players have of *being-there*. The grand strategist assists us to enlarge our picture beyond the here and now, to help us to understand how the micro-changes going on between balls are driving the macro-result of five days in the field. The poet helps us smell the grass and see the light, bringing us closer to the field. But I am none of these. I am a historian and one mostly interested in connections. Connections between people and people, and connections between people and their technologies, including their games, their ideas, their institutions.

I do not think I undermine my ability as a commentator when I say that first night was a disaster. I played the act of the commentator, replete with trite observations and hackneyed clichés. For

³ This ‘eye witness reporting’ became the norm in cricket commentary from the first forays into broadcasting at Charles Bannerman’s testimonial at the Sydney Cricket Ground in 1892 through to its wide uptake in England and Australia in the 1920s. Ravi Chaturvedi, *Cricket Commentary & Commentators* (Chennai: Notion Press, 2019), 9.

⁴ In 1939, Teddy Wakelam, Michael Standing, and Howard Marshall established on the BBC what has become the ‘running commentary’ of today. Chaturvedi, 8.

⁵ Williams, “‘Playing With a House Deposit’”.

the second night, however, I came prepared. I found in the library a copy of *With the 15th Australian XI*, a 'tour diary' of The Australians' 1921 tour through Great Britain and South Africa, by Sydney Smith, the Honorary Secretary of the Australian Board of Control of International Cricket from 1911-1926 (Fig. 3).⁶ For the remainder of the test, Pakistan batted in a way most charitably characterised as 'patient', but in the words of the Ball By Ball commentator, more likely was 'Johnson to Khan, block, no run' every 30 seconds or so. Into this space I brought Syd Smith.

Much of the book was plain scorecards, a dry explanation of the rules, a litany of advertisements that are perhaps more interesting to the historian than the cricket fan. The Ball By Ball was there, as were the ads that pay for things. However, Smith also added things he was expert on: administration, finances, umpiring, and the like. There was also the *Song Composed For Australian XI. Tour, 1921*:

*Of men the cricketing world has known,
Parlez-vous,
There's one whose record can hold its own,
Parlez-vous,
And Warwick Armstrong may fluke a score,
Although his leg is terribly sore'
Inky-pinky parlez-vous.⁷*



Figure 3: My first foray into cricket history

How well this poetry transports us back to 1921 I will leave up to the reader, but for me, the most remarkable part of this piece of poetry were the *parlez-vous*. It was not at all surprising to see poetry concocted by men who had spent time on the Western Front in the Great War. What was surprising, to me at least, was how little mention of the War there was in the book. Many of those

⁶ Sydney Smith, *With the 15th Australian XI: (A Complete Record of the Team's Tour Throughout Great Britain and South Africa)* (Sydney: E.T. Kibbleworth & Co. Ltd., 1922).

⁷ Smith, 205.

on the tour had served in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) in the War. Six of 15th Australian XI—Nip Pellew, Johnny Taylor, William Trenerry, Herbie Collins, Jack Gregory, and Charles Kelleway – were a part of the 1919 AIF XI tour of Great Britain and South Africa. Even the ship for the return journeys of both tours, the *SS Ascanius*, was the same (Fig. 4). Yet amongst

SS Ascanius Redacted

Figure 4: *SS Ascanius*, transport for the AIF XI, the 15th Australian XI, and countless numbers of AIF troops.

the diatribes on administrative practices and the sermons on the hours of play was very little to place them at the site of the great historical event they had just witnessed.

On air I theorised that this poem was a great example of a society ‘moving on’ after the Great War; that the silence of the characters spoke louder than their words could. Indeed, that is the story of the AIF XI – one of rebuilding and renewal.⁸ Perhaps more importantly to me at the time, I had found something to talk about during the lulls of a cricket match. I had my Colour.

On air and around the campfire my mind turned to World Series Cricket in the context of the labour movement of the 1970s. The mythology of Don Bradman arising out of the tribulations of the Great Depression. The curious case of the 1868 Aboriginal Tour of England – just how does that story fit into the arc of genocide and dispossession?⁹ The connections between people and people, and their games, ideas, and institutions.

⁸ I have examined this in an immersive digital history project where a fictional journalist keeps a diary of travelling with the team. Anthony Condon, ‘Introduction to the Australian Imperial Force XI’, Anthony Condon, 5 May 2019, <https://anthonycondon.com/2019/05/05/introduction-to-the-australian-imperial-force-xi/>.

⁹ An answer that ends with apartheid in South Africa. Anthony Condon, ‘The Positioning of Indigenous People in Australian History: A Historiography of the 1868 Aboriginal Cricket Tour of England’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, April 2018, 1–20.

With each story I found myself drawn further back in time, finding that in the story of the English Empire, cricket was the ever-present *background colour* of Empire. The source material remained rich – as I departed the eras of television and radio, the newspapers and tour diaries took their place. However, as is the nature of all such projects, I had to find not *the* beginning, but *a* beginning.¹⁰ A place where I could understand how cricket became this background colour. How cricket became part of the ‘great civilising mission’ of Empire; of how it became a conduit of cultural transference and power reproduction. And so I arrived at the time frame of this thesis – the decade from 1853 to 1862. In this time, cricket grew out of its roots as a village game, and began its spread across the globe.

This thesis is not a Ball By Ball (by bloody ball) account of the game during this period. Rather, it visits a few select events and people that exemplify connections and contexts that illuminate power transfer and reproduction: it is the colour of the decade.

¹⁰ Credit must be given for borrowing this phrase, and the methodology it suggests, from the opening paragraph of all of Robert Jordan’s Wheel of Time series.

Theoretical Framework

The framing of this work relies on the concepts of *thick description* and *vivid history* – these enable us to visit sources and sites of history in ways that allow us to emphasise what it was like to *be there*. I also add ideas of *reproduction* and *intersectionality* – these emphasise the interconnectedness of people, games, ideas, and institutions.

Thick Description

Clifford Geertz introduced the concept *Thick Description* in his 1973 book *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Geertz rejected so-called universal truths and theories and wanted to view culture from the ‘within’ perspective; speak *to* the subjects, not *for* the subjects.¹¹ Through adding analysis to observation, Geertz thought the ethnographer was better positioned to pick out otherwise hidden structures and codes.¹²

Thick descriptions enable later analyses to pick out structures and codes. Geertz believed culture is semiotic – broader ideas are represented through which activities are performed and privileged. Culture is also dynamic and changing. Geertz believed ‘with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun’.¹³ These webs are culture. From these

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 14.

¹² Geertz, 9.

¹³ Geertz, 5.

webs Geertz believed the anthropologist could pick out the symbols and understand a culture more broadly.

Geertz drew on the work of phenomenological philosopher Gilbert Ryle who distinguished thin descriptions – the surface-level behaviour – and thick descriptions – contexts for that behaviour in order to get more meaning from observation.¹⁴ Ryle differentiated a wink, from a twitch of an eye.¹⁵ These two observable actions are hard to tell apart, but if the social – to whom the eye belongs – and the cultural – the *meanings* or *codes* actions hold – are considered, we *understand* the difference between an involuntary tic, and conspiratorial communication.¹⁶ Through a *thick description*, we can see not only the large and obvious, but also the ‘microscopic’.¹⁷

For Geertz, the analysis of culture was not ‘an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning’.¹⁸ In order to resist ‘subjectivism’ Geertz attempted to:

*keep the analysis of symbolic forms as closely tied ... to concrete social events and occasions, the public world of common life, and to organize it in such a way that the connections between theoretical formulations and descriptive interpretations were unobscured by appeals to dark sciences.*¹⁹

Cricket statistics are a good example of Geertz’s warnings against a binary subjective/objective focus and the necessity of an *interpretive search for meaning* over the discovery of laws. Both the Ball-By-Ball (BBB) and Colour commentators use statistics – the most objective and quantified part of the sport – to provide both thin and thick descriptions. The BBB saying ‘penultimate

¹⁴ Geertz, 2.

¹⁵ Geertz, 6.

¹⁶ Geertz, 9.

¹⁷ Geertz, 21.

¹⁸ Geertz, 5.

¹⁹ Geertz, 30.

delivery of the over' superficially gives the audience the knowledge that the bowler is about to deliver their second last ball of the over, and hence tells the audience something about the facts of the game. However, to the knowledgeable listener, this statement provides context about potential strategies that may be employed. Likewise, the Colour saying 'this is the fastest half century scored on this ground' says not just something about the current game, but about where that game sits within the context of cricket history. The same statistic offers different meanings depending on where, when, and who said it, as well as the existing knowledge of the audience.

This means for reading cricket history it is essential that we are aware of the embedded context of our sources. Particularly a topic like cricket and empire where meanings and contexts are so intimately intertwined. With perhaps the exception of war, no topic lends itself to uncritical chauvinistic bias in reporting like sport – and for the Australian historian, sport arguably trumps war. However, unlike war, the propaganda can be ally against ally.²⁰ This is especially so for this topic, given that the big regional rivalries of this thesis are the North of England against the South of England, New South Wales against Victoria, and England against Australia. Brother fighting against brother – but all for the greater glory of the Empire.

It should, therefore, be naturally apparent why thick history is so appropriate to examine how cricket was used to create, transfer, and reproduce social, cultural, and economic capital across

²⁰ Although war propaganda is not a part of this thesis beyond a brief glimpse at the Crimean War in Chapter 1, a comparison of war propaganda and sport propaganda is likely to unveil contradictions that are revelatory about the nature of said propaganda, and the state that produced it. One particularly ripe topic for such an examination is the First World War. C.f. Murray G. Phillips, 'Sport, War and Gender Images: The Australian Sportsmen's Battalions and the First World War', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 14, no. 1 (April 1997): 78–96; David Monger, 'Sporting Journalism and the Maintenance of British Servicemen's Ties to Civilian Life in First World War Propaganda', *Sport in History* 30, no. 3 (September 2010): 374–401; Murray G. Phillips, 'The Unsporting German and the Athletic Anzac: Sport, Propaganda, and the First World War', *Sport History Review* 27, no. 1 (1 May 1996): 14–29.

the British Empire in the Victorian Age. If cricket is Empire performed on the field of play, then it is essential to understand – as they were understood in their own time – the *codes* and *meanings* of both the Empire and the field of play.

Deep Play

Geertz's essay *Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight* gives a wide context for the understudied sport and cultural expression of Balinese cock fighting. For instance, he highlights the metaphorical nature of the word 'cock' in Balinese, which works similarly to the English double entendre. Geertz draws out connections from health and child rearing, to ideology and spirituality.²¹ Through invoking Jeremy Bentham's concept of *deep play* – when the stakes of a game are far beyond the utility they serve – he teases out strands that provide rich context for Balinese ideas around masculinity, community, and morality, as well as the utility of property.²² Through this he finds what he believes are the *meanings* the Balinese place on the symbols and structures of their culture.

The prime example in this work is the word *gentleman*. Various uses of gentleman across time took on wider social and class meanings, and during the period 1853-1862 started to be synonymous with masculinity, notably through the spread of the idea of 'Muscular Christianity' across the Empire of Queen Victoria; something in which cricket played no small part. Additionally, there are two stylings of the word in this work. When spelt with the lower case 'g', it refers to this

²¹ Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 420.

²² We will see a similar process in the Muscular Christianity section in Chapter 1. Geertz, 433.

general use of 'gentleman'. When spelt with an upper case 'G', I am referring to the technical cricketing term 'Gentleman', as opposed to the professional Player.²³ As such, much like the word *cock* for Geertz, the term *gentleman* – and the cricket field on which it is performed – becomes *the* central site for the performance of masculinity, and what that means to the Empire.

A Neutral Observer?

There is a genuine critique of Geertz in that he assumed he was a neutral observer, but this shows a strength of thick description rather than a weakness. Although his recording of the banal or obscure in Balinese culture came through his eyes, the detail of the description allows us to read the author into it and still return with insights into the Balinese culture of the 1950s. Because he was aware that he was recording codes he did not understand, he did not just record the interactions and observations he felt were important. In his words:

*Like any art form – for that, finally, is what we are dealing with – the cockfight renders ordinary, everyday experience comprehensible by presenting it in terms of acts and objects which have had their practical consequences removed and been reduced (or, if you prefer, raised) to the level of sheer appearances, where their meaning can be more powerfully articulated and more exactly perceived.*²⁴

Geertz writes that qualities 'arise' from the social and metaphorical context of the actions that occur.²⁵ In other words, through an examination of action in context, we can better understand the society which we examine. He is arguing for a move from an examination of culture and

²³ The styling of player v Player also has the same meaning.

²⁴ Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 443.

²⁵ Geertz, 444.

society as a scientific one, the way one would examine an organism, to a literary one, as one would examine a novel.²⁶

Examples of how this is achieved in a work of cricket history is demonstrated in the literary framework in the following chapter. In *Beyond a Boundary* Trinidadian Marxist historian C.L.R. James asks the question 'what do they know of cricket who only cricket know?'²⁷ Rather than return with an answer, James uses the question as a launch pad to look at the place of cricket in forming the identities of individuals and nations through the use of biography and literary analysis. Ramachandra Guha's *Corner of a Foreign Field*, in a less literary and more strictly historical manner, employs the events surrounding the development of cricket in India. Moving from the late 19th century through to independence in 1947 and beyond, Guha uses the cricket field as a metaphor for the ethnic and religious tensions at the heart of the Indian independence movement. Guha offers 'not so much a history of Indian cricket as a history of India told through cricket and cricketers'.²⁸ This is the goal of this thesis – not a collection of cricket stories set in the Victorian Empire, but a collection of stories about the Empire, told through cricket.

The primary sources this work relies on, mostly newspaper articles and personal reminiscences, share Geertz's questionable assumption that they were neutral observers. Even when clearly not, neutrality and fair handedness were often seen as marks of honour for the gentlemanly cricketer. Thus, through an appreciation of the context from within which these sources are writing, and

²⁶ Geertz, 448.

²⁷ C. L. R James, *Beyond a Boundary* (London: Serpents Tail, 1996), xix.

²⁸ Ramachandra Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian History of a British Sport* (London: Picador, 2003), xiii.

examining the 'acts and objects' of the cricket field we can 'more powerfully articulate' the meanings within the sources.

This is the use of thick description that this work relies upon. You observe all the actions, or you examine closely records of actions, even ones that seem banal or inconsequent. You filter them through the lens of the social and cultural context in which they were performed. In doing so you uncover the *codes* and *meanings* of the culture you are examining.

Vivid History

Although Geertz was an ethnographer, historians can adapt these methods. Adrian Jones outlines the aim of vivid history is to explore 'how things once felt: not just how things were, really and truly, but how they were then meant to be' and has two core elements: 'It is about ways of being. It analyses by describing'.²⁹ Before moving onto understanding this idea of analysing past *ways of being*, I first need to explain what is meant by analysis by description.

²⁹ Adrian Jones, 'Reporting in Prose: Reconsidering Ways of Writing History', *The European Legacy* 12, no. 3 (May 2007): 311.

Analysis by Description

Analysis by description builds on the work of Geertz. With thick description, Geertz attempted to avoid writing too many presuppositions into anthropological observations, writing what he saw, regardless of whether he thought it important. This is expressed in a variety of ways in this thesis. The detailed analysis of the attendees at School's Week in Chapter 1 provides the deep and wide context from within which the matches were played. Not just *who* was there, but *why* they were there. This allows us to understand what attendance at the match *means*.

Vivid history seeks to *evoke* the past, rather than frame a thesis.³⁰ Rather than arguing for a *replacement* of the analytical thesis, vivid history suggests a different method, with different aims.³¹ The first advantage of vivid history is that it is more evocative, and arguably, more enjoyable to read. Jones argues that even the trained historian is more likely to enjoy the 'enigmatic, descriptive and evocative' writing of 'imaginative non-professionals' than the hyper-analytic writing of academics.³² That writing intended to describe is also more evocative should not be a controversial opinion.

What is perhaps more controversial is the *academic value* of such evocative writing. Even without argument or conclusion, there has to be more to the academic thesis than just entertainment. In order to pass academic rigour, vivid history has to help us build on our knowledge of the past in a

³⁰ Jones, 311.

³¹ This is an argument made by Geertz, and Jones, on multiple occasions. This is a reflexive apology that occurs when suggesting unorthodox methods, as if offering an alternative means rejecting the orthodoxy. This is not the argument of Geertz, or Jones, nor is it the argument of this thesis.

³² Jones, 'Reporting in Prose', 315.

way that provides insight that does not come through other forms of examination. It does this through examining *ways of being*. To do this, we have to briefly visit a few concepts from Husserlian and Heideggerian phenomenology: *Lebenswelt*, *die Sache selbst*, and *Dasein*. But first, an outline of phenomenology.

Phenomenology – the study of appearances and understanding ways of being.

*This phenomenology ... [has] as its exclusive concern, experiences intuitively seizable and analysable in the pure generality of their essence, not experiences empirically perceived and treated as real facts.*³³

The Phenomenological School of Philosophy – coming out of the work of Husserl, Brentano, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and others – understood phenomenology as a ‘reflective’ study of how consciousness is *experienced* from a first-person point of view.³⁴

Husserl, the mathematician, initially believed he was departing from the dialectical mysticism of Hegel to conduct a more scientific way of analysing the subjectivities of experience. ‘To begin with, we put the preposition: pure phenomenology is the science of pure consciousness’.³⁵ However, he differentiated it from other fields of the empirical sciences: ‘This places two separate sciences in the sharpest of contrasts. On the one hand, phenomenology, the science of consciousness as it

³³ Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 1.

³⁴ It is important to note that it is likely none of these philosophers would agree with how I deploy these ideas, but they had a tendency to disagree with everything and everyone, including things they had previously said. Rather than outline it, the intention here is to construct a definition useful to this work. See: Moran, 3.; David Woodruff Smith, ‘Phenomenology’, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2018 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2018), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/phenomenology/>.

³⁵ Edmund Husserl, *Husserl, Shorter Works*, ed. Peter McCormick and Frederick Elliston (Notre Dame, Ind.; Brighton, Sussex: University of Notre Dame Press; Harvester Press, 1981), 14.

is in itself: on the other, the “Objective” sciences as a totality’.³⁶ This has led some to believe Husserl was rejecting science; a view not helped by Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s description of phenomenology as ‘from the start a rejection of science’.³⁷ However, this is a naïve view. Merleau-Ponty, like Husserl – and echoed by Geertz and Jones – viewed phenomenology as *additive* to empirical science. Where empirical science sought to analyse and explain, phenomenological science sought to *understand*.³⁸ Indeed, the young Husserl initially conceived of his work as a continuation of Brentano’s ‘descriptive psychology’, itself an attempt to find ‘universal laws’ of psychology.³⁹

Husserl applied these methods first to mathematics and logic. Without going into Husserl’s central idea of ‘intuition’ – itself another problematic word choice leading to the “rejection of science” misunderstanding – examining mathematics and logic from the perspective of the subject led Husserl to the realisation that even these most pure forms of knowledge nonetheless came from within a subject’s experience.

For example, the empirical description of the colour red is light emitting in the frequency of 620-750nm. However, this is not how we consciously experience ‘red’. When we see light emitting in the frequency of 620-750nm we bring to that subjective experience a raft of other ideas such as ‘colour’ and ‘red’, as well as associations such as ‘hot’ or ‘stop’. Conscious experiences are more than ‘of’ something, they are ‘about’ something. We bring to the experience of seeing red, not

³⁶ Husserl, 13.

³⁷ *le Désaveu de la Science*, PP viii; ii, cited in Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology*, 14.

³⁸ Moran, 14.

³⁹ Moran, 8–9.

just the frequency of light hitting our eye, but the entirety of our cultural and linguistic knowledge.⁴⁰

The World is not how it appears.

In his most important work, the posthumously published *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology*, Husserl responds to the ‘crisis of the European sciences’.⁴¹ The 1930s was both a time of rapid scientific progress *and* a return to mysticism and superstition. The classical model of physics was totally overthrown by Planck and Einstein, which drew into question the very basis of the scientific method. For Husserl, however, this was not a reason to reject science, but to embrace it: ‘Physics ... was always and remains exact science ... even if, as some think, an absolutely final form of total theory-construction is never to be expected or striven for’.⁴²

Husserl’s objection was never with *science*. It was with *scientists*. ‘Merely fact-minded sciences make merely fact-minded people’.⁴³ This has to be understood in the context of the European interregnum: the Great War was a horror of scientific progress. In essence, the problem with a purely positivist science – taking real measurements of the real world – is that it loses sight of the human context from within which it occurs. This gets further problematic when scientists make objective statements about subjective things. ‘What does science have to say about reason and

⁴⁰ This is more fully examined in Frank Jackson’s famous *Mary’s Room* argument against physicalism, in which Mary, the super-scientist, lives in a black and white room and only experiences colour through description. Frank Jackson, ‘Epiphenomenal Qualia’, *The Philosophical Quarterly* 32, no. 127 (1 April 1982): 127–36; Frank Jackson, ‘What Mary Didn’t Know’, *The Journal of Philosophy* 83, no. 5 (May 1986): 291–95.

⁴¹ Edmund Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*, trans. David Carr (Northwestern University Press, 1970), 4.

⁴² Husserl, 4.

⁴³ Husserl, 6.

unreason or about us men as subjects of this freedom? The mere science of bodies clearly has nothing to say; it abstracts from everything subjective'.⁴⁴ This is the core message of Husserl's philosophy of science: yes, in so many instances, science can give us pure objective fact, but it often has to interpret and understand this objective data using subjective methodologies.

Phenomenology is the study of the world as to how it appears, with an understanding that the world is *not simply* how it appears. The goal is not to find a fundamental truth about objective reality, but to understand how the way the world appears to some group can inform something about the characteristics of the group itself.

Lebenswelt

Husserl's dispute was with scientists' claim to have pure access to a Real World. Husserl coined the term *Lebenswelt*, or Life World, to refer to a shared world as experienced by subjects.⁴⁵ In this world of shared experience we can gather quantitative data about the natural world and come up with a shared understanding of the universe that is not purely objective, but can create what Husserl coins a 'we-subjectivity'.⁴⁶

Out of this we-subjectivity we can create the closest thing possible to an objective understanding of the universe. Essentially, Husserl's insight was that while we can understand the universe to a

⁴⁴ Husserl, 6.

⁴⁵ Husserl, 100.

⁴⁶ Husserl, 109.

degree that we can talk about scientific laws, hypotheses, theories, and facts, the *context* from within which we create this objective view is constantly changing and recreating:

*The consciousness of the world, then, is in constant motion; we are conscious of the world always in terms of some object-content or other, in the alteration of the different ways of being conscious ... and also in the alteration of affection and action.*⁴⁷

Science's mistake, as Husserl saw it, was one of ontology and metaphysics. Science is correct when it quantifies natural phenomena as an attempt to gain access to the Real World. Science's mistake is when this process is viewed as one that is purely objective and lacking any interaction with the Life World.⁴⁸

The conclusion here is *not* that we have *no* access to the Real World, but that our access to the real world is mediated by our culture, experiences, and personality.⁴⁹ Nor is it suggesting that what some people see as red, others see as green. The collection of our experiences and knowledge cannot completely override our perception of phenomena. Studies undertaken by Kay and Kempton show that while there were definite quantifiable differences in perception, they are within a range.⁵⁰ What some perceive as yellow, others perceive as green. What some perceive as green, others perceive as blue. But no one perceives as blue what others perceive as yellow. However, rather than abandon all hope of knowledge and retreat into sceptical solipsism, we can

⁴⁷ Husserl, 109.

⁴⁸ Patrick A. Heelan, 'Husserl's Later Philosophy of Natural Science', *Philosophy of Science* 54, no. 3 (1987): 370.

⁴⁹ This naïve criticism is well outlined by Marcel Kuntz. (Marcel Kuntz, 'The Postmodern Assault on Science', *EMBO Reports* 13, no. 10 (October 2012): 885–89), who in his attack on postmodernism traces the line of thought from Nietzsche, through Feyerabend and Kuhn, none of whom could be considered phenomenologists or postmodernists. He does mention Latour, although Kuntz misunderstands Latour's philosophy. C.f. Ian James Kidd, 'Was Feyerabend a Postmodernist?', *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science* 30, no. 1 (2 January 2016): 55–68.

⁵⁰ Paul Kay and Willett Kempton, 'What Is the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis?', *American Anthropologist* 86, no. 1 (1984): 65–79.

be aware of this restricted access to the Real World. The culturally embedded context of experience and knowledge will be described below as the *thrownness* of our *habitus* and *field*.

For a less extreme example of creating a ‘we-subjectivity’ we can turn again to cricket statistics. The averages for the 1853 All England Eleven, arguably the greatest side in the world at the time, show George Parr leading the batting on 13.2 runs per innings, and William Clarke leading the bowling with an average of 18.44 wickets per match, at the cost of 3.79 runs per wicket. Compare this to Aotearoa New Zealand in their World Test Championship year of 2021. Kane Williamson led the batting averaging 65.83 runs per innings, and Kyle Jamieson led the bowling averaging 5.4 wickets per match, at 17.51 runs per wicket. Without context it is clear: the batsmen of the 21st century are superior than those of the 19th, while the opposite is true of bowlers. This confuses the simple explanation that the 1853 side composing the best cricketers in the world playing against mostly village teams resulted in lopsided scores, while the 2021 side only played against other Test nations.⁵¹

Also, we can state with certainty that the post-war cricket pitch was not the same as those trod by the likes of Parr, Clarke, Wisden, or Wills in our story. For one, Williamson and Jamieson have never had to play on a ‘sticky wicket’ (a rain soaked pitch). While for Parr and Clarke, the idea of putting a tarp over the pitch when the rain came was still well over half a century away. It takes a ‘cricket nut’ to counter-argue that developments in the ‘Leg Before’ rule shifted the balance back to the bowlers (do not fear, I will not try to explain this), but even a casual modern cricket fan

⁵¹ For the sake of non-‘cricket nut’ readers, I have resisted the temptation to further delve into these statistics. However, there is more to be found there, from what statistics are reported on (we do not have strike rates until limit overs cricket, for example) and how they are reported (one noticeable example being the lack of decimalisation in the 19th century statistics).

would be able to intuitively add to this the idea that advancements in boxes, pads, helmets, and bats has probably also shifted the balance between bat and ball. The casual observer may also look at Clarke's average of over 18 wickets per match and is incredulous that someone could take 9 out of 10 wickets per innings *on average*. It takes the historian to explain that many of the village sides Clarke competed against were made up of 22 players in an 'against the odds' (opposed to test) match, giving twice the opportunity at wickets in every innings.⁵² It also helps explain why Clarke took wickets so cheaply, while the batsmen on his side struggled to find gaps in an overcrowded field.

To the Things Themselves (die Sache selbst): Phenomenological Reduction

Husserl called for philosophical investigation to be *die Sache selbst* (to the things themselves) – to remove all of our preconceptions relating to an object and examine it in itself.⁵³ This is known as *phenomenological reduction*.⁵⁴

*Then the question is: what is essentially contained and grounded in such phenomena; from what factors are they constructed; what possibilities of combination do they found [sic] when they are taken essentially as purely immanent; and what general relations flow from them?*⁵⁵

This is not to say there can be no true knowledge of the world, but understanding that phenomenology is not about finding objective truths about the universe. Phenomenology is a

⁵² Note on test matches, and why this is not capitalised. Originally A 'test' match was 11 a side; a 'test' of the quality of the side on an even basis. However, the word has for over a century been exclusively reserved for capital T 'Test' matches; those played between 2 of the now 12 Test playing nations. The evolution of this term is examined in detail in Chapter 7.

⁵³ Edmund Husserl, *The Idea of Phenomenology*, ed. Rudolf Bernet, Edmund Husserl Collected Works, v. 8 (Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic, 1999), 37.

⁵⁴ David Carr, 'Translator's Introduction', in *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy* (Northwestern University Press, 1970), xxxix n34.

⁵⁵ Husserl, *The Idea of Phenomenology*, 41.

method, not an epistemology. Much like the Socratic method, or the Hegelian dialectic, Husserl did not offer a theory of reality, but a method of questioning. We are interested in descriptions of relationships between consciousness and contexts, and things.⁵⁶ No longer is the boundary between consciousness and thing – between subject and object – distinct, firm, and impenetrable, as Descartes had once concluded but the very terms themselves – subject and object – are not even things, but rather they are descriptions of relationships.⁵⁷

Heidegger

To understand this subject-object relationship it is useful to turn to Heidegger's hammer.⁵⁸ Imagine you are hammering in a nail. You hold the hammer in your hand, sight the nail, swing your arm, and the nail goes in a bit. At no point during this process are you *consciously aware* of the hammer. Your thoughts concerning the hammer do not extend beyond the role it serves in the process of your body making a nail go in. You keep your eye on the nail, and swing your arm with practised motion. For all intents and purposes, the hammer is part of your body; it is part of the consciousness experiencing the object of the nail, it is part of *subject*. The nail goes in. Your thoughts wander, and you become aware of the hammer in your hand. As your focus falls from the nail to the hammer, you miss the nail and hit your thumb with the hammer. In that moment you experience a violent – in more ways than one – appreciation that the hammer is no longer part of your subject, no longer part of the experiential relationship between you and the nail, but

⁵⁶ However, I disagree with Husserl that these relationships can be quantified. Husserl, 35.

⁵⁷ Husserl, 35.

⁵⁸ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time: A Translation of Sein und Zeit*, trans. Joan Stambaugh, SUNY Series in Contemporary Continental Philosophy (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 65.

has become the object. The conscious experience of you the subject is now the relationship between your thumb (subject) and the hammer (object).

I refer to Heidegger's hammer, because if people know one thing about Heidegger it is that he was a Nazi. If they know a second thing, it is usually his hammer. However, for us, it would perhaps be more relevant to talk of Heidegger's cricket bat. For an elite batsman, the bat, rather than an object, is a part of their subjective experience of the world.⁵⁹ If one were to think about the bat as an object – to think about how to use a bat to interact with the world – they would stand no chance at defending a 150km/h inswinging delivery. This is a skill developed over years in the nets so it can be deployed subconsciously on the field. When the bat-object has disappeared into the player-subject, the skilled player can start to open phenomenological spaces on the field.⁶⁰

This is what Heidegger calls 'modes of encounter', which is understood with his concepts of 'handiness' (*Handlichkeit*), 'present-at-hand' (*Vorhandenheit*) and 'ready-to-hand' (*Zuhandenheit*). The hammer, when it is in your hand hammering in a nail is 'ready-at-hand', when you hit your thumb, it becomes present-at-hand. Or as Heidegger puts it in one of his more lucid moments:

*The less we just stare at the thing called hammer, the more actively we use it, the more original our relation to it becomes and the more undisguisedly it is encountered as what it is, as a useful thing. The act of hammering itself discovers the specific "handiness" of the hammer. We shall call the useful thing's kind of being in which it reveals itself by itself handiness.*⁶¹

⁵⁹ A note on the term 'Batsman'. As of 2021, the Laws of Cricket have been amended to replace the term 'batsman' with 'batter'. I have chosen to remain with the term 'batsman' as it better reflects the embedded and reified masculinity that was very much inherent in the term in the 19th century. I have also personally struggled to come to terms with this Americanism seeping into cricket in my own commentary, and usually use the term 'bat' to refer to the person who is batting, e.g. 'the next bat is Perry.'

⁶⁰ This will be explained below with Merleau-Ponty's footballers.

⁶¹ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 65.

However, we can move beyond human-tool relationships. As we will see time and again through this thesis, cricket was often the vehicle through which values of the Empire were reinforced. The institution of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) can be phenomenologically reduced so that its status as subject or object is dissolved and rather *relationships* become the centre of investigation. From here it is a short step to be able to see the the MCC in the role of the batsman, and things such as social norms of the MCC as their bat, deployed subconsciously and intuitively to gain the ends that it has trained for. For example, in the 1840s the custom of Players and Gentlemen of the same side using different entrances to the pavillion and ground was reinforcing a very real economic class structure that existed in mid-19th century England. The act of using separate entrances discovers the ‘handiness’ of separate entrances: reinforcing the class system while also cementing cricket’s role as a social institution *par excellence*.

As the nature of social class changed in England over the 19th and 20th centuries, the original reasons for separate entrances, became subsumed under the weight of tradition. Over this time the relationship between the MCC and the entrances became more *primordial*, that is they became less a thing cricket did to uphold external class structures, and more a thing that happened at Lord’s because it was Lord’s and that’s what happened at Lord’s. However, by the 1960s, separate entrances had become *present-at-hand*. No longer subconsciously being applied to further the interests of the body of the MCC, they were a very public anachronism amongst the boom in equality across all other aspects of post-war English society. Every time a Player and Gentleman entered the playing field from separate gates – especially if they were opening the batting for England in a Test match – the old guard of the English social structure was metaphorically hammering their own thumbs.

The phenomenological process is this unveiling/undisguising: we can see a hammer hitting a finger without a hammer having to hit a finger.⁶² It is this ability to be conscious of, and question the unveiling, that both creates and distinguishes *Dasein*.

Dasein

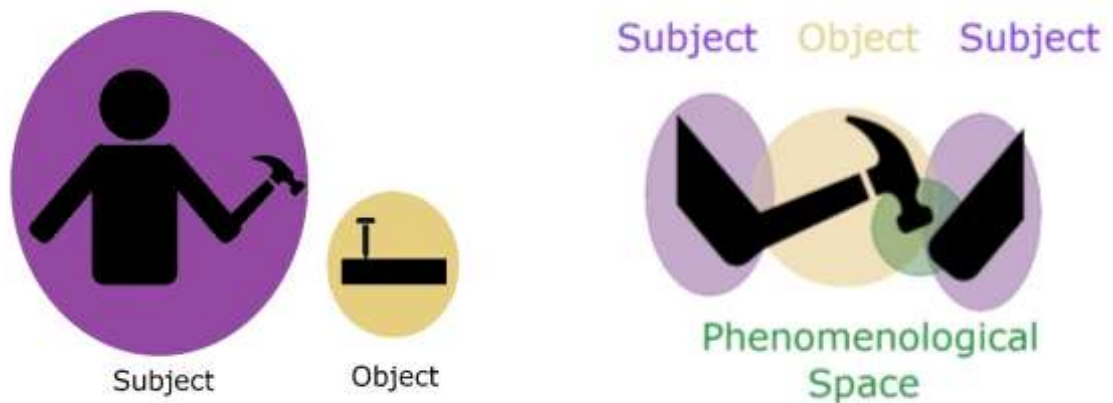
Dasein is that which can experience *and question* these modes of encounter. To quote Heidegger 'the being of beings "is" itself not a being'.⁶³ *Dasein* is not a thing, but that which arises out of the conscious experience of handiness. It is our subjective self, but it is more than that, it is our subjective self *being-in-the-world*; i.e. connected to all of our relationships and embedded in our contexts. The being aware of being-there is one of Heidegger's fundamentals: *Dasein* can ask questions about the nature of its existence.

⁶² Without becoming a thesis on Heidegger, it is this ability to be conscious of, and question the unveiling, that both creates and distinguishes *Da-sein*.

⁶³ Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 5.

Phenomenological Space

The phenomenological space is where *Dasein* becomes aware of objects – where the boundary of subject and object blur.



This ‘phenomenological space’ is a reconception of both Husserl and Heidegger – the *Lebenswelt* that Husserl’s phenomenological reduction exposes, and the ‘modes of encounter’ Heidegger uses to explain our relationship to objects.⁶⁴

Heidegger goes further than Husserl. Where Husserl’s phenomenology is *transcendental* i.e. it transcends beyond physical reality into things like social structures and language, for Heidegger,

⁶⁴ I do not believe I am coining the term ‘phenomenological space’. Christian Derix’s use, invoking *Gestalt* theory, seems similar. So too A.J. DeLong, albeit, he is concerned with ‘phenomenological space-time’. DeLong’s experiment showed that people’s perception of time was influenced by the size of the scale model they were watching. The specifics are not important, but it is worth noting an *empirical* justification for the spatio-temporal merging of the dialectic with phenomenology, as we have been discussing here. As a term, however, ‘phenomenological space’ does not seem to have caught on. However, I hope that as a description of a concept, it is now clear. Christian Derix, ‘Approximating Phenomenological Space’, in *Intelligent Computing in Engineering and Architecture*, ed. Ian F. C. Smith, Lecture Notes in Computer Science (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, 2006), 136–46.; A. J. DeLong, ‘Phenomenological Space-Time: Toward an Experiential Relativity’, *Science* 213, no. 4508 (7 August 1981): 681–83.

phenomenology is *hermeneutic*.⁶⁵ That is, it is more than just descriptive, like Husserl, but interpretive.⁶⁶ This unleashes the potential of phenomenology as a tool of interpretive scholarship in disciplines like anthropology and history. The examination of the phenomenological space allows us to not so much to uncover the truth, but to *understand* the experience of experiencing truth.

This may all seem mind-numbingly esoteric, but what is important to understand from this section is the phenomenological space as a place to examine relationships between subjects and objects, and an appreciation that their borders are fluid. This fluidity of the borders of spaces is central to the understanding of this thesis, and find fullest expression in the examination of Honorary Committees in Chapter 5. *Dasein* and *die Sache selbst* are revealed through their interactions in the *Lebenswelt*. *Lebenswelt* has useful similes in Merleau-Ponty's *field* and Bordieu's *habitus*, which are examined below.

This thesis examines the phenomenological space between people, institutions, customs, and language. To do this it is necessary to understand that all of these 'things' can be both subject and object – the definition coming from the perspective. This is a slight departure from Heidegger's belief that *Dasein* was always a human experience. Institutions, cultures, even games, are collections of subjectivities, through which unique and identifiable subjectivities can arise. *Phenomenology allows us to visualise abstractions so that we can create a hermeneutic lens through which we can interpret the relationship between abstract concepts. While there are many*

⁶⁵ Susann M. Lavery, 'Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 2, no. 3 (1 September 2003): 24.

⁶⁶ Moving from a descriptive to hermeneutic process is what allows us to discard Husserl's empiricism.

instances in this work where the phenomenological space being examined sits between two people, it is far more often an examination of a relationship that involves something more abstract – the relationship between people and institutions – such as a cricketer and the Marylebone Cricket Club, or the relationship between an institution and an idea, such as the relationship between the Marylebone Cricket Club and class or Englishness.

It is also important to note that the examination of something as a subject does not preclude it from being an object, nor is it a suggestion that the way things are presented here as subject or object is the only interpretation. All that is required is a willingness to examine the phenomenological space.

The Field and Habitus

In *The Structure of Behaviour* Merleau-Ponty takes the phenomenological space to the football field:

For the player in action the football field is not an "object," that is, the ideal term which can give rise to an indefinite multiplicity of perspectival views and remain equivalent under its apparent transformations. It is pervaded with lines of force (the "yard lines"; those which demarcate the "penalty area") and articulated in sectors (for example, the "openings" between the adversaries) which call for a certain mode of action and which initiate and guide the action as if the player were unaware of it.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Structure of Behavior*, trans. Alden L. Fisher (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 168–69.

Useful for our purposes is John Hughson and David Inglis' extension of this idea. They show how we are *embodied* in our *fields* through their examination of 'beauty' as embodied in soccer.

Using the term '*the beautiful game*' and the embodied movements of the sport, Hughson and Inglis ask the question 'is soccer intrinsically beautiful?' using an 'existential-phenomenological reconstruction of play'.⁶⁸ They examine how movements *become* feelings *become* words *become* feelings *become* movements. For example, the talented player who can 'create space out of nothing'. This is not just a turn of phrase or a physical act: 'the gifted player can ... literally *create* spaces that could not be created or even conceptualized by other players'.⁶⁹ The player's 'practical knowledge and actions' – their talent, or what is explained as cultural capital below – and perhaps even an appreciation of the phrase, allow the player to open a phenomenological space where the skilled player can imagine, and then execute, physical acts that others cannot.⁷⁰ If we return to our batsman above: hypothetically, two players of different skill may inhabit the exact same point in space, at the exact same point in time, with the exact same field of view and options for action open to them. Yet, we can imagine how the more skilled player may be able to 'see' a potential action that the less skilled player cannot. This could be either a lack of knowledge; not knowing the ins and outs of the game well enough to see the costs and benefits of a potential action, or a lack of talent; seeing the potential action, but not having the skill set to be able to act on that knowledge. Here we can see that 'the field' is more than a creation of our particular moment in time. It is a culmination of all our experiences through our whole life.

⁶⁸ John Hughson and David Inglis, 'Inside the Beautiful Game: Towards a Merleau-Pontian Phenomenology of Soccer Play', *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 29, no. 1 (April 2002): 1.

⁶⁹ Hughson and Inglis, 3.

⁷⁰ Hughson and Inglis, 8.

Thrown embodied body-subjects

Hughson and Inglis also explain Merleau-Ponty's argument that 'all subjects are *body-subjects*' – that is, there can be no 'free-floating Consciousness perceiving a spatial Totality'.⁷¹ All phenomenological experiences *must by definition* occur from the 'perspective of a subject who *has a body*', and that the subject and the body are not just connected but are 'wholly interrelated and indissociable. In effect the body *is* the subject, and the subject *is* the body'.⁷²

The key to this method is this emphasis on orientating *the embodied experience* and the objects-at-hand. This focus highlights the movement of phenomenology from Husserl's attempt to find a fixed, transcendental 'unparticipating observer' towards Merleau-Ponty locating consciousness in both time and space, something much more useful to ethnographers and historians.⁷³ This change arose due to the influence of Heidegger's idea that 'consciousness is always experiencing a *thrown-ness* within a particular spatio-temporal context'.⁷⁴ *Dasein* is not only embodied in bodies, it is also 'thrown' into the 'fields' we find ourselves in and from which we perceive things.

⁷¹ Hughson and Inglis, 6.

⁷² This also usefully highlights Merleau-Ponty's departure from Heidegger. Heidegger specifically rejected the 'thingness' Merleau-Ponty gives to the body-subject. Human consciousness – *Dasein* – is something special and unique. Whilst not a specific critique of Heidegger, whose project was always an esoteric one, removing the special privilege of the human subject allows us to expand our phenomenological investigation to a wider definition of subject, for example, to an institution or group. This is expanded upon below. Hughson and Inglis, 6.

⁷³ Sebastian Luft, 'Husserl's Concept of the "Transcendental Person": Another Look at the Husserl–Heidegger Relationship', *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 13, no. 2 (June 2005): 143; Merleau-Ponty, *The Structure of Behavior*, 111–17; Hughson and Inglis, 'Inside the Beautiful Game', 5.

⁷⁴ Simply put Heidegger's 'thrown-ness' (*Geworfenheit*) is all the stuff going on around a conscious subject that they did not choose. This is explored more in the section on Habitus.

The multifaceted definition of *field* can be understood intuitively by considering the playing field.

Continuing with the Colour commentator metaphor, they may be viewing the field like this:



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⁷⁵ 'Cricket Sport Image', accessed 19 June 2022, <https://pixy.org/388362/>.

However, to describe it to the listener, the skilled commentator – like the gifted player creating spaces – can create an abstraction of the field to open up opportunities, in this case, to explain what is happening on the ground in an enjoyable and understandable way. In this case the field looks something like a combination of below:

Cricket Field Redacted

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Fielding Positions Redacted

77

⁷⁶ Nichalp, 'Cricket Field', Wikipedia, accessed 27 August 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Cricket_field&oldid=975151232.

⁷⁷ 'Fielding Positions', Cricinfo, accessed 16 June 2022, <https://www.espnricinfo.com/ci/content/page/429549.html>.

However, to the player, it looks more like this:

Player's View Redacted



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The conscious experience of the field – in the most literal sense – depends on the *spatiality* of the observer: where they are.

Every participant has a different experience of the field. The experience of watching *Victoria v New South Wales* at the Melbourne Cricket Ground with four old guys and a dog, there to gaze over what potential future talent may be coming up the ranks, differs from watching *Australia v India* with 90 000 passionate, partisan fans, for whom the outcome means much, much more than the score. The *spatiality* of the field is also affected by the *temporality* of the field. The time and space of where we are, like the knowledge and skills we have, fundamentally alter our experience of the field.

⁷⁸ 'Batsman Gives Fans a Bird's-Eye View of Match', eNCA, accessed 18 June 2022, <https://www.enca.com/sport/cricket/watch-batsman-gives-fans-birds-eye-view-match>.

Beings-in-the-world

These ideas of locating consciousness in time and space lead us to one of the core characteristics of consciousness: it is in the *experiencing*. Consciousness is a dialectic between the field and the subject. Merleau-Ponty calls this the player-body-subject.⁷⁹

As experiencing subjects, we are always creating and recreating this field. However, this field is also constantly creating and recreating our experiencing subject.⁸⁰ This dialectic of mutual creation between the player and the field allows us to appreciate that the phenomenological border between them, in a sense, dissolves:

*The field itself is not given to him, but present as the immanent term of his practical intentions; the player becomes one with it and feels the direction of the "goal," for example, just as immediately as the vertical and the horizontal planes of his own body. It would not be sufficient to say that consciousness inhabits this milieu. At this moment consciousness is nothing other than the dialectic of milieu and action. Each manoeuvre undertaken by the player modifies the character of the field and establishes new lines of force in which the action in turn unfolds and is accomplished, again altering the phenomenal field*⁸¹

Phenomenologically speaking, the playing surface, and the player are in this moment not only made up of the same 'stuff', but they cannot be separated from each other. They are the same thing. This highlights how our 'field' expands our phenomenologically subjective space beyond the

⁷⁹ Hughson and Inglis, 'Inside the Beautiful Game', 7.

⁸⁰ Hughson and Inglis, 7.

⁸¹ Hughson and Inglis, 7.

physical extremities of our body, out into the world around us. We are not beings, in the world, we are *beings-in-the-world*.

Hughson and Inglis outline the Bourdieuan objection to this conception of the field as lacking an appreciation of the larger socio-political context that all subjects operate within. For example, who enforces the rules of the game, the rules of the stadium, or in whose interest the game is being played.⁸² In doing so, Merleau-Ponty misses the 'structural factors' of power that are omnipresent in the experiencing of all subjects in a space: '[b]ut such players, and the game of soccer itself, do not operate in a socio-political vacuum. This is because players and the games they play are always submerged within conditions of social and economic power'.⁸³ To overcome this Bourdieuan objection, there is no better place to turn than Bourdieu.

Reproduction

Phenomenology gives us the skillset to see power-in-action. The theories of Pierre Bourdieu, specifically *capital reproduction* give us the nomenclature to categorise this power-in-action. Bourdieu's 'capital' metaphor is perhaps his most well-known contribution to knowledge. Bourdieu saw 'who you know' (social capital) and 'what you know' (cultural capital) as performing in a similar way to economic capital. You can trade in social and cultural capital, leverage it, create

⁸² Hughson and Inglis, 10.

⁸³ This is not a fatal flaw, just something that needs to be added on to 'the field'. This is Habitus. Although Habitus is a Bourdieuan concept that will be further clarified in the section on Bourdieu below, it is perhaps easier for the reader if we slowly walk up to the addition of structural power to 'the field' by continuing with more applied phenomenology. Hughson and Inglis also cite Wacquant, Iris Marion Young, and Henri Lefebvre as other proponents of this Merleau-Ponty/Bourdieu synthesis. Hughson and Inglis, 9.

synergies, hedges, and diversify.⁸⁴ Through Bourdieu, we can understand an abstract concept like ‘the things one knows’ as a tradeable good; how much will you give me for that secret? Likewise, when I introduce one friend who has a need, to another friend who can fulfil that need (a synergy), I put my reputation on the line (risk), and hope that the relationship I facilitated is rewarding for both involved, and they remember who hooked them up (return).⁸⁵

Bourdieu, much more the materialist than I, clarifies further: capital – in all forms – is accumulated labour. This may be our own labour, for example, the effort we invest in school or meeting people. Or it may be inherited stored labour, for example, the effort our ancestors put in to accumulating inheritable wealth and prestige.⁸⁶ In a time when knowledge was much harder to access, the books one had on the shelves growing up – if any at all – could have a direct impact on one’s life outcomes.⁸⁷

Cultural and social capital can be exchanged, leveraged, used as equity, it can appreciate or depreciate, it can earn interest and accrue debt. A parent passes down their capital not just in the physical assets they leave behind, but in the cultural capital they give their children, usually

⁸⁴ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. R. Nice, Polity Short Introductions (Harvard University Press, 1984), 114.

⁸⁵ This combination of Bourdieu’s capital with theories of economic capital is not unique, indeed, I feel it is intuitive. However, it is something I find surprisingly underutilised as a metaphor, coming most often from Business Management, and even then, usually undeveloped. Pierre Bourdieu, *On the State: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1989 - 1992*, ed. Patrick Champagne (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 193; C.f. Andrew C. Inkpen and Eric W. K. Tsang, ‘Social Capital, Networks, and Knowledge Transfer’, *Academy of Management Review* 30, no. 1 (January 2005): 146–65; Janine Nahapiet and Sumantra Ghoshal, ‘Social Capital, Intellectual Capital, and the Organizational Advantage’, *Academy of Management Review* 23, no. 2 (April 1998): 242–66.

⁸⁶ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 80.

⁸⁷ It is worth noting that when Bourdieu was writing the French education system was extremely stream based. Your success in the earliest years at school, or even which kind of school you had access to, decided what tertiary education institution you would end up at. As a result, it was almost structurally impossible for a rural child to end up at one of the élite *grande école*.

through education, and the social capital they bequeath, usually in the form of introductions or familial connections. This is what Bourdieu describes as *reproduction*.⁸⁸ Each chapter of this thesis will examine a different element of this process so that by the end of Chapter 6 we will have seen how the hegemonic culture is created and reproduced, using social and cultural capital, and how this hegemonic culture then uses these same processes to spread out from London across the British Isles and ultimately the British Empire.

Post-colonial Phenomenology

Whiteness

The stories in this work are unavoidably white. There are examples from the 1868 Aboriginal tour of England, as well as race in South African cricket in the second half of the nineteenth century that could perfectly fit within the thematic context of this work, but would broaden the temporal context to a point of making it unwieldy for one thesis.⁸⁹ I could have chosen to make race more visible, but I have not in the hope that I better highlight other structures of power. As such, it is necessary to say some words about the invisibility of race in this thesis.

One key issue with ‘whiteness’ is that it can ‘disappear’.⁹⁰ White experience becomes simply experience. Sara Ahmed in *A Phenomenology of Whiteness* notes both the anxiety and risk of

⁸⁸ Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, trans. Richard Nice, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publ, 2000), 4ff.

⁸⁹ For example, I have written elsewhere of the role the 1868 Aboriginal cricket tour played in the development of Apartheid laws across the Empire. Condon, ‘The Positioning of Indigenous People in Australian History: A Historiography of the 1868 Aboriginal Cricket Tour of England’.

⁹⁰ S. Ahmed, ‘A Phenomenology of Whiteness’, *Feminist Theory* 8, no. 2 (1 August 2007): 149–68.

‘reifying’ whiteness: rather than making whiteness *more* explicit and understood, it risks further embedding white experience as just experience. Ahmed seeks to ‘re-locate [the] risk’ of reification from something we do to whiteness, to something whiteness does.⁹¹ This serves as a warning to the reader for the remainder of this thesis. To stop and point out each absence of women and non-white people would quickly become tedious – it is constant. What is important, is that while we are examining the English gentleman we understand it is *they* who are doing the reification, and it is this reification we are interested in.

Corporeal Schema Thrown Into the World.

‘Phenomenology asks us to be aware of the ‘what’ that is ‘around’.’⁹² This ‘what is around’ is *orientation*. Orientation occurs when bodies occupy a time and space – when *Dasein* is *thrown* into a *field*. Orientation provides the space for ‘doing’. The ‘performance’ of ‘doing’ involves more than the ability to do the thing, it requires being ‘orientated’ in a way that enables doing. Frantz Fanon explains this through smoking a cigarette:

*The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty. I know that if I want to smoke, I shall have to reach out my right arm and take the pack of cigarettes lying at the other end of the table. The matches, however, are in the drawer on the left, and I shall have to lean back slightly. And all these movements are made not out of habit, but out of implicit knowledge.*⁹³

⁹¹ Ahmed, 150.

⁹² Ahmed, 151.

⁹³ F. Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. C.L. Markmann, Evergreen Black Cat Book (Pluto Press, 1986), 110–11.

If we return to our hypothetical skilled and unskilled batsmen above. While the act of playing the shot is subsumed into the *ready-at-handedness* nature of the bat, what this *means* has different interpretations dependent on the *orientation* of the player. If the player is facing the first delivery of a test match, their actions and relationship to the bat, as informed by implicit knowledge, will be different than if the player is facing the final over of a T20 match with 10 runs to get, and different again when they make their way back to the dressing room through the member's pavillion.

This is an example of the *corporeal schema* of phenomenology. It 'attends to the tactile, vestibular, kinaesthetic and visual character of embodied reality'.⁹⁴ 'Corporeal' is 'of the body'. 'Schema' are characteristics shared across categories. 'Corporeal schema' are those characteristics from the environment we all share through being humans experiencing existence: smells, sights, sounds, gravity, etc. The member's pavillion smells, looks, sounds, and feels different than the middle at Lord's. They are the things the world *throws* at us.

Fanon's great insight was an awareness that below this corporeal schema exists the *historical-racial schema*. The first half of Fanon's paragraph quoted above is:

*And then the occasion arose when I had to meet the white man's eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. The real world challenged my claims. In the white world the man of color encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema. Consciousness of the body is solely a negating activity. It is a third-person consciousness.*⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ahmed, 'A Phenomenology of Whiteness', 153.

⁹⁵ Sartre's influence on Fanon can be felt here, there is a certain connection to 'The Look'. Indeed, much of Sartre's writing on race is a dialectic with Fanon that begins with Fanon's responses to Sartre's *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, most notably *Black Skin, White Masks*, and includes Sartre's introduction to Fanon's most famous work *The Wretched of the Earth*. Fanon is like de Beauvoir in that he is best understood as in conversation with Sartre, and also like de Beauvoir, is arguably the better location for understanding the concepts they were all developing at the time. C.f.: Robert Bernasconi, 'Fanon's "The Wretched of the

He explains:

*The elements that I used had been provided for me not by 'residual sensations and perceptions primarily of a tactile, vestibular, kinaesthetic, and visual character, 'but by the other, the white man, who had woven me out of a thousand details.'*⁹⁶

In other words the historical-racial schema are those characteristics shared by people that have been *thrown* by the culture. Fanon is writing about how the corporeal schema can be modified by the historical-racial schema: the physical *field* being modified by the cultural one. This has important implications in cricket's role as a *civilising mission*, first examined in Chapter 1. It is even more applicable if one includes gender, regional, and class identities along with race. This thesis is very interested in the construction of the 'English gentleman' and how physical and metaphysical spaces were used to first reify this construct, and then reproduce it across the Empire.

Remember phenomenology is about constructing abstract categories to understand the world-as-experienced by a subject. The time-place inhabited by a subject – the field, the habitus, the orientation – is what comprises corporeal schema. Fanon saw race as more than another element of the corporeal schema, but as something separate – the *historical-racial schema* – that interrupts the corporeal schema. As Sartre notes in the introduction to *The Wretched of the Earth*, the coloniser creates the identity of both the coloniser and the colonised.⁹⁷ The identity of the colonised – the field or habitus they occupy – is created by the power the coloniser has over

Earth" as the Fulfillment of Sartre's "Critique of Dialectical Reason", *Sartre Studies International* 16, no. 2 (2010): 36–46; Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes, 23rd print (New York: Washington Square Press, 2012), 252 ff.

⁹⁶ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 111.

⁹⁷ Jean-Paul Sartre, 'Preface', in *The Wretched of the Earth*, by Frantz Fanon, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 17–21.

them. For the colonised, their very definition as ‘colonised’ has been created by the coloniser.⁹⁸

The phenomenological space inhabited by the colonised is a construction of the coloniser – the historical-racial schema of the coloniser has trumped the corporeal-schema of the colonised.

This insight can be extended beyond race, to all structures of power. Like Fanon, we are all ‘thrown’ ‘into-a-world’ of pre-existing structures, many of which are beyond our power to influence, yet they underwrite our phenomenological experiences. Some abstract categories we inhabit – like race, gender, or class – give access to a phenomenological existence akin to either the ‘coloniser’ or the ‘colonised’. For the coloniser, those structures that reinforce their own corporeal-schema come to be viewed as ‘normal’, to the point where they ‘disappear’ into-the-world. This is a concept Ahmed refers to as the ‘in-habit’, linking it to Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’.⁹⁹ Whiteness is largely invisible in this work, because all of the characters have ‘disappeared’ into its own essentialised world.

Whiteness is not a quality of being white. It is rather a phenomenological siting and orienting that privileges white experience as normal experience.¹⁰⁰ Ahmed explains:

*institutions become given, as an effect of the repetition of decisions made over time, which shapes the surface of institutional space. Institutions involve the accumulation of past decisions about how to allocate resources, as well as ‘who’ to recruit. Recruitment functions as a technology for the reproduction of whiteness.*¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Sartre argues that this removal of freedom of identification – the agency to choose who you are - moves the responsibility of the morality of the colonised onto the coloniser.

⁹⁹ Ahmed, ‘A Phenomenology of Whiteness’, 156.

¹⁰⁰ Ahmed, 156.

¹⁰¹ Ahmed, 157.

What Ahmed is outlining here is not just the construction of the institution of whiteness, but can be understood as a wider, more general theory of how institutional space is constructed. The key understanding is that institutions are not 'simply given and that they decide what we do'.

What Ahmed is really providing us here, is a warning to be mindful that *all* forms of power tend to self-essentialise and self-reify. This warning is particularly important in a phenomenological work that is an examination of *nodes of power*. Wherever powers intersect, the norms of the powerful are most likely to be essentialised. In this work regional identities and class are much more apparent than race or gender, and hence make a more obvious site for examination.

Masculinity

There is a second 'hidden' category prevalent in this work: masculinity. Just as whiteness in this work is almost universal, so too is masculinity. Women exist in the source material, but when they do appear their presence generally reinforces gender norms and stereotypes, rather than challenging them. Even more so than race, the gender divide in cricket was absolute. Aboriginal Australians, Black South Africans, and Parsi Indians all shared the field with white cricketers in the middle of the nineteenth century. Women did not.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Whilst it is likely there were mixed cricket matches during this period, especially in Australia, none of them were of note enough to make the British or Australian papers. However, from 1874 onwards they became increasingly common, and serve as exceptions to the rule that women do not share the pitch with men. One form of an 'against the odds' match was to play women against men, but allow the men to only use their left hands and bat with a broomstick. It is worth noting these matches were stylised 'Ladies v Gentlemen', comparable with 'Gentlemen v Players'. 'Hadleigh Cycling Club—Ladies v. Gentlemen.', *Evening Star*, 17 September 1897, Extra Special edition; 'Ladies V. Gentlemen at Cricket.', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1 June 1888; 'Ladies v. Gentlemen', *Riverine Herald*, 3 June 1874.

Women are more likely to appear in the social scenes around cricket. For example, in Chapter 1 we see how the School's Week is quite the 'family affair'. More than a cricket match, it is an event on the social calendar; those important events that were the appropriate forum for powerful and connected women to perform power in an appropriately gendered way. Therefore, while the absence of women from the playing field is not particularly noteworthy, their absence from social events surrounding cricket – which we see frequently – is notable.

However, of more useful examination is the explicit performance of masculinity that occurs in these spaces. This mostly happens through the expression of two interconnected ideals of Victorian masculinity: 'manliness' and 'Muscular Christianity'. These two ideals coincided with two other developments in the period up to 1850 – altering the power dynamics between classes: the growth of the Empire, and technological change to redefine what it was to be an English man. This is well represented by the 'games ethic' examined in the prologue.

These same pressures redefined English Christianity into what became known as 'Muscular Christianity'. Growing out of the new 'games ethic', Muscular Christianity put forth a new model of the ideal man: athletic, charitable, and stoic – a man suitable for the mission of colonisation.¹⁰³ This is outlined and connected with manliness in the prologue. These two masculine ideals are further examined in Chapter 6 in the context of the return of Tom Wills to Australia and the values he returned with and helped to spread through his influence in Australian sport.

¹⁰³ Nick J Watson, Stuart Weir, and Stephen Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', *Journal of Religion and Society* 7 (2005): 2.

Nodes of Power¹⁰⁴

I also need to emphasise two key ideas – the construction of institutional space, and how institutions reproduce power – informing how cricket clubs reproduce imperial power.

Institutions are a collection of people, traditions, buildings, and so on. They are not to be viewed as monoliths standing outside of the phenomenological space of the subject, as they are more than just a collection of individual subjects. At a certain point, an institution becomes more than the sum of its parts. The assets of the institution are more than just the invested capital of the current membership; its traditions are ones decided by people long dead, yet they continue to be performed and idealised as functions of the institution; potential members are attracted by schema embedded in the institution *qua* institution. At this stage the institution moves beyond a habitus and can become in and of itself a subject.

Put simply, if a big enough group of deviants get together and start telling each other and the world around them that they are normal, their frame of reference for normality expands beyond their own habitus into the habitus of the institution. If the institution has power, it is able to enforce its habitus on individuals and institutions who have less power. If those habitus are

¹⁰⁴ A brief physics lesson. The concept of ‘nodes of power’ came to me from acoustics. Sound travels in a wave. If you play two frequencies of the same wavelength from two speakers, if you stand at a point where the distance between both speakers, and both speakers and yourself are all integer multiples – or harmonics – of the wavelength (λ), the volume increases (the node). When you stand at $x\lambda + 1/2\lambda$, the volume will decrease (the antinode).

opposed, the more powerful institution gets to claim what is ‘normal’ and what is ‘deviant’. Understanding whiteness as an institution makes this clear. But it can also be extended to what we would consider less abstract institutions. For example, in this thesis, the Marylebone Cricket Club is examined as institution in this way.¹⁰⁵

Intersectionality

Ahmed recognises the institution as a key place of intersection – where relationships of power cross over, reinforcing some habitus, while destroying others. This is why analysing the phenomenological space of the institution reveals so much. It shows how power relationships intersect as *nodes of power* – the spaces where accumulated capital meets to do the work of reproduction.

Kimberlé Crenshaw first thought up her theory of intersectionality because she ‘was simply looking at the way all of these systems of oppression overlap’ which came about from a recognition that existing theories had a tendency to separate identities into essentialised

¹⁰⁵ Habermas had already begun to understand this in his examination of crises – through an understanding that a crisis *can only* happen to a subject (an experiencing-being), however, he puts individuals as the experiencing-beings, meaning it is not the institution experiencing the crisis, but the individuals belonging to the institution. This is misplaced – if my local cricket club is the life blood of my town and it closes down, then yes, all members of the club and residents of the town experience that loss, but the *crisis* is embodied in the institutions of the club and town, not in the individual subjects that make up the institution. Sure, for some people, that loss may be completely devastating, leading to a personal crisis, but for the main, life goes on, but the institution of the club, does not. Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1988), 4–8.

categories.¹⁰⁶ This not only risks the reification of experiences of privileged members of oppressed groups, it ‘distorts their simultaneous operation in the lives of people who experience both’.¹⁰⁷

If the substance of examination is intersecting *nodes of power*, then it does not matter if the subjective experience is of the oppressor or the oppressed, intersectionality remains as powerful a tool for understanding privilege as it does oppression, provided we carry with us an awareness of the tendency of power to make itself invisible as outlined above.¹⁰⁸

Crenshaw identified three main components of intersectionality: structural, political, and representational.

¹⁰⁶ Kimberlé Crenshaw quoted in Michele Tracy Berger and Kathleen Guidroz, *The Intersectional Approach: Transforming the Academy through Race, Class, and Gender* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010), 65.

¹⁰⁷ Anna Carastathis, ‘The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory’, *Philosophy Compass* 9, no. 5 (2014): 305.

¹⁰⁸ As Anna Carastathis notes, the appropriation of intersectionality by feminist theory can ‘serve to obscure its origins in Black feminist thought’. The risk must be ever so greater for this work. It is important to remember is ‘that the metaphor emerges as a critique of white solipsism within feminist discourses’ as well as acknowledging that the ‘mainstreaming’ of intersectionality has created a tension between a ‘more robust version of intersectionality [...] tied to the concerns of [...] disempowered groups’ and a ‘sanitized, depoliticized version’. This thesis is openly appropriating many theories, not just intersectionality. In doing so, it has asked the reader to allow the mis/mal/readaptation of concepts in order for them to be used to scaffold a theoretical framework. It is important to note Carastathis’ warning here, as this thesis is mostly concerned with empowered groups. One of the criticisms of intersectionality that Carastathis notes is the tendency for the term to be used as a ‘synonym for oppression, without specifying what, in particular, is intersecting, or how’. This is even riskier when looking at systems of privilege, as they are more invisible.

Structural, Political, and Representational Intersectionality

Structural intersectionality is ‘where systems of race, gender, and class domination converge’.¹⁰⁹ Crenshaw saw this in the women’s shelters she visited, and noticed that victims of domestic violence were disproportionately poor women of colour. ‘Where systems of race, gender, and class domination converge ... intervention strategies based solely on the experiences of women who do not share the same class or race backgrounds will be of limited help to women who because of race and class face different obstacles’.¹¹⁰ In other words, the way the things one cannot change overlap, and this overlapping makes one’s experience of the world fundamentally different from the experience of someone who belongs to just one of those categories. In the context of this thesis, for example, the experience of being a member of the MCC is qualitatively different if one’s membership is based in their class status, or their on-field abilities.

Political intersectionality recognises people can inhabit multiple groups that ‘frequently pursue conflicting political agendas’.¹¹¹ Crenshaw’s original example was women of colour, and showed how anti-racist policies tend to focus on male experiences, and feminist policies tend to focus on white experiences. As such ‘their specific raced and gendered experiences, although intersectional, often define as well as confine the interests of the entire group’.¹¹² One example of political intersectionality in this thesis is in the life of the professional John Wisden, most thoroughly examined in Chapter 2. Born into the working class, he made cricket his trade and became one of the game’s greats. Multiple times in his life Wisden faced backing the interests of

¹⁰⁹ Kimberlé Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color’, *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1990): 1246.

¹¹⁰ Crenshaw, 1246.

¹¹¹ Crenshaw, 1252.

¹¹² Crenshaw, 1252.

the Gentlemen in order to maintain his 'gentlemanly' reputation, which would assist in maintaining his professional roles with the MCC, coaching roles with Cambridge, and private lessons for the nobility. Although protecting his own specific career interests, it was often at the expense of better conditions for all professionals.

Crenshaw defines representational intersectionality to 'include both the ways in which ... images are produced through a confluence of prevalent narratives of race and gender, as well as a recognition of how contemporary critiques of racist and sexist representation marginalize women of color'.¹¹³ In this thesis we will see how the media was used to reinforce tropes and stereotypes – both positive and negative. This is particularly apparent when we examine how international tours were used to transfer and reproduce English cultural hegemony in Chapter 6, as well as when Tom Wills returns home to Australia with the social and cultural capital he obtained in England in Chapter 3.

Analytic Benefits of intersectionality

Anna Carastathis identifies four 'analytic benefits of intersectionality': *complexity, irreducibility, simultaneity, and inclusivity*.

¹¹³ Crenshaw, 1283.

Complexity

Intersectionality can account for structural *complexity* through the use of three approaches. Inter-, Intra-, and Anti-categorical. The first two are, respectively, a focus on relationships *across* and *within* social groups. The anti-categorical approach nods to the contradictions at the heart of the Hegelian dialectic – through finding the contradictions within an assumed structure, we find a place of examination and critique, with the goal of finding a *synthesis* idea that gets us closer to a representation of reality.

Irreducibility

The error of many Marxist theorists who privilege class as the explanatory structure of oppression, is to reduce all structures of gender and race as ‘arising’ out of class ‘epiphenomenally’.¹¹⁴ Rather, what an intersectional approach allows is the understanding that race impacts class impacts gender impacts race etc. The gender binary and racism are not simply the outcomes of a capitalist class system. Structures all influence each other to such a deep extent that trying to privilege one over another will lead to compromised analysis.

¹¹⁴ I personally have some sympathy with the Marxist view that gender and racial oppression are qualities of class oppression, and feel that some feminist and postcolonial theorists have driven too far in the opposite direction. However, ultimately, what is so attractive about intersectionality is simultaneity, and that it is probably most useful to see all categories of oppression and privilege as epiphenomenologically interrelated. Epiphenomenally is a phenomenological category or experience that arises out of a higher order phenomenological category or experience. Carastathis, ‘The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory’, 308.

Simultaneity

The primary difficulty of intersectionality, as outlined by Carastathis, is that it is almost impossible to remove the process of unitary reduction of categories, or the consequent process of adding to these unitary categories. Carastathis cites Bowleg's conclusion that it is virtually impossible to ask questions that are not inherently additive.¹¹⁵ Bowleg's solution is that while isolating these categories is a fundamental step, they must be studied 'separately, as well as simultaneously'.¹¹⁶ In the words of this thesis, intersectionality is how various subjects can inhabit various habituses, and how those habitus-inhabiting-subjects are both simultaneously creating and being created by multiple habitus. For example, what makes a Gentleman a Gentleman was not defined in a class dialectic with the Player, but by what is defined as a 'gentleman' in social circles as well. Simultaneity means that when we are examining these categories we must be always aware that the others exist, are changing, and influencing the definition of Gentleman the whole time.

Carastathis contrasts intersectionality with other 'unitary or additive approaches to theorizing oppression, which privileges a foundational category and either ignore or merely 'add' others to 'it', instead recognising that 'multiple, co-constituting analytic categories are operative and equally salient in constructing institutionalized practices and lived experiences'.¹¹⁷ Again, with the recognition that privilege is the dialectic to oppression, this carries forward.¹¹⁸ What makes

¹¹⁵ Bowleg, p. 7, cited in Carastathis, 308. Lisa Bowleg, 'When Black+ Lesbian+ Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research', *Sex Roles* 59, no. 5–6 (2008): 312–25.

¹¹⁶ Bowleg, p. 7, cited in Carastathis, 'The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory', 308.

¹¹⁷ Carastathis, 307.

¹¹⁸ It should be noted that Parent et. al. claim that additive, multiplicative, and interactive identities are central to intersectionality. These should be understood in the context of simultaneity, not 'unitary or additive': 'multiple identities construct novel experiences that are distinctive and not necessarily divisible into their component identities or experiences'. One of the challenges with intersectionality is to 'unentangle' these various identities. However, I would argue, that in a hermeneutic project, creating clearly delineated categories is not a priority. Mike C. Parent, Cirleen DeBlaere, and Bonnie Moradi,

someone a Gentleman is not simply 'man of leisure' + 'cricketer'. The combination of categories that go into making someone a Gentleman is different than the sum of its parts.

Inclusivity

As intersectionality makes visible experiences previously made invisible through the reification of a dominant culture, it can act as a 'corrective' against 'white solipsism, heteronormativity, elitism, and ableism'.¹¹⁹ Given this thesis is an examination of a white supremacist, heteronormative, socially elite, and physically able group of people, it may seem at odds with both the theory and intention of intersectionality to deploy it in such a work.¹²⁰ However, beyond the seminally useful ideas of complexity and simultaneity – as applicable to structures of privilege as of oppression – intersectionality also carries within it the inherent warning to avoid monistic reduction, as well as reifying the dominant culture. In this regard, intersectionality has enormous use to all historians in terms of our own research integrity – especially those like myself who inhabit a coloniser-habitus and research a privileged group – to remind us we are but mere phenomenological subjects, who experience a *thrown-ness* into our habitus, and that we can either ignore that fact, and in turn recreate and reproduce our own habitus, or acknowledge it and use it to question the structurally inherent contradictions within our realm of examination.

'Approaches to Research on Intersectionality: Perspectives on Gender, LGBT, and Racial/Ethnic Identities', *Sex Roles* 68, no. 11 (1 June 2013): 640.

¹¹⁹ Carastathis, 'The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory', 309.

¹²⁰ Parent, DeBlaere, and Moradi acknowledge a tendency within intersectional research (as of 2013) to focus largely on race/ethnic identity, gender, and LGBT identity, but hope and encourage others to extend it into other areas such as ability, class, and religion. It is hoped this is some small contribution to that. Parent, DeBlaere, and Moradi, 'Approaches to Research on Intersectionality', 639.

Nonhomogeneity

Related to inclusivity is nonhomogeneity. Stewart and McDermott write about aspects of intersectionality that are critical to gender studies in psychology: nonhomogeneity of groups, location of persons within power structures and acknowledgement of the relations between those structures, and the unique effects of identifying within more than one group'.¹²¹ This is useful for this work in several ways. The reminder of the nonhomogeneity of groups helps to keep us aware not to slip into the absolutist idealism of Hegel (groups do not have 'totality' – the borders/edges are always messy). Likewise, the flip side of this is remembering membership of a group does not immediately apply all characteristics of that group.¹²²

Belkhir and Barnett state that to understand intersectionality, first you must 'isolate race, gender or class' as a 'necessary first step'.¹²³ However, as Parent et. al. note that through categorising and setting the boundaries identities, researchers may have 'implicitly shaped and/or reflected a conceptualization of these variables'.¹²⁴ This is a risk run even more so by the historian, as we generally no longer have access to any of the individuals to allow them to speak for themselves, and share their own phenomenological experiences. By extension, as so many identities are external constructions – in the words of this thesis subjects are *thrown* into their *habitus* – there

¹²¹ Parent, DeBlaere, and Moradi, 640.

¹²² See for example, the problems with defining 'woman' in the context of the anti-trans debate that excludes trans women, but includes all cis women. C.f. Carol Hay, 'Opinion | Who Counts as a Woman?', *The New York Times*, 1 April 2019, sec. Opinion, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/01/opinion/trans-women-feminism.html>.

¹²³ Belkhir and Barnett, pp. 163-164, cited in Carastathis, 'The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory', 308. Jean Ait Belkhir and Bernice McNair Barnett, 'Race, Gender and Class Intersectionality', *Race, Gender & Class*, 2001, 157–74.

¹²⁴ Parent, DeBlaere, and Moradi, 'Approaches to Research on Intersectionality', 643.

is the possibility that said identities, such as race and gender, 'serve as proxies for more nuanced underlying constructs that are not explicated and remain hidden in researchers' implicit theoretical perspectives or assumptions'.¹²⁵ The gentleman/Gentleman distinction is one example of these more 'nuanced underlying constructs' and gives us an ideal location to examine the implicit race, gender, and class assumptions in hegemonic English culture.

These aspects of intersectionality remind the historian to always be humble in their evaluation of the past. One way forward is for the historian to be explicit about their own position within their work. My perspective is important. It has informed my interpretations. That is why I opened the study with an account of how my radio commentary led into this study of cricket history. The more explicit my own frame of reference, the easier it is for others to understand the blind spots informing errors I make in my analysis. I carry into this work assumptions and biases. I inhabit, for example, the coloniser-habitus that is so effective at reifying itself and keeping its implicit biases hidden.

Carastathis understands that while this isolation happens as a first step, intersectionalism's advantage is that by keeping multiple structures in play at once (simultaneity), we can work through the reductive steps without necessarily falling prey to ultimate reduction of experiences to within one structure or category. She also notes the main advantage of intersectionality as a 'heuristic to interpret results of quantitative or qualitative research'.¹²⁶ This aligns with Heidegger's hermetic phenomenology.

¹²⁵ Parent, DeBlaere, and Moradi, 643.

¹²⁶ Carastathis, 'The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory', 308.

Conclusion

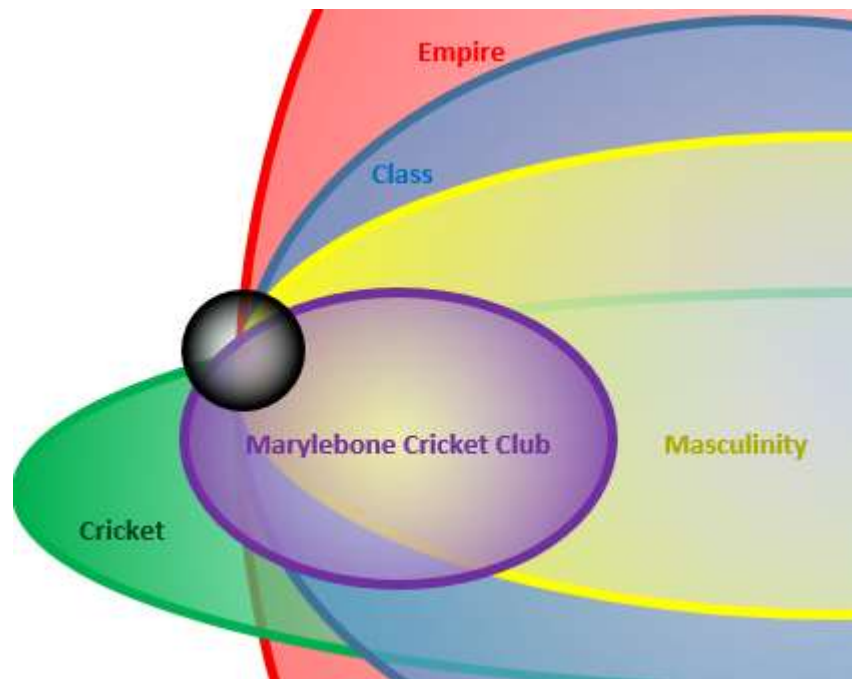
Ultimately, these are not theories to *describe* the world, but theories to *understand* the world. This thesis is not interested in the question “What is power?” it is interested in understanding the ways that power operates in-the-world.

The purpose of analysing structures of privilege intersectionally, so-to-speak, is to supplant univocal analyses of structural oppression. For example, through examining how power reproduces, the intention is to unveil some of cricket’s performative acts of white supremacy, misogynistic masculinity, and class differentiation. This is to show, by tracing change over time, how they became essentialised in the general concept of the ‘civilising mission’ of the British Empire.

To summarise many of these ideas into a visual form we can construct a venn diagram.¹²⁷ If we consider a *Dasein* – either Heidegger’s, which is fixed firmly within an individual, or Foucault’s widening out to include things such as nations or institutions – represented as a circle, the graded colour towards the centre, helps us to imagine the ‘fuzziness’ each category theorised above. Think of concepts such as non-homogeneity and irreducibility. If we imagine the thick solid border as flowing, we can visualise the embodied nature of power as it flows through categories and intersects at meeting points and institutional lines. Overlapping circles help visualise irreducibility. Remembering that we cannot reduce categories to a set of fixed elements, and that intersections between categories are not merely additive or reductive (necessarily so in this graphical

¹²⁷ This is a visual representation, it does not adhere to all the rules of venn diagrams.

representation) reminds us that intersecting categories are more than combinations of fixed elements. They also give rise to new elements.



The black circle in this diagram represents our site of investigation – where these categories and the power that flows around them intersect.

This is the what and the how of this thesis.

Using cricket as an example, and without becoming a cricket nut, this thesis examines how the power of Empire flowed as it is transferred and reproduced at sites of intersection. The performed worlds of the cricket club and cricket field become nodes of power.

My approach is phenomenological. I am concerned with the *experience* of *Dasein*. In privileging the primary sources, sometimes even showing their shape and fonts, I attempt to understand the past, rather than analyse it. I prefer to access *the things themselves*; in this case the culture and ideas that were transferred in the performance of the power of Empire.

Thesis Structure

Chapter 1: School's Week 1853

Examines how capital reproduction extends beyond the family, through the *field* or *habitus* of individuals at School's Week, the annual cricket tournament between the most prestigious Public Schools in England. This chapter includes a demonstration of the use of prosopography in historical phenomenology.

Chapter 2: Regional Rivalries Personified

Examines how the personal rivalry between William Clarke and John Wisden grew to represent a wider rivalry between the North and South of England, and the professional Players and amateur Gentlemen in English cricket. This rivalry would co-opt and reproduce elements of the regional and class *fields* of society and culture in Victorian England.

Chapter 3: Tom Wills' Grand Tour

Follows Tom Wills during his final summer in England touring the British Isles as an itinerant cricketer. Bourdieu's relations of proximity are used to examine how Wills deployed the social and cultural capital he obtained at Rugby school to greatly widen and deepen his social and cultural capital.

Chapter 4: The Grand Intercolonial Cricket Matches

Follows Tom Wills and English-born William Hammersley as they arrive in Melbourne and set about reproducing the social and cultural *fields* of England through cricket. Through the creation of analogous English *fields* in Australia they are able to reproduce and transfer the social and cultural capital they brought with them from England.

Chapter 5: Honorary Committees

Examines how the Victorian premier, John O'Shanassy, and publisher William Fairfax used the 1858 Intercolonial Cricket Honorary Committee to build power bases across religious and class interests to further their political and social goals. This highlights the concepts of *bonding capital* and *bridging capital* to reproduce power within and across groups.

Chapter 6: The First International Tour

Examines speeches given at the dinners to the 1859 English Eleven on their tour of North America. The juxtaposition of the actions of the Canadian and American hosts allows for the examination of the difference between cultural and social reproduction within and without the Empire.¹²⁸

Chapter 7: The First English Tour of Australia

The first visit by an English cricket team was arguably the biggest social and cultural event in the first ten years of the history of the colony of Victoria. All of the methods of capital transfer and reproduction thus far outlined in the thesis are used to show how they can all be read in one event. This chapter also includes a demonstration of how proximity can be used by academics to make historical inferences.

¹²⁸ The comparison is more valid than one might expect. Baseball does not overtake cricket as the most popular ball and stick sport in the United States until after the American Civil War; baseball as the all-American sport is somewhat a legacy of Reconstruction. In the late 1850s Philadelphia was the centre of North American cricket, although New York drew the bigger crowds, on par with London.

Literary Framework

Two cricket books influenced the literary frame of this thesis: *Beyond a Boundary* (1963) by C.L.R. James, about West Indian cricket, and *A Corner of a Foreign Field* (2002) by Ramachandra Guha, about Indian cricket.¹²⁹ Covering different countries in different periods, these two books are fundamentally tales of national identity told through cricket. In James' language, cricket enabled dependent colonies to join 'the comity of nations', in essence, to find an independent national identity while remaining part of the Empire. The 'comities' James and Guha both analyse for their own countries are rooted in the Anglo-Australian events I trace in this thesis, particularly in how beating the English at cricket became a symbol a colony was ready to be a dominion.

I had thought of including a third book *A Social History of English Cricket* by Derek Birley (1999), a work I have used a lot.¹³⁰ But, method-wise, I prefer the approaches of James and Guha. We three prefer to frame *cricket histories of society*. Where Birley reads social history to understand cricket, James, Guha, and I read cricket histories to understand society.

To understand this distinction, it is useful to compare how each treat the legendary W.G. Grace. Guha only mentions Grace briefly as a symbol of the English cricketing establishment. The Parsi's tour of 1886, while considered a cricketing failure, was a social success marked by two events: lunch with Queen Victoria's son at Windsor Park, and playing against "W.G." at Lord's.¹³¹ In contrast, James devotes an entire section to the life of W.G. Grace. For James, Grace is, like Don

¹²⁹ James, *Beyond a Boundary*; Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*.

¹³⁰ Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (Aurum Press, 2013).

¹³¹ Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 30, 32.

Bradman, ‘symbols’ of their Age, further examined below.¹³² Grace is also a major topic of interest for Birley. Not only W.G., but the entire family is considered as a representation of the growing concern about the amateur/professional divide, and its interconnectedness with the social class system, particularly, how the rising professional and merchant classes were muddying the previously clear distinction between the gentry and ‘the rest’.¹³³ Although W.G. Grace does not appear in this thesis – being just a few years old when we begin in 1853 – it is the world in which he learnt his cricket.

Beyond a Boundary

In his preface, James writes: ‘This book is neither cricket reminiscences nor autobiography. It poses the question *What do they know of cricket who only cricket know?* To answer involves ideas as well as facts.’¹³⁴ The question itself is not what interests me, even less the answer. What interests me is first that James warned readers this was not what one may expect from a cricket book; neither reminiscence nor autobiography. Yet, when we examine the structure of the book, this is what the book at first seems to be.

Beyond a Boundary
Redacted

¹³² James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 123.

¹³³ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 105ff.

¹³⁴ James, *Beyond a Boundary*, xix.

Divided into seven parts, the book is broken into four different writing genres. First comes James' reflections (I will not call them reminiscences) on his childhood and the role cricket played in forming his identity: autoethnography. He hints here at what he is really examining. His opening is about how, as a young cricketer, he would watch cricket from his house adjacent the ground in Port of Spain. He calls this one of his 'strongest early impressions of *personality in society*' [italics mine].¹³⁵ One of the players he would watch, Matthew Bondman, was in the view of the James family, 'a child of the devil'.¹³⁶ Dirty, uncouth, aggressive, poor, black. But he could bat. In James' words: 'he was my first acquaintance with that *genus Britannicus*, a fine batsman, and the impact that he makes on all around him, non-cricketers and cricketers alike'.¹³⁷ Here we see the key theme of *Beyond a Boundary* – the *Britishness* of those raised in 'territories on the periphery' of Empire.¹³⁸ His thesis points to the centrality of cricket to the cultural history of the British Empire. For James, cricket (and football) were 'the greatest cultural influences in nineteenth-century Britain, leaving far behind Tennyson's poems, Beardsley's drawings and concerts of the Philharmonic Society'.¹³⁹

James' second section is not a biography, but a *biographical examination* of W.G. Grace, with the purpose of demonstrating the central importance of cricket (Fig. 1).¹⁴⁰ This section borders on hagiographic. James sees Grace as *the* man of his times; the reification of the *Zeitgeist*. James *thingifies* Grace into a "perfect totality" – showing his Marxist roots – as the pre-eminent pre-

W.G. Grace Redacted

Figure 1: W.G. Grace, the pre-eminent pre-Victorian, in his MCC cap

¹³⁵ James, 13.

¹³⁶ James, 4.

¹³⁷ James, 5.

¹³⁸ James, 99.

¹³⁹ James, 70.

¹⁴⁰ George Bedlam, *Dr W. G. Grace*, c 1902, Photograph, c 1902.

Victorian man creating the Victorian era through the enormity of his footprint on the culture: 'Through W.G. Grace, cricket, the most complete expression of popular life in pre-industrial England, was incorporated into the life of the nation'.¹⁴¹ For James, it was through Grace that cricket came to mean 'England', although I hope to show this process began much earlier than Grace. I cannot share James' total conviction.¹⁴² However, James' use of a person as a metaphor for wider cultural trends, and his ways of examining that person as a *thing* or *idea*, is a technique after my own heart. I have tried to avoid James' totalising, whilst still being able to retain the Colour of his metaphors and power of his analogies.

James' third section in *Beyond a Boundary* is a reflection on the aesthetic theories of Bernard Berenson, with James making the case for cricket-as-art-form to further his argument about the importance of cricket as a cultural artefact. Applying Berenson's aesthetics, James argues that unlike many elements of life, including most other sports, cricket does not need an artist to interpret the action for the audience; the audience has immediate access to it when they watch. This is my biggest disagreement with James. James elevates cricket above all other sports in terms of its value and its moral worth. I do not subscribe to this, although, I could have been persuaded if James had simply esteemed any purposeful communal physical activity. This third plank of his thesis can be put aside without undermining the second. It does, however, add authenticity to his opening story, as well as strengthening his argument on the 'Britishness' of colonials.

James' fourth section is what I call 'contemporary comment'. James examines issues in current cricket when he is writing in the 1960s in the context of contemporary politics and society. Perhaps

¹⁴¹ James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 169.

¹⁴² For one, I think James gives Grace too much credit for the organisation of cricket that came in the second half of the nineteenth century in a text that fails to mention names like Parr, Clarke, Wisden, or Lillywhite.

the most interesting of these is his argument about the ‘welfare state’.¹⁴³ James argues the boring cricket of the 1950s arose from the league system, where top professionals were influenced by a selection culture that valued reliability over talent. For the workaday cricketer – many of whom were in England from the periphery – who relied on match fees for their income, the motivation was to ensure a result good enough to be selected for the next week. A slow 30 not out came to be valued above a flashy 50.

In contrast, the 1950s West Indies team – culminating in the historic 1960-61 tour in Australia – have gone down in history as one of the most exciting teams to ever grace the field.¹⁴⁴ Significantly, this is also the period of the first black



Figure 2: Ray Lindwall (bowler PM's XI), Robert Menzies (Prime Minister), Lindsay Hassett (ABC Commentator), and Frank Worrell (captain West Indies).

man to captain the West Indies in a full Test series. In James' understanding, Frank Worrell became a symbol of the desire for West Indian independence, which was making its way across the islands at the time *Beyond a Boundary* was first published (Fig. 2).¹⁴⁵ These two conditions – the exciting

¹⁴³ James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 209.

¹⁴⁴ The importance of the 1960-61 tour of Australia cannot be underestimated. For Australia, it marked only the second time they lost a Test to a non-white captained team at home. The first Test in Brisbane was the first ever tied (not drawn) Test match. It was also the first Test series fully broadcast on television. This helped to make the 1960-61 West Indians one of the most popular touring teams in Australia of all time. Despite losing the series, they were honoured with a tickertape parade in Melbourne. For the West Indies it was the first time a black man – Frank Worrell – had captained an entire series, and the first victory by a black-captained West Indian side.

¹⁴⁵ The West Indies Federation that existed between 1958 and 1962 was an attempt to gain independence for all colonies in the region. It fell apart with the unilateral declarations of independence first by Jamaica and then Trinidad and Tobago in 1962. Image: *PM's XI v West Indies 1961*: W. Pedersen, 'Prime Minister's Eleven versus West Indies Test Cricket Team at Manuka Oval in Canberra', Photograph, 1961, A1200:L37671, National Archives of Australia.

batting of the West Indian cricket team, and the nationalist independence movement – were connected in the same way boring batting was connected to the welfare state in England. The 1950s were a time of chance, risk, and opportunity in the West Indies; this was reflected in their batting.¹⁴⁶ Just like he did with W.G. Grace, James found in cricket not only metaphors and analogies for the social and political sphere, but interconnection between the two.

I am attempting in this work to create similar metaphors and analogies. For example, the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) as a metaphor for the social class system, and Tom Wills as an analogy for migration back and forth between England and Australia, and the cultural exchange that went with it. I do not want to claim these relationships are essential, or unique, nor that the metaphors and analogies are perfect, but to simply assert that they *exist*, and that they have heuristic value.

Another thing that interests me is James' use of ideas *and* facts. I see *Beyond a Boundary* as essentially a work of phenomenology. James explained: 'We shall know more what men want and what they live by when we begin from what they do'.¹⁴⁷ The first section, the autoethnography, gives us access to the world of middle-class black Trinidad of the first few decades of the 1930s. In the way autobiography can be, it is both a primary and a secondary source. There are facts that take us right to the time and place, but there are also ideas that have come after decades of reflection. For the rest of the book James gives us insight into his personality that allows us to further pull apart these facts and ideas. For example, cricket was undoubtedly very important to Trinidadians at the time, both in terms of their activity and identity, but it is perhaps safe to

¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, as a Marxist, James was supportive (if only briefly) of the welfare state existing in the social realm, despite his somewhat libertarian argument that a lack of risk leads to complacency.

¹⁴⁷ James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 180.

assume that for the boy who grew up watching the cricket ground from his window, who could recite statistics from games from before he was born, and who went on to become a cricket journalist, cricket may have been a little bit more central to him than to others.

James' self-awareness, his *thingification* of Grace, his thesis about cricket as artform, his elevation of ideas alongside facts, using cricket as a cultural metaphor, all make *Beyond a Boundary* a work of phenomenology, and exceptionally valuable for use in *vivid history*, issues discussed in my theoretical framework. James reified people, events, and ideas into things, and then tracked them through time. Here we can do our own examination *die Sache selbst* (to the things themselves).¹⁴⁸ This is not to argue this was James' intention, or that he would have considered himself a phenomenologist – I doubt that. James' authorial intent is clear, however, as too is my intention in including it in this thesis.

Phenomenology aside, *Beyond a Boundary* can also be read for its intersectionalism, another issue discussed in the theoretical framework. His scrutiny of race and class is acute. James examines the club structure of West Indian cricket and shows a racial hierarchy based not only on the colour of one's skin, down to the shade – a light-skin black man plays for a different team than a dark-skin black man – but also their class hierarchy; the two reinforce each other. When writing about his time in England, James writes of the white gaze; knowing everywhere he went he was observed and that his actions would be read as on behalf of his entire nation and race. Indeed, for most readers, these sections will probably be more powerful and important than what I have outlined so far.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Husserl, *The Idea of Phenomenology*, 16.

¹⁴⁹ I do not disagree with this – I have limited my discussion of this book to that which pertains to this thesis. Its value and utility extends far beyond what I have outlined here.

James also examines how talent, social networks, and material conditions interact to affect the outcomes of a person's life. Although published the year before Bourdieu's *Les Heritiers*, and almost two decades before the English translation, James is clearly not influenced by Bourdieu. James does, however, give qualitative examples of *habitus*, *capital*, and *reproduction*. James intuited awareness of these concepts. His *genus Britannicus* is his literary description of how cultural capital in the form of talent can rise one above their social and material capital – but never to where it disappears. We are, after all, always products of our *habitus*. This is but one example. *Beyond a Boundary* is suffused with examinations of race and class, of capital and reproduction, of the connection of cricket to culture and culture to our identity. I want this study to do the same.

The reason James wrote of his childhood and the history of W.G. Grace is because fundamentally he was trying to understand himself. Where did his sense of Britishness come from? Why was it so powerful? Why did it seem to be something colonials get that is different from those who grow up in England? James is ultimately seeking to understand this in the context of nationalist independence movements, of which he was actively engaged with as the editor of a factional newspaper. In trying to understand his story, he is trying to understand Trinidad's story, and the story of the West Indies as a whole. Although nowhere near as personal, this is what I have attempted to do in this thesis. Cricket, and cricketers, are the vehicle through which I am examining *identity*.

A Corner of a Foreign Field

A Corner of a Foreign Field

Redacted

The second book that forms part of the literary framework of this thesis is Ramachandra Guha's *A Corner of a Foreign Field: The Indian history of a British sport*. Guha describes his purpose as 'not so much a history of Indian cricket as a history of India told through cricket and cricketers'.¹⁵⁰ Much the same as James and this thesis, cricket is the vehicle of the message, and the message is *Empire*. Like many sport historians, Guha

justifies his use of sport to tackle these wider themes, stating 'mass sport is a sphere of activity that expresses, in concentrated form, the values, prejudices, divisions and unifying symbols of a society'.¹⁵¹ What that means for Guha is announced by the section headings: Race, Caste, Religion, and Nation: ethnic, class, cultural, and geographical differences that perpetuate power structures in India, the Empire, and beyond.

A Corner of a Foreign Field sees the cricket field as both 'a theatre of imperial power and Indian resistance'.¹⁵² Indeed, this book is essentially about the period from the late 19th century through to independence in 1947 that saw the transition between these two poles of power – from complete Imperial domination to an independent nation. Guha says this is a history of Indian cricket, and it certainly does include the major points of interest of that topic, but it is more specifically a history of the Bombay Quadrangular (later Quintangular), a cricket tournament held in Bombay between sides from the European, Parsi, Hindu, and Muslim communities in that city.

¹⁵⁰ Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, xiii.

¹⁵¹ Guha, xiv.

¹⁵² Guha, xiv.

In the early period under the heading 'Race', the Parsis – the Zoroastrians of Persian descent who comprised the majority of the merchant class in Bombay – found in cricket a way for them to make contacts with members of the ruling English class for commercial and social benefit.¹⁵³ This was followed by the Hindus, then the Muslims, and finally a side consisting of 'The Rest' (largely made up of Sikhs and Indian Christians). Here Guha is telling a larger narrative of how European rule began to be questioned on the subcontinent.

The second section, 'Caste', moves on to the divisions and segregations within the Hindu community. This is told through the story of the Palwankar brothers, most notably Baloo, one of the greatest players of his day, and a *Dalit* (untouchable) (Fig. 3).¹⁵⁴ His mere presence in the team caused discontent; he could never obtain his proper position of captain of the Hindu Gymkhana.



Figure 3: Baloo Palwankar - from *Dalit* to national icon

Guha uses cricket to juxtapose existing Indian caste prejudice and it resembled English class prejudice. Cricket reinforced social mores and customs that had nothing to do with the game – even to the point of being argued that they were *essential* elements. This caused discontent amongst the rising nationalist movement in India, who were trying to make the case to England that India was one nation of diverse communities who could rule themselves. Castes in cricket seemed to correspond to imperialist British tropes that 'Indians' were a disparate collection of unrelated peoples who needed European oversight.

¹⁵³ Guha, 44.

¹⁵⁴ James Astill, *The Great Tamasha: Cricket, Corruption and the Turbulent Rise of Modern India* (A&C Black, 2013), image no. 5.

The third section, 'Religion', focuses on the battle for on-field supremacy between the Hindu and Muslim Gymkhanas that quite literally became a metaphor for growing calls for Muslims to get their own state on independence. The Muslim Gymkhana was even called in some circles of the media 'Pakistan'.¹⁵⁵ The fourth section goes on to show how, since independence, rather than a symbol of their oppressors, cricket was used by presidents and dictators to bolster their own position and became a vehicle for national unity that only Bollywood films can compare to.

Guha's studies of cricket in performance in the past offer a model for this study, even if I think Guha also overeggs the importance of cricket. His arguments that cricket is the most Indian of games, and that cricket is more Indian than English are ones for the pub. What is clear, however, is like James, Guha shows that cricket, with its rich documentary source material, and its position as a place for the performance of Empire, makes it a perfect vehicle for the examination of the performance of the power of Empire.

Through this thesis we will see similar religious metaphors. For example, the use of muscular Christianity to create a hegemonic Anglicanism. And although Anglicanism is rarely challenged, in Chapter 5 we will see the Catholic John O'Shannassy using cricket to overcome religious prejudices they faced in government. And although religion is not as regionally based in this thesis as it is in *Beyond a Boundary*, a similar interaction can be seen in Chapter 2 between class and region. Finally, this thesis is ultimately making the same claim that Guha makes: that cricket was used as a vehicle for the creation of a unified and hegemonic culture.

¹⁵⁵ Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*, 279.

Prologue -1852: The Creation of a Cultural Hegemony

Before looking at how cricket reproduced the power of Empire during the period 1852-61 it is first necessary to look at the process over the preceding decades that enabled the reification of cricket as a vehicle for cultural transference in both England and Australia, the two main sites of examination in this thesis. I am using Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony to facilitate this.

Cultural Hegemony

Sitting inside his Italian prison cell in the early 1930s, working on what would become *The Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci pondered the nature of power, and how the ruling classes gain the consent of those they rule. He recognized two distinct places and forms of power: the political sphere, or the state; and civic sphere, or culture.¹⁵⁶ In the political sphere, the state could use violence to coerce consent. Gramsci gives as evidence Machiavelli's citizen's militia.¹⁵⁷ In the civic sphere, the state has "'deputies" exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government' to create "'spontaneous" consent'.¹⁵⁸ The state could also use the cultural power of the intelligentsia and media to create *common sense*: values and ideas that the public take on uncritically and unconsciously, even if it subverts their interests.¹⁵⁹ This is further examined in Chapter 1. Gramsci used this concept of *cultural hegemony* to explain not only the failure of the

¹⁵⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London, UK: ElecBook, the Electric Book Co., 1999), 145.

¹⁵⁷ Gramsci, 223.

¹⁵⁸ In Gramsci's reading, intellectuals are the dominant group amongst these deputies. It was also in these papers that Gramsci coined the phrase subaltern; literally 'of inferior rank', those classes of society who are denied access to the cultural hegemony, and therefore, denied access to agency. Gramsci, 145, 202.

¹⁵⁹ Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, 'The Study of Philosophy: Introduction', in *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (London, UK: ElecBook, the Electric Book Co., 1999), 625.

revolution of the proletariat, but the success of the fascist party.¹⁶⁰ Pierre Bourdieu then adapted the Weberian concept of *legitimization* to explain how cultural hegemonies develop.¹⁶¹

Cricket projected the power of Empire. Cricket helped to reify and normalise it – to make it the cultural hegemony. Cricket became a metaphor for the British Empire.¹⁶² The point that C.L.R. James and Ramachandra Guha make in their books examined in the previous chapter is that by the time cricket reaches their lands that metaphor is already fully realised.¹⁶³ But if the metaphor was already fully realised when it showed upon the shores of Trinidad and Bombay, where did it come from? Where did cricket find its place in the cultural hegemony?

The Gentleman's Game

Cricket is known as 'the Gentleman's Game'. Generally, this is considered to refer to the moral qualities of those who play it and the way the game should be played. Cricket is unique amongst sports in that the umpire does not judge the game like officials in other sports.¹⁶⁴ In cricket, the

¹⁶⁰ This idea may be familiar to fans of *Manufacturing Consent* by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky. Although they are very similar, they differ in the reasons why the lower classes are swayed to this consent. Very simplistically, Gramsci believes it is 'inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed', while for Chomsky it happened through *indoctrination* at school and *propaganda* through the media. Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, 641.), Noam Chomsky and Edward S Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (London: The Bodley Head, 2008), 1, s.1. Chomsky more clearly goes into the indoctrination of the young in an interview with ZNet on 10/12/2000. Noam Chomsky, 'Propaganda and Indoctrination', accessed 19 September 2020, <https://chomsky.info/20001210/>. However, for this thesis, Bourdieu's *Reproduction* serves as a better guide as to how this process occurs.

¹⁶¹ Bourdieu, *On the State*, 160.

¹⁶² The process of how cricket became a metaphor for the British Empire is well laid out in Dominic Malcolm, *Globalizing Cricket: Englishness, Empire and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 33ff.

¹⁶³ James, *Beyond a Boundary*; Guha, *A Corner of a Foreign Field*.

¹⁶⁴ Salomon J. Terreblanche, 'Cricket and the Liberalist World-View', *Sport in Society* 10, no. 5 (September 2007): 753–54.

two teams are the ones who decide what happens – the umpire is only there to adjudicate decisions where the players cannot agree. This is where the famous call of ‘howzat?!’ comes from; the bowler is not cheering because they have taken a wicket, they are asking the umpire to adjudicate the decision. This is why ‘walking’ when stumped or caught, even before the umpire’s decision has been rendered, is respected.

Being a gentleman is not just a moral code of chivalrous conduct. It is linked to another medieval tradition: the aristocracy. The gentleman is the lowest rank of the English gentry.¹⁶⁵ Very crudely, the gentleman owned enough land that he did not have to work it himself, but could make enough money to support himself from tenant farmers renting his land. When it comes to ‘the Gentleman’s Game’, this economic aspect is as central to its existence as the moral code it suggests. Gentry status also enabled other forms for social advancement, with associated benefits.¹⁶⁶ This is no more so apparent than in the Victorian era where cricket clubs were enablers of social advancement.

¹⁶⁵ Or arguably the rank between the yeoman and the lowest levels of the aristocracy, barons, knights, and squires. The specifics of where the boundary lay are less important than appreciating the gentleman as a liminal space between being a freeholder and a landlord, the entry level for social rank. Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (Routledge, 2016), 5.

¹⁶⁶ Gilmour, 2.

From The Green to Gambling¹⁶⁷

The true origins of cricket are obscured with the mists of time. Using some interesting, but often tenuous, linguistic evidence some suggest an origin in the Low Countries.¹⁶⁸ Others believe it was the Normans, while some

Elizabethan Cricket Redacted

Figure 1: Something resembling cricket has been played since Elizabethan times. Artist Unknown, reproduced in Frith.

try to get all the way back to the Anglo-Saxons.¹⁶⁹ 15th and 16th century court cases *could* be referring to something that would become cricket; for example in 1592 a servant in Malden was prosecuted for ‘playing an unlawful game called “clykett”’.¹⁷⁰ In those Puritan times, sport was seen as a decadence that led to drinking, gambling, and promiscuity, although this did not deter games being played during village festivities.¹⁷¹ When religious fervour eased toward the end of the 17th and into the 18th century, the aristocracy became more interested in leisure pursuits. No longer required as a serving military élite, but still holding all the land, by the time of

¹⁶⁷ Figure 1: David Frith, *Pageant of Cricket* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 14.

¹⁶⁸ Heiner Gillmeister, ‘On The Origin and Diffusion of European Ball Games: A Linguistic Analysis.’, *Studies in Physical Culture and Tourism* Vol. 16, no. No. 1 (2009): 10; Heiner Gillmeister, *The Origin of European Ball Games: A Re-Evaluation and Linguistic Analysis* (H. Richarz, 1981); Jan Luitzen and Pascal Delheye, ‘Wicket Game: The (Re-)Introduction of Cricket in the Netherlands, 1724–1883’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 2 (22 January 2015): 185–99.

¹⁶⁹ And in one odd case, to Sparta, as seen in Chapter 6. Chandra Schaffter, ‘Cricket and the Commonwealth’, *The Round Table* 108, no. 1 (2 January 2019): 68; Jon Gemmell, ‘The Noble Sport: The Role of the Aristocracy in the Early History of Cricket’, in *Cricket’s Changing Ethos: Nobles, Nationalists and the IPL*, ed. Jon Gemmell, Global Culture and Sport Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 2.

¹⁷⁰ Christopher Brookes, *English Cricket: The Game and Its Players through the Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978), 15; cited in Gemmell, ‘The Noble Sport’, 8.

¹⁷¹ The Puritan charge existed, that is for sure, but even older were laws prohibiting sports as it took the yeoman away from archery practice. Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 4.

the Restoration in 1660, cricket had become one of the gambling sports, along with boxing and horseracing.¹⁷²

The Gentleman's Game, the Noble Art, the Sport of Kings: these nicknames indicate the élite links to these sports in the early modern period. These were not activities one pursued for 'the love of the game', but to gamble; in the late eighteenth century

1786 Cricket Redacted

Figure 2: One of the earliest images of cricket in a newspaper: a private gambling match from 1786.

matches between two gentlemen sides were regularly settled for the sums of up to a thousand guineas (Fig. 2).¹⁷³

Everyone loves to bat, so it was common to find the nobility out in the middle having a swing, facing up to the bowling of some villager employed by his noble opponent to do the hard work of running in over after over.¹⁷⁴ Working-class men paid to play would become known as *Players*, to distinguish them from the amateur *Gentlemen*, who did not require financial reimbursement to take a few days off to play a game. Necessarily, laws had to be agreed upon before wagers could be laid. One such club, Marylebone, set the rules for games played at net bowler, wine merchant, and entrepreneur Thomas Lord's new ground.¹⁷⁵ Although formed with local intent, by the mid-

¹⁷² For the most comprehensive review of this early period see Birley, 11–13.

¹⁷³ Birley, 43. Using the historical currency converter provided by the UK National Archives, this is ~£90 000 in 2020 money, or about 7000 days of skilled labour at the time. 'Cricketing', *Kentish Gazette*, 29 August 1786; The National Archives, 'The National Archives - Currency Converter: 1270–2017', text, Currency converter (The National Archives), accessed 13 June 2021, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>.

¹⁷⁴ It is worth noting that in 1835 Fuller Pilch was paid at least £100 a year to live in and play for Kent. W. F. Mandle, 'The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century', *Labour History*, no. 23 (1972): 2; Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 51.

¹⁷⁵ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 47–48.

19th century the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) were recognised as the holder of the laws of the game, a position it has maintained to this day. Indeed, this process of the MCC becoming the undisputed global warden of the sport, paralleled by the similar process undertaken by the Melbourne Cricket Club (MelCC) in Australia – and how these two bodies were used for cultural reproduction – are two major points of interest in this work.¹⁷⁶

The evolution from a form of gambling patronised by the aristocracy to the modern game of cricket began in the middle of the nineteenth century. This is far from a coincidence. As cricket historian Jeffrey Hill has noted, the history of cricket ever since could not be understood without examining the socio-political context within which the game was emerging. These contexts affected *meanings* given to cricket, at the time and in retrospect.¹⁷⁷ Following Hill, a cricket history could no longer be just a hagiography of a pastime – it is a social and political history of ‘cultural hegemony’, a mode of propaganda. As the Industrial Revolution brought increasing numbers of people into cities, and allowed for faster and cheaper travel, cricket became less about placing wagers, and more about spreading and reinforcing an ideology of British civilisation.¹⁷⁸ As this ‘cricket ideology’ spread outwards from the metropole, it heightened or illustrated the conflicts and contradictions between the *fields* of the London élite, and those with whom it came into contact.

¹⁷⁶ Although the Melbourne Cricket Club also abbreviates its name to the MCC, for the sake of clarity, MCC will refer to Marylebone, while Melbourne will be MelCC.

¹⁷⁷ Jeffrey Hill, “‘First-class’ Cricket and the Leagues: Some Notes on the Development of English Cricket, 1900–40”, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4, no. 1 (May 1987): 68.

¹⁷⁸ Keith Sandiford, ‘England’, in *The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture, and Society*, ed. Brian Stoddart and Keith Sandiford, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 9–11.; Keith Sandiford, ‘Cricket and the Victorian Society’, *Journal of Social History* 17, no. 2 (1 December 1983): 303.

Cricket as a Civilising Mission

The ruling élite of mid-nineteenth-century Britain was ‘if not a completely closed, then certainly ... a charmed, political circle’.¹⁷⁹ Political and economic reforms of the 1830s and 1840s reduced tensions between the landed élite, and the new wealthy industrialists and merchants. Rather than humbling the former landed élite, the new integration of professionals and merchants further legitimised the traditional aristocracy as the centre of power.¹⁸⁰ There was an acknowledgement that the world was changing, but the balance of political power between Whig and Tory ensured that these political and economic changes were neither too radical, nor too conservative.¹⁸¹ There was a political consensus on the need to preserve the social order.

At the same time, a few excessive elements of aristocratic culture were reined in, especially where they crossed with the proclivities of their social inferiors. Blood sports like cock fighting and boxing were popular amongst all classes, but the grim realities of the Victorian era and the rise of humanitarian sentiment and the idea of respectability brought the violence of society into starker relief. There came a call to ban the ‘barbarous’ sports which ‘encouraged the lower classes in drunkenness, gambling, and absenteeism’.¹⁸² Amongst the moral crusaders was a belief that the working class was ‘sunk in bestiality, improvidence, intemperance and lack of sexual restraint’.¹⁸³ Likewise, tensions between the working- and middle-classes – largely based in the latter’s fear of

¹⁷⁹ Eric J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain, 1783-1870* (London: Routledge, 2001), 409.

¹⁸⁰ Evans, XVI.

¹⁸¹ L. C. B. Seaman, *Victorian England: Aspects of English and Imperial History 1837-1901* (Routledge, 2002), 73.

¹⁸² Allen Guttman, ‘English Sports Spectators: The Restoration to the Early Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Sport History* 12, no. 2 (1985): 108.

¹⁸³ A. P. Donajgradski, ed., ‘The Problem of Working Class Leisure’, in *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 141. Cited in Guttman, ‘English Sports Spectators’, 108.

the Chartist unrest of previous decades – receded.¹⁸⁴ A compromise emerged. Rights of workers were expanded in exchange for preserving the cultural hegemony of the middle-classes.¹⁸⁵ Rather than seeking to oppose the working man, the Gladstone-era middle classes sought to elevate them, in knowledge and virtue, in the goal of a more moral society. Middle class temperance and morality, lacking the excesses of the aristocracy, or the vulgarism of the working-class, now shaped an ‘intellectual hegemony’ lauding middle-class values as universal values.¹⁸⁶

The excesses of the ruling élite and the accompanying loss of moral legitimacy were epitomised in two mid-century events: the Crimean War (1853-56), and the Clarendon Commission investigation into Public Schools (1861). While both are covered in Chapter 1, the problem for the élites was that the war was seen as a failure of government, while the Clarendon Commission praised the public schools as nurseries of leaders from all classes, but then found ‘private schools ... are, for the most part, inferior as schools for the poor’ and recommended dropping the requirement to have a certain number of poor students attend on scholarship.¹⁸⁷ In this way ‘the upper-middle class divested itself of all likelihood of social contamination while the public schools, originally intended for all classes above the Elizabethan pauper, became the monopoly of one’.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Trygve Tholfsen, ‘The Transition to Democracy in Victorian England’, *International Review of Social History* 6, no. 2 (August 1961): 227.

¹⁸⁵ I follow E.P. Thompson’s understanding of ‘class’ as a ‘social and cultural formation, arising from processes which can only be studied as they work themselves out over a considerable historical period’. Class was not a ‘structure’, nor ... category, but ... something which in fact happens ... in human relationships’. Although categorical terms like ‘class’ are being invoked here, what my focus is on how these were expressed in human and institutional relationships, which in turn produce and reproduce power. John Storey and E.P. Thompson, eds., ‘Preface from The Making of the English Working Class’, in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, Third Edition (Harlow: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 41.

¹⁸⁶ Trygve Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England* (Routledge, 2020), 14.

¹⁸⁷ This came into law with the Public Schools Act 1868. Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1974), 326; Leone Levi, *Annals of British Legislation: Being a Classified and Analysed Summary of Public Bills, Statutes, Accounts and Papers, Reports of Committees and of Commissioners, and of Sessional Papers Generally, of the Houses of Lords and Commons*, vol. XI (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), 292.

¹⁸⁸ Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870*, 317.

Into this legitimacy vacuum stepped the rural game of cricket. The élites saw cricket, with its 'feudal values' as part of the 'civilising mission' of the British Empire.¹⁸⁹ To the growing middle-classes, cricket's emphasis on fair play, gentlemanly conduct, and athleticism without the violence of contact or blood sports, was a perfect way to 'educate' the 'uncivilised classes' on how to behave properly.¹⁹⁰ Hugh Cunningham defined this as 'rational recreation'.¹⁹¹ Howard Becker named its promoters as 'moral entrepreneurs'.¹⁹² By the end of the century, the Bristol Grammar School Debating Society debated the motion 'if a boy is not already a gentleman, football and cricket will soon serve to make him one'.¹⁹³

I Zingari

The first missionaries of this cricket ideology were *I Zingari*.¹⁹⁴ Although we now know they were formed by a group of Old Harrovians – most notably for our story Fred and Spencer Ponsonby – in 1845, they initially kept their origins secretive, fostering a sense of romanticism:¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ John Goldlust, *Playing For Keeps: Sport, The Media and Society* (Hybrid Publishers, 2018), 42. This concept of using 'manners' to 'civilise', is a theme as outlined in Norbert Elias et al., *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, rev. ed (Oxford ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

¹⁹⁰ Goldlust, *Playing For Keeps*, 37.

¹⁹¹ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution: c. 1780-c. 1880* (Routledge, 2016), 91.

¹⁹² Howard Saul Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1973). Cited in Guy Woolnough, 'Blood Sports in Victorian Cumbria: Policing Cultural Change', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 19, no. 3 (3 July 2014): 279.

¹⁹³ C. P. (Charles Peter) Hill, 'The History of Bristol Grammar School' (Pitman, 1951), 148. Cited in J. A. Mangan, 'Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Victorian and Edwardian Eras', *Albion* 15, no. 4 (ed 1983): 329.

¹⁹⁴ Problematically, 'The Gypsies', referring to the idea that they were a roving band of cricketers with no home.

¹⁹⁵ In the same year the Ponsonby's were also founding members of the Surrey County Cricket Club. We will see the Ponsonbys again in the next chapter. Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 83.

*We have often been asked where these “brigands” hold their head-quarters; but, like everybody else, even to the present moment, we remain in as deep a state of ignorance as we were on the first emergence of the band.*¹⁹⁶

I Zingari’s intentions, however, were well known: ‘their object is to advance the interests of cricket, and above all, to encourage and cultivate bowling by gentlemen’.¹⁹⁷

It is notable that the most important ‘interest of the game’ is for more of the upper classes to start participating in the element of the sport hitherto largely reserved for the working classes. As W.G. Grace, former member of *I Zingari*, and widely regarded as the greatest cricketer of the nineteenth-century wrote in 1891: ‘*I Zingari*, began its wanderings over the face of the earth, seeking for rising clubs’ but more particularly for *gentlemen* bowlers who should wrest the supremacy from the professionals, and make the Gentlemen v Players match a closer contest’.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, there was a crisis in ‘the gentleman’s game’ in the mid-1840s: between 1830 and 1845, the Gents had won the annual Gentlemen v Players match on just three occasions (1836, 1842, 1843), with three draws (1830, 1839, 1845).¹⁹⁹ Birley notes this as a major transition point in the professional/amateur divide in cricket: ‘The sprigs of aristocracy had come a long way since the fashionable thing was to hire a few pros to help you win bets’.²⁰⁰ The march from pastime to ideology continued.

¹⁹⁶ ‘Cricket’, *Morning Herald*, 26 October 1846, 6.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Cricket’, 26 October 1846.

¹⁹⁸ W.G. Grace, *Cricket* (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1891), 3–4.

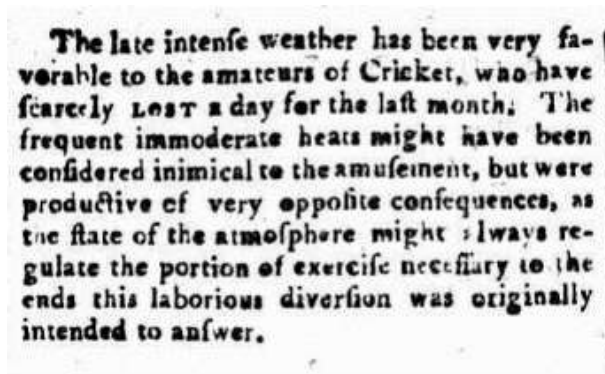
¹⁹⁹ Even the 1836 win was questionable, as it was played against the odds, the Gentlemen having played with eighteen. This was common; the matches in 1830, 1833, 1836, and 1837 all gave the Gentlemen extra players, while in 1832 the Gents were given smaller wickets to defend, and in 1837 the Players were given larger wickets. This latter match became known as the ‘barn door match’. Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 77.

²⁰⁰ This is not to argue that gambling goes away as a major *raison d’être* of cricket; this is more about social attitudes the gentlemen were trying to project, than an actual reality. Birley, 83, 85.

Early Australian Cricket

Given the interconnectedness of the aristocracy and military, it is unsurprising that the English military was one of the greatest evangelisers of cricket. Military regiments would usually bring along bat and ball amongst their recreational equipment so a game could be had wherever one found oneself. Indeed, the first documented game of cricket played outside the British Isles was in Aleppo, at the western end of the Silk Road. Henry Teonge wrote in his diary:

*This morning early (as it is the custom all summer long) at the least forty of the English, with his worship the Consul, rode out of the city about four miles to the Green Plat, a fine valley by a riverside, to recreate themselves. Where a princely tent was pitched; and we had several pastimes and sports, as duck-hunting, fishing, shooting, handball, cricket, scrofillo, etc.; and then a noble dinner brought thither, with great plenty of all sorts of wines, punch, and lemonades; and at 6 we return all home in good order, but soundly tired and weary.*²⁰¹



The late intense weather has been very favorable to the amateurs of Cricket, who have scarcely lost a day for the last month. The frequent immoderate heats might have been considered inimical to the amusement, but were productive of very opposite consequences, as the state of the atmosphere might always regulate the portion of exercise necessary to the ends this laborious diversion was originally intended to answer.

Figure 3: The first report of cricket in Australia.

The first recorded match in Australia occurred in December 1803 in Sydney.

However, it was far from the first match, as evidenced by a report in *The Sydney Gazette* (Fig. 3)²⁰² just a month later: 'The late

intense weather has been very favourable

to the amateurs of Cricket, who have scarcely lost a day for the last month'.²⁰³ Here we glimpse evidence that lots of cricket was being played by multiple sides in 1803 already. However, the game would remain decentralised, local, and largely disorganised for the next half century.

²⁰¹ Henry Teonge, *The Diary of Henry Teonge: Chaplain on Board H.M.'s Ships Assistance, Bristol and Royal Oak 1675-1679*, facsim. ed, Broadway Travellers 4 (London: Routledge, 2005), 146.

²⁰² Figure 3: 'Sydney', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 8 January 1804, 3.

²⁰³ 'Sydney'; Also cited in Jack Pollard, *The Complete Illustrated History of Australian Cricket*, Rev. ed (Ringwood, Vic. ; New York, NY: Viking, 1995), 2.

Unsurprisingly, the first three centres of cricket in Australia grew out of the three most populous colonies of the first half of the nineteenth century: New South Wales, Victoria, and Van Diemen's Land.²⁰⁴ By 1850 all three had established local clubs, but they only played 'challenge' or 'scratch' matches.²⁰⁵ It would be several decades before the formation of leagues.²⁰⁶ As in England, a variety of scratch matches were put together to pass the time in the young colonies (i.e. gamble).²⁰⁷ An article recalling early cricket in the colony written in 1901 tells of the popularity of *Married v Single* and *Military v Civilian* matches played in Hyde Park in the 1830s that always had 'backing to good sums'.²⁰⁸

The Australian Club

The Australian Club was formed in 1826 by publican Edward Flood, illegitimate son of a convict and future politician.²⁰⁹ It attracted 'Native Born' men from all classes, usually to be pitted against those born in the 'Motherland', frequently called 'the Union Club'.²¹⁰ These matches were played under the banners of the Union Jack for the Union Club and the Cornstalk for the Australian Club. 'The Cornstalks' would be a nickname for 'The Australians' when they went to England until well

²⁰⁴ The first matches were recorded in South Australia and Western Australia by 1850, while Queensland had to wait until 1857, when it was still technically New South Wales. Local cricket develops in these areas during the mid-19th century, but distance and low population sizes prevent any serious intercolonial cricket in these regions.

²⁰⁵ A challenge match being one pre-organised between two clubs, a scratch match being one where one or both sides were made up on the day.

²⁰⁶ The Albert Club was running in Sydney by 1830, the Hobart Town and Carlton Clubs in Van Diemen's Land by 1835, and the Melbourne Club in Victoria by 1840, 'Easter Holidays', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 9 January 1830, 3.; 'Domestic Intelligence', *Colonial Times*, 10 February 1835, 7; 'Domestic Intelligence', *Port Phillip Gazette*, 29 January 1840, 3.

²⁰⁷ A scratch match is when either one or both of the teams have been got together on a temporary basis.

²⁰⁸ 'Cricket', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 1901, 12.

²⁰⁹ I do not believe this is affiliated with the private men's Australian Club in Melbourne.

²¹⁰ Cashman, 37.

into the 20th century.²¹¹ More importantly, however, we are seeing one of the early phases of the development of Australian national identity – one tied intimately to cricket. Any colonial defeat of a side of Englishmen seemed to signal that the heat of the Antipodes did not lead to degeneration, a popular ‘scientific’ theory of the time.

The Degeneration of the White Race

Although often linked to the release of *The Origin of the Species*, the idea that ‘successors of those who move to tropical climates *gradually degenerate*’ had been growing in popularity through the nineteenth century.²¹² This was largely driven by various editions of *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions* by James Johnson, later with James Ranald Martin. Johnson’s

²¹¹ The term ‘Cornstalk’, like ‘Currency Lad’, seems to stem from reclaiming an insult. Benjamin T. Jones, ‘Currency Culture: Australian Identity and Nationalism in New South Wales before the Gold Rushes’, *Australian Historical Studies* 48, no. 1 (2 January 2017): 68–85. The first recorded use of the term that I have been able to find is from 1825, when insults were shouted for ‘the main offence seemed to have been, the being a “corn-stalk”’. ‘Classified Advertising’, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 6 January 1825, 2. The author of that letter W.G. Whitfield, had an ongoing dispute with Horatio Wills (father of Tom Wills), ‘To the Editor of The Australian.’, *Australian*, 4 May 1827, 1. It is probable that this is just coincidental, however, it highlights the smallness of the early colonial society. Cashman, ‘Australia’, 36.

²¹² Although not universal, the concept of ‘seasoning’ was common in the eighteenth century. This was the view that European born could become acclimatised to warmer climates, and could even become stronger for it. Edmond suggests this was as ‘climatic theories of racial difference were being reinforced by essentializing biological ones’. The suggestion being this is a result of European colonies becoming less about small groups of military protecting trade, and more about settler-colonialism. In the 1861 edition of *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions*, Martin notes it was an idea held by Edward Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*: ‘Man is the only animal that can live and multiply in every country from the equator to the poles’. Rod Edmond, ‘Returning Fears: Tropical Disease and the Metropolis’, in *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, ed. Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (University of Chicago Press, 2010), 177; Edward Gibbon *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* cited in Sir James Ranald Martin, *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions: Including Practical Observations on the Nature and Treatment of Their Chronic Sequelæ Under the Influence of the Climate of Europe* (John Churchill, 1861), 41. Nancy Stepan, in particular, has made a career out of analysing ideas of eugenics, racial determinism, and degeneration in the 19th century. Nancy Stepan, ‘5. Biology and Degeneration: Races and Proper Places’, in *5. Biology and Degeneration: Races and Proper Places* (Columbia University Press, 1985), 97–120; Nancy Stepan, “‘Race Is Everything’: The Growth of Racial Determinism, 1830–50’, in *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800–1960*, ed. Nancy Stepan, St Antony’s/Macmillan Series (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1982), 20–46.

first study, based in India from 1815, concluded: 'that the successors of all would *gradually degenerate*, if they remained permanently in the country, cannot be easily disproved'.²¹³ The final 1861 edition composed by Martin following Johnson's death quotes Johnson:

*Although successive editions have received additions and improvements, yet very few of the Author's original doctrines have been subverted or practices exploded, during a period of more than a quarter of a century.*²¹⁴

These opinions were not limited to the medical field. In 1859, Robert Minturn published a travelogue *From New York to Delhi, by way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia, and China*. He wrote of the Australian born white men in Sydney:

*These 'natives' are very different in appearance from Englishmen, tall and thin, arriving at puberty earlier than in England, and frequently with a indescribably mild eye and voice. They are said to be much inferior to their parents in energy.*²¹⁵

This section was reprinted in newspapers, while an advertisement for the book spruiked 'We do not know any book from which persons who know nothing of India would learn so much'.²¹⁶

By the time of the release of *Origin* in 1859, the idea of Europeans 'degenerating' in warm climates was well established.²¹⁷ However, it was around this time Australian cricketers began to fight back

²¹³ James Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates More Especially the Climate of India on European Constitutions: The Principal Effects and Diseases Thereby Induced, Their Prevention Or Removal, and the Means of Preserving Health in Hot Climates : Rendered Obvious to Europeans of Every Capacity* (J. Callow, 1815); Martin, *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions*, ix.

²¹⁴ James Johnson and James Ranald Martin, *The Influence of Tropical Climates on European Constitutions*, 6th ed. (London: S. Highly, 1841); Clare Echterling, 'Degeneration and the Environment in Victorian and Edwardian Fiction' (Ph.D., United States, University of Kansas, 2018), 1.

²¹⁵ 'From New York to Delhi', *Glasgow Herald*, 6 May 1859; Robert Bowne Minturn, *From New York to Delhi: By Way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia and China* (New York: D. Appleton & co., 1858), 22.

²¹⁶ 'From New York to Delhi', 6 May 1859, 6; 'From New York to Delhi', *Evening Mail*, 5 November 1858, 1.

²¹⁷ The period between 1860 and 1880 sees a transition away from simply 'warmer' climates to 'tropical'. The idea that Europeans degenerated in *tropical* climates remained popular well into the twentieth century.



Figure 4: Cricket as a way of avoiding the 'degeneration of the British race'

against the idea they were lesser than their English-born cousins.²¹⁸ The Victorian sporting paper *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle* – modelled after the London paper with a similar name – noted in January 1858 that the intercolonial cricket match will 'tend much to prove whether the bodily and mental powers deteriorate or improve by transplantation, grafting or seeding' (Fig. 4).²¹⁹ By the following year *Bell's* confidently stated: 'whilst cricket is

encouraged and practised with that spirit and enthusiasm which prevails at present, there will be no degeneration in the sons of Old England, or in the ranks of British soldiers'.²²⁰ While the Melbourne *Herald*, reprinted in the *South Australian Register* in 1859 wrote the 'sportive

²¹⁸ Cashman, 'Australia', 35–36.

²¹⁹ There is much in this article (Fig. 4) beyond pushing back against the idea of degeneration. We can see the reification of cricket as 'Britishness', regardless of where in the Empire it is played, as well as the idea of cricket as a 'manly' recreation (even for girls), something that will be examined further throughout this thesis. Also of interest is the 'militarisation' of cricket language. Whilst this metaphor had certainly been deployed previously, and therefore not unique, it is still rare in the mid-nineteenth-century, but would increasingly become part of this reification. Perhaps most notable for the 'hegemonising' of cricket culture is the line 'for many generations this glorious game ... has been the acknowledged pastime of Britain'. As shown in this thesis, the spread of a cricket culture tied to national identity was a relatively new process – definitely not 'generations' old. This is legitimising the 'traditions' of cricket as ancient in real time. It must be noted that due to poor quality, this image is a reproduction of the original article, and that the word 'rhodomantadising' is rendered as accurately as possible, but I acknowledge that I have no idea of what this word means (or any potential alternatives – it is definitely *not* romanticising). 'The Inter-Colonial Cricket Match', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1858; c.f. W. F. Mandle, 'Games People Played: Cricket and Football in England and Victoria in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* 15, no. 60 (April 1973): 526.

²²⁰ Cashman, 'Australia', 36.; 'Cricket.', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 August 1859, 2.

tendency' of colonists could 'sustain that physical vigour liable to deterioration in a comparatively warm climate', pointing directly to the intercolonial cricket match currently underway.²²¹

Eventually, beating England at cricket would become not only a mark that 'Anglo-Saxon stock' could survive, and even flourish, in the Antipodes, but it would also help legitimate an independent national identity; from colony to dominion.²²² This is demonstrated in the West Indies and India by James and Guha as noted in the previous chapter. The fundamental difference being that in those societies the argument was around non-white races being able to compete with European colonisers, whereas, in Australia the sentiment is much more that the transplanted British population could survive the 'savage' environment.²²³ Chris Harte notes the notable event in Australia being the first white tour of England in 1878, while a contemporary at the time wrote of Fred Spofforth's efforts as 'proof that the old ... [blood] ... [is] not degenerating in those fa[r]-off lands'.²²⁴

²²¹ 'A Semi-Tropical Necessity', *South Australian Register*, 2 March 1859, 3.

²²² Harold Perkin, 'Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (September 1999): 151.

²²³ This reading apparently ignores the Indigenous cricket team to tour England in 1868. However, this team fails to have any similar impact for the Indigenous communities of Australia, and indeed, resulted in greater oppression. C.f. Condon, 'The Positioning of Indigenous People in Australian History: A Historiography of the 1868 Aboriginal Cricket Tour of England'.

²²⁴ Significantly, this is the first time the title "The Australians" appears connected with a sporting team, and on beating the M.C.C., Harte says 'independence of the mind had possibly just occurred'. Chris Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket* (London: Deutsch, 1993), 105; P. E. Reynolds, *The Australian Cricketers' Tour through Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain in 1878* ([London]: J. W. McKenzie, 1980), 23; cited in James Bradley, 'Inventing Australians and Constructing Englishness: Cricket and the Creation of a National Consciousness, 1860-1914', *Sporting Traditions* 11, no. 2 (May 1995): 40. Stephen Wagg and Jon Gemmell, 'Cricket and International Politics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Cricket*, ed. Anthony Bateman and Jeffrey Hill, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 255.

investigations in history showed that Greece and Italy were largely developed by a northern race of people, therefore showing that the people of a cold climate could advance in a warmer one. and Assyria were examples. Constitutional activity was encouraged by a climate favourable to rapid evaporation. Carlyle had noticed the same thing, and described the Arabs as a swift and deep-hearted race of men, of iron will, and noble ideals. Professor Jenks, of great people in Australia. The love of sport was sometimes said to be ruining Australians, and certainly it had developed under our serene skies, which tempted to outdoor amusements, but no nation had ever suffered from devotion to athletics. On the contrary, it was perfectly true, as the Duke of Wellington had said, that Waterloo was won at Harrow and Eton. It was noticeable that in the internal quarrels of the Greeks their national games alone kept up the federal feeling. And it was worthy of remark that, at the recent tators. It was said that the visits of the Australian eleven to England had done as much for Imperialism as even Mr. Chamberlain had. Sports were really the best antidote to that inertia which was at the bottom of the decadence of ancient peoples. Literature had been described as the soul of a people, and it was curious to note that Australian literature largely treaded to the stockrider ideal of heroism. We had no gloomy mountains, huge rivers, or famines or pestilences to create morbid fancies, and the vastness of our plains would tinge all developments of Australian art in painting or literature. New Zealand gave more incitement to tional power. The climate made Australians light-hearted and generous, perhaps thriftless, but there had been unexampled prosperity for a great part of the time of European settlement here, and already a steadying influence was showing itself, one sign being the recent condemnation of the A.N.A. art union as inconsistent with a desirable national ideal. Australia had started

Figure 5: By 1899 the idea of degeneration was confined to the tropics. A love of sport maintained physical prowess in the lower latitudes.

By 1899 there was a clear delineation between the 'tropical' and 'temperate' areas of Australia (Fig. 5).²²⁵ Mr L. F. Miller, secretary of the University of Melbourne Cricket Club, said in a speech a local chapter of the Australian Natives Association that while he 'did not propose to deal with northern conditions' the rest of Australia was similar to the Mediterranean. He stated 'no nation had ever suffered from devotion to athletics' adding the English athlete's favourite apocryphal aphorism about Waterloo being won on the fields of Harrow and Eton.²²⁶ However, the real point, as far as cricket was concerned was that:

*the visits of the Australian eleven to England had done as much for Imperialism as even Mr. Chamberlain had. Sports were really the best antidote to that inertia which was at the bottom of the decadence of ancient peoples.*²²⁷

²²⁵ It is worth noting this discussion was happening in the context of debates over the use of non-white labour in Northern Australia and that the argument Europeans degenerate in tropical climates was being used to justify exploitative labour practices on northern Australian plantations. 'The Labour Question in Northern Australia', *Adelaide Observer*, 12 April 1873, 13.

²²⁶ Kevin Waite, 'Beating Napoleon at Eton: Violence, Sport and Manliness in England's Public Schools, 1783–1815', *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 3 (September 2014): 408.

²²⁷ 'Influence of Climate', *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 13 May 1899, 2–3.

Colonial Cricket in 1850

The state of colonial cricket in 1850 is perhaps best summed up in an article about a single wicket match (essentially a one-on-one contest with some fielders to help) between Harry Hilliard – who would play for New South Wales in their first intercolonial match, a man remembered as having been gaoled for absconding from work to play cricket – and ‘T. Rowley of the Marylebone Club’.²²⁸ That some 350 odd words were dedicated to what is essentially just two blokes having a hit in a paddock with some mates doing the fielding says several things – not least that there was very little else going on in 1850 Sydney. The identification of Mr Rowley as being of the Marylebone Club was important to the audience. His MCC status not only raised the social status of Rowley, but of the whole colony.

This ‘just like home’ sentiment is key to the cultural hegemony and reproduction of the empire.

Having a member of the cricketing establishment showing off the latest ‘science’ of the game in England would have been a notable event in any colony. As we will similarly see later when discussing the North American tour of 1859, the idea of getting a ‘crack’ bowling professional from England was viewed as essential for the development of the local game. Also of interest is that Mr Rowley seemingly had no connection to the MCC.²²⁹ For a new man arriving in Sydney, this would be very hard to verify. As such, if one could assume the appropriate cultural affectations, you could pass as a legitimate MCC man. This is an excellent example of the transferability of cultural capital;

²²⁸ ‘Cricket’, *Bell’s Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 25 May 1850.

²²⁹ T. Rowley shows up neither in the lists of new members published annually following the annual general meeting nor appearing in any of the score cards from the first half of the nineteenth century. There was one famous Rowley family of cricketers in the first half of the nineteenth century, but they were from Manchester and never played for the MCC.

a man's forward defensive shot and his ability to choose the right cutlery meant a lot, more perhaps than things harder to check like his academic or class credentials.

Van Diemen's Land Until 1850

Much like Sydney, cricket on the southern island almost certainly came with the marines and convicts that formed the first European

settlements there. Robert Knopwood, the first chaplain of Van Diemen's Land, recorded in his diary that by 1813 the game had become popular in the colony.²³⁰

Like in Sydney, the early game was largely an *ad hoc* affair. However, Van Diemen's Land, or as it was known following self-government, Tasmania, was where representative cricket in Australia began.²³¹

Representative cricket in Australia has its origins in the *North v South* match organized by Hobart and Launceston,

CORNWALL CHRONICLE.

Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the *LAZARUS* of the Press is the palladium of all the civil, political and religious rights of an Englishman. — *JUVEN*.
LAZARUS with danger is to be preferred to slavery with security. — *SALLUST*.

ing exhibition of what may be termed our *national* character; hospitality and generous intercourse towards strangers has ever characterised the people of this division of the island; it is a proof certainly, that the general community is not impregnated with the vices of the felon importations,

and affords the lie direct to the humiliating statements of our social condition, put forth by portions of the local press; under the direction of a judicious representative government, the energies of the people will shew forth in commercial and trading enterprise, as prominently as do their virtues in private life; this prospect is now in view; its realization will, we have no doubt, place Tasmania amongst of the

she should occupy the proud niche in the scale of British colonies to which her geographical position—and her resources entitle her, welcome with delight the visits of strangers, knowing that the foul slander of the colony will be made apparent, and that by their honest representations, the result of their actual observation, the stain so unwittingly impressed upon it, will be blotted out; the old adage that

"it is a dirty bird that fouls its own nest," is truly applicable to this land; it usually escapes the lips of visitors, and those from Victoria did not hesitate to utter it.

Figure 6: The fear of the 'convict stain' was most evident in Van Diemen's Land

²³⁰ Peter MacFie, 'Prize Fights, Poker Games & Profanities, to Ploughing Matches & Other Games: Making Pastimes Acceptable in 19th Century Tasmania', *Peter MacFie Historian*, 2002, 9–10.

²³¹ Van Diemen's Land became a self-governing colony following the *Australian Constitutions Act* in 1850, and is renamed Tasmania on ratification of their constitution in 1855.

aping English custom. The success of the match prompted an intercolonial match against the Victorians which would eventuate as *The Gentlemen of Van Diemen's Land v The Gentlemen of Victoria* match played in Launceston in 1851 – the first first-class match played on Australian soil.²³² That there was more to this match than just a game of cricket is highlighted by the inset article from the *Cornwall Chronicle* (Fig. 6). Note the sense of a 'national character' and the uplifting nature of cricket in the highlighted passages. The colonies of Australia had recently received (but not yet implemented) the right to self governance. This helped nurture a sense of a unique Antipodean identity. The editor of the *Cornwall Chronicle* presents 'hospitality and generous intercourse towards strangers' as the values that define a Taswegian. Yet these values are arguably universal; to be expected in an isolated community on the fringe of the Empire. Even more notable is the editor's emphasis on 'the general community is not impregnated with the vices of the felon importations'. The 'convict stain so unwittingly impressed upon it will be blotted out'. The editor brags of natural bounty and commercial opportunities available to the colonist, for the good of the Empire. As we will see moving forward, this blustering was a common feature of colonial news which cricket reporting fulsomely reflected.²³³

Victoria Until 1850

The third centre of antipodean colonial cricket was Melbourne. My analysis will be focussed here.

I have chosen Melbourne as the prime focal point of examination of antipodean colonial cricket

²³² It is also the only First Class match featuring a side named ,Van Diemen's Land. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, 32. Although, interestingly, this article names the side as Tasmania. 'Cornwall Chronicle', *Cornwall Chronicle*, 19 February 1851, 108. This is not just some random occurrence: the news of the passing of the *Australian Constitutions Act* had essentially come in on the same boat as the Victorian cricketers. The potential role of cricket in developing an independent identity was shown in stark relief. Despite the island's name not officially changing to 'Tasmania' until 1855, the 1851 match would be the only First Class match to be referred to as involving 'Van Diemen's Land'. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, 32.

²³³ 'Cornwall Chronicle', 'Cornwall Chronicle', *Cornwall Chronicle*, 19 February 1851, 108.

for several reasons. First, although the influence of the Melbourne Cricket Club was not unrivalled, its rivals fell by the wayside. The MelCC took its natural position in Australian cricket as analogous to that of the other MCC in London: they were the holders and protectors of the game in Australia. This position was challenged by several in Sydney, most notably the Albert and Australian clubs. Like in England, this presents us with a regional component to the birth of Australian cricket. And like in England, in both regions, the disputes were just as often personal as ideological.

The second reason to focus on Melbourne is that the pre-self-governing period is significantly shorter. Little more than a decade passes between the establishment of the town and the establishment of the Victorian Parliament. This means the entire early growth of the town or nascent city happens within the timeframe of this thesis. This compression of events means the individuals who make up our focal points – Tom Wills, William Hammersley, John O’Shannassy, and William Fairfax – and the social scene within which they sit, are witness to far more seminal events in the establishment of the colony of Victoria than they are in New South Wales. Indeed, given that all of the settler colonists were recent arrivals, there was no established social scene. This gave the early colonists the opportunity to set their own cultural norms; to create their own cultural hegemony. It is unsurprising the early arrivals chose to mimic characteristics of the English aristocracy, but just as significant were those things they rejected, especially due to the influence of new ideas such as Chartism and the nascent labour movement.

The third reason to focus on Melbourne is that most of the characters in this story who travel to Australia, due to shipping routes make their way through there. To a lesser extent the same could be said for Sydney, and indeed, Billy Caffyn and Charlie Lawrence – both of whom could have been used as examples of cultural transference from Britain to Australia – made Sydney their base at

various times. The machinations of the New South Wales Cricket Association, the Albert Club, the Sydney Cricket Ground, and personalities like Sydney Cricket Ground advocate Richard Driver, could have equally served as the backdrop of this part of the story.

Finally, the first English tours were organised out of Melbourne. This brought a legitimacy to Victorian cricket that New South Wales could not rival, and is not an insignificant factor in the rivalry the two cities share today.²³⁴ Here again the competition is much like the *North v South* rivalry in England. Given that Melbourne had been founded less than 20 years prior, it would be natural for cricket to have developed more slowly than in Sydney or Van Diemen's Land, especially before the gold rushes that began in the early 1850s brought in hundreds of thousands of new settlers. Yet by 1850 a proliferation of clubs had sprung up across Melbourne and Geelong. Like in Sydney, an Australian Club was formed of exclusively colonial-born players.²³⁵ Some clubs, like Brighton, were geographical. While others, such as the Odd Fellows of the Manchester Unity, were based on shared beliefs, or membership of particular social, vocational, or ethnic groups.²³⁶ However, standing above all was the Melbourne Cricket Club, sharing not only the initials of Marylebone, but also the security of belief of their own importance in the role of administrators and protectors of cricket in the antipodean colonies.

²³⁴ Other significant factors was Victoria's claim to have been convict free (although this was not strictly true), as well as those in the new Port Phillip District wanting to be free of the administrative control of New South Wales, particular on issues of trade between the protectionist Victorians and Free Trading New South Welshmen. Stefan Petrow, "'Convict-Phobia': Combating Vandemonian Convicts in 1850s and 1860s Victoria', *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 14 (2012): 266; Torleiv Hytten, 'Railway Policy as an Obstacle to Interstate Free Trade in Australia', *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 34 (1931): 195; Valerie Wallace, 'Sectarianism and Separatism in Colonial Port Phillip', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 20, no. 3 (2019): 2.

²³⁵ 'Domestic Intelligence', *Argus*, 30 December 1850, 2.

²³⁶ Other examples include the Tradesmen, Military, colonial/home born.

A Racially Based Hegemony

Finally, it is necessary to note that the hegemonic culture in the Australian colonies was a racially based one. The society the settlers wanted to create in the colonies was a white one. In Van Diemen's Land, the need to control land, end impediments to settler progress, and ideas of Indigenous inferiority, led to the Black War which sought the total removal of the Indigenous people from the island by 1832, and the 'discursive death' of the Indigenous population with the passing of Truganini, 'The Last Tasmanian' in 1876.²³⁷ In Victoria, several articles provide insight into both the fear and disdain European settlers had towards Indigenous populations. For example, the *Geelong Advertiser* noted 'The wretched aborigines of our own colony are certainly troublesome, but they are far from being dangerous as a body'.²³⁸ Whilst elsewhere journalists emphasised the danger of allowing Indigenous resistance to flourish.²³⁹ A public meeting was held in Sydney in 1845 to discuss sending official colonial support to the settlers fighting in the Māori Wars in New Zealand. The event was reported in the *Australasian*, and reprinted in the *Cornwall Chronicle*.²⁴⁰ One man noted that many in Sydney had 'a large stake in the prosperity of that settlement', while another noted that allowing the Māori to go unpunished risked the loss of 'that prestige of authority, which had stamped Great Britain as the great colonising masters of Europe, in the eyes of the natives' which if allowed to disappear would 'lead to greater outrages than had yet been committed, and to massacre'.²⁴¹

²³⁷ 'Discursive death' means that all memory of the culture died with Truganini. Berk describes how the Indigenous people of Tasmania were early to be missionised, early to lose their language, and early to be declared 'extinct', all of which ignored the reality of a fractured culture remaining in pockets. Indeed, language has been almost totally lost, and *palawa kani* is an attempt to reconstruct a Tasmanian language from those fragments of fractured culture. Christopher D. Berk, 'Palawa Kani and the Value of Language in Aboriginal Tasmania', *Oceania* 87, no. 1 (2017): 2–20.

²³⁸ 'New Zealand', *Geelong Advertiser*, 28 February 1842, 2.

²³⁹ 'New Zealand', *Geelong Advertiser*, 7 March 1842, 3.

²⁴⁰ The reprinting of news originally in one paper by another paper is an example of copy filling but also cultural reproduction. 'New Zealand', *Cornwall Chronicle*, 26 April 1845, 4.

²⁴¹ 'New Zealand', 26 April 1845.

Once a racial hegemony was established, a class of landowners who came to be known as ‘squatters’ moved into dispossessed lands and worked at creating an economic hegemony. By the 1820s the settlement of Sydney looked much like Tasmania; the local Indigenous populations seemingly pacified, and clans near exterminated.²⁴² Those men who were able to get grants of freehold on land became extremely wealthy feeding the convict settlement. However, coastal and inland areas of New South Wales, including what would become the colony of Victoria, had become the new frontier. As it became apparent that a wool staple dependent on international trade was going to be key for any successful colony so far from the metropole, the squatters pushed their flocks and herds further and further into the wilderness. As the pastoralists moved over the Blue Mountains and into the coastal valleys, a new wave of dispossession began. Between 1838 and 1848, in the context of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833, Westminster passed a series of provisions that were intended to ‘compensate’ Indigenous peoples for the loss of their lands and protected them from the worst fates of colonisation. This was the beginning of what became the protectorate system.²⁴³

We will see in later chapters how the élites of this new colony leveraged the power of their newly created cultural hegemony for their personal and political benefit, and in doing so, reproduced the Empire.

²⁴² Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972* (Sydney University Press, 2008), 31–32; Heather Goodall and Allison Cadzow, *Rivers and Resilience: Aboriginal People on Sydney's Georges River* (UNSW Press, 2009), 54; Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain View: The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2017), 32.

²⁴³ Pavla Miller, ‘Antipodean Patrimonialism? Squattocracy, Democracy and Land Rights in Australia’, in *Patrimonial Capitalism and Empire*, vol. 28, Political Power and Social Theory (Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2015), 137–63; Amanda Nettelbeck, *Indigenous Rights and Colonial Subjecthood: Protection and Reform in the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 4–8; 12–16.

Chapter 1: Schools Week 1853

Cricket matches were one of the most diverse social scenes in the Victorian Empire. 'It was a ritual as well as recreation. Its values and language came to be freely used by politicians, philosophers, preachers, and poets'.²⁴⁴ One of the purposes of this thesis is to bring into relief the field/habitus of the world outside the boundary rope: a world of networking, deal making, and 'being seen'. The cricket ground, across the British Empire in the nineteenth century, became a nexus of social and cultural capital transfer. All the important men were there: lords and politicians in England, prominent land-owners, industrialists, merchants, and government officials of the various colonies. It was also a place where those who would normally be excluded from high society could rub shoulders with the *élite*. Men of merit, in spite of their race and class, might earn their place in the members' pavilion via cricket or business success. In the mid-nineteenth century, the cricket ground was one of the few places the *hoi polloi* could mingle with the *haut monde*. These could be the coloured merchants of Cape Town, Parsis of Bombay, coal miners of the Pennines, or the various Australian 'rabble' who resented any attempt by the *élite* to cordon themselves off from 'The People'.

The Public School

The term 'public school' can be confusing to modern ears; especially those not from the United Kingdom. For what in most countries refers to the most democratic, and often most poorly resourced, schools, in England refers to the most *élite*. The term traces its origin to the reason Eton was established in 1442: as a school funded by public endowments for the education of the

²⁴⁴ Mandle, 'Games People Played', 303.

‘poor’ – hence, ‘public school’.²⁴⁵ What the élite thought of as ‘poor people’ is illuminating. The novelist Anthony Trollope, a Harrow graduate, wrote: ‘But at Eton King Henry’s poor scholars and the sons of Dukes and Marquises herd together without any difference; and these poor scholars themselves are the sons of the best of our gentry’.²⁴⁶ ‘The poor’, for Trollope, were not the masses in the city, or tenant farmers in the countryside but those without title, but still with means. This distinction is highlighted by Trollope’s own position. Although a descendant of the lesser nobility, the only reason Trollope and his brothers were able to attend Harrow was due to their father deciding to buy a farm and build a manor near Harrow. This allowed the Trollope boys free admission to Harrow as ‘Oppidans’; or locals accepted on merit based scholarships, as opposed to ‘Collegers’; those who could afford the fees.²⁴⁷ That even later in life Trollope would still view himself as socially superior to his peers based on distant ancestors, even though he entered the school through the system devised to allow access to the poor, is illuminative of the non-economic, social and cultural elements of the English class system in the nineteenth century.

By Trollope’s time, these schools had become the domain of the élite, practically privatised – although still publicly funded – for conservative political reasons, described by Colin Shrosbree as ‘as though Buckingham Palace were sold to a hotel chain’.²⁴⁸ As the century drew on, buffered by the democratic and class changes sweeping the nation, the public school system came under scrutiny. Why was public money being spent on an education system that provided for just 2,708

²⁴⁵ What the elite thought of as ‘poor people’ is illuminating. Colin Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education: The Clarendon Commission, 1861-64, and the Public Schools Acts* (Manchester University Press, 1988), 9.

²⁴⁶ Anthony Trollope, ‘Public Schools’, *Fortnightly Review*, 2 October 1865, 481. Cited in Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 8.

²⁴⁷ Richard Poate Stebbins, ‘Trollope at Harrow School’, *The Trollopian* 1, no. 1 (1945): 36.

²⁴⁸ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, vii.

boys out of a total educational population of 3 million?²⁴⁹ Moreover, what was being taught at the schools, and why?

The education at the public schools in the middle of the nineteenth century was predominantly in the Classics – learning how to read Latin and Ancient Greek.²⁵⁰ These subjects were seen as increasingly useless to the individual scholar, and to the economy of the wider nation. Yet the public schools persisted, even as the trend amongst other grammar schools was towards practical subjects like science, mathematics, and English; subjects that were becoming more central to entrance into the public service that was the prime method of elevating the economic position of the aspirational middle class.²⁵¹ However, the Classics were necessary for entrance into Oxbridge.²⁵² A classical education acted as a class gatekeeper – without a public school education, one could not gain entrance into Oxbridge, and without an Oxbridge education, one could not gain entrance into the upper social order. Business and science knowledge could be learnt through life experience, Latin and Greek only through a public school. This highlights the real purpose of a classical education: the confirmation of one's status as a gentleman.²⁵³ In this way, Shrosbree notes, 'the classics fulfilled the same sociological function in Victorian England as calligraphy in ancient China – a device to regulate and limit entry into a governing élite'.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Shrosbree, 8.

²⁵⁰ The argument for the teaching of dead languages was that it taught 'grammar' – hence 'grammar school' – although this term is now more widely applied to 'private schools' in the U.K.: the full-fee paying, non-publicly endowed schools for the aspirational middle classes.

²⁵¹ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 26, 49, 59.; Martin Polley, 'Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools', in *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development* (Routledge, 2010), 11.

²⁵² Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 25.

²⁵³ Shrosbree, 59.

²⁵⁴ Shrosbree, 59.

Schools Week

Each year, representative XIs from Eton, Harrow, and Winchester met at Lord's for a round robin competition. Still played today, over 200 years after the first time the schools met at cricket, with only a handful of years missed in between, it is the oldest 'continuously' running cricket fixture, and one of the oldest continuous fixtures of any sport. It is hard to imagine in today's age the importance the *Eton v Harrow* cricket match

Eton v Harrow 1872 [Redacted](#)

had in mid-nineteenth century England. This was

Figure 1: Eton v Harrow 1872. Part of the 'fashionable season'.

more than a mere cricket match between two school sides; it was one of the social events of the London 'fashionable season', alongside sporting events such the Henley Regatta and Royal Ascot, and large parties such as those hosted by by Lady Palmerston and Lady Waldegrave.²⁵⁵

For inclusion in the 'Public School's Day', Derek Birley writes: 'the criterion was ... social not athletic'.²⁵⁶ Even though at various times there would be close to a dozen different schools taking part in this event, only Eton and Harrow have taken part in all of them, and following 1854 only

²⁵⁵ Rob Boddice has examined this in more detail. He warns us against three potential errors: conflating one public school with another; using isolated examples to prove a trend; and conflation of literary public school life with reality. I hope I have made clear here that each school is very much not the same, that the breadth and depth of this work is enough to avoid generalising from isolated examples, and I am as far as possible relying on newspaper articles for my primary sources. Rob Boddice, 'In Loco Parentis? Public-school Authority, Cricket and Manly Character, 1855–62', *Gender and Education* 21, no. 2 (March 2009): 160–62. Figure 1: 'At Lord's Cricket Ground: The Eton and Harrow Match', *Illustrated London News*, 20 July 1872, No. 1715 Vol. LXI edition, 1.

²⁵⁶ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 68.

those two schools were invited to play at Lord's, other schools having to play at their home grounds – an event that still occurs to this day.²⁵⁷ In essence, being invited to 'Schools Week' was being invited to the fashionable season by the Establishment – whether your school was included or not would have a large impact on the social standing of families.²⁵⁸

The Lunch Pavilion

Even though today the players take their nutritionist-designed lunch at a pre-set time in their own dressing rooms, the time of players from both sides sharing a lunch is not too distant. Go even further back, however, and the pre-set time is just a fantasy; the lunches then were grand social events, attended by notables and players alike. A cricket lunch was a place where one could 'be seen', or potentially get a few minutes with that minister one was lobbying.

Mid-nineteenth-century cricket lunches were also extraordinarily well-documented. Later we can even get right in the room with verbatim quotes, particularly in Australia and North America where boundaries between polite society and the press were more blurred. However, in 1853 the lunch pavilion had not quite become the grand room it would in following decades (Fig. 2). At this time, Lord's was still in much the state it was in when described in 1841:

It had a cottage-like pavilion with a few shrubs in front of it. Sandwiches and beer were the only refreshments except an ordinary at a tavern which gentlemen never went to. There was a miniature hill and valley between the

²⁵⁷ During the writing of this thesis, in February 2022, it was announced that the match would no longer be played at Lord's. This was reversed in September 2022, on the objection of the members of Lord's that the MCC Committee had 'trampled over the history and traditions of Lord's'. This reinforces the idea of the institution as more than a collection of individuals, and highlights how tradition is used to reproduce the cultural hegemony. Tom Morgan, 'MCC Gives in to Eton-Harrow Rebellion', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 September 2022, sec. Sports, 1.

²⁵⁸ Timothy J.L. Chandler, 'Games at Oxbridge and the Public Schools, 1830–80: The Diffusion of an Innovation', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 8, no. 2 (September 1991): 197.

*farthest corner of the pavilion and the lower wicket, and Lord's was more like a field pure and simple.*²⁵⁹

A telegraph scoreboard was added in 1846 and small room for professionals was added to the pavilion in 1848, but there was still no grandstand (Figs. 2 and 5). Seating was provided by benches placed at intervals around the ground (Fig. 1). For the big matches of the year – and the school's matches were some of the biggest – those with horse and carriage would line the outer ring to watch from the comfort of their vehicle (Fig. 5). As described in 1853:

Lord's Pavilion Redacted

*The attendance to witness these matches partakes largely of the aristocracy of the country. Many a noble lord, perhaps too gouty and plethoric to move about comfortably, is found in his carriage intently gazing on the chivalrous deeds of some scion of his family, while parents, guardians, and frequently "rich old aunts," sanction the game by their presence on account of its inspiring, manly, and health-provoking character.*²⁶⁰

Figure 2: Lord's 1858. The large building is the pavilion with the barely noticeable Players' rooms attached (circled). Note the men in the top hats. Some are watching, some are conversing.

Fortunately, London papers of the mid-nineteenth century were most efficient with the recording of which gouty noble lords and rich old aunts were in attendance, and occasionally provided an idea of how many non-notable' people were present. An examination of these reveals the social composition of the crowds at these matches. Before we turn to this, some background on the political divisions of the day is necessary.

²⁵⁹ Pelham Warner, *Lord's 1787-1945* (London: Pavilion Books, 1987), 30–31.

²⁶⁰ 'Cricket', *The Era*, 31 July 1853, 13. Figure 2: 'The Story of Lord's Cricket Ground and The Marylebone Cricket Club', *Britannia and Eve*, 1 June 1937, 10.

The 1852 General Election

To understand the relevance and context of the political leanings acted out at the cricket pavilion in July 1853, it is useful to examine the watershed election of 1852. The two great issues of the election were the debate over *free-trade v protectionism* and the Crimean War. The main outcome of the antagonistic 1852 general election was the solidification of the party as the vehicle for political action, largely as a result of members aligned on these issues.²⁶¹ Up until this time one cannot view the 'parties' that existed in British politics the way we do today; political factions shifted based on personality and individual issues.²⁶²

Free-Trade v Protectionism

The previous parliament had been chaos; the fallout from the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 rippled through the ruling élite.²⁶³ Overly simplified, this was essentially a dispute between free-trade and protectionism, albeit one increasingly wrapped in the language of morality. Rural conservatives 'looked about them at the poverty and ugliness of London and Manchester, recoiled in fear and disgust from the Satanic Mills, and strove to keep England a green and pleasant land'.²⁶⁴ The Corn Laws had imposed strict regulation on the import and export of grains, and their repeal shifted the balance of economic power in the United Kingdom away from the land-owning aristocracy towards the urban merchants. In 1846 factions within the Conservative government,

²⁶¹ John R. Bylsma, 'Party Structure in the 1852-1857 House of Commons: A Scalogram Analysis', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7, no. 4 (1977): 617.

²⁶² William O. Aydelotte, 'Parties and Issues in Early Victorian England', *Journal of British Studies* 5, no. 2 (May 1966): 102.

²⁶³ There was a particular strain of anti-Catholicism amongst back bench Anna Gambles, *Protection and Politics: Conservative Economic Discourse, 1815-1852* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999), 215.

²⁶⁴ Robert Stewart, *The Politics of Protection: Lord Derby and the Protectionist Party, 1841-1852* (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), 46-47. Cited in Gambles, *Protection and Politics*, 56.

including that of Prime Minister Robert Peel, led by Peel himself, voted against their party and sided with the Whigs on repeal of the Corn Laws.²⁶⁵ This led to a split in the Conservative government, a vote of no confidence in Peel, and the formation of a Whig government under Lord Russell.²⁶⁶ The Whigs capitalised on the disarray, and although they did not win as many seats as the Conservatives in the 1847 general election, Russell was able to continue in minority government with the support of the Peelite and Free-trade factions of the Conservatives, along with members from Ireland.²⁶⁷

An 1851 attempt by Russell to widen the franchise lost him support amongst his party.²⁶⁸ Then a dispute with Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston over Palmerston's unauthorised endorsement of Louis-Napoleon III's *coup d'état* in France led Russell to eject Palmerston from the ministry. Palmerston, in retaliation, led a vote of no confidence – now known as Palmerston's 'tit for tat' – in the Russell government in February 1852.²⁶⁹ The protectionist Lord Derby then formed a minority Conservative government so bereft of experience that it led Queen Victoria to declare it 'a very sorry cabinet'.²⁷⁰ It came to be known as the '*Who? Who?* Ministry'.²⁷¹

²⁶⁵ Douglas A. Irwin, 'Political Economy and Peel's Repeal of the Corn Laws', *Economics & Politics* 1, no. 1 (1989): 43.

²⁶⁶ J. B. Conacher, 'Peel and the Peelites, 1846-1850', *The English Historical Review* 73, no. 288 (1958): 436.

²⁶⁷ Conacher, 436.; Dick Leonard, 'Sir Robert Peel — Arch Pragmatist or Tory Traitor?', in *Nineteenth-Century British Premiers: Pitt to Rosebery*, ed. Dick Leonard (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 198. The depth of this split still echoes today: Peel remains the 'only Conservative peacetime leader widely revered by the working class', whilst he is largely forgotten in the histories of the Conservative party he founded. Leonard, 197–98.

²⁶⁸ Dick Leonard, 'Lord John Russell, 1st Earl Russell — from Whig to Liberal', in *Nineteenth-Century British Premiers: Pitt to Rosebery*, ed. Dick Leonard (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 212.

²⁶⁹ Angus Hawkins, *The Forgotten Prime Minister: The 14th Earl of Derby: Volume II: Achievement, 1851-1869* (OUP Oxford, 2007), 11.

²⁷⁰ Hawkins, 16.

²⁷¹ The *Who? Who?* Ministry was the name given to the short-lived (February – December 1852) Tory government of Edward Smith-Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby, the leader of the protectionist wing of the Conservatives. It was so named after the deaf Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington, shouting 'Who? Who?' each time a new minister's name was read out in parliament and reflected the inexperienced nature of the cabinet following the defection of the pro-free-trade Peelites from the Conservative party. S. A. M. Adshead, *Philosophy of Religion in Nineteenth-Century England and Beyond* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2000), 73; Robert Blake, *The Conservative Party from Peel to Major* (Faber & Faber, 2012). Hawkins, *The Forgotten Prime Minister*, 16.; Dick Leonard, 'Edward Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby — "The

Derby called an election in the summer of 1852, hoping to change the minority status of his government. Although the Conservatives gained seats, they were still a minority.²⁷² Thirty-eight of the 330 Conservatives elected were Peelites. The Whigs were made up of factions: Radicals who wanted to extend suffrage to all landholders of £10 value; Irish Nationalists who were fighting for tenant and religious rights in Ireland; Liberals representing the middle classes enfranchised in the 1832 Reform Act; Free-Traders wanting to remove all tariffs; and the traditional Whigs. Even though the Conservatives were in a minority, the Whigs could not gain enough support from the various factions to form government. Hoping to woo the Peelites, Derby renounced protectionism. It was too little too late. The Peelites received a better offer from the Whigs, hoping to form government under Lord Aberdeen, seen as the successor to Peel following the latter's death in a riding accident in 1850.²⁷³ Regardless, Lord Derby's remained in power of a fragile and fractious government.

Derby's minority government finally fell in December 1852, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli, released a budget that increased taxes on the urban merchants, while reducing them on the rural gentry.²⁷⁴ This caused another vote of no confidence and the collapse of the government. Peelite leader Lord Aberdeen was called on to form government and built a coalition out of Whigs, Radicals, and Peelites, which at this time started tentatively unifying under the name

Brilliant Chief, Irregularly Great", in *Nineteenth-Century British Premiers: Pitt to Rosebery*, ed. Dick Leonard (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 226.

²⁷² Leonard, 'Edward Stanley, 14th Earl of Derby — "The Brilliant Chief, Irregularly Great"', 226.

²⁷³ Leonard, 227.; Dick Leonard, 'George Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen — Failure or Scapegoat?', in *Nineteenth-Century British Premiers: Pitt to Rosebery*, ed. Dick Leonard (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 227.

²⁷⁴ Dick Leonard, 'Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield — Climbing "the Greasy Pole"', in *Nineteenth-Century British Premiers: Pitt to Rosebery*, ed. Dick Leonard (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 278.

‘Liberal’ before an official change to this name in the following decade.²⁷⁵ Matters were further complicated in early 1853, when an unusual number of races were called into question over irregularities, leading to the dismissal of several members.²⁷⁶ This crystallised the Conservative/Whig divide as a rural/urban one – a divide that played out in the Gentlemen’s pavilions and Player’s pubs across the nation, and of course, at Schools Week at Lord’s in 1853.²⁷⁷

The Crimean War

This is not the appropriate place to give a full account of the history of the Crimean war. However, it is important to understand the context of the war, given its primacy in the lives of those who lived through it. British involvement in the Crimean War was notable for the incompetence of its military leaders, the overconfidence of the political class, and a justification of ‘balance of power’ purposes for an apparent lack of necessity for the war at all.²⁷⁸ Dixon says of the leadership ‘there seemed to be an inverse relationship between rank and efficiency’ – especially in Lord Raglan – brought about by a tradition of elevating officers based on their lineage, rather than their experience.²⁷⁹

The Crimean War was the elephant in the room of the political machinations of 1852-53. While this match was being played, Russian troops had just crossed into the Danubian Principalities, and

²⁷⁵ Dick Leonard, ‘Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston — Master Diplomat or Playground Bully?’ in *Nineteenth-Century British Premiers: Pitt to Rosebery*, ed. Dick Leonard (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 261.

²⁷⁶ ‘Controverted Elections’, *Morning Post*, 7 March 1853.

²⁷⁷ Angus Hawkins, *British Party Politics, 1852–1886* (Macmillan International Higher Education, 1998), 2.

²⁷⁸ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War: 1853-1856* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), 19.; Clive Ponting, *The Crimean War: The Truth Behind the Myth* (Random House, 2011), viii.

²⁷⁹ M. Dixon and Norman F. Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (Random House, 2011), 36. 44.

the English fleet had just sailed through the Dardanelles. Conservative opposition Leader Benjamin Disraeli had already begun blaming the Liberal Aberdeen government of mismanagement and for taking the country into an unnecessary war.²⁸⁰ Lord Palmerston argued that British wars were always ‘waged for the liberties of Europe, and not for the tariffs of commerce; we waged war for the independence of nations, and for the balance of power’, another sign of the growing liberalism in the political classes.²⁸¹ The Aberdeen ministry which came to power following the collapse of Lord Derby’s Conservative minority government, took the country into the war, and then paid the price as the increasingly unpopular war brought down his government in 1855.

Although the ‘Second British Empire’ is more usually regarded as beginning with the Napoleonic wars, the technological advances in the Crimean War, especially innovations in naval technology, made Britain the unchallenged master of the seas and allowed the near unrestricted global spread of British imperial power in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁸² This was the last war the British fought in Europe until the First World War. With the Russian navy destroyed, and France and the German states preoccupied with each other, Britannia was left free to rule the waves.

England in 1850s was going through rapid change. Historian Eric Hobsbawm describes this period as ‘quiet but expansionist’.²⁸³ What would emerge as ‘new imperialism’ in the 1870s was already shifting the British imperial gaze away from Europe and the United States to Africa and Asia.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Ann Pottinger Saab, ‘Foreign Affairs and New Tories: Disraeli, *The Press*, and the Crimean War’, *The International History Review* 19, no. 2 (June 1997): 300–301.

²⁸¹ Lord Palmerston, ‘Russia and Turkey’, *Sun*, 17 August 1853, sec. Imperial Parliament.

²⁸² Yakup Bektas, ‘The Crimean War as a Technological Enterprise’, *Notes and Records: The Royal Society Journal of the History of Science* 71, no. 3 (20 September 2017): 233–62.; Colin F. Baxter, ‘The Duke of Somerset and the Creation of the British Ironclad Navy, 1859–66’, *The Mariner’s Mirror* 63, no. 3 (January 1977): 279.

²⁸³ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital: 1848–1875*, Repr, History Greats (London: Abacus, 2010), 10.

²⁸⁴ New Imperialism is frequently given a start date of 1870. However, the roots of this change occur during the preceding 20 years. Notable events include the 1857 financial crash in the USA, which prompted English banks to be less intertwined with the US economy, and the Indian Rebellion of 1857 –

This shift was intimately intertwined with the Industrial Revolution – particularly the invention of the steamship and telegraph, and the idea of free-trade – British connotations of social class, and a rise in national identity that all find parallel expression in cricket.²⁸⁵ This was the context in which School's Week was played, and it is hard to imagine, just six months into the Aberdeen administration, that tensions were not high amongst the attendees.

A Parade of Notables

The following section is an analysis of page 104 of *Field* from Saturday 30 July 1853, reporting on the great matches of Schools Week.²⁸⁶ The week opened with All England v Sussex (with Parr) on Monday and Tuesday, concluding early on Wednesday before Harrow and Winchester took the field for the first of three school's match. The two pages of *Field* shown here are a great example of the cricket ground as a place of social and cultural transfer.²⁸⁷ Many of the characters in this story are out playing each other on the field (Fig. 3), and in the stands processions of notables are revealed.

All England v Sussex scorecard
Redacted

Figure 3. Playing in the first match of the week were many of cricket's biggest names of the 1850s

prompting the transfer of control from the East India Company to the Crown – and the Second Anglo-Chinese War of 1853-57, which moved British military focus to Asia. C.K. Hobson, *The Export of Capital* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1914), 239; P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945', *The Economic History Review* 40, no. 1 (1987): 13–14.

²⁸⁵ Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940* (Oxford University Press, 1988), 4.

²⁸⁶ 'All England v. Sussex (With Parr)', *Field*, 30 July 1853, 104.

²⁸⁷ That I am using *Field* to examine **the field**, as it happens on the cricket field, is not deliberate, but it is serendipitous.

This page illustrates how cricket fits into the social and cultural hierarchy. A close reading of this article can illuminate the social milieu in attendance at the match.

The first match was a benefit for the *Nonpareil* Lillywhite's retirement – a common form of fundraiser to help avoid the normal fate of the professional bowler: dying destitute.²⁸⁸ Immediately following this match, on Wednesday morning public schools' matches began, featuring Eton, Harrow, and Winchester. In attendance was not only those whose connection to cricket was at a social or spectator level, but also the top players and administrators, and the parents of the 'élite' of English school children.

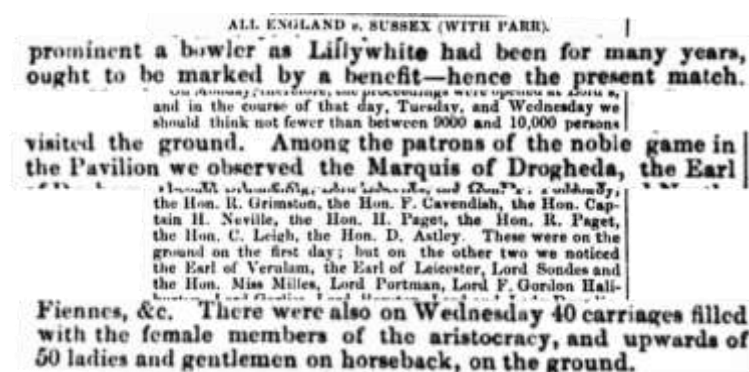


Figure 4: The crowds at Schools Week

The opening line sets the importance of the match: 'the retirement of so prominent a bowler ... ought to be marked by a benefit'. The inclusion of the crowd size of 10,000 over

two days – about what one would expect for a 'Great Match' – emphasises this was a popular opinion. Much in the same vein, the entirety of the rest of the first paragraph is dedicated to listing the notable 'patrons of the noble game'. It would be easy to dismiss this as merely cricket 'Basking In Reflected Glory'; these important people came to see the game, *ipso facto* the game is important.²⁸⁹ However, in this paragraph we can see an important piece of cultural reproduction

²⁸⁸ This is William Lillywhite, the father of John and James, and uncle of Fred, who we will meet in the next chapter. The benefit match to the Player is examined further in Chapter 5.

²⁸⁹ Basking In Reflected Glory, or BIRGing, and its antithesis CORFing (Cutting Off Reflected Failure), are widely accepted theories in Psychology – although it is more commonly applied to how supporters react when teams or political parties win or lose. The main field of research has largely been associated with sports crowds (and increasingly politics), and using social media as a quantifying tool has become a popular methodology, allowing researchers to study these effects in real time during matches. As far as I can tell this has not been attempted with historical sources, and it is certainly outside the scope of this study. It does, however, suggest a potentially fruitful field of research. In particular, looking at the editorials in the various *Bell's* from the mid-nineteenth century would provide many examples of writing that is not dissimilar to what one sees on Twitter today. The theory has also seemingly not been applied to cricket fans. See: Stan Diel, 'Beyond BIRGing and CORFing: Longitudinal Historical Performance Measures and the Impact on Fan Expectations', in *Evolution of the Modern Sports Fan: Communicative Approaches*, ed. Andrew Billings and Kenon Brown (Lexington Books, 2017), 49–63.; Kenneth A. Lachlan and David R. Levy, 'BIRGing, CORFing, and Twitter Activity Following a Political Referendum: Examining Social Media

and transfer. By giving this list of names such prominence, for it included lords, earls, and other honourable gentlemen and their genteel ladies, it reinforced the primacy of the class system. It is also educating the public on the orders of precedence; something that someone without a public school education was unlikely to understand in the kind of detail one needed to do so, lest they offend. It is saying ‘you should do this, and this is how you do it’: they are reproducing the hegemonic culture.

Looking at who attends also allows us to dig deeper into interpersonal relationships. We see the social networks that form around institutions such as Lord’s Cricket Ground.²⁹⁰ This is why this next section is a flood of names.²⁹¹ The important part here is not to remember who these people were or what they did, but to see the context within which these notables met each other at this cricket match – most importantly on which side of the *free-trade v protectionism* debate they sat. Particularly amongst the Conservatives, as the protectionist Conservatives of the *Who? Who?* Ministry were the core of the downfall of the first Russell ministry. This indicates who their allies in parliament were.

Activity Concerning the 2014 Scottish Independence Vote’, *Communication Research Reports* 33, no. 3 (2 July 2016): 217–22.; John SW Spinda, ‘The Development of Basking in Reflected Glory (BIRGing) and Cutting off Reflected Failure (CORFing) Measures’, *Journal of Sport Behavior* 34, no. 4 (2011): 392–420.; Minghui Fan et al., ‘Twitter-Based BIRGing: Big Data Analysis of English National Team Fans During the 2018 FIFA World Cup’, *Communication & Sport* 8, no. 3 (7 March 2019): 317–45.; Robert B. Cialdini et al., ‘Basking in Reflected Glory: Three (Football) Field Studies’, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 34, no. 3 (1976): 366–75.

²⁹⁰ The social world of the political elite was a close knit one. Politicians socialized together through memberships of such clubs as the Carlton Club, Reform Club, or the Athenaeum Club, or at the large social parties thrown by Lady Palmerston and Lady Waldegrave. Hawkins, *British Party Politics, 1852–1886*, 14.

²⁹¹ This has parallels with the prosopography of Sir Ronald Syme’s *Roman Revolution* or Sir Lewis Namier’s *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (although not the later quantitative prosopography that came out of France in the latter half of the twentieth century). Namier’s biographer, Linda Colley, explains: ‘Namier employed a wide range of contemporary sources to construct a vivid and novel picture of political morals and customs outside Parliament’. And indeed I have attempted to create as complete a biography – edited for brevity – of those in attendance at the match. However, a true *Namier-esque* prosopography would include those members of the élite not in attendance, and an analysis of why that was, something beyond the scope of this thesis. Linda Colley, *Lewis Namier, Historians on Historians* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), 59; Lawrence Stone, ‘Prosopography’, *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (1971): 71.

They are divided into four groups: *Nobs* – members of important families who would never serve in parliament; *Peers* – members of the House of Lords; *MPs* – members of the House of Commons; and *Politicians: future and past*.

The Nobs

Of the names mentioned in attendance on Monday July 25 and Tuesday July 26, 1853, those not involved in past, present, or future politics are:

Hon. F. Ponsonby, was the youngest child of Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby GCMG KCB KCH. Fred Senior was a hero of the Peninsular and Napoleonic Wars, and brother of Henry Ponsonby who was serving in 1853 as *aide-de-camp* to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. At this stage Hon. F. was just 16, and would grow up to be a reverend: a minor member of a major family. The next is **Robert Grimston**, who was most notable as being, along with Frederick Ponsonby, a founding member of I Zingari, Surrey County Cricket Club, and described by Derek Birley as ‘the member who had the most impact on the ethos of the M.C.C.’²⁹² At the time of this lunch, Robert had given up his law profession to join the board of the English Telegraph Company as it entered a period of aggressive monopolistic growth and the laying of the first undersea cables.²⁹³ The **Hon. Captain H. Neville** was a future Vice-Admiral of the navy, most famous for rescuing British prisoners of war following the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 that ended the First Anglo-Chinese War, in what is now known as

²⁹² Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*.

²⁹³ Jeffrey L. Kieve, *The Electric Telegraph: A Social and Economic History* (Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1973), 52–53.

the *Nerbudda* Incident.²⁹⁴ **Hon. Miss Jemima Townshend Milles** was the sister of Lord Sondes (mentioned below). **Lady Dupplin** was the wife of George Hay-Drummond, future 12th Earl of Kinnoull. The **Hon. E. Fiennes** was the eldest daughter of Lord Saye and Sele and a close relative of **E. C. Leigh**, who although never a member of parliament, was the second son of a baron, school friends with Robert Grimston and Frederick Ponsonby, the founder of the Oxford Harlequins, a future captain and secretary of I Zingari, future president of the M.C.C., and future Counsel to the Speaker of the Commons. But for now, he was just the captain of the Oxford XI.²⁹⁵

Only 7 out of the 25 names mentioned were not past, present, or future politicians – but all are members of important families. This emphasises the close relationship between political and hereditary power.

The Peers

Of our notables, five - the **Marquis of Drogheda**, the **Earl of Durham**, the **Earl of Leicester**, the **Earl of Verulam**, and the **Earl of Sandwich** - were current sitting Peers. The first two had little impact on the political world, including any indication of what side of politics they came from. The **Marquis of Drogheda**, Henry Moore, was known by his death as a ‘mainspring of Irish sport’.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Commonly known as the First Opium War. Although styled H. Neville in both *The Field* article and in Tsai’s work, his name was William Neville. *Morning Advertiser*, 29 August 1871, 4. Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West: Historical Encounters with the East and the West* (Routledge, 2014), 67.

²⁹⁵ The Hay-Drummond, Fiennes, and Leigh families are ‘closely related’ in that aristocratic way where family trees become shrubs, their genealogy revealing several spouses who share grandparents.

²⁹⁶ ‘Royal Dublin Fusiliers’, *Army and Navy Gazette*, 2 July 1892, 10.

Although a political conservative, and parliamentary supporter of Derby, he was considered ‘much esteemed by his tenantry’ in Ireland, suggesting a favourable position towards land reforms.²⁹⁷

The **Earl of Durham**, George Frederick D’Arcy Lambton, had an equally undistinguished career, but likewise impressive family connections. His father ‘Radical Jack’ Lambton was a founding member of the New Zealand Company, Governor General of Canada, and an enthusiastic and energetic coloniser, traits which seem not to have rubbed off on his eldest – the energetic part at least – although George claimed to support the ‘liberal principles’ of his father.²⁹⁸ The Earl died young before the age of 40, having spent most of his adult life building up his coal business.²⁹⁹ It is worth noting that his grandfather on his mother’s side was Earl Grey, former Prime Minister and lover of tea, and that his uncle, the 3rd Earl Grey, was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1846 - 1852 in the Russell ministry.

The **Earl of Leicester**, Thomas Coke, had backed his brother E.K. Coke’s run for parliament in West Norfolk as a free-trade candidate at the 1852 election. He withdrew his nomination, however, after it was realised he would have no chance at winning in the mostly protectionist division.³⁰⁰

The **Earl of Verulam**, James Grimston (brother of Robert), was a supporter of Derby, and was Lord-in-Waiting (in which he served as government whip in the House of Lords) in the *Who? Who?* Ministry.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ ‘Amateur Theatricals at Moore Abbey.’, *Dublin Evening Post*, 13 December 1851; ‘Dinner for Lord Stanley’, *Kings County Chronicle*, 9 April 1851, 2; Peter Gordon, *Politics and Society: The Journals of Lady Knightley of Fawsley 1885 to 1913* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2005), 238.

²⁹⁸ ‘Public Dinner to Wm. Ord, Esq.’, *Carlisle Journal*, 10 September 1852, 3.

²⁹⁹ ‘Death Of The Earl Of Durham’, *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 28 November 1879, 3.

³⁰⁰ ‘Election Intelligence’, *Morning Chronicle*, 3 July 1852, 2.

³⁰¹ David Fisher, ‘Grimston, James Walter, Visct. Grimston (1809-1895). | History of Parliament Online’, History of Parliament Online, accessed 5 July 2022, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/grimston-james-1809-1895>.

The **Earl of Sandwich** was a conservative who served in the *Who? Who?* Ministry as Captain of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms (the Monarch's bodyguard), a position now held by the chief government whip in the House of Lords.

The MPs

The article notes four current sitting members of the House of Commons. Lord Portman, **Henry Portman**, a Whig, was elected in the 1852 election running on a platform of free-trade.³⁰² **Alfred Paget**, was a minister in the Russell and Aberdeen Whig governments on either side of the short-lived Derby government. He served as Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal, an official in the Royal household, which in 1853 were still political positions.

Lord Drumlanrig, **Archibald Douglas**, (later Marquess of Queensberry, father of *the* Marquess of Queensberry, he of the boxing rules and scourge of Oscar Wilde), was a Peelite Conservative, as Disraeli's changes to taxation would unduly harm his constituents who were mostly farmers in Scotland for 'they consumed little or no beer ... and all that the present Budget would do for him would be to increase his burdens by the extension and doubling of the house-tax'.³⁰³

³⁰² 'Election Intelligence', *Southern Times and Dorset County Herald*, 17 July 1852, 2.

³⁰³ Douglas eventually conceded that protectionism had to go in the name of easing social unrest, but that rents should be lowered in concert with the reduction in prices free-trade brought. 'The Madiais', *Stonehaven Journal*, 21 December 1852, 2; 'Imperial Parliament.', *Fife Herald*, 23 December 1852, 2; 'Lord Drumlanrig On Rents and Free-trade.', *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser*, 15 January 1850, 2.

Douglas was present at an event that shows the heat around party politics at the time. He was a witness in a court case in December 1852 over a physical altercation between Hon. H. Butler Johnstone, MP, a supporter of Derby, and one of the members who would be thrown out over bribery allegations a few months later, and Whig Benjamin Oliveira, MP. A fight broke out between the two honourable gentlemen on the streets outside Westminster following an attempt by Lord Palmerston to water down a bill supporting free-trade. Oliveira alleged he had been assaulted by Johnstone. However, given the only witnesses available to the court were partisan politicians, the evidence was too conflicting for the judge to make a decision.³⁰⁴ This highlights the factional tensions in parliament at the time. Lord Drumlanrig's loyalty to the Peelites was rewarded when he was named Comptroller of the Household in the Aberdeen ministry – a position in the Royal Household, today held by a government whip in the House of Commons – and sworn onto the Privy Council in early 1853.

The only backer of Derby in the Commons in attendance was Lord North A.K.A. **John Doyle** A.K.A. John North, a Colonel in the army who married into a title. His wife was Lady Susan North, granddaughter of Frederick North, Lord North, Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782, whose politics helped galvanise the American Revolution. Doyle was elected in the 1852 general election on a platform of support for Derby with the backing of the South Oxfordshire Protection Association, indicating his support of protectionist policies over free-trade ones.³⁰⁵

Thus, the division in the member's pavilion at Lord's that day represented the wider Parliament. There were four protectionist Derby supporters: the Earl of Sandwich, the Earl of Verulam, the Earl of Drogheda, and Colonel John North. Two were free-trade-supporting Peelite Conservatives:

³⁰⁴ 'Fracas Between Two Members of Parliament', *Daily News*, 2 December 1852, 5.

³⁰⁵ 'South Oxfordshire Protection Association', *Oxford Journal*, 24 April 1852, 2.

Archibald Douglas and Alfred Paget. Three were free-trade-supporting liberals: the Earl of Durham, the Earl of Leicester, and Henry Portman. As in the Parliament, Lord Derby's supporters had the largest faction, while the conservative and liberal free-traders had yet to come together to form an alliance against Derby – although this was mere months away. Although we do not know what the conversations were, it is tantalising to think that a similar process of bridging political divides was underway, as we will see occurring at the Intercolonial cricket matches in Chapter 5.

Politicians: future and past

Those not current politicians included the eldest sons of Earls: **Lord Garlies**, the 17-year-old future 10th Earl of Galloway, and **Lord Sondes**, the 19-year-old future 1st Earl Sondes, both of whom would enter the House of Commons as members of the Conservative party in the 1868 election, before taking up their seats in the House of Lords. **Lord Royston**, the 18-year-old future 5th Earl of Hardwick entered parliament in 1865, and the Lords in 1873. **Lord Dupplin**, the 26-year-old future 12th Earl of Kinnoull, entered the House of Lords in 1866. **Lord Lascelles**, the 29-year-old future 4th Earl of Harewood, entered the House of Lords in 1857.

There is the second son of a Duke, **Hon. F. Cavendish**, only 16, but soon to be a rising star in Liberal political circles, winning election in 1865, going on to become the protégé of William Gladstone. The **Hon. D. Astley**, or Delaval Loftus Astley, was the second son of Lord Hastings, and future 18th Lord Hastings. He served in the House of Lords from 1871-72.

The **Hon. Henry Paget** is the 18-year-old future 4th Marquess of Anglesey, and Alfred Paget's cousin. Although there are four candidates for which Henry Paget this is – the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Marquesses of Anglesey were all alive, consisting of a grandfather, father, and two sons from different marriages. Which Henry this is can be deciphered through examining the honorifics, and the difference between *substantive* and *courtesy* titles.³⁰⁶ This was a *courtesy* title. The 3rd, as the eldest son of an Earl, was Lord Paget.³⁰⁷ The future 4th Marquess, as the younger son of an Earl, is allowed the courtesy title of Honourable. The Pagets were a large family with many political and military connections, some directly to the throne.³⁰⁸

There was also one former member of the House of Commons: **Lord C. Russell**, former member for Bedfordshire, and brother of Prime Minister John Russell (six Russell boys from that generation were also Whig politicians). Lord Charles was the Serjeant-At-Arms of the House of Commons from 1848 to 1875.

The final non-current politician is **Lord F. Gordon Hallyburton**, who had lost his seat in the watershed election of 1852. The third son of an Earl, Hallyburton spent most of his career in the

³⁰⁶ A substantive title is an actual peerage – Duke, Marquess, Earl etc. A courtesy title is one used by close relatives of a peer. This can either take the form of an eldest son (or eldest son of an eldest son) using a lesser title of the peer; a Duke's son can use Marquess, his grandson Earl (this only applies to Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls). The other courtesy titles are Lord, Lady, and Honourable, applied using a variety of rules that are not worth exposition here. The 1st Marquess would have been titled to use the *substantive* title Marquess, and the 2nd was at the time entitled to use his father's lesser title of the Earl of Uxbridge. Using your father's title is known as a 'courtesy title'.

³⁰⁷ The 3rd Marquess was also entitled to use 'Lord' as a courtesy title through his grandfather's lesser title of Baron.

³⁰⁸ There were four brothers in Alfred's generation. Aside from Alfred whose political career has already been mentioned, the 2nd Marquess, Henry, was on the Privy Council at the time, and had also been Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and Lord-in-Waiting under Prime Minister Lord Melbourne, as well as Member for Anglesey. His brother Clarence Paget was in between his two stints as Member for Sandwich, while his brother George Paget was the Member for Beaumaris, although he would shortly be at the Charge of the Light Brigade.

navy, eventually rising to admiral in 1868. He was the second husband to Lady Augusta Gordon, one of William IV's illegitimate children.³⁰⁹

The Rest

Victorian England had one of the most disproportionate distributions of wealth and power of any western nation in modern history. Only

Eton v Harrow 1867 Redacted

Figure 5: Eton v Harrow 1867. Note the ladies in carriages in the foreground. In the background is the brand new grandstand.

about an eighth of adult males had the right to vote until the second reform bill of 1867, which extended it to about a third. In 1861, John Bright, founder of the Anti-Corn Law League, alleged that 'fewer than 150 men owned half of England'.³¹⁰ Although not actually true – the numbers

³⁰⁹ It is worth remembering that Victoria at her birth was a long way from the throne. She was born under the final days of her Grandfather George III's reign – a reign already undermined by the King's health. All the males of her father's generation died without legitimate male heirs (including kings George IV and William IV). Victoria was the only child of the *fourth* son of the previous monarch. That Victoria's succession was largely uncontested, particularly given (or perhaps because of) the social unrest of the period, must cast a shadow over the Victorian Age. The lesson of history at the time would have been that such a transition of power would be accompanied by a civil war. Victoria was likely protected by the fact that many saw her as a pawn to be used, making her eventual strength as a monarch all the more surprising. K. D. Reynolds and H. C. G. Matthew, *Queen Victoria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 10. This perhaps should be kept in mind when reading glowing accounts of her coronation where 'her bearing ... filled the whole gathering with astonishment and admiration', Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria: A Life* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2012), 48.

Indeed, it is arguable that this period of monarchical instability, beginning with the transfer of power from the incapacitated King George III to the cabinet of Lord North – John Doyle's father-in-law – was not coincidental to the rise of the party system. By the time of Queen Victoria's coronation, the monarch still held immense power, but a determined prime minister could now 'hold out against the monarch's strongest prejudices'. W. Ivor Jennings, 'Cabinet Government at the Accession of Queen Victoria. Part II', *Economica*, no. 35 (1932): 64.

³¹⁰ Heather Clemenson, *English Country Houses and Landed Estates* (Routledge, 2021), 19–20.

were closer to 1500 owning 43% – that was still close to half the land being owned by far fewer people than were in attendance at this match.

The 9 000-10 000 members of the public who attended across the three days did not warrant a mention in the press, except as an indication of the importance of the event itself (Fig. 5).³¹¹ This would have been a relatively average crowd for the time, as Lord's had yet to embark on the massive development of the ground that took up the last four decades of the nineteenth century. At this stage, the ladies in their carriages could have still wheeled right up to their reserved spot on the fence to watch their son play in his match against Harrow – or indeed to watch the greatest players in the world in many of the other matches played at the ground (Figs. 4 and 5).³¹² It is almost impossible to determine the specific social complexion of this crowd, given the sparse contemporary comment on the matter. As noted by the cricket historian Keith Sandiford, this was the beginning of an increasing interest in crowds at the cricket. However, any detailed analysis is only possible from 1870 when turnstiles were installed at Lord's. Generally, crowds were on the increase as a result of reduced working hours and higher wages, which increased the opportunity for the public to attend sporting events. However, by Wednesday for the Schools' matches the crowd included more parents and alumni.³¹³

The exact general admission charge is unknown. Matches at Lord's were generally advertised without an admission price. Given that this was a benefit for the great *non pareil* Lillywhite, subscription lists were sent out to clubs across the country so all cricketers could contribute to

³¹¹ This number has to be taken somewhat with a grain of salt. Prior to the introduction of turnstiles in 1870 (and indeed for a long time afterwards in many instances), cricket crowds are estimates of the journalist writing the article. Keith Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', *Journal of Sport History* 9, no. 3 (Winter 1982): 7. Figure 5: 'Eton and Harrow Cricket Match at Lord's', *Sporting Gazette*, 13 July 1867, 19.

³¹² 'Eton and Harrow Cricket Match at Lord's', 19.

³¹³ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', 6, 11.

what is essentially the cricketer's retirement fund.³¹⁴ But as an example, matches at The Oval in the same period ranged from sixpence for a 'great match' to one shilling for a benefit or charity match.³¹⁵ This was reasonably expensive for the time, but still within the reach of the labouring classes. The average London labourer earned somewhere around 20 shillings a week. Matches would generally run past 7pm, light permitting. So even though the *England v Sussex* game was played Monday to Wednesday, it is conceivable that some of the working class attended, as even with the 10-hour day, one could make it to the ground for the final session.³¹⁶

Regardless, the actual economic makeup of the crowd is not as important as the *perception* of who was in the crowd. As Sandiford writes in his analysis of Victorian cricket crowds: 'It is impossible not to detect that the Victorians treated cricket, cricketers, and cricket crowds with much greater respect than other sports, sportsmen, and spectators ... as they supposed that cricket simply attracted the better sort of people'.³¹⁷ Whether or not this is true is rather moot for this work, as we are more interested in the mythos and perception of the sport, and how that is used as a vehicle for reproduction, more than the reality: a phenomenological view, not an empirical one. Cricketers, like Englishmen, were just better, it was self-evident. And as the Empire grew, so too would these claims.³¹⁸

Although unaware of it at the time, the attendees for Lillywhite's benefit were witnessing the end of an era. Cricket was still thoroughly Georgian and increasingly anachronistic in the rapidly industrialising Victorian era. Lillywhite the elder was one of the final links to a simpler game in a

³¹⁴ The cricketer's mutual fund and beneficial societies will be examined in further detail in Chapter 5.

³¹⁵ 'Advertisement', *The Atlas*, 25 June 1859, 14; 'Cricket', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 15 August 1857, 1; 'Advertisement', *Morning Advertiser*, 13 July 1853, 1.

³¹⁶ This makes the cost of admission to average wage ratio similar to tickets and wages in Australia in 2022, and far cheaper than an English Test match in 2022.

³¹⁷ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', 19.

³¹⁸ Sandiford, 11.

simpler time. He was a bowling revolutionary, but his style of play was soon to be taken over by an uncouth batch of working men and colonials. Just over a year after this match William Lillywhite was dead.

The School Matches

Dark's Cricket Balls redacted

Figure 6: Mr Dark, the proprietor of Lord's, includes the three schools along with Oxford and Cambridge as places of cricketing note

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS' MATCHES.
 "These matches, to which so much importance is naturally
 acquiring knowledge for the mind, but the excellences of one
 of their country's most manly, most invigorating, and most
 scientific sports at either one or other of our great public schools,
 were opened on Wednesday last, at Lord's, in the presence of
 one of the most fashionable assemblages we remember to have
 witnessed upon any similar occasion. There is an interest in

Figure 7: The hegemonising of cricket and its crowds

For Day 3, we are told in
 attendance were 40
 carriages filled with female
 aristocrats, and upwards of

50 ladies and gentlemen on horseback (Fig.s 4 and 5). This is an interesting change in tone – no longer are individuals important enough to be named, however, it was still worth mentioning the

³¹⁹ Figure 6: 'Dark's Cricket Balls', *Field*, 16 July 1853, 72.

members of the right classes were there. However, this was not just some random day of cricket, for immediately following the end of the benefit match on Wednesday morning, the XIs from Harrow and Winchester entered the field of play, watched on by the XI from Eton, to begin the annual schools week.

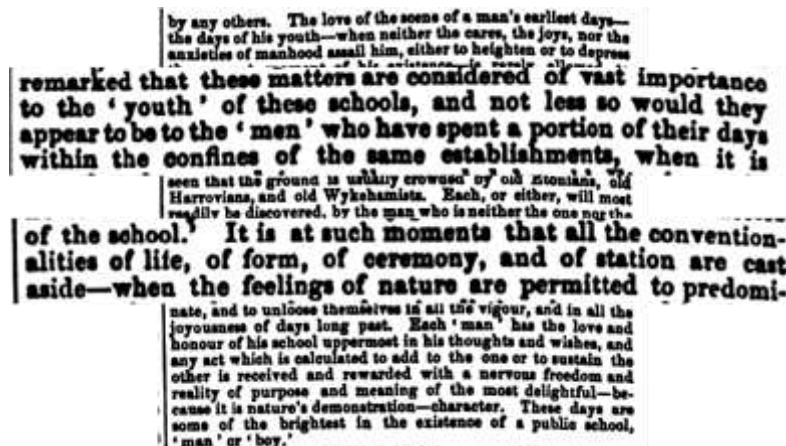


Figure 8: the cricket field, where boys can be men and men can be boys and social station is cast aside.

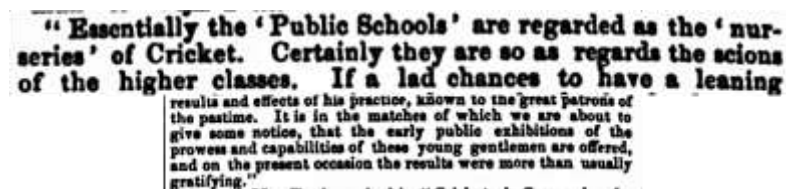


Figure 9: Nurseries of cricket

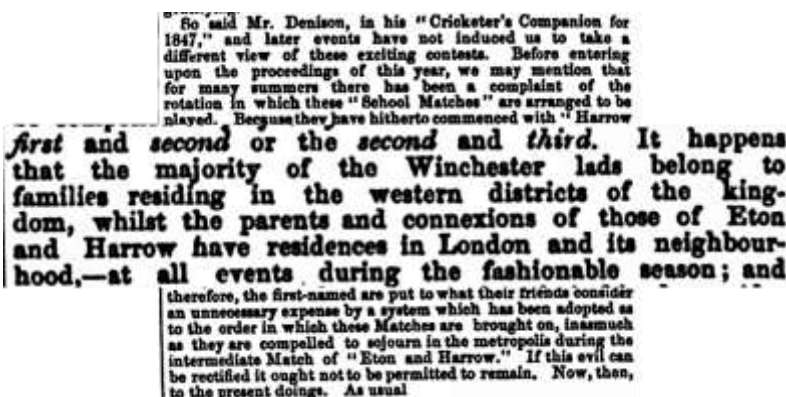


Figure 10: The complaints of the Wykehamists

As you can read in Fig. 10, the parents from Winchester, most of whom resided in the 'western districts of the kingdom' were not happy about having to play games 1 and 3, necessitating a longer stay in London. As the lesser of the three schools, this impertinence would not go unnoticed. 1854 would be the last year Winchester would be invited to be part of the Eton v Harrow 'event'.³²⁰

The names of the boys listed (Figs. 11 and 12) represent some of the most powerful

³²⁰ The Winchester Headmaster, appalled at the amount of drinking at the 1853 contests, barred the 1854 XI, or any future sides, from going to London. Boddice, *'In Loco Parentis?'*, 163.

families in the Empire, and many of the parents were present at Lord's to see their children play. Given the nature and pace of cricket it is inconceivable that conversations among parents who all form an élite, did not stray into gossip, affairs of their social set, and of politics given the vexatiousness of the issues of the Crimean War and *free-trade v protectionism*. Such conversations would have further reinforced the élite. So, while this time I do not have the actual words said as these aristocrats and masters of industry lounged in the pavilion or stood on the sidelines watching their kids at play, I imagine it was very often not about cricket (Fig. 2).

Although not a written rule, there is enough circumstantial evidence to support the hypothesis that batting order was determined by social status. For example, a few years later, in the 1860s, there was a major restructure at Oxbridge of how games were organised, and, more importantly, who was selected. Although, not *specifically* based on rank, the three students who were elected as team secretaries – with rank likely playing a significant role in their election – were selected in all games. This was likewise seen at Cambridge, where cricket selection was almost entirely the domain of the prestigious Trinity College. The 'aristocrat ethos' to select on the basis of suitability and friendship was giving way at this period to the 'new entrepreneurial middle class puritanism'.³²¹

³²¹ I cannot say conclusively that Lord Garlies was picked to open because he was the highest ranking player. However (Chandler, 'Games at Oxbridge and the Public Schools, 1830–80', 195, 198.) That 'sizar', or students on financial aid, were not allowed to join clubs at Cambridge at this time shows that even amongst the 'middle class' there were firm economic class distinctions that found expression in the selection of cricket matches. Harold James Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (London; Toronto: Routledge & Kegan Paul ; University of Toronto Press, 1969), 7; 19. Cited in Timothy J.L. Chandler, 'The Development of a Sporting Tradition at Oxbridge: 1800 - 1860', *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 19, no. 2 (December 1988): 4. There are also other examples of batting orders reflecting social status. George William and Lord Lyttelton, *Contributions Towards a Glossary of the Glynne Language* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), xxi.

The Harrow side

HARROW.	
Lord Garlies, b Bramly	17 c
Hon. R. Stewart, c Awdry, b Bramly	9 b
K. Digby, Esq., b A. Robinson	8 b
W. Davey, Esq., b Bramley	9 c
P. Knight, Esq., st T. Robinson, b A. Robinson	8 b
V. Walker, Esq., b A. Robinson	10 c
R. Currie, Esq., c Stephens, b Bramly	9 c
A. De Bourbel, Esq., b A. Robinson	2 b
A. Park, Esq., run out	1 b
W. Church, Esq., not out	8 b
R. Forster, Esq., b A. Robinson	14 c
Byes 2—leg byes 6—wide 14	22
Total	92
WINCHESTER.	
T. Robinson, Esq., b Stewart	11 b
H. Beckley, Esq., b Stewart	0 b
W. H. Awdry, Esq., b Stewart	13 c
R. T. Burney, Esq., c Davey, b Stewart	22 c
H. Gillett, Esq., b Walker	8 b
A. Robinson, Esq., b Church	12 b
J. A. Bramly, Esq., c Park, b Stewart	0 b
C. H. Pilkington, Esq., c Forster, b Stewart	0 c
F. Stephens, Esq., c Forster, b Park	0 b
W. Eliot, Esq., not out	6 c
J. Aldridge, Esq., b Park	1 b
Leg bye 1—wide 8	9
Total	82

Figure 11: Harrow v Winchester first innings

Lord Garlies, Alan Plantagenet Stewart, opened the batting for Harrow against Winchester, as his status demanded. He was also, usefully, a handy player who went on to represent Marylebone from 1858-1864. In time he became an MP, a member of the House of Lords, Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and 10th Earl of Galloway. However, as is usual for some of the more 'notable' yet less historically interesting characters from the mid-19th century, Lord Garlies' most visible achievements in his lifetime were several sexual assaults.³²² It even seems his elevation to Lord High

Commissioner was a joke; a way of keeping him away from the Royal household.³²³

³²² 'The Serious Charge Against The Earl Of Galloway', *The Cornish Telegraph*, 17 October 1889, 7. His obituary in 1901 mentions little more than his family, titles, how much land he owned, and brief details of his political career. 'Death Of The Earl Of Galloway', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 7 February 1901, 5. Other notable events were the time he was sued in 1893, his departure on a voyage to South Africa and India in 1891, when he was robbed in 1886, and the time he fell down an embankment in 1888. 'Action Against The Earl Of Galloway', *Glasgow Herald*, 15 November 1893, 4.; 'Notes—Mainly Personal', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 17 January 1891, 2.; 'Robbing The Earl Of Galloway', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 6 July 1886, 2.; 'Accident To The Earl Of Galloway', *Dublin Daily Express*, 6 April 1888, 4. Further supporting evidence for the underwhelming impact Alan had upon the world from his lofty position is a search of the U.K. National Archives for Earl of Galloway in the 19th century. The 8th and 9th Earls, whilst not prolific, left behind many records of correspondence with important figures of the day such as Sir Arthur Paget, Lord Melville, and Sir Robert Peel. The 10th leaves nothing. 'Catalogue Description: Letters to Sir Arthur Paget' (1808), Add MS 48406, British Library, Manuscript Collections.; 'Catalogue Description: Corresp. with Lords Melville' (1807), GD51, National Records of Scotland (formerly National Archives of Scotland).; 'Catalogue Description: Corresp. with Sir Robert Peel' (45 1837), Add MS 40423-566 passim, British Library, Manuscript Collections.

³²³ Leigh Rayment, 'Alan Plantagenet Stewart, 10th Earl of Galloway', Peerage, accessed 20 January 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20191027141754/http://www.leighrayment.com/peers/peersG1.htm>.

Perhaps if we were to judge Lord Garlies by the standards of his own time, perhaps his most un-notable life achievement was that it was his younger brother, and opening batting partner in the match in question, the **Hon. Randolph Henry Stewart**, who succeeded him in the title of the Earl of Galloway in 1901, the 10th Earl not leaving issue despite two marriages, and therefore not fulfilling his duty as Earl to secure the family line – although this would have been seen contemporaneously claimed as a failure of his wives more than he.³²⁴

Although they opened the batting together on this day in 1853, the lives of Alan Plantagenet Stewart and Randolph Stewart were soon to diverge in a most Victorian manner. Alan's rather undistinguished life has already been discussed. Randolph, as the second son, was of course never intended to assume to the title of Earl, Randolph being 'the spare' in the 'heir and a spare' aphorism.³²⁵ As such, while Alan went off to Oxford – he would not graduate – the younger brother went off to war. Although both brothers would achieve military rank, Randolph earned his. First through service in Crimea, where he participated in the Battle of Balaclava in 1854, including taking part in the charge of the heavy brigade, the successful preliminary action on the morning of the infamous charge of the light brigade.³²⁶ His other notable service was at the Siege of Lucknow in 1857, early in the Indian Rebellion. He purchased the rank of Captain in 1864, and left the military for other pursuits in business, journalism, and diplomacy.³²⁷ Without the gentleman's

³²⁴ It is worth noting that these are 'Stewarts' as in *the 'Stuarts'*, just the Scottish line not descended from Mary Queen of Scots, and hence do not have the Francised version of the name. Pamela Horn, *Ladies of the Manor: How Wives & Daughters Really Lived in Country House Society Over a Century Ago* (Amberley Publishing Limited, 2014), 54.

³²⁵ Due to rising life expectancies amongst the nobility by the time of the eighteenth century 'an heir and a spare' had come to be understood as meaning the first born son, and his first born son, whilst the 'spare' little brother from the same generation became the 'dutiful supporter of his elder brother' Jonathan Spangler, 'The Problem of the Spare', *The Court Historian* 19, no. 2 (December 2014): 123.

³²⁶ 'Recorded in *The Gazette* (London Gazette), Issue 21670' (2 March 1855).; 'Recorded in *The Gazette* (London Gazette), Issue 21760' (10 August 1855).

³²⁷ The purchasing of ranks in the military was common at the time as a way to jump the queue of seniority for promotion. Although in and of itself it does not suggest anything untoward about Randolph, the incompetence of purchased officers in Crimea led to the establishment of a parliamentary inquiry, leading to negative findings, although the practice would not be ended for several more decades.

‘finishing school’ of Oxbridge, and seeing some of the most brutal military actions of the 19th century, Randolph somehow managed to have an, if not distinguished career, at least a respectable one.

The story of these brothers is not included to reinforce a stereotype, but to demonstrate fields of reproduction. At their highest rank both were Marquesses, but their paths differed. This was due to their own differences in attitudes to work, but also due to luck, not only in birth, but life.

At first drop for Harrow was **Kenelm Digby**, the first son of a second son of a Baron.³²⁸ Kenelm is an excellent example of how conforming to the hegemonic culture could advance one’s rank through their lifetime. His father, as a second son, became a clergyman, and as the first son of an aristocratic clergyman, Kenelm received the finest education to keep him within the social sphere that his lineage deserved.³²⁹ His father was well aware of the necessity to learn the rules of being a gentleman. Digby Senior was the author of *The Broad Stone of Honour: or, rules for the gentlemen of England* in 1823. *The Broad Stone* set out to explain to the gentlemen of England ‘the nature, and to enforce the obligations of the duties that included under these titles’.³³⁰

‘Recorded in *The Gazette* (London Gazette), Issue 22863’ (14 June 1864).; ‘Obituary. Earl Of Galloway’, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 9 February 1920, 6.

³²⁸ ‘First drop’ means third in the batting order. The first batsman in after an opener has fallen. His father was the Hon. and Revd. Kenelm Henry Digby, and his uncle was Edward Digby, 9th Baron Digby.

³²⁹ This actually underplays his father’s social position, who likewise attended the finest schools, went on a grand tour, wrote books, socialized with intellectuals, and generally lived a life appropriate to the son of a baron. Charles Boutell, *English Heraldry* (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1867), 120.

³³⁰ *Broad Stone* was used widely across the Empire to teach gentlemen how to be gentlemen. This includes the men of the Melbourne Club (the gentleman’s club, not the cricket club) and Governor La Trobe covered in Chapter 5. Kenelm Henry Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour: Or, Rules for the Gentlemen of England* (C. & J. Rivington, 1823), x.

However, Kenelm was even further from a title – and the privilege it afforded – than the Stewart brothers. Kenelm’s lineage and social sphere opened doors, but once opened he had to earn his laurels: a first-class honours in classical literature and a M.A. at Oxford, excelling at cricket and rowing, staying on to study and teach law, as well as being called to the Bar.³³¹ Kenelm would be elected as the MP for Queen’s Country, Ireland, as the Liberal candidate in 1868 and the Home Rule candidate in 1880.

Kenelm was approached in 1894 by the Liberal Home Secretary, H.H. Asquith, to become permanent under-secretary at the Home Office; a position he accepted with reluctance due to his inexperience but drawn by the obligation to Queen and Country. His service eventually earned him both a Knight Commander and Knight Grand Cross in the Order of the Bath, one of the highest recognitions a civil servant can receive. The difference between Digby and the Stewart brother’s lifetime achievements is best summed up by the latter’s lack of a page in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and this quote from Kenelm’s entry:

*He was one of the last of a type of Victorian head of department: socially highly placed, a brilliant ‘all-rounder’ who was appointed to the highest ranks of the civil service from outside.*³³²

William Church, who batted at number 10 for Harrow, is also noteworthy. This third son of the anonymously named John Church, William was probably low in the order due to his family’s anonymity. However, like Kenelm Digby, Church took advantage of the introduction to society that a Harrow (followed by Oxford) education afforded, and his inclusion in Harrow’s cricket team for Schools Week. Unlike Digby, Church did not even have distant family connections to the

³³¹ Barristers are ‘called to the bar’ while solicitors are ‘admitted to the bar’.

³³² Even the use of the term ‘all-rounder’ here is showing the cultural influence of cricket amongst the social elite. Jill Pellew, ‘Digby, Sir Kenelm Edward (1836–1916), Lawyer and Civil Servant’, January 2008, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 22 January 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50587>.

aristocracy. Church's services to teaching, medicine and public service were rewarded with a baronetcy in 1901.³³³

Other players of note in the Harrow side include **Vyrell Walker**, **Philip Knight**, and **Robert Currie**. Vyrell Walker was one of the 'Walkers of Southgate' – seven cricketing brothers who attended Harrow and then Trinity College, Cambridge, who would have a major impact on English cricket through the 1850s and 60s, including four playing for United All-England. Philip Knight was the grand-nephew of Jane Austen and at the Siege of Lucknow during the Indian Rebellion with Randolph Stewart.³³⁴ Robert Currie was the last son of Sir Frederick Currie, 1st Baronet.³³⁵ Sir Frederick Currie had just returned from his post on the Supreme Council of India, and was elected to the board of the East India Company in 1854, becoming chairman in 1857 – the last person to hold that position.

³³³ 'Church, Sir William Selby, First Baronet (1837–1928), Physician', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 22 January 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32412>.

³³⁴ The Knights are another cricketing family, 11 of his relatives also have cricket archive pages.

³³⁵ The Currie/Corrie family have a long history, with members spread out amongst the nobility and gentry, many of whom appear in the cricket scores of the time. However, Donald Currie, the South African cricketing pioneer who will be discussed in a later chapter, was not a member of this family (although it is likely the name derives from the same place in Scotland).

The Eton side

	ETON.
E. Trimlett, Esq., c Park, b Church..	9
R. S. Bagge, Esq., b Walker	13
H. Hoare, Esq., c Digby, b Stewart..	0
G. Dupuis, Esq., b Church.....	0
A. Hayter, Esq., c Forster, b Walker	18
F. Northey, Esq., not out.....	18
Hon. M. Rolle, b Park	1
J. Yorke, Esq., b Park	0
J. Pinney, Esq., b Walker	1
E. Wodehouse, Esq., c Church, b	
Stewart	4
C. Marriller, Esq., c Knight, b Stewart	0
Byes 1—leg byes 2—wide 3	8
Total	59

Figure 12: The Eton side for *Eton v Harrow*

The Eton side (Fig. 12) is most notable for two things: the irrelevance of rank to batting order, and the difference in the aristocrat/capitalist balance in the class. Compared to Harrow, Eton seems to have more sons of successful men than sons of inherited titles, perhaps representing the extra prestige of Eton for the wealthy merchants who could choose between

the two schools. Firstly, the two highest ranked individuals – **Arthur Hayter** and the **Hon. Mark Rolle** – are well down in the batting order.³³⁶ The two opening batsmen, **Edmund Tremlett** and **Richard Bagge**, were apparently picked on skill.³³⁷ Secondly, although several members of the Eton team were not rich in titles, they were from very wealthy families. Bagge was the son of a successful merchant.³³⁸ **Hamilton Hoare**, was of the Hoare banking family.³³⁹ **John Pinney** was the grandson of West Indian slave plantation owner John Pretor Pinney.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Arthur Hayter was the only son of a Baron. Following a decade in the military, Arthur served as a Liberal MP, Financial Secretary to the War Office, on the Privy Council, and was raised to the peerage in 1906. The Hon. Mark Rolle was born the second son of a Baron, however, due to the good fortune and timing of the deaths of his relatives, at just six years of age he inherited a massive fortune and title from his uncle John Rolle, 1st Baron Rolle, making him the largest land private landowner in Devon.

³³⁷ Bagge's season for Eton warrants an opening position. Tremlett's is a little more dubious, although it appears he was considered a good partner for Bagge, despite the pair both being run out in their previous match. This is an inference from available statistics, it is impossible to know whether performance in matches played at school was a factor, although this seems likely. Why Eton chose to select on talent opposed to rank is speculative, however, it seems instructive that they had not won a School's Week match since 1850.

³³⁸ Richard followed his father's occupational footsteps and in later life became the High Sheriff of Norfolk. His twin, William, although not playing in this game, had a successful enough career to be awarded a Baronetcy.

³³⁹ Hamilton was a descendant of Sir Richard Hoare. Although not eligible for the family title, he was a central enough member in the family to be made a director of C. Hoare & Co., the U.K.'s second oldest bank, and still privately run by the family.

³⁴⁰ Although John Pretor's second son Charles had not inherited the vast wealth of his older brother, the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 saw Charles share in the compensation for the family's 1200 plus slaves, which left the younger John in a solid financial position.

Other Eton players of note were **George Dupuis**, **John Yorke**, and **Edmond Wodehouse**, sons of families with connections – albeit quite different. George was the son of the vice-provost of Eton, and had a respectable if not notable, career as a scholar and a clergyman. John was a member of the Yorke family headed by the Earl of Hardwick. John served as a conservative MP and in various administrative roles. Edmond was the only child of Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, superintendent of British Honduras who later served as Governor of the Cape Colony from 1861-1870 and Governor of Bombay from 1872-1877 – times central to the establishment of cricket in each of those areas. Edmond himself had a successful career in the public service, serving at various times as the Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Privy Seal, and Secretary of State for Colonies.

Finally, three other Eton players, **Edmund Tremlett**, **Francis Northey**, and **Charles Marillier**, were born without great family connections, wealth, or titles, sought their fame and fortune in the military.³⁴¹ Tremlett served in the Anglo-Zulu war, most notably at the Battle of Kambula in 1879. Northey joined the military and won recognition in India and Canada, before dying at the Battle of Gingindlovu in the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879. Marillier served in the Cape Mounted Regiment, married into the noble Currie family, and died in 1872.

The team list of the Winchester side (Fig. 11) reveals why Eton and Harrow were not particularly keen to keep inviting the Wykehamists.³⁴² It is hard to tell whether the Winchester batting order

³⁴¹ James W. Bancroft, *Zulu War VCs: Victoria Crosses of the Anglo-Zulu War, 1879* (Casemate Publishers, 2018).

³⁴² The only players worth mentioning from Winchester were: Thomas Robinson, who wrote an unsuccessful novel about life as a student at Winchester, 1873's *Timothy Cripple: or, "Life's a Feast"*. Hugh Gillett and Charles Pilkington became clergymen. Alfred Bramley served in Crimea and at the Siege of Lucknow. He died following a failed rescue from the attack on Fort Ruyha not long after. His unsuccessful rescuer, Private James Davis, was awarded the Victoria Cross. Christopher Clarke Antiques, 'Portrait Drawing of Lieutenant A. W. Jennings Bramly', accessed 22 January 2021, <https://campaignfurniture.com/portrait-drawing-of-lieutenant-a-w-jennings-bramly.>; 'Recorded in *The Gazette* (London Gazette), Issue 22863 (14 June 1864)'.

was decided by social status – there was not a son of the nobility in the bunch. Indeed, no players had fathers of note. This highlights Winchester’s role in the public school hierarchy. Winchester students were the sons of successful men who climbed through the ranks through the clergy or trade to a point where, although they could not gain entry into the higher social rank, they could provide the education for their sons to perhaps do so.

Eton v Harrow 1880 Redacted

Figure 13: Eton v Harrow 1880. Of interest: top left: ‘are yer colours sir Heaton or ‘arrow’ highlights the class mix at the match. Centre: ‘a drawn match’ – it was a social event, for socialising. Bottom centre: ‘the Hero of the hour’ – a

The lack of impact made on the historical record by the Winchester boys further supports the link between social status and life outcomes. There are several possible explanations for this. It is either possible that Eton and Harrow provided a superior education, or that a higher ‘quality’ person gained entrance to Eton and Harrow. The first is unlikely as public school curriculum was being standardised at the time. The second is more likely.³⁴³

³⁴³ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 17; John Chandos, *Boys Together: English Public Schools, 1800-1864* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), 320.

Processes of gatekeeping and reproduction were at work here, much as Bourdieu and Passeron demonstrated in France a century later.³⁴⁴ The purpose of offering glimpses into the future lives of some of the boys who played cricket on this day is to demonstrate this point in a qualitative, rather than quantitative – phenomenological, not empirical – manner.

Field magazine calls public schools “‘nurseries” of cricket’ (Fig. 9), but they were also social nurseries as Clifford Geertz’s ‘thick description’ would reveal. These matches and their surrounding habitus, taught the sons of the old gentry and of new money the social codes that provided access to the upper-social spheres, where most economic and social opportunities lay. This is how social reproduction works. Parents of players were included in the code. They were not there so much to watch their sons, but to be seen; to *perform* their social status, and perhaps to consolidate networks and maybe future connections through marriages (Fig. 13).³⁴⁵ And perhaps, they might even get a minute with the minister about the government approval for their latest project (Fig. 2). Although at this point it was still mostly the landed gentry using this method of social access and performance through cricket, it was also common for bankers and lawyers, and, from now on increasingly industrialists and capitalists.³⁴⁶

The Beating of Randolph Stewart and the Clarendon Commission

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, discipline at the public schools was poor. Shrosbree gives the example of one headmaster, Dr Keate at Eton, being bombarded with eggs on multiple

³⁴⁴ Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*.

³⁴⁵ Figure 13: ‘Sketches at the Eton and Harrow Cricket-Match’, *Illustrated London News*, 10 July 1880, 19.

³⁴⁶ Sally Mitchell, *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (Routledge, 2011), 39.

occasions for trying to enforce disciplinary requirements.³⁴⁷ Although already in practice, it was Dr Arnold at Rugby who most championed the reform that would become not just the norm in public schools, but come to be seen as one of the defining elements of it.

Dr Arnold's great breakthrough in discipline was to delegate greater and greater authority over the discipline of the junior students to the senior boys, to the point of permitting them to dispense corporal punishment, otherwise known as *fagging*, the junior student being known as the *fag*.³⁴⁸ Fagging was defended by Dr Arnold on the basis that it taught morality and Christian values.³⁴⁹ This position was used in 1853 by the headmaster of Harrow, Dr Vaughan, who would further describe the disciplinary system as going beyond regulations to encompass 'the good order, the honourable conduct, the gentlemanlike tone, of the Houses and of the School' to justify an incident that is uniquely interesting to this current work.³⁵⁰

One of our Harrow opening batsmen, Randolph Stewart, was a fag to a student named Platt, who was the son of Baron Platt. The authority of the older students over their fags extended to the sporting fields, where they would often act as umpires. During a football match in November, Platt called Stewart for offside, to which Stewart objected, refusing Platt's authority. Platt accused Stewart of not understanding the rules, and after the game tried to beat Stewart for his

³⁴⁷ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 19.

³⁴⁸ *Fagging* as a practice and a term were already extant at this time, being mentioned in *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* written by his cousin Thomas Medwin in 1847. Shelley famously refused to engage in the practice. 'Medwin: The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley', 41, accessed 23 January 2021, <https://lordbyron.org/monograph.php?doc=ThMedwi.Shelley.1847&select=I.ch3>. Despite the rampant sexual abuse in the fagging system, it is far from clear that there is an etymological link between this sense of 'fag' and the slur. This sense likely stems from slang for 'fatigue' as in 'fatiguing labour'; 'brain-fag' being Victorian slang for mental fatigue. 'Fag | Origin and Meaning of Fag by Online Etymology Dictionary', accessed 10 July 2021, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/fag>.

³⁴⁹ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 8.

³⁵⁰ C.J. Vaughan, 'A Letter to the Viscount Palmerston, MP Etc.', n.d., 13, A bound collection of Vaughan's correspondence of 1853-4, concerning Harrow School, in Birmingham University Library. Cited in Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 22.

insubordination.³⁵¹ However, Stewart again refused to submit to Platt's authority. This escalated the issue to Dr Vaughan who upheld Platt's right to punish Stewart. The subsequent beating of Randolph – 32 strikes across the shoulders with a thick cane – by Platt left the former in need of medical attention for several days. This excessive force led Randolph's father, the Earl of Galloway, to write to Platt's father, Baron Platt to complain. Baron Platt, arguing his son was just following policy, appealed back to Dr Vaughan, where it became clear policy was not followed. The complaint eventually escalated all the way to Lord Palmerston, the Home Secretary. Palmerston's response, along with public concerns about the financial mismanagement of Eton, would lead eventually to the Clarendon Commission.

This, as Shrosbree notes, 'illustrated the extent to which a close, formal, almost ritualised hierarchy of authority and responsibility had become established in the schools'.³⁵² It also illustrates the centrality of the public school system to English social and cultural life: a singular incident of discipline in a single school was the concern of even the most powerful men in the country. This is because the public school was where the élite sent their children to learn the way of the gentleman. It was where the qualities of the hegemonic culture were devised, decided, transferred, and reinforced. The newly wealthy élite could spend money to look the part of the aristocracy, and they could put destitute nobles on their boards of directors for social credibility.³⁵³ However, the 'habits of mind of the true gentleman' could only be learnt at the public school.³⁵⁴ So whilst the Wykehamist parents may never have the cultural capital required for true social legitimacy, through putting their sons through public school they could raise the station of future generations of their family.

³⁵¹ Chandos, *Boys Together*, 239.

³⁵² Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 22.

³⁵³ J. A. Mangan, *Manufactured Masculinity - Mangan: Making Imperial Manliness, Morality and Militarism* (London: Routledge, 2011), 48.

³⁵⁴ Mangan, 48.

The Clarendon Commission of 1852, the Clarendon Report of 1864, and the legislation that followed it, the Public Schools Act 1868, brought about major changes in the life of the public schoolboy, and set many of the values and traditions one still associates with the public schools today. The main complaints and subsequent reforms were around the quality and relevance of the education provided, financial irregularities in the management of the schools and the payment of headmasters, which was rife with fraud and corruption, and the brutality of treatment and living conditions of the students.³⁵⁵

Even before cricket, the public school was the institution *par excellence* for the civilising mission of the British Empire.³⁵⁶ And it was not just the individual school that was becoming a field of social reproduction. As the nineteenth century progressed ‘the public schools ... emerged or adapted themselves ... in such a way as to constitute a *system*, an articulated and coherent set of schools serving a common set of functions’.³⁵⁷ As Polley puts it ‘[t]he developments [of school sport in the nineteenth century] were hegemonic in a Gramscian sense, with the interests of the masters the governors, parents, and pupils coming together to inspire developments’.³⁵⁸ From Bourdieu’s perspective it is easy to see how interschool sporting competitions, where boys from the right social classes met to pit their skills against each other, were natural fields of cultural reproduction. Even in their own time, public schools were viewed as having a political ideology; the place where

³⁵⁵ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 7, 42.

³⁵⁶ And cricket was the ‘benefice of these benedictive “decent chaps” to the moral moribund of the empire’. J. A. Mangan, ‘Images for Confident Control: Stereotypes in an Imperial Discourse’, in *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, ed. J. A. Mangan, Routledge Library Editions: Education (London: Routledge, 1993), 16.

³⁵⁷ John Raymond de Symons Honey, *Tom Brown’s Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School* (London: Millington, 1977), xi. Cited in Polley, ‘Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools’, 10.

³⁵⁸ Polley, ‘Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools’, 15.

orthodox values around gender, class, and race could be reproduced.³⁵⁹ One of the most important in this system was the school sports.³⁶⁰

But school sport goes beyond just simply being a field of reproduction and becomes central to the development of a new sense of English identity. Although Dr Arnold at Rugby is the one mostly associated with the development of school sports, his interest seems to have been minimal. Dr Vaughan at Harrow was the key headmaster who went beyond recognising the value of sport for wearing the boys out. Vaughan recognised sport as shaping the physical and moral education of his students.³⁶¹ The physical side was well represented by Dr Almond, the Headmaster of Loretto, who stated in 1881 that ‘active *exercise*’ was ‘quite as important a factor of vigorous health as ... drainage, pure water, or pure air’, reflecting the increasing scientific medical knowledge of the time.³⁶² This moral side was so well understood by the end of the century that James Welldon, on returning from his duty as Bishop of Calcutta, stated that sport taught the ‘promptitude, resource, honour, co-operation and unselfishness’ that made up ‘the character of a gentleman’.³⁶³ These values were in contrast to, and perhaps a reaction to, the attributes prominent in those who had raised themselves from nothing. The public schools reinforced the aristocratic belief that trade and industry were vulgar, ‘certainly compared to cricket’.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ Polley, 10.

³⁶⁰ Polley, 10.

³⁶¹ Chandos, *Boys Together*, 248; Polley, ‘Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools’, 12.

³⁶² Loretto was not at the time recognized as a public school. Almond, purchased the school, which had been established by a reverend, in 1862 and served as Headmaster until 1903. This period saw Almond grow Loretto from an aspirational grammar school to a recognized public school. As Mangan puts it: ‘It was unknown: he made it famous’. Dr Almond was an accomplished athlete, he had a particular focus on rugby, and he and Loretto would be foundational for that sport’s development in Scotland. Polley, ‘Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools’, 16; J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Routledge, 2013), 24.

³⁶³ Polley, ‘Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools’, 16.

³⁶⁴ Polley, 48.

This blend of physicality and morality into a new ideal of Englishness came to be best expressed in the philosophy of Muscular Christianity.³⁶⁵

Muscular Christianity

Already in the 1850s we can see the constant appeal to ‘manliness’ when one seeks to justify the moral value of something (for example Figs. 7 and 8). One of the problems with this concept is that exactly what is a ‘manly’ trait is entirely culturally dependent. One cannot read it in 1830 and assume it means the same thing as in 1880. At the start of the Victorian period, ‘manly’ virtues were seriousness, self-denial, and rectitude.³⁶⁶ These ascetic values reflected the austere Christianity of the day. However, by the late Victorian period, virtues more useful to the coloniser were promoted as the ideal of masculinity: robustness, perseverance, and stoicism.³⁶⁷ The ‘stiff upper lip’, as it were. As we have already seen, nowhere was this instituted more than at the public schools. Merging a Christian morality with the primacy of physical fitness was how the English believed they would rule the world. This became so central to the English sense of identity that it became known as the ‘games ethic’.³⁶⁸

In the 1850s, two writers, railing against the anti-liberal Tractarianism of the Oxford Movement, which they saw as the ‘poison of effeminacy ... sapping the vitality of the Anglican Church’, wrote

³⁶⁵ Chandos, *Boys Together*, 266.

³⁶⁶ Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, 18. Early Victorian morality was itself a turn away from the decadence of the Regency period, a result of many factors, including the impact of the Industrial Revolution and the demographic, social, cultural, and economic changes it wrought, as well as a growing evangelicalism amongst the aristocracy, and changes brought about by the Napoleonic wars. David Spring, ‘Aristocracy, Social Structure, and Religion in the Early Victorian Period’, *Victorian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1963): 277.

³⁶⁷ Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, 18.

³⁶⁸ Mangan, 18.

novels romanticising this newfound vision of a fit Christian Englishman: Charles Kingsley, in *Westward Ho!* in 1855, and Thomas Hughes, in *Tom Brown's School Days* in 1857.³⁶⁹ Kingsley and Hughes are considered as two pioneers of the 'cult of athleticism'.³⁷⁰ *Tom Brown* has become the source for mid-Victorian public school life, especially the 'games ethic'.³⁷¹ Likewise, in *Westward Ho!*, Kingsley presented a vision of a manly Christianity that has come to be known as 'Muscular Christianity'.³⁷²

These two authors present an interesting examination in the contradictions of Victorian England. Both were sons of minor gentry: Kingsley the son of a reverend, Hughes the son of an author. Both attended prestigious schools, Hughes went to Rugby, Kingsley went to Bristol Grammar. Both were heavily influenced by Frederick Maurice's Christian Socialist movement that had arisen as a response to the secular socialism of the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe. Hughes formally joined the group in 1848, while Kingsley, although never a member of an official organisation, became one of the movement's most prominent authors and promoters. On the fringes of the social world of

³⁶⁹ Tractarians, also known as the Oxford Movement, had arisen earlier in the nineteenth century as a response to perceived attacks on the Irish Church, was most theologically notable for a seeming desire to return to Catholic ways, with some prominent Tractarians eventually being accepted into the Roman Church. David Newsome, *Godliness & Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (Transatlantic Arts, 1961), 207. Cited in Watson, Weir, and Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', 1.

³⁷⁰ Although Redmond points out some version of the idea had been around since John Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*. Gerald Redmond, 'The First Tom Brown's Schooldays: Origins and Evolution of "Muscular Christianity" in Children's Literature, 1762–1857', *Quest* 30, no. 1 (September 1978): 5.

³⁷¹ However, it should be noted that while being 'hugely influential' in getting parents to send their boys to a public school, it was 'very much a fantasy version of the public school'. *Tom Brown's School Days* is examined in further detail in Chapter 3. Andy Harvey, 'Tom Brown's Schooldays: "Sportsex" in Victorian Britain', *Critical Survey* 24, no. 1 (1 March 2012): 21.

³⁷² *Westward Ho!* (or Kingsley's other work *Two Years Ago*) is frequently cited as the origin/inspiration for the term 'Muscular Christianity'. Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse University Press, 2005), 25.; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 11. And it is true that it was coined in response to *Westward Ho!*. However, the credit should go to cleric T.C. Sandars, who used it in a review for *Two Years Ago* in the *Saturday Review* in 1857. Kingsley himself thought is a 'painful, if not offensive term'. Redmond, 'The First Tom Brown's Schooldays', 6.

Britain, they could see beyond their privilege to the deprivations of the lower orders in society. Both supported the Chartist movement.³⁷³

However, this engagement with Socialism and Chartism should not be read as a dedication to universal suffrage and equality. There is still implicit in the works of these men the existence of a 'leadership cult' trained in the public schools that goes hand in hand with the belief in the primacy of the public school system.³⁷⁴ Kingsley and Hughes' model of 'equality' still differed from the revolutionary models of 1848.

Muscular Christianity eventually took on many different forms, and its echoes are most notably still apparent in sport and society today in the Y.M.C.A. and Olympic movement.³⁷⁵ However, for our work, we are interested in the strand of Muscular Christianity that went on to become one of the core values of the English Empire. The physical purity one could achieve through sport went hand in hand with the spiritual purity one could achieve through Christianity. Moreover, these values could be trained and inculcated, through sport, in those whom the élite wished to 'civilise'; the working class and colonised Indigenous populations. This is how sport, and cricket in particular with its respect for authority and lack of 'barbaric' physical contact, became one of the tutors and weapons of Empire. Athleticism – promoted in the English schoolboy as the virtue that placed the Englishman above all others – was not just about preparing boys for the duties of empire, it also had the purpose of imperial control.³⁷⁶ This 'civilising mission' of the public schoolboy, and the

³⁷³ Watson, Weir, and Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', 3.

³⁷⁴ John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987). Cited in Watson, Weir, and Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', 5.

³⁷⁵ Watson, Weir, and Friend, 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', 6.

³⁷⁶ Polley, 'Sports Development in the Nineteenth-Century British Public Schools', 68.

English writ large, was perhaps most infamously distilled in Rudyard Kipling's 1899 poem *The White Man's Burden*.³⁷⁷

*Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.*

...

*Take up the White Man's burden—
Have done with childish days—
The lightly proffered laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold-edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers*

Conclusion

Trollope's use of the phrase 'herd together' quoted at the beginning of this chapter stresses the civilising mission of the public school. It was a place where the aristocracy and the 'poor' gentry could do the work of the reproduction of social capital. The Headmasters were the Gramscian 'intellectuals', setting this hegemonic culture.³⁷⁸ This is also an example of bonding and bridging capital that will be further examined in Chapter 5. However, the creation of the Harrow Philathletic Club in 1853, a student led sporting club formed to arouse interest in 'manly' sports, and most

³⁷⁷ Although subtitled *The United States and the Philippine Islands*, the poem is about the English Empire; Kipling had reworked a poem originally intended to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Indeed, in the U.S. the poem was seen as an argument against the colonisation of the Philippines. Senator Tillman arguing that the Filipinos were 'not suited to our institutions' and that taking possession of the islands would make the U.S. race problem worse. Gretchen Murphy, *Shadowing the White Man's Burden: U.S. Imperialism and the Problem of the Color Line* (NYU Press, 2010), 42.

³⁷⁸ Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, 22.

likely including members of the team mentioned in the *Field* article, shows the students were just as actively engaged in forming the norms of the hegemonic culture.³⁷⁹

Rather than seeing the irrelevant education and brutal treatment of students as a negative, the ‘irrationality’ of the system was embraced, as ‘irrationality’ was viewed as a core English value.³⁸⁰ As Shrosbree notes: ‘[t]he quality of the character training was almost mystical; it could not, of course, be examined, but it did justify what might otherwise have seemed indefensible: the acceptance of pain and the infliction of punishment as educational virtues’.³⁸¹ However, Shrosbree also questions the universal acceptance of this position. Although he goes through great pain to include a wide variety of opinions on the value of the public schools to show acceptance of their place of primacy, he notes: ‘Nor was there any speculation by Trollope, and rarely by anybody else, about how other Englishmen who were unable to benefit from the education of these schools felt, and how it was that they obtained their English character’.³⁸² This is a worthy reminder to us as we continue through this work that our impression of who the “English” were, is often framed almost entirely through the lens of only one class of society.

The Public Schools Act 1868 was the end of the process of turning the public school from little more than a babysitting service for the élite into the focal point of English cultural development that it continues to be today. The public school crisis surrounding the Clarendon Commission, plus the ineptitude of the leadership in Crimea, began to bring the assumed quality of the élite into

³⁷⁹ The teacher may recognise in this process the concept of ‘forming, storming, norming, and performing’, taken from Bruce Tuckman’s work on high performance in small groups. The heads formed a group, brainstormed the ideas, made it the normal way of doing things, and then sent their boys out into the world to perform and spread this ideology. Bruce W. Tuckman, ‘Developmental Sequence in Small Groups’, *Psychological Bulletin* 63, no. 6 (1965): 384–99.

³⁸⁰ Shrosbree, *Public Schools and Private Education*, 8.

³⁸¹ Shrosbree, 8.

³⁸² Shrosbree, 8.

question. By 1860, '[e]xcept for a few gifted and eccentric men like Tennyson, they [the aristocracy] made little contribution to the artistic and cultural life of the country ... [and] took little part in trade or industry, although they might invest in order to buy more land'.³⁸³ No longer could the aristocracy take their positions for granted as titles gave way to skills, talent, and personal connections, as the determiner of life outcomes. Increasingly, English culture was not something determined in the courts of the aristocracy, but in the vehicles of class mobility like public schools and cricket clubs.

³⁸³ Shrosbree, 57.

Chapter 2: Regional Rivalries Personified

With the ways of cricket being normalised in the youth of the upper classes through the public school, the next step to becoming part of the hegemonic culture in England, was to spread the game to other classes all over the island. This geographic and class spread cannot be separated and is best expressed through the personal rivalries and public actions of the early professional sides. They helped create the North/South divide in English cricket.

The expansion of the British press was vital to this spread of the game of cricket. It also took on an imperial role. The press aired debates on the nature of cricket and on professionalism in cricket.

The Press in the mid-nineteenth century

The press and Empire were inextricably linked. Although the project of empire had been, and probably would have continued to be viable without it, the exposure given to the colonising mission through the popular press kicked it into overdrive.³⁸⁴ The press breathlessly covered both the formal and ‘informal empire’ – those areas not officially dependent, but where London either had or wanted influence – with a diversity of opinions from praise to criticism.³⁸⁵ In the 1830s, as the ‘second empire’ was really entering its growth phase, opinion towards the empire was equally mixed.³⁸⁶ Through the 1840s, the sense it was British destiny to civilise the world – and the

³⁸⁴ E. M. Palmegiano, *The British Empire in the Victorian Press, 1832-1867: A Bibliography*, Routledge Library Editions: The British Empire (London: Routledge, 2018), i.

³⁸⁵ Palmegiano, i–ii.

³⁸⁶ Although the ‘second empire’ is usually regarded as beginning with the end of the American Revolution, this better describes the end of the first empire. It is not until Napoleon is defeated – and the resulting naval domination – and the social and economic changes brought about by the end of the slave trade and the

popularity of the Empire – grew. By the 1850s destiny had started to morph into a divinely ordained racial supremacy. Through the 1860s, in some sections of the press, concerns emerged about the cost of the Empire and the damage to British reputation and morality.³⁸⁷ However, London had grown so dependent on its globalised trading and colonial networks – especially during the 1860s ‘cotton crisis’ (known as the United States Civil War in other parts of the globe) – that by the end of the decade, the purely anti-imperial voices were fading into the dark, to be replaced by calls for self-rule for ‘Anglo-Saxon’ colonies, and a paternalistic despotism for Indigenous populations.³⁸⁸

The period between 1853 and 1861 saw the removal of ‘knowledge taxes’, culminating in the removal of duties on newspapers.³⁸⁹ This created a boom in publications, and the following two decades are considered by some to be a ‘golden age’ of the popular press driven by local or specific interests.³⁹⁰ This led to a ‘revolution of opinion ... owing mainly to the freedom of the newspaper press’.³⁹¹ However, by the end of the century, even further reductions in *per unit* cost – albeit with concurrent increases in *entry* cost – along with increasing literacy of the working classes, saw the newspaper industry both further explode while simultaneously being consolidated into the hands of fewer and fewer people in pursuit of profits.³⁹² There is some debate amongst scholars as to whether this boom in access/consolidation of ownership resulted in a more democratic press, creating a wider variety of ideas, or whether the press became more and more the tool of the élite

broadening of emancipation that the second empire really begins its growth phase. Opinion as judged by Palmegiano’s examination of magazine and print articles of the time. Palmegiano, *The British Empire in the Victorian Press, 1832-1867*.

³⁸⁷ Palmegiano, viii–x.

³⁸⁸ Palmegiano, xii.

³⁸⁹ For a detailed description of this period see: Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: The End of the ‘Taxes on Knowledge’, 1849-1869* (A&C Black, 2013).

³⁹⁰ See Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England: 1855 - 1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976). Cited in Mark Hampton, ‘Newspapers in Victorian Britain’, *History Compass* 2, no. 1 (2004): 1.;

³⁹¹ ‘Mr. Bright on the Press’, *Manchester Evening News*, 22 February 1872, 3. cited in Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain*, xv.

³⁹² Hampton, ‘Newspapers in Victorian Britain’, 2.

for manufacturing consent.³⁹³ Unfortunately, the actual popular reception of these ideas is not something we have much access to – most of our understanding of working class opinion coming from what are obviously problematic accounts of contemporary élites.³⁹⁴ What seems clear is that there was the conservative/progressive push/pull one expects to see in any democratic society. Even conservatives knew change was inevitable. The Industrial Revolution was here. Whilst there was a wide array of opinions expressed, even amongst the élite, those opinions were almost always ‘promoting cultural images favorable to the governing élites’.³⁹⁵ In other words, even with the explosion of the press, particularly amongst the working class, newspapers were still performing the Gramscian role of transmitting the hegemonic culture.

The All England Eleven and the Origins of the North/South Divide.

The North/South divide in English cricket is often attributed to the power play between the industrial magnates of the North and the landed gentry of the South. Each economic class used their local power to influence regional values and identity.³⁹⁶ This helps explain class divides in

³⁹³ Hampton, 3.

³⁹⁴ Hampton, 4.

³⁹⁵ This theory was popularised by the James Curran and is reinforced by the theorising of Jean Chalaby. See James Curran, ‘The Press as an Agency of Social Control: An Historical Perspective’, in *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. G Boyce, J Curran, and P Wingate (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1978), 51–73., and Jean K Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Macmillan Press ; St. Martin’s Press, 1998). Individual cases can be found in: John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).; L. Perry Curtis, *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).; Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).; Chandrika Kaul, *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880-1922*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)., cited in Hampton, ‘Newspapers in Victorian Britain’, 3.; Curran’s idea of élite control is challenged by Hewitt, who feels it is consequence of being too focused on a narrow array of sources, however, the extension of the theories of Curran and Chalaby are widely enough applied to suggest that there is at least substantial evidence that élite control was in part driving the development of the newspaper industry by the end of the nineteenth century.

³⁹⁶ Duncan Stone, ‘Regional Cricket Identities: The Construction of Class Narratives and Their Relationship to Contemporary Supporters’ (Recording Leisure Lives, Bolton, UK, 2009).

cricket. These regional and class conflicts are frequently analysed through examining differences between Yorkshire and Surrey county cricket.³⁹⁷

Yorkshire County Cricket Club did not exist until 1864. In the 1840s and 50s Yorkshire cricket was still defined by a local power struggle between Sheffield, then the dominant club, and other major towns such as Bradford and Huddersfield. None were strong enough to assert influence on the national scene.³⁹⁸ While Yorkshire eventually came to stand as proxy for the North, in the 1850s, Nottinghamshire – and in particular the proprietor of the Trent Bridge Inn, William Clarke – was the powerhouse of northern cricket. The real root of the *North v South* tension, and the broader structural frictions it exposed, stems from the fractious personal relationships that dominated the early professional period until the death of William Clarke in 1856.

The social class divides of the industrialist North and the genteel South that became core to regional identities of England in the Victorian Age were being formed at this time. As others have noted, particularly Duncan Stone, cricket helped form these identities. However, this is not to argue that cricket was the *only*, or even the prime, creator of regional identities.³⁹⁹ Cricket, it must

³⁹⁷ Duncan Stone, 'Cricket's Regional Identities: The Development of Cricket and Identity in Yorkshire and Surrey', *Sport in Society* 11, no. 5 (1 September 2008): 501.; Rob Light, "'In a Yorkshire Like Way': Cricket and the Construction of Regional Identity in Nineteenth-Century Yorkshire", *Sport in History* 29, no. 3 (1 September 2009): 500–518.; Thomas Fletcher, "'All Yorkshiremen Are from Yorkshire, but Some Are More 'Yorkshire' than Others": British Asians and the Myths of Yorkshire Cricket', *Sport in Society* 15, no. 2 (1 March 2012): 227–45. In addition, Duncan Stone has numerous other works on this topic.

³⁹⁸ Light, "'In a Yorkshire Like Way'", 505.

³⁹⁹ For example, Simon Naylor has an excellent work that focusses on the way science, industrialism, and geography all interacted with each other to create the Cornish identity that came out of the Victorian era. I'm not sure Naylor would agree that he has taken a phenomenological approach, but his particular focus on *space* shows at least an implicit understanding of the *field*. Simon Naylor, *Regionalizing Science: Placing Knowledges in Victorian England* (Routledge, 2015). Samuel Alberti has written on how the amateur/professional divide played out in the sciences in Yorkshire, and finds that much like in cricket, these divides were frequently overblown by future generations looking back to find heritage in their own position, and were in their own time often proxies for wider discussions about changes in society. For example, one of the motivations Alberti gives the gentleman scientist is very much in the 'civilising mission' vein. Samuel J.M. Alberti, 'Amateurs and Professionals in One County: Biology and Natural History in Late Victorian Yorkshire', *Journal of the History of Biology* 34, no. 1 (1 March 2001): 115–47.

be remembered, is merely the site of examination of this study of how things once seemed (phenomenology). This section explores how the personal, regional, and class identities intersected when 'cricket men' perceived and then debated professionalism. This is key: as outlined in the introduction, it is vital when undertaking a phenomenological examination that we do not fall prey to abstract 'isms'. 'Northern' identity is no fixed set of characteristics (complexity). Neither is 'Southern' identity a fixed container (irreducibility). Identities are contingent, emerging from particular events and actions in time, and the ways they are utilised and remembered. What follows is a close examination of one of these events and how it was utilised.

The Early Professional Sides

The first challenge to this natural order of things came when the Players, no longer content with just receiving a few days salary for playing at the pleasure of a lord, started to organise their own sides and tours in the *I Zingari* mould.⁴⁰⁰ The Industrial Revolution was in full swing and new and enlarged urban populations wanted entertainment opportunities. The expansion of rail networks in the 1840s provided cheap and fast travel around the nation. An 'all-star' professional side could become the biggest show in town.

The professional touring side, playing for entertainment and cash, was invented by Nottingham publican William Clarke in 1846.⁴⁰¹ Clarke brought together eleven of the best professionals in England; his 'All England Eleven'. They toured the country playing eighteen and twenty-two player

⁴⁰⁰ Grace, *Cricket*, 34.

⁴⁰¹ Whilst there were previous teams mostly made up of paid professionals, this is the first team put together that stayed together and travelled around as a team for the season, marketing themselves as a team.

village sides wherever a shilling could be made.⁴⁰² Attracting these stars became easier when the MCC reduced the pay of their professionals, and insisted on better off-field behaviour.⁴⁰³

The place these professionals saw themselves holding in English cricket was shown by their names. The first was William Clarke's All England Eleven in 1846, followed by John Wisden's 'United Eleven of England' in 1852 (subtly rebranded through the press by Fred Lillywhite as the 'United All England Eleven in 1853'), Sherman and Chadband's 'New All England Eleven' in 1858, Fred Caesar's 'Another New All England Eleven' in 1862, and the 'United South of England Eleven' in 1865, again put together by Fred Caesar.⁴⁰⁴ The names, much like the use of the words 'Democratic', 'People's', or 'Republic' when naming one's newly formed dictatorship, belie the reality: these teams were neither All England, nor United.⁴⁰⁵

John Wisden

One of Clarke's primary draw cards was the 'Little Wonder' John Wisden. These were the heady days in the lead up to the legalisation of overarm bowling. Wisden's 'roundarm' slingers would have been like lightning compared to the slow lob of Clarke's underarm delivery.⁴⁰⁶ Like Clarke,

⁴⁰² Mandle, 'The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century', 2.

⁴⁰³ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 85.

⁴⁰⁴ Only Clarke and Wisden's sides are relevant for the remainder of this story. The first appearance of the name 'United All England Eleven' (opposed to the 'United Eleven of England') appears in a letter to *Bell's Life of London* by Fred Lillywhite. Lillywhite ran the printing tent that travelled around to the big games to print up scorecards to sell to spectators. As part of the dispute examined later in the chapter Clarke had written letters to *Bell's* disparaging Fred. The subtle name change was seemingly part of this dispute, as it would have no doubt enraged the protective Clarke.

⁴⁰⁵ Tony Bennett, Graham Martin, and Bernard Waites, *Popular Culture: Past and Present* (Routledge, 2013), 72.

⁴⁰⁶ It's hard to say just how quick the fastest of the fast underarm delivery – the shooter – would have been. The world record softball pitch is 124km/h, probably outside the abilities of a man in his 50s in the 1850s, as Clarke was. Compare that to Lasith Malinga, the finest roundarm bowler of modern times, who even without training or coaching at a junior level was able to regularly bowl over 150km/h as a professional cricketer.

Wisden was the orphaned son of a construction worker who had grown up as the ward of a cricket fanatic. In this case, the legendary wicket keeper and sometime ground proprietor, Tom Box.

Wisden first arrives in the record books playing for the Eleven of Brighton in 1841, carrying his team to a win – with William Lillywhite’s son Fred – against ‘eleven youths of Ditchling’.⁴⁰⁷ In 1843 Wisden managed Fred Lillywhite’s failing cricket ground in Brighton, although the venture did not last another season. During the 1844 season he was a constant double act with his mentor, various batsmen around the Brighton having ‘b. Wisden c. Box’ next to their paltry score. This was enough to earn Wisden a call up for the Players against the Gentlemen for the ‘wind up’ match of season 1844 – the modern equivalent would be making an all-star team not just in your rookie year, but before you had even been drafted.⁴⁰⁸

Such performances earned Wisden a place for Sussex County Cricket Club against the MCC in season 1845, taking six wickets in his maiden first-class county innings. By 1846 he was the highest wicket taker who was not already playing for Clarke, with the exception of Alfred Mynn, who at this stage was not yet broke enough to lower himself to playing for a professional side. On Wisden’s County debut, one reporter wrote: ‘Young Wisden came magnificently out of his shell; he is a follower in Lillywhite’s steps, a pupil of his school, and bids fair when manhood has developed his strength to rival the great Nonpareil’s fame’. Note that it was not Eton, but the ‘School of Lillywhite’, which gave Wisden the cultural capital needed to go from ‘son of a builder’ to the successful entrepreneur whose name still epitomises cricket.

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Cricket’, *Sussex Advertiser*, 2 August 1841, 3.

⁴⁰⁸ ‘Cricket’, *Morning Herald*, 3 October 1844, 3.

In the 1846 and 1847 seasons Wisden played for first-class sides across the south of England, including Sussex and Kent, and a trial match for Cambridge University, where he had joined the Lillywhite family as a practice bowler.⁴⁰⁹ Consider how young Wisden must have felt. He was coaching, selecting, and captaining (in practice matches) a side made up of his age peers. But for the accident of his birth, he would have captained the Cambridge XI, a position that enabled a young gentleman in all circles of life. Wisden also made his first appearances for ‘England’ against Kent at the annual Canterbury week festival in both years.

Although Wisden’s time with the All England Eleven is commonly cited as beginning in 1848, his first appearance for Clarke’s side came in September of 1847 against an XVI of Yorkshire. One article on the match gives a sense of the work of a professional cricketer in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴¹⁰ We see Wisden at work in the nets serving the local nobility (Fig. 1).

Wisden Coaching Redacted

Figure 1: Wisden coaching the sons of the élite. Note the descriptions of the other players, recognisable from description, rather than having seen them in person.

In the ‘indefatigable “Jemmy Dean”’ and the ‘plodding’ Clarke we can get a sense of the labour involved. With Wisden and Redgate’s service to the Earl and his son we can see how payment was often made with the gift of the cigar case. Although cash was almost certainly exchanged as well, this was a more appropriate public statement of how proper patronage should work.

⁴⁰⁹ ‘Town & County News’, *Cambridge Independent Press*, 13 May 1848, 3.

⁴¹⁰ ‘Cricket’, *Sheffield Independent*, 5 September 1846, 7.

1848

The watershed year for Clarke's All England Eleven was 1848. The M.C.C. had for the past few seasons been tightening payments and restrictions on its professional staff. That year the M.C.C. secretary announced there would be penalties for lateness, and bonuses would be awarded based on conduct, not performance.⁴¹¹ If we consider this in the context of this thesis, the rules that governed the pathway through which a talented working class cricketer could gain access, if not admission, to a higher social class, were being altered. No longer was the necessary cultural capital something one could pick up as a boy gathering balls at senior practice or playing with one's pals in the park. Now, what made a 'great cricketer' was the cultural capital one acquired at Eton and Cambridge – or at least, in lacking this knowledge, being respectable and aware of your place in the social hierarchy. This was not being done in the name of good cricket, but to enforce the cultural hegemony. Robert Grimston, present at the school's match in the previous chapter, was the prime mover for the change. Of Grimston's character, Birley writes he 'began as a young fogey and worked his way up to *eminence grise*: he was an utter reactionary, and greatly admired for it'.⁴¹²

The All England Eleven season usually took place during August and September, after important County fixtures had been completed. The two matches played outside of this time in June 1848 at Birmingham and Worcester were a sign of what was to come. From 1849 onwards the team would play from May through to September, although matches remained rare in July, the peak of the

⁴¹¹ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 89.

⁴¹² *Eminence grise*: lit. grey eminence; one holding power behind the scenes. After François Leclerc du Tremblay. Birley, 88.

traditional social season when the most important matches were played at Lord's and the Oval.

Clarke was making a statement: the professionals were taking their due.

In 1849 there was an attempt by the Marylebone Club, 'in consequence of so many applications' for the matches against Clarke's All England, to form a team of 'players of high standing', i.e. gentlemen, to take advantage of the fact that 'the lovers of cricket are on the increase'.⁴¹³ William Lillywhite, scion of one of cricket's most famous families, was appointed to select a side to be called the 'United Eleven'.⁴¹⁴ There were only a few games played under this guise in 1849, most notably against the Gentlemen of Kent, in which Lillywhite did not play. Some outlets ran lists of these 'unauthorised' games in their schedule alongside Clarke's All England matches, which led Clarke to write to *Bell's Life of London* to set the record straight.⁴¹⁵

The title of "The Eleven of England," although not registered by act of Parliament as a patented company, was assumed, not with any pride or vanity, but was so called that it might enjoy a "local habitation and a name" by which it might be distinguished from all other cricketing clubs, which, by way of distinction, very properly have a name. All I ask of you, sir, is to have the goodness to separate from the column in your paper those matches to be played by "The Eleven of England" from those to be played by another body of men, who, although they may be good cricketers in their way, have no right whatever to take advantage of our title. If your insertion of their matches in our name is by accident, I know you will adjust it; but I am very sorry to inform you I have every reason to believe it has been done with a mean minded design.

⁴¹³ 'Cricket', *Brighton Gazette*, 10 May 1849, 8.

⁴¹⁴ For future reference, in regard to the transnational cultural transfer theme of this story, it is worth noting that present at this meeting was W. J. Hammersley. He will reappear in our story in Australia under the *nom de plume* 'Longstop'. Also worth noting that this *United* is not the same as that referenced later in the chapter. 'Cricket Intelligence', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 May 1849, 5.

⁴¹⁵ For the remainder of this chapter "*Bell's*" will refer to *Bell's Life in London*. William Clarke, *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 September 1849, 6.

Clarke was very protective of his intellectual property! Through his sheer force of personality he became the sole owner of the title of 'England' in cricket. For the next few years, Clarke's men monopolised the "All England" name and the touring cricket circuit.

Clarke had six good seasons touring the All England Eleven across England from 1846 to 1851. At first, the cricketing community were excited at the prospect of seeing great cricket and the potential of this new touring team for spreading the cause of cricket. One early match against a

Sheffield v All England Redacted

20 of Sheffield at Hyde Park ground, Sheffield, in 1846 was described thus (Fig. 2):

*This important and interesting match was played ... before the largest number of spectators, we believe, that ever assembled to witness a match ... the interest excited, not only in the town and its immediate vicinity, but also amongst the lovers of this noble and manly amusement living at a considerable distance, was unusually intense.*⁴¹⁶

Figure 2: A.E.E. matches could draw large crowds, creating a boon to the prestige and finances of the host.

This is the cricket mythos being created in real time – propaganda reproducing cultural hegemony. Even as the writer proclaimed the wide popular support for cricket in the town, he reinforced class and gender norms. Notably, cricket was still the 'noble and manly game', not yet the game of Muscular Christianity, suffrage, and Empire it was becoming. This reinforced aristocratic values of

⁴¹⁶ 'Cricket', 5 September 1846, 7.

hierarchy along with concepts of fair play and honouring tradition. All these exhortations of cricket writers as to the importance of the game must still be taken with a grain of salt; Victorians were chronic exaggerators. What is important is that ‘the noble and manly game’ was now drawing people together from many different walks of life, across great distances, each paying their sixpence or more to watch coopers and coal miners bowl shooters and lobsters at dukes and earls.⁴¹⁷

1852 and the Fracturing of Clarke’s Dominance

Cricket and Politics Redacted

As seen in the previous chapter, politics were on everyone’s mind in 1852. The *Morning Advertiser*, on 3 May wrote (Fig. 3): ‘In approaching the present season, however, we have a larger and a greatly more injuring prospect, so far as our noble game is concerned, to struggle with – a general election’ which was to be ‘one of the hottest and one of the most angry that this country has witnessed since

Figure 3: The cross over between politics and cricket is highlighted by the assumption that most cricket people would be involved in the election in some way.

⁴¹⁷ A ‘shooter’ is a quick ball that skids on, more commonly applied to nineteenth century underarm bowling, but still in occasional use in the 20th century and beyond. A ‘lobster’ is both an underarm lob delivery, and the person who bowls it.

the days of the Reform Bill' and 'it has been feared by many leaders of the cricket world that our sport may be this year materially interfered with'.⁴¹⁸

The fact that an election was causing such consternation over the cricket fixture highlights how intertwined cricket and government were, as '[t]he instant it has been ascertained at what time the dissolution will take place, it is urged that large numbers of those who participate personally as operators or as spectators and supporters of matches, will abandon cricket and devote themselves to the labours and excitement of canvassing for the respective candidates'. Such is the cross over between politics and élite cricket that the M.C.C. and Surrey both expressed concerns that if the election were held in the two principal cricketing months of June and July crowds may be heavily reduced.

This political turmoil coincided with the fractures in the cricketing world. The details here are hazy and have to be pieced together from various newspaper sources.⁴¹⁹

Clubs began to announce their fixtures for the season sometime in early May 1852 for the matches to come in May and June. However, sometimes a club would announce an intention to play a team, but would not have been able to set a date, or would not yet have the agreement of the other team.⁴²⁰ The process for setting matches at Lord's also complicated fixturing. These would

⁴¹⁸ 'Cricket', *Morning Advertiser*, 3 May 1852, 6.

⁴¹⁹ One of the issues with newspaper sources from this period when trying to piece together exact chronology is that there was not the kind of consideration of getting the news out like we know today. If there was not enough space in an edition for an article, it just went in the next edition. Frequently, reports would be lifted out of one publication and reproduced in another. For example, regional newspapers would often reprint match reports from *Bell's*, sometimes weeks after the event. Having said that, here is as close a chronology as possible of the events of the summer of 1852.

⁴²⁰ This is not as odd as it seems; posting in the newspaper along the lines of 'we would like to play you guys, what do you think? June 2?' was a somewhat common method to organise matches.

be arranged unilaterally by the M.C.C. committee and announced at the annual general meeting in early May. Many matches were 'traditional', occupying the same date each year, but the Lord's announcement was still the first confirmation that the match would definitely be going ahead. On announcing the fixture, the 'hon. Secretary of the M.C.C. requests that the hon. Secretaries of other clubs will write to him in the event of any of the days name for matches being inconvenient'.⁴²¹ The right of Lord's to tell every other club what to do was indubitable.

The Lord's fixture for season 1852, set at the general meeting on 6 May, named matches through to August.⁴²² There was a big announcement from the proprietor of Lord's, Mr Dark, on the organisation of a match to be played between the counties of Sussex and Surrey against All England on 31 May at Lord's.⁴²³ This match had been foreshadowed as early as 16 April, when the *Nottingham Review*, which likely received its news directly from Clarke, published the All England matches for 1852, and announced a match at Lord's on 31 May against a team to be determined.⁴²⁴

For this match, and for the first time in forty years, a combined Sussex and Surrey Counties team was selected. All those All England players who were from one of the two Counties – with the exception of Fuller Pilch – played for the Counties. Five players from the combined Counties team

⁴²¹ 'Cricket', *The Morning Advertiser*, 8 May 1852, 6.

⁴²² Of note is a match advertised for 1 July between the M.C.C. and University of Oxford. This is a traditional match, but it is also the date advertised in many other fixtures as the date for a *South v North* match, which was a relatively new idea. *South v North* games were played from 1836 – 1838. From 1840 – 1848 there were one or two *M.C.C. v North* games a year. From 1849 *South v North* resumed, but as yet did not have a 'traditional' date. That M.C.C. effectively became South for a decade is indicative of the power struggles between the important southern clubs of Marylebone, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent; the latter three went through periods of struggle in the 40s, but were beginning to rebuild themselves as cricketing forces both on and off the field.

⁴²³ 'Cricket', 8 May 1852, 6.

⁴²⁴ 'The All England Matches for 1852', *Nottingham Review and General Advertiser For The Midland Counties*, 16 April 1852, 6.

had played for All England *against* Sussex in 1851. With some exceptions, this broke Clarke's side in half while pitting the cream of southern cricket against the best the north had to offer. To make up the places the now depleted All England named two gentlemen and a young Nottinghamshire professional, James Grundy, but this was not enough to avoid a 51 run loss in the two day game. At the time, it was widely reported as an All England match, however, the record books now record this as an England side.⁴²⁵

The first inkling of troubles for Clarke's All England side, and its eventual demise, came in the next match on 3 June at Kennington Oval in Surrey, where a combined Nottinghamshire and Surrey side were to meet 'England'.⁴²⁶ This had been advertised from as early as mid-April; before the M.C.C.'s scheduling *diktat* for matches to be played at Lord's.⁴²⁷ The match was advertised as '*Nottinghamshire and Surrey v England*' essentially right up until the teams were announced, when the punters were surprised to hear that Grundy and Wisden would not be appearing, as Grundy had been selected for Oxford, and Wisden had an 'extra duty' at Harrow, where he was employed as a coach.⁴²⁸ The match went ahead – albeit with a late start due to the confusion – as *Surrey (with Clarke, Bickley, and Parr) v All England Eleven*, much to the chagrin of those whom had already placed their bets.⁴²⁹ With Wisden and Grundy gone, the bowling was balanced by shifting Clarke and Parr over to the Surrey side, leading to the absurdity of the Notts men playing

⁴²⁵ 'Surrey and Sussex v. All England', *London Evening Standard*, 1 June 1852, 2; 'Surrey and Sussex v. All England', *Morning Advertiser*, 2 June 1852, 6; 'Surrey and Sussex v. All England', *Express*, 2 June 1852, 3.

⁴²⁶ Or occasionally 'The Eleven of England'. 'Cricket', *The Era*, 30 May 1852, 12; 'Cricket', *Kentish Mercury*, 29 May 1852, 4.

⁴²⁷ 'The All England Matches for 1852'.

⁴²⁸ 'Cricket', *Brighton Gazette*, 22 April 1852, 5. 'Surrey (with Clarke, Bickley, and Parr) v England', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 6 June 1852, 5.

⁴²⁹ The announced changes appear as early as May 30 in *Bells* (p.6), although still listing Grundy and Wisden as playing, but the side is now 'All England'. Followed on May 31 in the *Morning Post* and June 1 in *The Express*, the evening edition of the *Daily News*. However, many papers such as the *Morning Herald* do not have the alterations until the morning of the match, while some go into game day with the original fixture listed. 'Cricket', *Morning Herald*, 3 June 1852, 3; 'Cricket', *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 3 June 1852, 8. 'Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 6 June 1852, 6.

for the County against the team they created. Although this would seem to have been hardly necessary as Surrey took the win by seven wickets, and Clarke and Parr did little to assist, not bowling a ball and only scoring 16 runs between them.⁴³⁰

Wisden was the prime mover in the formation of the rival United All England Eleven in just a few months' time. Grundy was one of his first players. This was also the last All England Eleven game for the other founder of United, Jemmy Dean.

The reason behind the sudden departure was hinted at in William Caffyn's memoirs. Writing decades after the event, Caffyn recalled of this time:

*There had long been dissatisfaction among some of the Players against Clarke. It was thought that Clarke was coining money, and that they ought to be paid. I believe Wisden at the time put the matter straight to Clarke, who answered him somewhat roughly, and caused a breach between them.*⁴³¹

Given Wisden's last match for the All England Eleven had been the previous season, it is probable the bad blood between Wisden and Clarke had existed for some time, but at this stage was kept out of the mouths of the gossips. This is the probable reason for the switch of the game to *Surrey v All England*, as England lost Wisden, one of their most capable bowlers, and although Grundy was a Notts man, he was a relatively unknown quantity at this time. With all this going on, it was most likely once again a desire to keep a balanced match for the bookmakers that made the final decision to switch the sides. Whatever the reason, Clarke, Bickley, and Parr – all Notts – played on the Surrey side against their workmates.

⁴³⁰ Although Clarke was now 54 and could be expected to be doing little on the field, in terms of balls bowled 1852-1854 were Clarke's busiest years, even as his averages were starting to blow out.

⁴³¹ William Caffyn, *Seventy One Not Out* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1899), 74–75.

The next big match was *South v North* at Kennington Oval on 1-2 July 1852. While the *South v North* matches would become one of the most important traditional matches of the season, its current iteration was relatively new.⁴³² After an initial attempt with a handful of matches played in the 1830s had been abandoned, Wisden and George Parr revived the enterprise in 1849 to promote their new ground at Leamington Spa, located in the almost geographical centre of England. In 1852 the match was to be played at Lord's, but the Lord's committee cancelled the match in favour of the *Surrey v All England* match above. Mr Houghton, the proprietor of Kennington Oval, took over organisation and hosted the game at The Oval on July 1.⁴³³ This match was advertised under the All England fixture as *South v North*.⁴³⁴

The split between Wisden and Clarke had not yet grown so intransigent as for the two to refuse to play against each other, although this was coming. Out of the 22 who took the field for *South v North*, only two – young Gentleman Berry and veteran Player Heath – were not members of All England or the breakaway team Wisden would soon announce.

Then something unusual happened. The fixture in *Bells* on 11 July announced several new or altered matches.⁴³⁵ On 12 August, Surrey was to play 'The Eleven of England'. As mentioned earlier, 'Eleven of England' is a problematic title, so it is unclear who the intended side was to be, particularly as the All England fixture had that side playing Northamptonshire on 12 August.

⁴³² Matches between the South of England and North of England follow the normal sporting naming convention of having the home side listed first. For the sake of consistency, when referring to these matches collectively I will use *South v North*, but this includes *North v South* matches.

⁴³³ The Kennington Oval is commonly referred to as simply 'The Oval', and is Surrey's home ground. 'Cricketer's Register', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 20 June 1852, 6.

⁴³⁴ Individual team fixtures were printed under the team name in *Bell's* for important teams such as the M.C.C. and All England.

⁴³⁵ 'Cricketer's Register', 5.

Indeed, the All England Eleven were still occasionally being referred to in *Bell's* at this stage as The Eleven of England.⁴³⁶

On 25 July 1852, *Bell's* reported the Surrey committee had declined the 12 August match against The Eleven of England and that 'consequently Mr Houghton, of the Kennington Oval Ground has made arrangements' for a match between twenty-two Gentlemen of Surrey the following weekend. The list of names given – including Clarke and Parr – make it clear that in this instance 'The Eleven of England' is referring to one at least made up of Clarke's Players. That Houghton, the proprietor of Surrey's home ground, was able to organise this replacement match in All England's vacant 19 August date against 22 Gentlemen of Surrey, does not necessarily mean committee approval; the ground proprietor and county committee were separate entities.

Then the bombshell. On 8 August there was a new fixture in *Bell's*: The United Eleven of England. The *Brighton Gazette* says the side 'under the management of two of our best Sussex players, namely Dean and Wisden ... might aptly be termed "Young England"'.⁴³⁷ There was little other fanfare in the press; no account of how or why the team started or any indication of troubles lying under the surface. They just started appearing as another team in the list. However, their fixture belies their intentions. The first United match was to be on 19 August against a 22 from South Wiltshire at Portsmouth; the same date as Clarke's *All England Eleven v Surrey* match scheduled for The Oval. Although not competing for crowds like they would in coming months, it placed the Players in the position of having to choose for which team to turn out.

⁴³⁶ 'Cricketers' Register', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 11 July 1852, 6.

⁴³⁷ 'Sussex V. Surrey', *Brighton Gazette*, 26 August 1852, 5.

The second Dean and Wisden's United Eleven of England game is more interesting; they would be taking over the *Sussex v Surrey* fixture set for 23 August at Brighton, playing *United Eleven of England v Twenty-Two Gentlemen of Surrey*. Clarke's All England had a long scheduled match at Newton Abbott. By making the games concurrent, with the Twenty-Two Gentlemen of Surrey involved on each date, Surrey was given the opportunity to show whether they stood with the Sussex men, Dean and Wisden, against Clarke and the All England Eleven.

The finer slights here may not be immediately apparent. First, Notts County played their games at Trent Bridge – Clarke's former unsuccessful business venture. Of the starting eleven for All England, moreover, nine were either Notts or Surrey players. Surrey had implemented a birth rule in 1851; the first of its kind.⁴³⁸ To play for Surrey one had to be born in Surrey, further distinguishing county sides from professional contemporaries.⁴³⁹ The County of Surrey, was scheduling conflicts – in date and in title – with Clarke's side, including one at his former ground, something that must have rankled Clarke. What we are seeing here is somewhat of a three-fold battle: the personal conflicts between Wisden and Clarke were giving a field of play to the southern Counties to reinforce their regional and class hegemonies. *Wisden v Clarke* is a microcosm of both *South v North* and *Gentleman v Player*.

Although they were able to use this rift against the Players, the more powerful clubs, particularly the M.C.C. and Surrey, were still growing concerned that their power was being drawn away from them towards the professionals. One way this manifested was in the increasing control the clubs tried to exercise over the lives of their professionals as noted earlier. However, Wisden and Dean

⁴³⁸ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, 89.

⁴³⁹ By 1873 it was a requirement to nominate at the start of the season whether one would play for their county of residence or birth, although some clubs would keep strict birth rules well into the 20th century. It is worth noting for later reference that the secretary of Surrey at this time is John Burrup, who will feature in some of the letters later in this chapter.

were reliable. Although working class professional bowlers, they were more content with their place in the social hierarchy than the radical Clarke, who seemed to make a career out of upsetting the establishment. Additionally, the Sussex and Surrey County Clubs, along with Kent, were close in organisation and social circles. The association is evident in commonplace matches where the two weakest counties combined to play the strongest. Four clubs – Sussex, Surrey, Marylebone, and Kent – represented the bulk of cricketing power in the South. Clarke, and the man who would be his successor as both All England and Nottinghamshire captain, George Parr, and through them, the Nottinghamshire County Cricket Club, were the power in the North.⁴⁴⁰ In the light of this, it is hard to not see these scheduling conflicts as an implicit support of Wisden's side, at least above Clarke's. Of course, over time, the Counties would come out on top and the professional touring side would become a relic, but at this stage that outcome was far from certain. At the time a different expectation applied: if professional sides were inevitable, better support Dean and Wisden, the 'right kind of man', who knew his place in the social hierarchy and his role in the cricketing establishment.

The collusion of the Surrey and Sussex committees with Wisden's United against Clarke's All England seems clearly to have occurred in order to cause Clarke as many headaches as possible. Not just the *Notts v Surrey* match, but making the *Surrey v Sussex* match into a United England now upped the ante from 'choose between County and touring side' to 'choose between Wisden and Clarke'. Despite this, Nicholas Felix, the All England secretary, still showed up to do his duty for his County, with no retribution from Clarke.⁴⁴¹ The absence of Caffyn and Julius Caesar – Surrey

⁴⁴⁰ There was still a power struggle within Yorkshire – the largest county – over which town would be the County centre. The squabbling between Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield and others left Nottinghamshire as the most unified force in Northern cricket.

⁴⁴¹ A short note on Nicholas Felix, AKA Nicholas Wanostracht. Wanostracht was a teacher who played under a pseudonym lest his students' parents found his pastime inappropriate. He was a Kent stalwart for over 2 decades between the 1830s and 1850s, one of two gentlemen on the All England Eleven, and their secretary at the time these letters are being written. He invented the bowling machine, cricket gloves, and wrote one of the first cricket books, a combination memoir/instructional *Felix on the Bat*. More than anyone, Felix

men playing with All England against Devonshire – was noted by those attending the *Surrey v Sussex* match. The *Brighton Gazette* mentions an ‘untoward event, which we must be bold enough to say does not redound to the credit of the Surrey club’.⁴⁴² The author is speaking of the falling out happening behind the scenes as the cause for the missing Surrey players. The suggestion was made that Caffyn and Caesar did not show up due to the ‘niggardly system of economy’ adopted by Surrey.⁴⁴³ Even with complaints around Clarke’s tightfistedness, he was still paying more per fixture than the Counties.

The *Notts v Surrey* match did eventually go ahead on 2 September. Amongst the 22 taking the field were three United and ten All England players. The only eligible United player missing was Tom Nixon, one of Clarke’s loudest critics. Both sides followed this with matches on 6 September in Yorkshire; *All England v Bradford*, and *United v Sheffield*. Once again, this clash of fixtures may be purely coincidental, but one cannot help but feel the spite in Wisden’s scheduling; Sheffield and Bradford being close enough to each other that many fans had to choose which to attend. Caffyn, writing in his memoirs, certainly noted the frequency at which the early United matches started on the same day as All England matches.⁴⁴⁴ He also gave insight into Clarke’s mindset during this time:

*The following week the United defeated fifteen of Sheffield on the same day that we of the All England were beaten by twenty-two of Bradford, which made Old Clarke feel very bitter against the renegades. It was after their victory at Sheffield that the United (who had now been joined by Grundy) drew up a document to the effect that none of their players would ever take part in another match of which Clarke had the management.*⁴⁴⁵

represents the bridge between the old and the new, the amateur and the gentleman. Nicholas Felix and George Frederick Watts, *Felix on the Bat: Being a Scientific Inquiry Into the Use of the Cricket Bat; Together with the History and Use of the Catapulta. Also, The Laws of Cricket, as Revised by the Marylebone Club, 1845* (Baily Bros., 1845).

⁴⁴² ‘Sussex V. Surrey’.

⁴⁴³ ‘Sussex V. Surrey’.

⁴⁴⁴ Caffyn, *Seventy One Not Out*, 75.

⁴⁴⁵ Caffyn, 75.

The Great Cricket War of 1852/53

William Caffyn's memoirs were written almost half a century after these events in 1899. For the cricket fan in the 1850s, it would have been an absolute mess of a season trying to work out who was playing for whom, against whom, when, and where. However, this was not that unusual. For the fan not-in-the-know, the biggest indication there was a problem in the high halls of cricket would have been the appearance of a new team with 'All England' in the name. However, with the summer gone, and the cricketing pages of the newspaper still needing to be filled, the winter of 1852-53 provided a perfect opportunity for all those involved to express their feelings. In particular the following back-and-forth in the letters section of *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*.

Clarke, Felix, Burrup, Wisden, Lillywhite; some of the biggest names in the game – players and administrators – took to the pages of *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* and *The Era* to perform their personal conflicts. The inclusion of these letters is not mere historical curiosity. This thesis is a work of webs and networks, systems and processes, of power and capital. That this argument played out in the public sphere and not in private correspondence means they must be read as examples of Bourdieu's *performative* acts. The intended audience is not the person addressed in the letter – at least, not the *only* audience.

The 1850s was a period of great expansion in the press. New technologies were bringing cost down while widening distribution. With so many new newspapers and new readers, it was a time marked by experimentation in mode and form. The following exchange, although not by any means the *first* such public broadcasting of a personal dispute, does appear to be a relatively new experience

for the editor, whom at times seems unsure as to how to proceed. He was receiving letters from men of note on a topic of public interest relevant to the paper, of course he would print. However, as he would find out, he was perhaps getting more than he bargained for.⁴⁴⁶

A *Lover of Cricket* letter Redacted

It all began with letter published in *Bell's* on 5 December 1852, by A *Lover of Cricket* (Fig. 4 & 5).⁴⁴⁷ Who *Lover* was exactly, is a mystery, but we do know he was from Cambridge, suggesting a connection with the University, and that he was very anti-Clarke, although he protested that he was neither for one side nor against the other.⁴⁴⁸ The thrust of *Lover's* message was that

Clarke was abusing his position, underpaying players, overcharging towns visited, and misrepresenting his team as the best players in England. He noted that Wisden had already left

Figure 4: A *Lover of Cricket* outlines some of Clarke's abuses of power.

⁴⁴⁶ It is worth noting that Clarke's side of the story appears reprinted in *Bell's*, his letters appearing in *The Era*, a paper owned and operated in the interests of publicans, Clarke's trade.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 5 December 1852, 6.

⁴⁴⁸ I have a guess as to *Lover's* identity, see fn. 75.

the side due to his treatment by Clarke.⁴⁴⁹ *Lover* argued that a newly-formed committee of players from All England must be put in charge. He suggested several of the older, established professionals and gentlemen, not young up & comers.⁴⁵⁰ *Lover* also named a group of players who had signed not to play for or against Clarke, and have formed a new team, the United Eleven of England.⁴⁵¹ This team was established on a 'far better principle' and with the 'best cricketers'. He stressed that he believed Clarke's team to be 'honourable', but then immediately retold a rumour they fixed matches. Clarke's side, according to *Lover*, were 'totally injurious to the noble and manly game of cricket'. He hoped 'the unmanly and dishonest system of conducting cricket will next season be entirely abolished, and the game played in that honourable manner in which it was intended'.

Noble and Manly Values Redacted

There are a few notable things here. First, the use of the phrase 'manly and noble game'. Along with praising Clarke's virtue immediately before denigrating him, the use of this appellation is indicative of the conflicting values that often

Figure 5: A *Lover of Cricket* reinforces the 'noble and manly' values better represented by Wisden's side than Clarke's.

surrounded gentlemanly conduct. *Lover* has a clear distaste for the commercialisation of cricket, and his desire that it should return to its amateur roots is one of the very first expressions of one of cricket's favourite fights. Some variation of this argument is extant in every era of cricket – so much of what was being written about Clarke's side in the 1850s could, with a little language

⁴⁴⁹ Wisden had already opened the Leamington Spa ground with George Parr, however, Parr remained loyal to Clarke during this period.

⁴⁵⁰ The recommendations were: Felix, Hillyer, Pilch, Mynn, and Box.

⁴⁵¹ These were 'Dean, Wisden, Chatterton, Grundy, John Lillywhite, Adams, Hunt, Wright, Nixon, George Brown, Picknell, Sherman, Lockyer, and others'.

update, be an article from the 1970s about World Series Cricket or be found in a paper today lamenting how T20 is destroying contemporary cricket. Much like today's argument about whether a player is 'focussed' or 'prioritised' correctly – as if they are the property of the national board – in the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of putting one's livelihood ahead of the interests of the County board was seen as a failure of character, violating the 'manly and noble' principles of the game.

Debate now raged in *Bell's*. Writing a week later in response to *Lover*, *Middle Off* suggested that

if the players were
protesting over
something such as
selection of the best

Middle Off letter Redacted

Figure 6: *Middle Off* supports strikes in the name of good cricket, but 'not for £ s d'.

team, then it is all fair and

good, and 'the public will back them' (Fig. 6).⁴⁵² However, if it is 'only a strike for £ s d' then those who think they should be in the side for more money should just challenge Clarke's team and prove their worth.

This matters in the context of 1852. The previous decade had been one of growing labour discontent. It was a decade of great Chartist marches lobbying for democratic change and when people argued over 'the state of England'. A series of strikes had taken place across the country. In an article in the *New York Daily Tribune*, on 27 September 1853, Karl Marx wrote of these strikes as what was coming to be known as the 'wages movement'.⁴⁵³ *Middle Off* states that if the players

⁴⁵² 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 December 1852, 8.

⁴⁵³ This period of Marx's life, when he was writing for the *New York Daily Tribune*, living in London and seeing the industrial unrest in England, was central to the development of *Das Kapital*. Although some argue that Marx misunderstood England it is worthy to note that one of the seminal and most influential works of economic analysis was written in this place, at this time. Marx was very involved in all of the geopolitical

are striking on behalf of the good of cricket, then the public would support them, inferring that if the players were aligning with the wages movement, the public would not. This dispute cannot be viewed simply through the lens of an interpersonal spat between cricketers, although it definitely is that. It is also a metaphor for social change and debates going on in mid-Victorian society.

Wicket letter Redacted

This class consciousness was highlighted in a letter from *Wicket*, who, generally supported *Lover*.⁴⁵⁴ However, *Wicket* hints that he knows *Lover*, and while his cricket knowledge is unimpeachable, 'he is to be excused occasional class prejudice' (Fig. 7). Despite this, his view on what was the spirit of cricket was essentially the same. Cricket, for *Wicket*, was now a 'commodity' – not a

Figure7: *Wicket* agrees that cricket should not be a commodity.

positive thing – and that he 'should be glad if touring was stopped', something he was convinced would happen. *Wicket* urged cricket to spread across England, county by county; professionals should 'look upon themselves as servants, and not masters'. *Wicket* did push back on some of *Lover's* accusations, believing him to have unfairly slighted some men.

machinations of which we have been discussing in this work. See: Miles Taylor, 'The English Face of Karl Marx', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 1, no. 2 (March 1996): 227–53.

⁴⁵⁴ *Wicket*, 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 December 1852, 6.

Felix letter Redacted

Nicholas Felix, a member of Clarke's committee, wrote to state the offense he took to *Lover's* letter, particularly being accused of being 'gulled', and that *Lover* must have 'written off his notes under the influence of an evil-

Figure 8: Nicholas Felix took exception to Lover's criticisms.

minded partiality' (Fig. 8).⁴⁵⁵

On 19 December, a full two columns were dedicated to the argument, with a response from *Lover*, and various other anonymous notes supporting or chastising the various people involved.

A letter from John Burrup, secretary of Surrey, really got to the true friction at the root of the dispute, however: Caffyn and Caesar – two of Clarke's superstars – refusing to play for Surrey against England on 12 July unless they received the same pay rate as Martingell (Fig.

John Burrup letter Redacted

Figure 9: John Burrup of Surrey sets the record straight.

9).⁴⁵⁶ This was the day after the announcement of Wisden's side. Burrup signs off stating the

⁴⁵⁵ Nicholas Felix, 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 December 1852, 8.

⁴⁵⁶ John Burrup, 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 December 1852, 6.

players must have been ‘led away by the bad advice of others’, highlighting the paternalistic attitude those in administrative roles at County clubs held towards their professional players.

Clarke letter Redacted

Clarke’s response – originally published in *The Era* – was extracted in *Bell’s* on 2 January 1853 (Fig. 10).⁴⁵⁷ It was mostly a rebuttal to the many personal attacks made

Figure 10: Although not sent to *Bell’s*, the editor published Clarke’s letter.

against Clarke and his bowling by *Lover*, but he did state that his dispute with Wisden was not over money.⁴⁵⁸ It is worth noting the editor included this letter, even though it had not been sent to *Bell’s*, with the justification *audi alterem partem*, or ‘listen to the other side’. No doubt the editor’s motivation was pecuniary – one could not have the opposition winning the eyeballs of the public – but it is notable that there was an attempt to provide a veil of legitimacy by appealing to a sense of fair play.

⁴⁵⁷ William Clarke, ‘Notes on Cricket’, *Bell’s Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 January 1853, 6.

⁴⁵⁸ There is also a clue here as to whom *Lover* was. Clarke alludes to a *not Sorrywether*, the portly barrister. This is likely the younger brother of Cambridge cricketer William Stephens Turner Mellish Merywether, Marcus Turner. Marcus was a barrister, and like his brother, had taken the name *Turner* over *Merywether* to satisfy an inheritance. ‘William Turner Estate: Authorizing Building Leases and Investment of Money in Real Estates, and Other Provisions Act 1845’, vLex, accessed 30 January 2021, <https://vlex.co.uk/vid/william-turner-estate-authorizing-808104841>.

Bell's followed with *Lover's* response, in which he responded to Clarke's letter point by point, beginning by noting that Clarke not sending his letter to *Bell's* 'proves his incapability to "answer"' *Lover*. It was another tirade against Clarke, attacking not just his management, but his playing abilities.

Then came Wisden's response, the first we hear in his words (Fig. 11). Wisden made sure readers knew he had not been following the dispute –

his 'attention has been called' to it. He was above the fray, and only entered on this occasion 'in justification of [his] character as a cricketer' and that 'it would be wrong if I did not make some reply as a public man'. He wrote that Clarke 'has tried for the last two years to do me all the injury he could, but for what reason I am at a loss to imagine' and 'I should perhaps not have left him had he treated me as a cricketer'. Wisden regarded Clarke's attacks on Lillywhite and Dean as 'unmanly', again linking back to gendered values of honour. Likewise, the idea 'Do you call this cricket? I think not' is reinforcing that off-field matters require the same 'gentlemanly' conduct as is expected on-field – an early conception of the phrase 'it's just not cricket' as applying to behaviour outside the game itself. Wisden stated that 'the signing of names' against Clarke was because 'Clarke is not much liked by the majority of the players'. Wisden signs off: 'In conclusion

Wisden letter Redacted

Figure 11: Wisden felt compelled 'as a public man' to respond to published critiques.

I, on behalf of the United Eleven, will thank Mr Clarke not to interfere with our match making, as we shall not trouble ourselves with him'. The language Wisden deployed here shows that the dispute had become intensely personal.⁴⁵⁹

On 9 January it was Nixon's turn to defend himself against Clarke.⁴⁶⁰ Like Wisden, Nixon accused Clarke of 'trying to do me all the injury in his power, and for what cause I cannot tell' and suggested that:

*if Mr Clarke goes through England, looking over hedge-rows or bye-lanes to find new talent for the public to see, it is not without interested motives, for he is not the man to do a good action for a brother cricketer without making him pay very handsomely for it.*⁴⁶¹

Additionally, Nixon alluded to Caffyn and Caesar:

*When these men whom Mr Clarke has been at so much trouble to find get a connection which enables them to get engagements for themselves, he turns round upon them and calls them imposters, and not worth two penny postage stamps.*⁴⁶²

Following the Nixon letter came Clarke's response to Wisden; another tirade of self-promotion and defence of his actions and abilities.⁴⁶³ Clarke alluded to the Caffyn/Caesar affair, saying he had nothing to do with it, and that the newly formed *United* side was not in spite of him, as he had a hand in setting it up when his side could not make a match – this is completely unsupported by

⁴⁵⁹ Also printed alongside were a letter from William Lillywhite, asking Clarke to recall his accusation that he was acting in concert with *Lover*, and a letter from Frederick Lillywhite defending his father. Everyone who was anyone was writing to Bell's and they were more than willing to publish the feud of the cricketing powerhouses.

⁴⁶⁰ William Clarke, 'Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1853, 6.

⁴⁶¹ Thomas Nixon, 'Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 January 1853, 6.

⁴⁶² Nixon, 'Cricket'.

⁴⁶³ Clarke, 'Cricket'.

any other evidence, and is likely Clarke protecting his pride. In his post-script, Clarke foreshadowed one of the major coming issues in cricket – the retirement of old professionals.⁴⁶⁴

Bell's on 16 January was a flurry of letters from the great and powerful in cricket.⁴⁶⁵ Jemmy Dean, Russell Martingell, and John Lillywhite – all of United – weigh in to the ongoing debate. Clarke himself has another long letter in his own defence, while Edward Martin, the professional at Oxford University, wrote in with his experience of Clarke's underhandedness: Clarke claimed he had 'something to do with getting up the eleven at Oxford ... but on the contrary, did all he could to prevent our having the match'.⁴⁶⁶

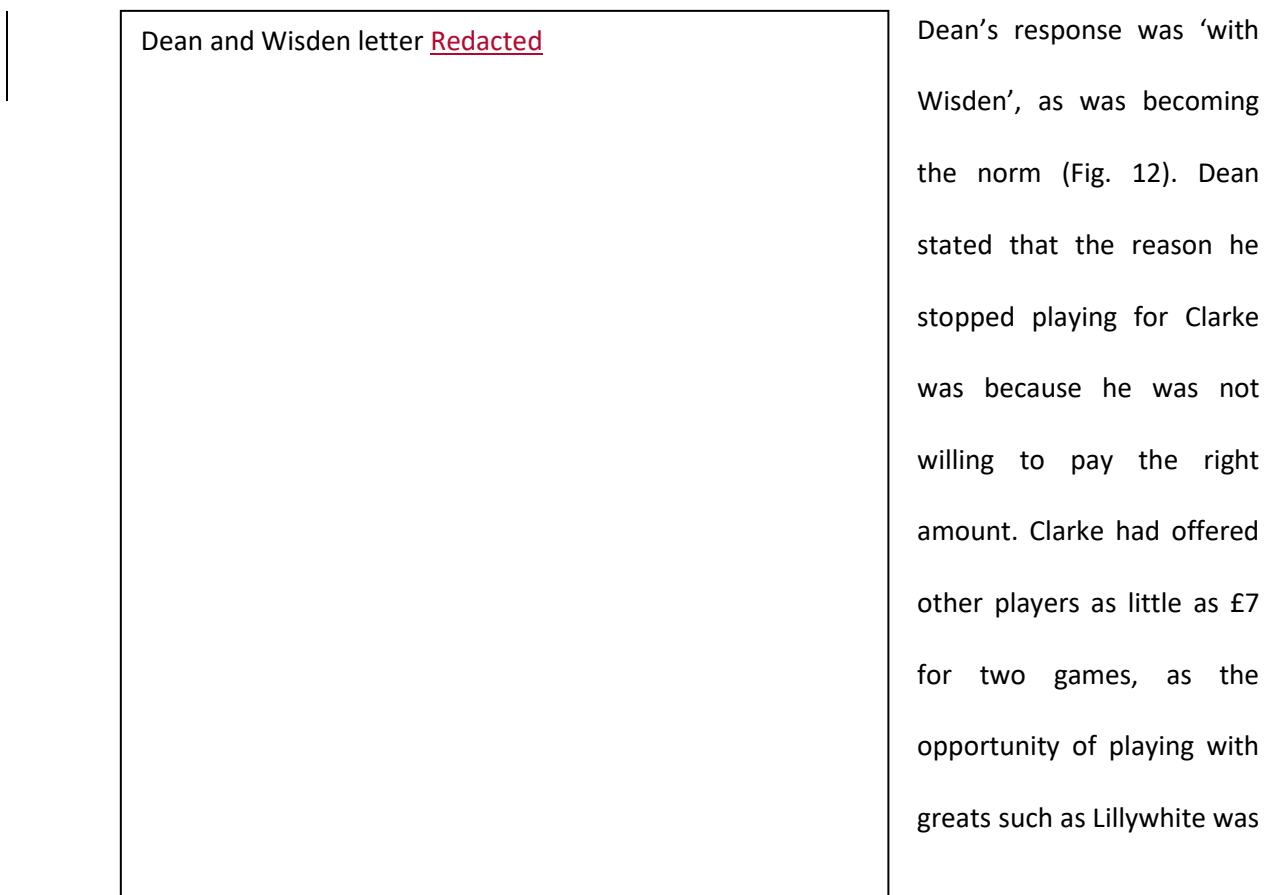


Figure 12: Dean and Wisden respond to Clarke

⁴⁶⁴ We will return to this issue in Chapter 5 when we examined the cricketer's mutual fund.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 January 1853, 6.

⁴⁶⁶ Edward Martin, 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 January 1853, 6.

worth more than money. Dean's response also gives an interesting insight into the social class attitudes of the time. He acknowledges the difference in cultural capital between the professional and gentleman cricketer, stating he 'know[s] [his] inability to write', yet the writing on display is not what we might consider illiterate; there is a subtle deference to his social superiors (who also include his patrons). There is also an acknowledgement of the differences in social capital: 'but if I had been at either of the public schools for education, I should not have been attacked by Clarke'.⁴⁶⁷ There is also a denial that either he or Wisden have anything to do with *Lover*, an accusation levelled by Clarke in a previous letter. Reflecting Wisden, Dean would normally not assume to have opinions, but in the case of direct accusations against him he must defend his honour. This highlights the precarious position the players were in – on the one side were the Counties, restricting their pay, but absolutely necessary for their reputation; on the other side was Clarke, who although he paid more than the Counties, still treated his employees with the same disdain they received from their social betters at the Counties. With Clarke they were mercenaries, with Wisden they were *United*.

Martingell letter Redacted

Martingell's response to Clarke was likewise scathing of the latter's behaviour; criticising him for restricting the opportunities the professionals had to make money, and supporting Wisden's comments regarding him being unpleasant to play for and with,

Figure 13: Martingell sets the record straight.

adding the revelation that the players themselves were funding Clarke's salary (Fig. 13).⁴⁶⁸ What

⁴⁶⁷ It is interesting that Martingell says 'either of the public schools'. This refers to Eton and Harrow, highlighting the precarious nature of Winchester's place in school's week seen in Chapter 1.

⁴⁶⁸ William Martingell, 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 January 1853, 6.

is most remarkable with this letter is Martingell's lack of restraint. Discussing problems over money was bad enough, but his intimate detailing of finances was uncouth. Martingell leaves no doubt that he felt pushed to this by Clarke. For those readers who did not wish to read the full tirade, he neatly surmises in his post script: 'I beg to say that I left Clarke from unmanly treatment, and will never again play for him'.

John Lillywhite's letter was a response to a comment *Wicket* had made about the bowling of Rugby (Fig. 14).⁴⁶⁹ Although it is

John Lillywhite letter Redacted

Figure 14: John Lillywhite appeals for civility.

yet another example of the appeal to civility shown in several of these letters, the main reason for including it here is the reference to the 'perfectly fair' bowling of Wills. This is referring to Tom Wills, a young cricketer from Victoria studying at Rugby school, where John was the cricket coach. Tom – and his proximity to the cricketing elite during his time in England – is the subject of the next chapter. That he appears on the page during this great debate further reinforces Wills' close proximity to the centre of cricket.

Clarke's letter – this time sent directly to *Bell's* rather than *The Era* – was full of the same self-praising bravado as before, although this time there did seem to be somewhat of an olive branch to Wisden and Martingell, appealing to them for forgiveness if teams were at times not chosen on merit. However, he challenges all to bring substance to the slander on his name, and perhaps unadvisedly, brought Robert Grimston and Frederick Ponsonby, who held important roles in the

⁴⁶⁹ John Lillywhite, 'Notes on Cricket', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 January 1853, 6.

M.C.C., Surrey, and I Zingari, into the argument on his side. Despite everything, even Clarke was still appealing to the establishment to settle the argument.

After this flurry of spite and venom, the editor of the paper seemed to be getting the sense that publishing this dispute may not be in the best interests of cricket, his readers, or his paper, writing after the letters:

*We did intend this week to put an end to this correspondence; but, as we have several interesting letters remaining on our desk which we cannot find room for at present, we shall insert them next week, after which no more communications will be published by us.*⁴⁷⁰

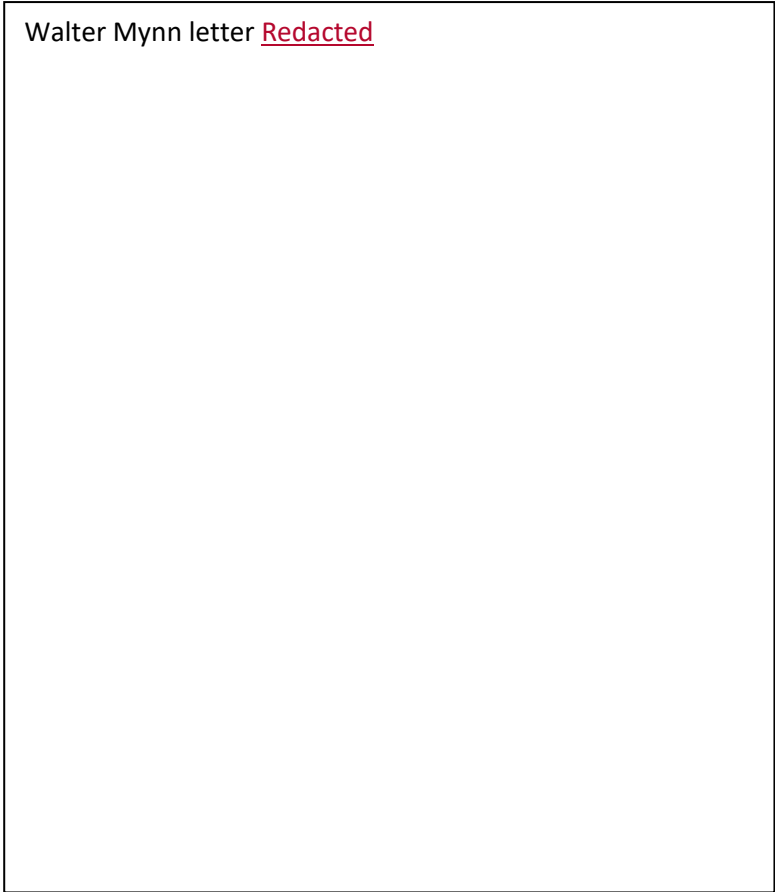
There is still the sense of fair play outlined in the opening of the section – those who have spoken will be heard – but there is also the statement that this concludes the discussion; in the pages of *Bell's* at least.

Dragging in members of the established order by name was arguably a misstep for Clarke. The Editor follows this up the next week with 'We have received letters from the "Lover of Cricket" and others, but, wishing to bring this controversy to a conclusion, we must decline inserting them', but points out that *Lover* was calling on Clarke to put his records of the incidents to the public, rather than 'two distinguished gentlemen' (Grimston and Ponsonby).⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷⁰ 'Notes on Cricket', 16 January 1853, 6.

⁴⁷¹ 'Cricket Notes', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 January 1853, 6. An interesting side bar is that the editor of *Bell's* until his death in October 1852 was Vincent Dowling. This feud occurs in the first months of his son's tenure as editor. This likely accounts for the increase in personal correspondence that allowed the argument to occur so publicly, as well as the abrupt stop when it seemed there would be no end to the personal acrimony being displayed in the pages of his publication.

Walter Mynn letter Redacted



The editor's choice of who to publish in the final week of the dispute should not be considered random or without thought. The editor was not just being fair to both sides. The first letter in the week of 23 January was penned by Walter Mynn, brother of Kent legend Alfred Mynn, who wrote of the 'chasm widening, and an ill feeling spreading' amongst 'those whom I had fancied

Figure 15: Walter Mynn reminds all cricketers of what is expected of them.

were as closely united as Freemasons' (Fig. 15). He implores: 'that the public have nothing to do with their private quarrels' and they 'should meet among disinterested friends' to settle their 'real and imagined differences'.⁴⁷² Finally, Mynn calls *Lover* to account: 'It is unmanly to attack (perhaps) better men than himself, and withhold his name' – another appeal to honour as a masculine value. Then he gives us a real sense of the hegemonising of cricket as English culture: 'Whether he be of aristocratic or plebeian origin it matters not; he is no Englishman if he refuses to let us know who and what he is'.

⁴⁷² The author signs as 'Wm Mynn'. Wm is usually William, and William is Walter and Alfred's father's name. In the letter the author mentions 'my brother Alfred', so it is assumed this is Walter. Walter Mynn, 'Cricket Notes', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 January 1853, 6.

This should be read as the editor giving the final word to a name respected in both cricketing and social circles. Far be it from the editor to tell these greats they do themselves harm by continuing the public spat, but this is exactly what the editor is saying with this choice. The editor concludes:

We have received letters from the “Lover of Cricket” and others, but, wishing to bring this controversy to a conclusion, we must decline inserting them. The former, however, states that Clarke had better place his statements before the public, and not have two distinguished gentlemen who would have nothing whatever to do with it. We shall decline inserting any further communication on the subject.

This last note by the editor may be the biggest difference in the media of then and now – it is almost impossible to imagine a publication refusing to continue to publish a public row between celebrities for the sake of decorum. The editor was true to their word. This was the end of the war in the pages of *Bell's*. Exactly what was at the core of it was opaque to the contemporary readers of *Bell's*; journalists themselves did not speculate on gossip such as this. What was made clear by this dispute was that Clarke had by the season 1852 pushed away many of the best cricketers in England through a mixture of underpay and lack of respect, while further isolating the southern Counties. While Clarke was alive the northern based All England Eleven and the southern based United All England Eleven would never meet.

Conclusion

This controversy marked the beginning of an increasing disdain for the touring elevens. Less and less were they lauded for their efforts at spreading the ‘manly and noble game’, and more and more were they being accused of lewd profitability. At the end of 1854, there was an exchange between a few cricket lovers in the pages of *Bell's*, chiefly concerned with the poor showing of the Gentlemen at the Players match that season. The feeling was the professionals were giving up for

the 'sake of a few guineas' that upon which their fame – and hence their profitability – were made: playing at Lord's.

Although this was definitely a deeply personal dispute between Clarke and Wisden, it was at the same time a pull between the poles of power in the cricketing world. Wisden and United supported the interests of the southern Counties, where the County came first and touring was a luxury allowed for other times. Clarke and All England supported the interests of the northern Counties – led by Nottinghamshire – and the rights for professionals to have a say in their destiny; especially in terms of being able to set the value for their services – even if within Clarke's side this was not always the case.

In this one battle of wills, we witness a seminal moment in two of the great rivalries in cricket: *South of England v North of England*, and *Gentlemen v Players* – with all the class connotations that came with that. The industrialised North, with labour unrest bubbling to the surface, and great men of new wealth forcing their way into the ranks of the aristocracy, versus the landed South, desperately trying to hold on to traditions and the old ways, and most importantly, their base of power.

With Clarke's death in 1856 an *entente cordiale* fell across the cricketing landscape. In 1857, the All England Eleven, now under the direction of George Parr – whom had recently inherited a fortune enough to be a proper gentleman from his father – finally met Wisden's United side in two benefit matches; one for Jemmy Dean was agreed to by the All England Eleven on the condition that the United England Eleven would agree to a return match for the Cricketer's Fund,

a professional cricketer's retirement scheme that had been recently revived by Fred Lillywhite.⁴⁷³ The reporting in *Bells* makes it clear nearly every time they mention the match in the lead up that the game is to be played on 'friendly terms' and that 'bygones are bygones'.⁴⁷⁴ With the domineering personality of Clarke out of the way, the professionals of England were able to focus on collectively improving their lot.

⁴⁷³ This iteration of the Cricketer's Fund seems to be a combination of the M.C.C. and Player's attempts to form such a fund. Under the direction of Fred Lillywhite, the fund included a board made up of influential gentlemen and members of the Elevens. This is examined further in Chapter 5.

⁴⁷⁴ 'Dean's Benefit and the Two Elevens', *Bell's Life In London and Sporting Chronicle*, 5 April 1857, 7.

Chapter 3: Tom Wills in England 1855-56

In the previous chapter we saw how cricket was used to spread the hegemonic culture northwards out of the metropole and across the British Isles. In this chapter we will focus on a single person, Tom Wills, from his carefree childhood playing games with Indigenous children in south-east Australia to the strict rigidity of Rugby School, with a primary focus on his two final years in England before returning to Melbourne.

The theme of this chapter is 'proximity' and how shared spaces – literal and figurative – open a space for cultural and social reproduction.

Through Wills, this chapter will upset the established assumption in the literature that cultural transfer between England and Australia – particularly through cricket – was strictly a one way affair until the Australians started sending teams to England. It will show how Wills' proximity to a wide range of cultural influences – his cultural context – must be read alongside documentary evidence, and how inference from context can increase our understanding of the past.

Proximity

The great sociologist of power and social distinctions Pierre Bourdieu argued that 'perceptual configurations, social *Gestalten*, exist objectively' and that these 'social *Gestalten*' tend to be 'immediately perceptible social units, such as socially distinct regions or neighbourhoods (with spatial segregation), or sets of agents endowed with entirely similar visible properties, such as

Weber's *Stände*'.⁴⁷⁵ In other words, the *fields* we are *thrown* into are objective – we can quantify things like race, gender, and class – we perceive people as connected to a particular group based on their proximity to categories representative of that group, such as location or status (*Stände*). For instance, if a man has the trappings of a gentleman – a title, fine clothes, up-market address, etc. – and he socialises with other men of gentlemen, we will perceive this man as belonging to a certain economic class, even if the title was all the man inherited, and his clothes and address were leased or bought on credit far beyond the means the man has to pay for them.

This is the approach I want to adapt to the study of cricket. I am interested in its socio-spatial 'proximities', and especially in the 'close' relations of power shaping the game at the moment when it also came to represent things that were important about 'whiteness', about 'class' and about an imperialism of the 'British'.

For Bourdieu this space is:

*a set of distinct and coexisting positions which are exterior to one another and which are defined in relation to one another through relations of proximity, vicinity, or distance, as well as through order relations, such as above, below, and between.*⁴⁷⁶

As argued by Bottero and Crossley, Bourdieu leans too heavily on the idea that '[c]oncrete relationships are a function of habitus', whilst ignoring the inverse: that habitus is also a function of concrete relationships.⁴⁷⁷ Phenomenology inherently appreciates that this relationship is

⁴⁷⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', *Theory and Society* 14, no. 6 (November 1985): 730.

⁴⁷⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus' (Lecture, Vilhelm Aubert Memorial Lecture, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, 15 May 1995), 11.

⁴⁷⁷ Wendy Bottero and Nick Crossley, 'Worlds, Fields and Networks: Becker, Bourdieu and the Structures of Social Relations', *Cultural Sociology* 5, no. 1 (March 2011): 102; Nirmal Puwar, 'Sensing a Post-Colonial Bourdieu: An Introduction', *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 3 (August 2009): 371–84.

bidirectional; that habitus and relationships are mutually reproducing each other.⁴⁷⁸ This happens through proximity. Merleau-Ponty further explains this in *Phenomenology of Perception*:

*Our perceptual field is made up of 'things' and 'spaces between things'. The parts of a thing are not bound together by a merely external association arising from their interrelatedness observed while the object is in movement ... IF we set ourselves to see as things the intervals between them, the appearance of the world would be just as strikingly altered as that of the puzzle at the moment when I pick out 'the rabbit' or 'the hunter'. There would not be simply the same elements differently related, the same sensations differently associated, the same text charged with a different sense, the same matter in another form, but in truth another world.*⁴⁷⁹

What Merleau-Ponty is describing here is that our perceptual configuration is not the sum of its parts – it is not a 'reflex'.⁴⁸⁰ Rather, our perceptual configuration is mediated through our bodies, taking into account not just physical internal stimuli, but how we process that stimuli using our past experiences. To return to the analogy of the impoverished gentleman above – we see the trappings of wealth and the high social status and *infer based on past experience* of those in proximity to those qualities that he is a gentleman. In Merleau-Ponty's words: 'the past is the atmosphere of my present'.⁴⁸¹ In this we can see how Merleau-Ponty is beginning to look beyond *structures*, and is specifically rejecting a binary between the perceiver and the perceived that ultimately leads to the post-structuralism of later philosophers such as Deleuze and Derrida.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁸ This involves the processes outlined in the introduction under the headings 'Heidegger', 'Phenomenological Space', and 'Thrown embodied body-subjects'.

⁴⁷⁹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception: An Introduction*, trans. Colin Smith, Repr, Routledge Classics (London: Routledge, 2006), 18.

⁴⁸⁰ Merleau-Ponty further expands on reflex behaviour, including a criticism of empiricist views such as Bourdieu's in *The Structure of Behaviour* (although obviously he does not refer to Bourdieu, given he is writing before Bourdieu's main works were written). Merleau-Ponty, *The Structure of Behavior*, 8–17.

⁴⁸¹ Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, 442.

⁴⁸² There is much more to this rejection, and the subsequent emergence of post-structuralism, particularly Merleau-Ponty's discussion with Sartre regarding Hegel's Master-Slave dialectic. Jack Reynolds, *Understanding Existentialism* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 129–32; 163–76.

In the field of History this turn away from binary explanations was prefigured by E.P. Thompson. Although Thompson outlined his objections to structuralism best in 1978's *The Poverty of Theory* his rejections can be seen earlier in *The Making of the English Working Class* in a way that is directly related to the concept of proximity as it has been thus far explained. Thompson writes of class as not a "'structure", nor even ... a "category", but ... something which in fact happens ... in human relationships'.⁴⁸³ Class is not something that just exists, a collection of various attributes, but is created by our proximity to other humans. For our gentleman, it is not just his title, clothes, and house that make him a gentleman, but his acceptance as a gentleman by other gentleman; i.e. his proximity.⁴⁸⁴

With mid-nineteenth-century cricket specifically in mind there are two important points to consider: proximity in a physical space, and proximity in a social space.⁴⁸⁵ The Gentleman and Player both share a physical proximity when playing together on the cricket field that they do not share in a social sense. Likewise, a Yorkshire aristocrat is sharing a social proximity with his London peers that he does not share in a physical sense. We saw both types of proximity acting in concert in the relationships between the notables mentioned in Chapter 1 at the School's Week. However, these were largely members of a homogeneous group; élites connected to cricket.

⁴⁸³ Although Thompson is specifically talking about class and excluded other categories such as race and gender, this idea that 'structures' are really interdependent relationships has been extended to race and class by later scholars, notably the Subaltern Studies Group. Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 9; Robert Gregg, 'Class, Culture and Empire: E. P. Thompson and the Making of Social History', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11, no. 4 (1998): 419–60; Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, Rev. ed, Gender and Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

⁴⁸⁴ This process is examined in more detail in Chapter 4.

⁴⁸⁵ I know this simplifies Bourdieu's *proximity*, which he placed as just within the physical space, something separate to distance. I prefer the lay understanding of 'proximity,' and I apply it to both the physical and social space. Together these 'proximities' prompt reproduction.

This chapter broadens this perspective. Taking place in much the same physical and social space as those already examined in Chapters 1 and 2, the lens now shifts to a player entering this space from a geographically different place, i.e. from Australia.

Tom Wills came from a more nebulous social space, his family having enough wealth to send him to England for his Rugby School education and for a few years as a 'gentleman cricketer' following his 'graduation', but with an understanding that he was to return to work for a living, and in a colony! Wills also had something none of his public school cohort had: the convict stain, being descended from a transportee. Examining Tom Wills' time in England, shows how 'proximity' increased his potential social and economic status, as well as offering a perfect case study of how cultural reproduction (i.e., cricket) spread across the Empire.

Childhood in Victoria

Tom Wills is arguably the most famous sportsman from the colony of Victoria. He has been credited as being the 'father of Victorian cricket' and 'the father of Australian football'.⁴⁸⁶ His impact on the sporting life of Australia was immense. Wills was a rare third-generation Australian in the mid-nineteenth century. His step-grandfather, George Howe, had been a printer at *The Times* in London when transported to Sydney for shoplifting in 1800.⁴⁸⁷ As a convict, Howe worked for the government printer in Sydney – printing the first book in Australia in 1802, and setting up the first newspaper, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* in 1803, before receiving

⁴⁸⁶ Trevor Ruddell, 'The Marngrook Story: A Documentary History of Aboriginal Ballgames in South-Eastern Australia', *Sporting Traditions* 32, no. 1 (May 2015): 29; Murray G. Phillips and Gary Osmond, 'Australian Indigenous Sport Historiography: A Review', *Kinesiology Review*, no. 7 (May 2018): 197; 'A Notable Pioneer', *Argus*, 12 March 1921.

⁴⁸⁷ Robert Pascoe and Gerardo Papalia, "'A Most Manly and Amusing Game": Australian Football and the Frontier Wars', *Postcolonial Studies* 19, no. 3 (2 July 2016): 4.

a full pardon in 1806.⁴⁸⁸ Howe married a wealthy widow Eliza Wills, whose first husband Edward had also been transported. Edward and Eliza's son, Horatio Wills, took over the editing of the *Gazette* from his step-father, and also published one of the earliest nationalist newspapers, *Currency Lad*.⁴⁸⁹ After his marriage in 1833 Horatio took up a pastoral lease on the lands of the Ngunnawal in the current day Australian Capital Territory. Horatio was soon one of the first European settlers to overland to the Port Phillip District in 1839, where as a squatter, he made a fortune. Horatio was elected to the Victorian Legislative Council in 1855 – by which time he had stopped identifying as a squatter and started calling himself an agriculturalist.⁴⁹⁰

Tom Wills was a small boy during that overland trek. He grew up on the pastoral lease on the lands of the Jardwadjali, near Gariwerd (the Grampians) in Victoria. Here he formed a 'close relationship' – to the point of learning their language – with the children of the Jardwadjali who worked, or even still lived, on the Wills' station at Mount William.⁴⁹¹ As a staunch nationalist, and from a family with a marked 'convict stain', it is notable that Horatio chose to send his son to England for his secondary schooling.⁴⁹² Even though the family were proud of being 'Australian natives' and

⁴⁸⁸ J. V. Byrnes, 'Howe, George (1769–1821)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, published first in hardcopy 1966, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/howe-george-1600>.

⁴⁸⁹ The term 'currency lads and lasses' referred to the first generation of Australian born colonists, in opposition to the British born 'sterling' lads and lasses. The insinuation being one of illegitimacy. The *Currency Lad* paper had been founded specifically to 'protect the interests of the native born'. It lasted only nine months. It is regarded as somewhat an aberration in the history of Australian nationalism, as there would not be another publication like it until the *Bulletin* was founded in the 1880s. Mark McKenna, *The Captive Republic: A History of Republicanism in Australia 1788-1996* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 23.; C. E. Sayers, 'Wills, Horatio Spencer Howe (1811–1861)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, published first in hardcopy 1967, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wills-horatio-spencer-howe-2799>.

⁴⁹⁰ This is more than just a switch from pastoralism to cultivation; it is an important marker of Horatio's class identity. Indeed, it was felt if he were a squatter, then his election to the Legislative Council would be inappropriate. Horatio himself stated the Eureka Stockade was the event that activated him to public service. 'Nomination for Grant', *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 4 January 1855.; Sayers, 'Wills, Horatio Spencer Howe (1811–1861)'.

⁴⁹¹ Greg de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 18.

⁴⁹² An example of the 'convict stain' is that in a retrospective of 'A Notable Pioneer' in 1921 Horatio's ancestry is referred to as simply 'leading residents in New south wales in the early part of the 19th century'. 'A Notable Pioneer', 4. In a letter to the *Geelong Advertiser* during the economic depression of 1842, Horatio had expressed concern he would not be able to 'educate his children and spend my last

proponents of an Australian republic, Horatio wanted an English public school education to elevate the social standing of his sons.⁴⁹³

Rugby School

In 1850, the 14-year-old Tom was sent to Rugby School.⁴⁹⁴ Under the tutelage of John Lillywhite, he grew to become one of the most famous schoolboy athletes in England, reaching his pinnacle in 1855 with the most prestigious position in the school: captain of the 1st XI.⁴⁹⁵ Although *Tom Brown's School Days* was set in the period 1834-42, Wills was the captain of the XI at Rugby when Thomas Hughes was writing it, and it is likely that some of the 'muscular' and 'manly' attributes of Tom Brown were, in part, based on Wills. If indeed the archetype for Muscular Christianity was this prime example of the 'wild Colonial boy' it would suggest the dialogue between 'colonial identity' and 'muscular Christianity' may have been much more two way than usually thought.⁴⁹⁶

The honour of being appointed the captain of the Rugby XI came with the additional reward of membership of the MCC.⁴⁹⁷ '[H]is life was dominated by cricket ... Wills in turn, as a sporting

days in peace' if reform was not enacted (the reform in question is the creation of a new colony for Victoria). 'To The Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Australia', *Geelong Advertiser*, 17 October 1842, 2.

⁴⁹³ Horatio lamented that his lack of formal education had been a hindrance in his career. de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport*, 177.

⁴⁹⁴ Many sources, including the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, put this date as 1852. However, de Moore and Hibbins, who have done the most extensive research on the primary documents place the date at 1850.

⁴⁹⁵ de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport*, 43.

⁴⁹⁶ For further evidence supporting this claim refer to the 'Test Match Cricket' section in the conclusion. Jared van Duinen, *The British World and an Australian National Identity: Anglo-Australian Cricket, 1860-1901* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017), 15.

⁴⁹⁷ Gillian Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne: The Cousins and Me: Colden Harrison, Tom Wills and William Hammersley*. (Melbourne: Lynedoch Publications, 2007), 51.

prodigy came to dominate cricket'.⁴⁹⁸ In this age of the growing importance of public school sport, Wills was held up as the exemplar of a Rugby education.⁴⁹⁹

The Summer of 1855

In June of 1855 Tom 'graduated' from secondary school; in actuality it was decided for him that 20 years of age was perhaps a little too old for secondary school and that it was time for him to go to university (entrance standards differed in those days). That summer he hung around Oxford, Cambridge, The Oval, and Lord's and was often picked when one side was 'a man short'. This began Tom's life as a touring cricketer. Although he had the wealth and credentials to be a gentleman in the colonies, and a Gentleman on the cricket field in Britain, a life of leisure was not what his father had planned for him. After his 'grand tour' he would be expected to return home and work for a living. But for now, he was young, with a pocket full of cash, and a name known far and wide in cricketing circles, having already notched up appearances against the MCC (1852), I Zingari (1853), and the All England Eleven (1854). Rather than take the normal tour of the great cities of Europe, Wills chose to tour the great cricketing clubs of England.

Wills' first big match of 1855 was during School's Week. The traditional three of Eton, Harrow, and Winchester were still scheduled to have matches against each other, but School's Week was expanded in 1855 to include matches between Marlborough College and Rugby School, and Rugby School and the MCC.⁵⁰⁰ Against Marlborough, Wills took 5 wickets in each innings and put on

⁴⁹⁸ de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport*, 35.

⁴⁹⁹ de Moore, 44.

⁵⁰⁰ Winchester would not attend in 1855, nor ever again. The MCC committee refused to change the Wickhamist's games from the first and third of the week 'because it would interfere with ancient custom' (foreshadowing the 2022 decision to keep the Eton and Harrow matches). This left the boys, who would have to stay in hotels, 'exposed to all the temptations of London life', and the school masters decided they

Rugby's second highest score of 23 in their only innings. In the victory against the MCC, he was Rugby's leading wicket taker, his rapid round-arm bowling snaring him six MCC scalps. However, his contribution with the bat was meagre in the first innings with just 5 runs, although in the late afternoon run chase his quick fire 16 helped to get his school over the line against the most establishment of Establishment teams.

A week later playing for the Gentlemen of Kent he picked up 12 wickets, including 9 in the second innings. Then came a run of first-class matches, first for the MCC against Oxford University, then the Gentlemen of Kent and Surrey against the Gentlemen of England, ripping through the English with five wickets in the second innings. Although a clear bowling talent, his batting prowess was on display for the MCC against Surrey, top scoring in both MCC innings. And so the summer went, Wills playing in first-class matches across the south of England, impressing nearly every time. Tom finished the season with a match for South Essex against Wisden's United England Eleven.

1856

Horatio Will's intention for young Tom had been for him to attend Cambridge and come home a lawyer. Tom did indeed attend Cambridge; to play cricket at Fenner's for the MCC against the University side at the opening of the 1856 season. Later that season he would also earn what in some circles was even more valuable than a law degree from Cambridge; a cricketing 'blue' from Cambridge, again against Wisden's professionals. After all, it was a safe assumption that if one had

would no longer allow the boys to be away on their own for so long. 'Cricket', *Morning Post*, 3 August 1855, 6.

played in a match for Cambridge, one was a 'Cambridge man', even if in this case the assumption was erroneous.

Other 'Great Matches' would follow: for the Gentlemen of Kent and Sussex against the Gentlemen of England, for Kent and Sussex against All England, for Kent against the MCC and for the MCC against Sussex. As he did not need to accept payment for the matches, he was able to keep his 'gentleman' status, yet these fluid fixtures also suggest he was a cricketing mercenary, playing in the top matches for whichever side needed him. This is not surprising: England had never seen a player of such skill – not to mention independent means – who was not born in England. He had no county with which his allegiances lay.

Wills' social and cultural capital enabled his selection for these sides. He was a Rugby man, and an MCC member to boot, giving him access to many influential men. On the field he proved his prowess with bat and ball time and time again, making him an asset for any side, even without true 'Gentleman' status.

Ireland

Lord Lieutenant speech Redacted

Figure 1: The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland recalling previous glory reinforces the Empire, and the role the Irish play in it. Not rebels, but Gentlemen.

In August 1856 Tom sailed to Ireland with a few gentlemen we have already met at School's Week: E.C. Leigh, the Fiennes brothers, and three of the 'Walkers of Southgate', including Vyrel. In Dublin, Tom added to his social and cultural capital, appearing in a match for the Gentlemen of England against All Ireland. This put him in the position where for the rest of his life he would be able to pull out a newspaper article that said he had played for England –

this was cachet! This match was also the unintended site for a major military procession. The 18th Royal Irish – up to 800 soldiers – recently returned from Crimea, used the pavilion for the presentation of their new colours by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, George Howard, 7th Earl of Carlisle (Fig. 1).⁵⁰¹ The procession had meant to take place at the Wellington Monument located in another area of Phoenix Park, but rain forced the soldiers to seek the protection of the pavilion.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰¹ 'Irish Soldiers in The Late War', *Morning Chronicle*, 28 August 1856, 6.

⁵⁰² A geographical note on Phoenix Park. The park is very large (over 700 hectares) and includes multiple gardens, residences, sporting grounds, and even a forest complete with wild deer. However, for our purposes what is important is that the Wellington Monument is essentially next to the cricket ground. Phoenix Park was the main cricket field in Dublin at the time (and for most of time since – when cricket has been played). It was also the residence of the Lord Lieutenant and the parade grounds for the regiment. It is a great example of the symbiosis between cricket, the military, and empire.

Thus, the full might and glory of the Empire was displayed at Phoenix Park on the 25 August 1856, when the Gentlemen of England and Ireland's United Eleven played cricket and the force of the 18th assembled. It was also on display for the young Tom Wills to absorb the values of the British Empire.

It is enlightening to examine what the Lord Lieutenant felt were the important points to make in his speech to the troops (see Fig. 1). Howard makes note that the Irish regiment has served in 'every quarter of the globe ... for the most part under Irish commanders'. This serves the purpose of bringing the Irish in to the centre of the Empire. The 'first colony' was colony no more; Ireland – and the Irish – was an essential part of running the British Empire. This is reinforced when Howard switches from speaking to them as soldiers to calling on the soldiers to 'exhibit the virtues of citizens; and let me remind you that one of those is to live in brotherly union, and not to think hardly of each other, though you may worship your Common Father in different houses of prayer'. Sectarianism, so long the favourite competitive sport between the English and Irish, had no place in a growing global empire.

This was less than a decade after the Great Famine which devastated Ireland, the split in Daniel O'Connor's Repeal Association, and 'Duffy's Creed' that preceded the Young Ireland rebellion in 1848, but a few years before the formation of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.⁵⁰³ This was a demonstration of the power of the Empire when Irish nationalism was at one of its lowest ebbs of the nineteenth century. Concessions had been made, and leaders killed, co-opted, or exiled. That two of the formative figures of Australian cricket – Charlie Lawrence was also playing against Wills

⁵⁰³ These are issues that will re-appear in Chapter 6.

for Ireland – are at this grand performance of empire would have had an impact on how those two seminal identities performed cricket in Australia.

It is impossible to say whether Tom was able to hear these words, as he did not leave confirming documentary evidence behind. However, the speech took place in the area normally reserved for the batting side, on a day when the weather was inclement. Unfortunately, records of the match do not specify what time each side batted, but inference from the score sheet suggests that at 3pm when the speech was made Wills would have either been out and watching from the side-lines, or had already started fielding. It seems incredible that Tom could have gone unaware of this display of the might of the English Empire. Besides, he had the opportunity to read about it in the *Morning Chronicle*.

Proximity in Print

Like much of this thesis, the primary source for examining physical and social proximity are newspaper articles. However, the newspaper itself is a physical and social space, and therefore it is illuminating to examine the concept of proximity as manifest on the pages of the newspaper; where things appear, what is chosen to appear alongside it, and whom those papers are read by, are all indicators of the wider social field, as well as tools of reproduction. In the column below, we have examples of three aspects of media proximity: social, physical, and cultural.

As noted above, Phoenix Park was where several classes already mingled in a physical space to perform empire.⁵⁰⁴ On the two days following the *Gentlemen of England v All Ireland* match Wills appeared for the MCC against the XVI of the Vice Regal Club. This was played at the Vice-Regal Lodge, located within Phoenix Park.⁵⁰⁵ Additionally, in close proximity appearing above the report

U.A.E.E. v Ireland Redacted

of this match is a report for Wisden's *United All England v Eighteen of Ireland* that happened in Phoenix Park on September 4 and 5. Wills plays in two out of three of what were arguably the three grandest matches yet played in Ireland. For cricket fans, his absence from the third match, being neither Irish nor a professional, would serve to confirm his status as a colonial gentleman. In other words, his proximity to the gentlemen in

Figure 2: The 'big' match U.A.E.E. v Ireland, and the 'important' match MCC v The Vice-Regal Club.

the previous matches and lack of proximity to the professionals made Wills a gentleman. Additionally, the proximity of the three matches together in the press presents them as one grand cricketing contest, of which Wills was a major part.

⁵⁰⁴ Phoenix Park was also the site for the two very notable performances of 'anti-Empire': in 1871 a questionably legal demonstration organised by Home Rule supporters calling for the release of political prisoners held in 'English dungeons' was 'violently interrupted by police', and was eventually the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. The second is what has come to be known as the 'Phoenix Park Murders'. Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Permanent Under-Secretary, Thomas Henry Burke, were fatally stabbed by members of an Irish Republican Brotherhood splinter group the Irish National Invincibles. 'The Riot in Dublin. Brutal Conduct of the Police. What the English Press Says.', *Pilot*, 2 September 1871, 3.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Cricket', *The Evening Freeman*, 5 September 1856, 3.

How these matches were reported is also illuminative (Fig. 2). Unlike the arguably 'bigger' match between United and Ireland, the scorecard for the *MCC v Vice Regal* match was printed. These were, after all, gentlemen cricketers (with some professional assistance). Tom Wills once again is close to the cultural élite in both the physical and social spaces.

None of this is unusual or new to us. However, the proximity in the press – and what is being said – is illustrative. Of course, it is normal for the articles to appear alongside each other – they are both cricket reports after all. However, the lack of score for the first match is revealing; it is not really about the cricket. That there is cricket at all is somewhat unusual; it is an Irish newspaper, the *Evening Freeman*, a Dublin newspaper closely associated with the *Freeman's Journal*.⁵⁰⁶ The *Freeman's Journal* itself had recently been taken over by Liberal M.P. John Gray, 'the champion of Catholic and Nationalist rights'.⁵⁰⁷ The *Freeman's* audience included members of the imperial military bound for service, was distributed as far away as Canada, and would in the late 1870s be instrumental in the formation of the Irish National Land League.⁵⁰⁸ However, whilst the *Freeman's Journal* (and presumably the *Evening Freeman*) were in conflict with the government in Westminster over Catholic rights and Irish nationalism, the newspapers still represented a place in the Irish establishment, which the reporting of cricket matches exemplifies.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁶ The information for this section is sourced from the notes for the *Freeman's Journal* in the Waterloo Director of VictorianPeriodicals.com. 'The Waterloo Directory', Victorian Periodicals, accessed 21 July 2021, http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/single_sample.asp?id=124065.

⁵⁰⁷ Hugh Oram, *The Newspaper Book : A History of Newspapers in Ireland, 1649-1983* (Dublin: MO Books, 1983), 37, cited in *The Waterloo Directory*. C.f. Josef Lewis Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, 0196-7053 ; No. 22. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).

⁵⁰⁸ S.J. Potter, *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire, C.1857-1921* (Four Courts, 2004), 21; J. Regan-Lefebvre, *Cosmopolitan Nationalism in the Victorian Empire: Ireland, India and the Politics of Alfred Webb*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2009), 132. Cited in *The Waterloo Directory*.

⁵⁰⁹ It is worth noting that cricket was essentially banned in post-Independence Ireland through the exclusion from the Gaelic Athletic Association's ban on anyone who also played cricket, essentially preventing them from participating in most sports events in the Republic of Ireland. Mike Cronin, 'Fighting for Ireland, Playing for England? The Nationalist History of the Gaelic Athletic Association and the English Influence on Irish Sport', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, no. 3 (December 1998): 12.

The layout of the *Evening Freeman* was common in newspapers of the era. It contained: page 1: classifieds and notices; page 2: editorial opinion; page 3: local news; page 4: non-local news reprinted from various sources. This gives us some indication as to the purpose and audience of the paper. There is an editorial from *The Times* calling for the replacement of the ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. It argued for Britain's good intentions in any future relationship unlike other powers interested in the region (France, Austria-Hungary, and Russia). It added that unlike these other great powers, the United Kingdom does not wish to gain territory, merely secure access to India and Australia. A second reprint from *The Times* speaks to the growing tensions in the United States, with the assertion that their weak executive – unlike their British monarch – was the source of their problems. A third article from the *Sligo Independent* writes of Colonel White – an Irish landlord – and the moves he has taken on his own estates to ease the tensions between landlord and tenant. These would 'confer great advantages upon those tenants who are really disposed to help themselves and improve their own condition'.⁵¹⁰ In all three, the superior political culture of the United Kingdom is highlighted, particularly the hierarchical class system of nobles under a monarch.

Despite Wills' position amongst the Gentlemen cricketers, he was still a man from the colonies, and as such, could not be expected to have the refinement of a true-born English gentleman. Amongst the flowery Victorian language in these match reports, we get this description of Wills: 'This gentleman is a fine hitter and a very good bowler, therefore a most useful man in any eleven, but we cannot admire his style so much as that of many less successful players'. Now, it is possible that the author was being genuine, that Wills' style of play was what we may think of today as

⁵¹⁰ 'Colonel White and His Tenants', *The Evening Freeman*, 5 September 1856, 4.

'agricultural' – ugly, but effective.⁵¹¹ Although not showing off the still illegal overarm bowling he would help introduce into Australia, he was very proficient in round-arm bowling, something which some gentlemen cricketers still saw as against the spirit of the game. However, the context here is that Wills is a colonial upstart – the native born of a native born. He had just finished a year dominating the cream of the English schoolboy crop, and was perhaps seen by some to be swanning about putting on airs. Maybe he was ugly but effective, but as a Colonial he was also undermining the accepted social hierarchy that the *Evening Freeman* was doing so much to promote.

There was one final notable event occurring during these matches: Tom Wills appearing against, and beside Charles Lawrence. As mentioned, both became key to the development of Australian sport, especially in the transfer of the cultural and social role of cricket from England to Australia.⁵¹²

Little is known about Lawrence's early life, but like Clarke and Parr, he was likely from a working-class background, arriving on the professional cricketing scene at just 17 when he was engaged by the Perth club in Scotland as their professional. He went on to play for the Phoenix Club in Ireland, before forming the United All Ireland XI. Whilst we are mainly concerned here with Tom Wills' activities in Ireland, Lawrence returns to the story when H.H. Stephenson takes an English team to Australia for the first time in 1861-62 (see Chapter 7). Lawrence would remain in Australia where he had enormous influence on the development of cricket in Sydney, and took over Wills' role as the captain/coach of Australia's first cricket team to go to England for the all-Indigenous

⁵¹¹ The other description of the match in *Bell's* only mentions Wills being lucky. 'Cricket at the Vice Regal Lodge', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 7 September 1856, 7.

⁵¹² Lawrence will reappear in this role as a member of H.H. Stephenson's XI in the conclusion.

tour of 1868. For Wills' final match of the summer – and in the British Isles – he joined up with Lawrence's United Ireland for their trip to Cork. This was Lawrence's attempt to re-create in Ireland what Wisden and Clarke had in England, albeit without anywhere near the same financial or cultural success.⁵¹³

Wills' appearance on 8 and 9 September 1856, for Lawrence's United Ireland against twenty-two of the County Cork was his final match in the British Isles.⁵¹⁴ Whilst the details are of little interest, the story of two of the other players in the United Ireland side emphasise the proximities discussed in this chapter.

The first is Peter Doyle, who had played for United Ireland against Wills' and the English gentlemen. In that match he was listed on the scorecard as simply 'Doyle', indicating that he was a professional – the only other one on the team besides Lawrence.⁵¹⁵ Doyle started as the ground boy at Phoenix Park, and learnt the game by copying what he saw. Under Lawrence's tutelage over the previous few years, he established himself as a premier batsmen in Ireland, and had a major impact on the sport in Ireland in the 1850s.⁵¹⁶ However he disappears from the records after his final match in 1863, unable to parlay his cricketing capital into something useful in retirement. It is likely his working-class background, Catholicism, and Irish nationality – all placed him at a distance in the social sphere.

⁵¹³ Sean Reid, 'Cricket in Victorian Ireland 1848 - 1878: A Social History' (West Yorkshire, University of Huddersfield, 2014), 56.

⁵¹⁴ 'The United All Ireland Eleven V. Twenty-Two of the County Cork', *Saunders's News-Letter*, 16 September 1856, 3.

⁵¹⁵ 'Cricket', *Morning Post*, 28 August 1856, 3.

⁵¹⁶ 'P Doyle', accessed 21 July 2021, https://www.cricketeurope.com/CSTATZ/IRELANDBIOS/d/doyle_p.shtml.

The second player is Dunlop Gloag. While Gloag's cricketing credentials were unremarkable, he lived the archetypal life of a Victorian adventurer. Leaving Ireland for Australia at some point in the years after this match, he joined John McDouall Stuart's fourth failed expedition to cross Australia south to north, making news when Gloag had to abandon the role following an injury from a horse kick.⁵¹⁷ Gloag went to New Zealand, where he took part in the wars against the Māori, for which he received a land grant.⁵¹⁸ Rather than settle in New Zealand, he returned to Australia, working on the construction of a sugar mill in Brisbane, before settling on a selection outside of Caboolture. His obituary then records something interesting (Fig. 3).⁵¹⁹

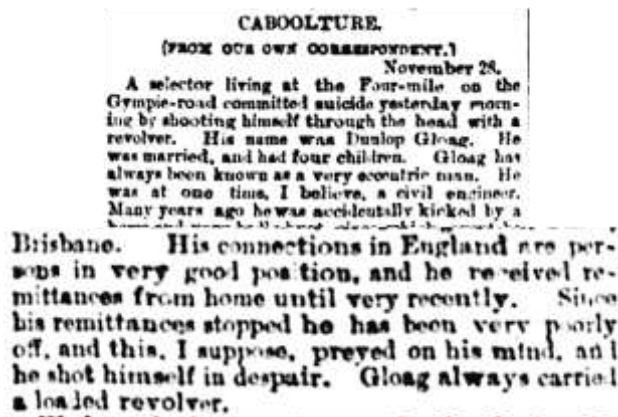


Figure 3: Gloag's social and cultural capital served him long after he left the British Isles.

Here it is stated 'his connections in England are persons in very good position', showing that even nearly 30 years after departure, the social capital he had brought with him still carried weight. Even more so was that 'he received remittances from home until

very recently' and that since these had been cut off he had 'been very poorly off, and this, I suppose, preyed on his mind, and he shot himself in despair'; his social capital carried economic capital, and this had kept him alive.

⁵¹⁷ 'Serious Accident to a Member of Mr. Stuart's Party', *South Australian Advertiser*, 20 October 1860, 3.

⁵¹⁸ It is coincidental yet serendipitous for this chapter that the Māori Wars were the next campaign for the Royal Irish. Gloag's unit, No.8 Company of the Taranaki Military Settlers, and the 18th Regiment of Foot both served in the campaigns on the east coast of New Zealand between 1864 and 1866. 'Word on the Street: Gloag Street, Waverley', *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 February 2022, <https://www.pressreader.com/new-zealand/taranaki-daily-news/20220205/281603833871065>.

⁵¹⁹ 'Country Mails', *Brisbane Courier*, 29 November 1889, 7.

Conclusion

As we have seen in this chapter, social and physical proximity has an influence on what groups and categories one is perceived as belonging to, and that this perception in turn influences what groups and spaces one has access to. Tom Wills' disdainful status as a Colonial was refined by attendance at Rugby and membership to the MCC. Additionally, the physical aptitude he cultivated growing up on the Australian frontier had a certain perceived 'manliness' that even if it was not the direct influence for Hughes made him the archetypical Tom Brown. These are relationships 'happening' to each other. On returning to Australia, Wills would use his athletic ability – his cultural capital – and his connections to elite people and institutions – his social capital – to not only invent a sport, but to change the way cricket was played in Australia and become perhaps the most dominant influence in the history of Australian sport.

Chapter 4: The Grand Intercolonial Cricket Matches

We have seen in the first three chapters how social and cultural capital were produced, reproduced, and transferred through cricket in England. Our focus now shifts to how this *habitus* was reproduced through the Empire and beyond. Many of the old rivalries, both literal and symbolic, reoccur. Whether intended, sub-conscious, or habit, many of the old structures were reproduced in the new lands of cricket. It falls to Tom Wills to carry us through much of the rest of this journey, so Melbourne becomes our backdrop.

Joining Wills will be William Hammersley, who shares a remarkable similarity with Wills up to this point in their lives. This early in their relationship they were firm allies. Beyond the scope of this thesis, however, they became bitter rivals, the seeds of later discord planted in these early days in Melbourne. We will first follow Wills and Hammersley through the first few years of intercolonial cricket between Victoria and New South Wales. They used their social and cultural capital to reproduce in Melbourne what they had learnt in England, although the native-born Wills and English-born Hammersley could still disagree on exactly what it was they were reproducing!

We will see how through the intercolonial matches the *South v North* rivalry was transferred from England, along with the capital reproduction purposes it serves. We will also see how the social and cultural capital earned in England by Wills and Hammersley differed in how it transferred to Australia. Finally, we will look at this transfer through the specific incidents of the 'high bowling crisis' and testimonial matches for older professionals, both brought to Australia by Wills. But first, we need to get Tom up to speed on the new colony to which he was returning.

The Intercolonial Matches: 1851 - 1856.

Although the first four first-class matches in Australia were between Victoria and Van Diemen's Land, by the time Van Diemen's

Land was renamed Tasmania in 1856 the southern isle had entered the cricketing wilderness, competing in only six further first-class matches in the following three decades. In 1855 the cricketers of Victoria threw down the gauntlet, offering a £500 challenge to all and any team who thought they could take on the best of Victoria (Fig. 1).⁵²⁰ New South Wales answered the call. So began one of cricket's greatest rivalries.

Or so the story goes...⁵²¹ Whether the £500 offer was actually made is contentious. As can be seen, no money is mentioned in the original advertisement. Additionally, the committee put together to represent Victorian interests in the organisation of the match denied it in their first ever press comment. The mistake seems to stem from an error on behalf of the *Argus* (Fig. 2); a

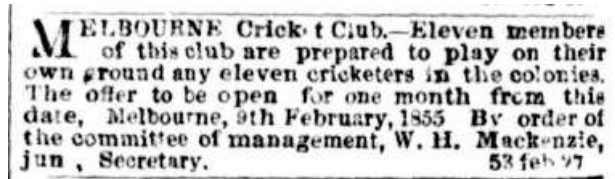


Figure 1: The open invitation from Melbourne in 1855



Figure 2: The idea of the original challenge for money seems to be an error on behalf of the *Argus*.

⁵²⁰ 'Advertising', *Argus*, 19 February 1855, 7.

⁵²¹ This challenge is frequently reported as being an advertisement in the *Argus*. However, I believe that is mistaking the challenge from the Melbourne Cricket Club that was answered by County of Bourke Club. The challenge was made by representatives of Victorian cricket directly to the New South Wales players through Richard Driver, secretary of the Australian Club in Sydney. 'Cricket', *Argus*, 8 April 1857, 5; 'The Sydney and Melbourne Cricketers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 January 1856, 5; 'Advertising', *Argus*, 21 February 1855, 3; 'Melbourne Cricket Club', *Argus*, 24 November 1855, 5. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, 34.; 'The Man Who Set the Blues on Course', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 December 2007, <https://www.smh.com.au/sport/the-man-who-set-the-blues-on-course-20071201-gdrq36.html>.

challenge was made in the papers, but it 'lapsed for want of acceptance'; the match only happening after '[t]he subject was ... re-introduced privately'.⁵²² Even if the offer was made, it was unlikely in an official capacity.

Money was definitely not a consideration for officials... officially. A first order of business for the *ad hoc* committee selecting the New South Wales side rejected any idea of playing for money. Instead, two games – one in Melbourne and one in Sydney – were planned; each would have equal costs to bare.⁵²³ The cricketers of the colonies were still eager not to appear as professional; that would make them Players, not Gentlemen. Playing for money would undermine the very point of playing cricket in the first place: to prove that gentlemen from England could thrive both physically and morally in the new land. Instead, the cost would be covered by subscriptions from 'every lover of cricket in the colony of Victoria'.⁵²⁴

The significance of this cannot be understated. The brand new colony was being presented with its first real chance to prove itself on the field of battle. It seemed a matter of public duty that wealthy and powerful men in both colonies would support such an endeavour. At the very foundation of Australian first-class cricket, the same tensions – class and regionalism – pulsing through English cricket at the time, were also present in these two Australian colonies. Although it would take some time for the Melbourne Cricket Club to cement themselves as the bosses of Victorian cricket, it is clear why the club, in modelling itself on the Marylebone Cricket Club, was already becoming an important site for the production and re-production of social and cultural capital.

⁵²² 'The Late Cricket Match', *Argus*, 31 March 1856, 5.

⁵²³ 'New South Wales', *Tasmanian Daily News*, 20 February 1856, 2.

⁵²⁴ 'Cricket', *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 1 March 1856, 2.

We know cricket was important in the new colony because we know some thought it was already too important. An article in *Punch*, reprinted in the *Age* (Fig. 3), wrote in late 1855 about the new University that had opened in Melbourne, decrying the lack of students—only sixteen enrolments!

*Perhaps the best mode of turning the concern to account will be to convert it into a vast gymnasium, with a Professorship of Cricket, who should give lectures on longstop, and other physical accomplishments which seem to be congenial to the youth of Victoria. It is really a reflection on the colony that its inhabitants are so immersed in money-grubbing, that they cannot even spare their sons from the degrading pursuit, and only sixteen youths can be mustered throughout the whole of the vast locality to accept the offer of a liberal education.*⁵²⁵

MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY.—Melbourne had, according to the last advices from Australia, just opened its University, after a magnificent speech from the Chancellor, whose style of eloquence combined all the raptidity of the cannon ball with all the hollow-ness of the cannon. We are, of course, great advocates, for the spread of education all over the world; but we are afraid there is not much prospect for the cause, from the state of things at Melbourne: where, precisely two acres and a half to each pupil. Perhaps the best mode of turning the concern to account will be to convert it into a vast gymnasium, with a Professorship of Cricket, who should give lectures on longstop, and other physical accomplishments which seem to be congenial to the youth of Victoria. It is really a reflection on the colony that its inhabitants are so immersed in money-grubbing, that they cannot even spare their sons from the degrading pursuit, and only sixteen youths can be mustered throughout the whole of the vast locality to accept the offer of a liberal education. The fact is, that nearly everybody in the colony is making haste to get rich, in the hope of returning to England, where, after all, they are only doomed to disappointment: for the vulgar rich—who have nothing but their dross to recommend them—are, happily, at a discount on this side of the world, as from their numbers they necessarily are on the other.—*Punch*.

Figure 3: Cricket was seen by some as too important.

Cricket clubs proliferated during the summer of 1855-56. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported 'each suburb of Melbourne has its club, and the holidays were the occasion of a number of keenly contested matches. It is interesting to see the manly and healthful sports of our fatherland introduced on this strange soil'.⁵²⁶

But cricket was neither just a distraction nor a promoter of healthy English values. It could also express local identity. As the New South Wales Eleven departed, *Bell's Life in Sydney* wrote: 'We sincerely wish our fellow colonists success in their undertaking, and trust they will succeed in maintaining in the cricket field, that proud pre-eminence which New South Wales has hitherto

⁵²⁵ 'Melbourne University', *Age*, 30 November 1855, 5.

⁵²⁶ 'Melbourne', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 1856, 8.

retained in every other respect'.⁵²⁷ Melbourne was the upstart. Just an outpost of the colony of New South Wales just a few years earlier, it had now grown to rival Sydney in nearly every way due to the power of gold. The cricketers were coming down not just for a game of cricket, but to defend the honour of all New South Welshmen.

It was also an opportunity to link back to England. The *Argus*' Sporting Intelligence column wrote on the morning of the match (Fig. 4):

*[u]nder this head we have often had the pleasure of referring to matches in this fine old English game ... Such an affair as this – being, as we consider it, a national one – should not be passed over without comment ... The bringing together, in friendly rivalry and in cordial intercourse, of the people of the two colonies is an object much to be desired.*⁵²⁸

SPORTING INTELLIGENCE.
CRICKET.
Under this head we have often had the pleasure of referring to matches in this fine old English game. On the present occasion we have to remind our readers that the match between New South Wales and Victoria is to be played to-day on the ground of the Mel-dock. Such an affair as this—being, as we consider it, a national one—should not be passed over without comment. The spirit shown in promoting this match deserves much praise—which on our part is freely accorded. The bringing together, in friendly rivalry and in cordial intercourse, of the people of the two colonies is an object much to be desired, and

Figure 4: We are seeing both the transfer and reproduction of English capital, as well as the creation of a new 'Australian' capital.

This is linking the colonials' 'grand match' to others played in England. They want the Australian colonies to be a replica of England. Melbourne is to be the London of the South, not a wild frontier.

Cricket fever was taking hold over Melbourne. The *Argus*' court reporter on the same page wrote (Fig. 5):

It is ... strongly hoped by the legal profession that their Honors will concede a holiday for this day and to-morrow, in order to give all an opportunity of being present at the great cricket match between Victoria and New

SUPREME COURT.—The term sittings commence this morning, according to the rule published at the late sittings. One of their Honors will sit at nine o'clock to dispose of the fines of jurors, estreated recognisances, &c.; and at ten o'clock motions of course will be heard by the Full Court. It is, however, strongly hoped by the legal profession that their Honors will concede a holiday for this day and to-morrow, in order to give all an opportunity of being present at the great cricket match between Victoria and New South Wales. This event is certainly one possessing almost national interest to the majority of the community.

Figure 5: The feeling amongst the legal establishment was that the game was important enough to suspend court proceedings for the day.

⁵²⁷ 'Cricket', *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 22 March 1856, 2.

⁵²⁸ 'Sporting Intelligence', *Argus*, 26 March 1856, 5.

*South Wales. This event is certainly one possessing almost national interest to the majority of the community.*⁵²⁹

This was more than just the lower order indulging in a bit of cricket fever, excited *something* was happening. The law was one of the respectable professions a man who had to work for a living could undertake. The writer knew the cream of Victorian society would be at the match. He knew it would not be right for the lawyers to miss such an important event.

(From the *Melbourne Herald*.)
CRICKET—N. S. WALES v VICTORIA.
 —The above match has been definitely fixed for the 20th instant, on the Melbourne Club Cricket Ground. Subscriptions in aid of the expenses of this and the return match to be played in Sydney will be received by the following gentlemen, and the members of the committee appointed to carry out the arrangements for the above match. The subscription list is headed by Major-General Macarthur, and his Honour the Chief Justice Sir William A'Beckett. Melbourne:—D. S. Campbell, Esq., Collins street, west; Wm. Philpott, Esq., Hall of Commerce; A. M. Dick, Esq., Audit Office; Joseph Rhodes, Bank of New South Wales; W. Biers, Esq., 46 Russell-street; W. Mather, Esq., Richmond. Geelong:—Wm. Lowe, Esq.; William Fraser, Esq.

Figure 6: The Great and Powerful, linked with cricket.

Cricket was networking too. Its importance highlighted by the publication of the subscription list prior to the match, not only in Melbourne, but also in New South Wales, along with a reminder that you too, could still donate for the expenses for the return match (Figs. 6 & 7).⁵³⁰ The list of subscribers is headed by Major General Macarthur and his Honour the Chief Justice Sir William a'Beckett, followed by a list of who one could give their subscription to in the local area.

This has the dual purpose of linking cricket with the

Establishment and those involved with cricket to these powerful people. It was shrewd marketing: donate to the cricket cause and you too could have your name published alongside the luminaries of the colony. Another list, published in the *Argus* gave details of how much each notable individual had donated,

SUBSCRIPTION-LIST towards defraying the expenses of the Proposed Cricket Match between New South Wales and Victoria.

	£	s.		£	s.
Major-General Macarthur	20	0	WB	...	1 1
Sir Wm A'Beckett	10	0	Thomas Plum-	...	1 1
A B	3	3	mer	...	1 1
William F. Sta-	Thomas Kenny	...	1 1
well	A Peregalli	...	1 1
Charles Sladen	5	5	Sergeant	...	1 1
Andrew Clarke	3	0	J F	...	1 1
W C Haines	5	5	DC Macarthur	...	3 3
H C E Childers	3	3	T F Hamilton	...	3 3
The Mayor	3	3	W H Tuckett	...	3 3
Wm Adamson	1	1	D S Campbell	...	5 5
C Downwood	1	1	H C Crewick	...	5 5
— Fell	1	1	C Malpas	...	3 3
Geo E Williams	1	1	W Hammill	...	5 5
Jno How	1	1	C Bright	...	5 5
S S Bennie	1	1	J Blackwood	...	3 3
A H Goodlet	1	1	J Badcock	...	3 3
— Mather	1	1	P O Kingston	...	5 5
Jno Stodart	1	1	F Banks	...	5 5
			C Cumberland	...	3 0
					22 2

Figure 7: An opportunity for conspicuous consumption.

⁵²⁹ 'Supreme Court', *Argus*, 26 March 1856, 5.

⁵³⁰ 'Cricket - N.S.Wales v Victoria', *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 22 March 1856, 3.

giving a handy guide as to how much should be expected from those at certain stations in life.⁵³¹

At the time of the match, most government officials in New South Wales and Victoria had never met.⁵³² There had been no attempt at the drafting of the two colonies' constitutions, introduced in 1855 and 1856, to set the groundwork for a federation. However, by the time the constitutions had been returned from London and ratified by Westminster in late 1856, there were the beginnings of a nascent national movement. Disputes had already broken out: over tariffs, railway gauges, and the need for a navy, all future reasons for federation. However, there were already signs of co-operation; the now six colonial governments had agreed to subsidise a steamship for mail, and anti-convict-transportation organisations of the eastern colonies had merged into the Australasian League.⁵³³

William Hammersley: bringing London to Melbourne

Early Days

William Hammersley's grandfather was Josiah Spode II, the patriarch of Spode pottery. Hammersley's father should have been Josiah Spode III, and Hammersley Josiah Spode the IV.⁵³⁴ However, the name Josiah went to the second son, the first born being William. William Spode

⁵³¹ This will be examined further in the next chapter. 'Advertising', *Argus*, 19 March 1856, 8.

⁵³² Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851-1861* (Melbourne University Press, 1995), 229.

⁵³³ Charles Stuart Blackton, 'The Australasian League, 1851-1854', *Pacific Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (1939): 390.

⁵³⁴ Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, 9.

changed his name from Spode to Hammersley. Hibbins speculates he was trying to link his fortunes to his aristocratic maternal line, rather than the wealthy, but merchant class, Spodes.⁵³⁵

William Josiah Sumner Hammersley was born out of wedlock on 25 September 1826, in Surrey to William Hammersley (formerly Spode) and Sarah Sumner; the two would never marry. Josiah Spode II died when William was only 1, leaving William Hammersley Sr the enormous sum of £100 000. By the time of William Hammersley Sr's death just six years later, he left a mere £16 000 to his estate, although he did set up generous annuities for Sarah and William Jr.⁵³⁶ William Jr boarded for a short time at Aldenham Grammar School, a local school set up to educate 'poor' aristocrats. By the age of 15, his mother had died, leaving him an orphan. His father's lawyer, the guardian for William, then sent him to live with the lawyer's brother, the Rev. Anthony Singleton, where he undertook tutoring for entrance into Trinity College, Cambridge in 1845.

A Cambridge Education

Hammersley entered Cambridge as a 'pensioner'. This was a step above the reduced fee 'sizars' on the social ladder, but below the very wealthy 'common fellows' and the nobility.⁵³⁷ A

⁵³⁵ Hibbins also speculates that William's birth 8 months after Josiah Spode II's marriage may hint at illegitimacy, although there is no evidence to support this beyond the name and dates. Hibbins, 10.

⁵³⁶ Hibbins, 10.

⁵³⁷ The three fee structures were sizars, pensioners, and common fellows. Sizars would often pay for their fees through serving staff members of their college. Pensioners paid a higher fee, but were free from service, and common fellows fees were higher yet again, and entitled the student to eat with the staff, conferring superior status. Sizars almost always got a degree and became clergy, common fellows almost never took a degree. Around half the pensioners took degrees. Essentially, the 'poorest' students (they were not actually poor) worked their way through university, got degrees, and went on to use them in careers. The wealthiest students 'attended'. It is worth noting that Hammersley and Wills attended towards the end of this system, which would be swept up in the education reforms of the 1860s. Jefferson Looney, 'Undergraduate Education at Early Stuart Cambridge', *History of Education* 10, no. 1 (March 1981): 17; William Gibson, 'The Regulation of Undergraduate Academic Dress at Oxford and Cambridge, 1660–1832', *Transactions of the Burgon Society* 4, no. 1 (1 January 2004): 33.

descendant of a noble family without access to a title, and the ward of a reverend who would understand these things, this path to securing one's place in the gentry was no doubt, like Wills, what was intended for Hammersley. However, Hammersley was more interested in sports, particularly cricket, hunting, and horse racing.⁵³⁸ He was little interested in academics; like Wills, he departed without earning a degree.

As we saw with Wills, the fact Hammersley graduated without a degree is irrelevant. His Cambridge cricketering 'blue', and his admission into the membership of the MCC were just as valuable as any degree. However, unlike Wills, Hammersley spent four years at Cambridge, and a further four in London before departing for Australia. This gave him more time to cultivate the behaviours and connections of a gentleman. Social cream was more concentrated at the University of Cambridge than the secondary schools of Eton, Harrow, Winchester, or Rugby. Amongst Hammersley's classmates at Cambridge were at least 25 members of the nobility.⁵³⁹ 57 of his class of 178 would be ordained, although being ordained did not necessarily mean one became a priest. Although many who were ordained did go into church service, being ordained was also the first step to becoming an academic at Oxbridge. It was a common career path for younger sons who would not inherit family wealth; ordination meant a church salary. Such was also the case for being admitted or called to the bar, as 65 of the class were (including three who were also ordained).⁵⁴⁰ Although not coming with a salary like ordination, admission to the bar also allowed access to other professional fields, such as architecture, draftsman, or the

⁵³⁸ Gillian Hibbins, 'William Josiah Hammersley', People Australia, accessed 21 August 2021, <https://peopleaustralia.anu.edu.au/biography/hammersley-william-josiah-25213>.

⁵³⁹ My figures here are a little rubbery – I am fairly certain my 178 includes nearly all of the commencing class – as far as I can tell it is all of them. I have relied on the biographic details available in the Cambridge Alumni Database [accessed 21/06/2020] <http://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/acad/2018/search-2018.html> These records are incomplete, however, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information I do have. Therefore, these numbers should be considered minimums.

⁵⁴⁰ Admitted to the bar = barrister. Called to the bar = solicitor.

bureaucracy.⁵⁴¹ Most of the remaining 60 or so students who entered *Trinity College* in 1845 and who did not get ordained or who did not go into the bar, either did not graduate or have no further biographical information. Around a dozen or so of these were aristocratic enough to not need a career. Around another dozen went to serve in the military.

The most notable individuals in Hammersley's class can be broken into three groups: cricketers, those who were outstanding or pioneers in their field, and colonials, with a sub-section of those who were connected to Australia. The purpose of including this list here is to further highlight the specific kinds of connections one made while at Cambridge, and the similarities in life outcomes amongst the students. Hammersley, as a pioneer of Australian cricket, fits into all three categories.

The Cambridge cricketers included Oliver Pell and John Lee – future members of the All England Eleven – and Arthur Hoare, of the Hoare banking and Surrey County Cricket Club family. In Hammersley's first match for Cambridge, he faced two professional bowlers employed by the university: Fred '*non pareil*' Lillywhite, and the eighteen-year-old up-and-comer, John Wisden. Playing for Cambridge meant meeting many important British families, even if they did not have sons at Cambridge. For example, in one match against Audley End, Hammersley bowled to three members of the House of Neville.⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ Technical education at Oxbridge in the 1850s is best summed up by Trinity College, Cambridge, chemistry professor G.D. Living: 'Practice is learned empirically in the workshops, but the principles ... are not taught in the workshop or laboratory but in the Universities'. Oxbridge degrees were largely 'non-professional' in the arts and sciences. As such, an Oxbridge degree did not suggest the holder could 'do' anything. It was confirming they understood the concepts, but more importantly *were the right kind of gentleman*. Thus, admission to the bar from Oxbridge could lead to seemingly unrelated careers, as what admission to the bar *really* was, was an admission to a social rank that allowed for professional opportunities. Law degrees themselves were only introduced from the 1850s. B. Julian Beecham, 'The Universities and Technical Education in England and Wales', *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 6, no. 1 (March 1982): 63; Daniel Duman, 'Pathway to Professionalism: The English Bar in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 4 (1980): 620.

⁵⁴² The Nevilles are perhaps most famous for being the power behind the revolt against Henry VI that became the War of the Roses. Under Elizabeth I, they were associated with a failed attempt to put Mary

Also amongst his school chums were seminal figures in the fields of archaeology, nursing, and mountaineering, several prominent theologians, two classmates who were already 'Sir', the son of Queen Victoria's doctor, the son of the author of *Roget's Thesaurus*, as well as several future politicians or high level bureaucrats.⁵⁴³ One such future politician was William Waddington, future Prime Minister of France.⁵⁴⁴ There were several politicians and bureaucrats who would remain in England, but would have intimate connections to the colonies, including Henry Holland, Under-secretary of the colonies 1870-74, and again in 1887-92; and Herbert Crichton-Stuart who would work for the foreign office.

There were a number of students coming from English families in India, especially sons of army officers, many of whom would return to India, as well as English born whose future would be in India. This included William Melville, son of the Sir James Cosmo, the last secretary of the East India Company; William Porter, who became an educator in India, eventually the tutor and secretary to the Maharajah of Mysore from 1878-85; and George Fagan, future judge in Calcutta, to name a few. From and to the Americas were the owners of great plantations in the West Indies and the future consul to Panama and Chicago, James Sadler. To Africa went Thomas Brooks, future principal of Pietermaritzburg College in South Africa. But it was to Australia that this year would leave its greatest mark.

Queen of Scots on the throne. Included in this match was Charles Cornwallis Neville, future 5th Baron Braybrook.

⁵⁴³ For a more detailed list of Hammersley's class mates see Appendix.

⁵⁴⁴ William Waddington was the son of an English industrialist raised in France. He won his blue for Cambridge in rowing, became one of the early archaeologists, went into a career in French politics, eventually becoming Prime Minister in 1879 following the *Seize mai* constitutional crisis.

The commencement class of 1845 included: Augustine Bull, future chaplain to the Bishop of Sydney; Stephen Clissold, police magistrate of Melbourne from 1861 and subsequently police magistrate of Ballarat; and Henry Rowe, the first professor of classics at Melbourne University.⁵⁴⁵

There were members of families already prominent in Australia: Alfred Stephens' grandfather had already been the Solicitor-General of NSW, his father, also Alfred, the Solicitor-General of Van Diemen's Land, and both sat on the Supreme Court of NSW. In 1856 Alfred Sr. was appointed President of the Legislative Council of NSW. For his part, Alfred Jnr. became a priest, rising to the Canon of St Andrews Cathedral in Sydney.

Also coming *from* Australia was Charles Spencer Percival. Being a member of both the Spencer and Percival families was just the background milieu to his connections. Charles was born in South Africa, after his father – Dudley Montagu, administrator at Cape Town – married the daughter of the governor of the Cape Colony, Richard Bourke. Although not as famous as his relation Edmund Burke, this is the Bourke of nearly everything 'Bourke' in Australia (not the Bourke of Burke and Wills fame as is often assumed).⁵⁴⁶ The county of Bourke, the shire of Bourke, the town of Bourke, and Bourke St, Melbourne are all named after Richard Bourke (and Elizabeth St., his wife). Following his governorship of the Cape Colony, in 1831 Richard Bourke travelled to New South Wales to become governor there, where, amongst other things, he reformed convict rights,

⁵⁴⁵ I accidentally also found that John Wray, future professor of Mathematics at University of Sydney was in the year ahead of Hammersley. Joseph Foster identifies Clissold as the Chief Justice of Ballarat, but such a position did not exist, and I believe Foster was mistaking Clissold's service as Police Magistrate with a judicial position. Joseph Foster, *Men-at-the-Bar: A Biographical Hand-List of the Members of the Various Inns of Court, Including Her Majesty's Judges, Etc.* (Dalcassian Publishing Company, 1885), 90.

⁵⁴⁶ Richard and Edmund were distantly related by blood, however, their relationship was quite close 'having been at school and college in England during the last eight years of [Edmund's] life, passed [Richard's] vacations and what spare time he could command, in his kinsman's house'. Edmund was Richard's first patron, and in his later life Richard would edit a collection of Edmund's correspondence. Edmund Burke, *Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke; between the Year 1744 and the Period of His Decease, in 1797*, ed. Charles William Wentworth Fitzwilliam Fitzwilliam and Richard Bourke (London, F. & J. Rivington, 1844), vii; Hazel King, 'Bourke, Sir Richard (1777–1855)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed 21 August 2022.

disestablished the Anglican church, confirmed *Terra Nullius* by voiding Batman's treaty with the Wurundjeri, declaring the nascent settlement on the Yarra the administrative capital of the Port Phillip District and naming it 'Melbourne'.⁵⁴⁷ Richard's other grandfather was Spencer Percival, still the only British Prime Minister to be assassinated.

After School

One can imagine these connections to the élite in Australia informed Hammersley's decision to migrate. However, before he migrated, he spent a few years cricketing around England, getting married, and having children. Of his cricketing exploits, worth mentioning are his appearances for the MCC, where he played with and alongside the biggest names of the day, including Clarke, Lillywhite, and Parr. He was also invited to several of the matches held on the grounds of wealthy cricketing patrons, and he played for the Gentlemen sides of Marylebone, the South of England, and Sussex and Surrey.⁵⁴⁸

In 1856 he made the move to Australia—without his wife and children. Whatever became of them is a mystery; Hammersley seemingly never referred to them again after arriving in Australia, although he never re-married. Why he migrated is speculation, Hammersley's reasoning was the gold rush. However, Hibbins speculates that as a man of reasonable means, but no title, with the pedigree of a Cambridge Blue and MCC membership, Hammersley may have thought he would be

⁵⁴⁷ *Terra Nullius* was a process, not a single act, that arguably begins with Bourke's nullification of any contracts speculators, in what would become Victoria, had made with local indigenous people, as outlined in his Colonial Secretary's letter to Governor Arthur in Van Diemen's Land. James Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia* (Collingwood, VIC: Black Inc, 2011), 115, 148. 'Church Building Act, 1836, 7a'.

⁵⁴⁸ Hibbins, *Sport and Racing in Colonial Melbourne*, 32.

able to rise higher in the colonies than in England.⁵⁴⁹ This seems reasonable as Hammersley was always one for appearance and status, and as an orphaned ward would have understood better than most the precariousness of life on the edge of the social scene.

On arriving in Melbourne, Hammersley immediately got involved in the Melbourne Cricket Club, playing his first match in November 1856, and almost straight away was being mentioned as an immediate selection for the upcoming intercolonial match.⁵⁵⁰ By May 1857 he was the secretary of the Melbourne Cricket Club.⁵⁵¹ His supposed brief period on the diggings in 1857-58 seems belied by his active involvement in the Melbourne cricket scene at the same time; I have my doubts about this well acknowledged 'fact' about his life. In 1859, along with Wills, Wills' cousin H.C.A. Harrison, and Melbourne Cricket Club member and *Argus* journalist J.B. Thompson, met to codify rules for a winter sport to keep them fit in the cricket off-season, leading to the invention of Australian Rules Football.⁵⁵² That year Hammersley also began to write for *Bell's Life in Victoria*. This started his career as a sporting journalist. He would write for *Bell's* for decades after, under the *noms de plume*: 'Short Slip', 'Bat', and most prolifically 'Longstop'.

⁵⁴⁹ Hibbins, 55.

⁵⁵⁰ 'Return Cricket Match, New South Wales v. Victoria', *Argus*, 6 December 1856, 5; 'Cricket Match', *Argus*, 24 November 1856, 5.

⁵⁵¹ The official record of the Melbourne Cricket Club lists Hammersley as only holding a committee position in 1859. However, he placed an advertisement for a meeting of the club under the title secretary in May of 1857, suggesting he was at least acting as an office bearer in an *ad hoc* capacity at that time. 'Advertising', *Argus*, 7 May 1857, 7; 'Committee Members History', Melbourne Cricket Club, accessed 22 August 2022, https://mcc.org.au/_/media/files/mcc/about-the-club/committee_members_history.pdf?la=en.

⁵⁵² Another MelCC member, Thomas Smith, claimed to have been at the meeting, which may or may not be true, but at the very least he was a member of the first rules committee. Gillian Hibbins, 'The Cambridge Connection: The Origin of Australian Rules Football', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 6, no. 2 (September 1989): 183.

1857 – 1858

Wills entered the Victorian cricketing scene with a roar. Already building on the reputation he had earned in England, he took ten wickets in his first appearance for Victoria against New South Wales at the Domain in Sydney in January 1857. This was also the first first-class match in Australia for Hammersley. He took 4 of the remaining ten New South Wales wickets in the match.

Despite Wills being from a prominent Victorian family – his father Horatio was sitting in parliament – and despite being the better cricketer, Hammersley was made captain of the Victorian XI for the 1857 match in the Domain. Their social and cultural capital was remarkably similar; MCC members, Cambridge Blues, neither with a degree, members of an English XI (Wills for the Gentlemen of England, whilst on tour in Ireland, Hammersley for ‘All England’, but not *that* All England). Both were from prominent families. However, at each stage Hammersley was just a little bit more... *legitimate*. Not just an MCC member, he had sat in MCC committee meetings; not just a Cambridge Blue, but a Cambridge Blue who had spent four years at the university, not just a summer (although neither held a degree – a minor detail). Not just a member of an English XI, but a *proper* English XI. Both were from prominent families – indeed the Wills name had wider renown in Melbourne than Hammersley – but Hammersley was from a prominent *English* family, and did not carry with him the convict stain. Or perhaps it was just that Hammersley was on the match committee.

Gentlemen v Players: old lines reproduced in print

To round out the summer Hammersley and Wills both had a few more good matches for Melbourne. Additionally, and perhaps controversially, Wills turned out as captain for St Kilda, although whether this was for payment is unknown.⁵⁵³ At this stage, Wills probably still had some financial support from his family and had not had to lower his status to that of a professional. This is supported by his being named for the Gentlemen against the Players at a match to be played at Richmond Paddock in Easter 1857.⁵⁵⁴

At a committee meeting of the Melbourne Cricket Club before the match it was decided that as '[i]n England the Gentlemen v. Players Match, is looked forward to as "the match" of the season, but it was felt that there would be some little difficulty in making the distinction between gentlemen and professionals. Unfortunately Mr. Wills, on whom the club relied chiefly for bowling, did not "put in an appearance"'.⁵⁵⁵

Here we get a hint at Wills' future unreliability and obstinacy in the face of authority, but it should be noted he was not known for these traits at this point in time. It also shows how the role of professionals – and their place within the cricketing class system – was on far shakier ground in Melbourne than in England. Who was and was not a professional was not something that had yet been decided. Some clubs, most notably Melbourne, had the services of one or more paid bowlers through the season: these men were obviously professionals. But what of the men who received

⁵⁵³ 'Cricket', *Argus*, 8 April 1857, 5.

⁵⁵⁴ 'The Gentlemen v. The Players', *Argus*, 8 April 1857, 5.

⁵⁵⁵ 'Melbourne Club v. The Players of Victoria', *Argus*, 13 April 1857, 6.

a stipend and whose expenses were covered for the intercolonial matches? Had Wills, with all his gentlemanly credentials already started taking payment for appearances? The plight of the professional cricketer was something that was certainly on his mind.

If Wills was leaning in to the life of the professional, Hammersley was becoming the arch-Gentleman. As the winter of 1857 approached, and cricket moved from action to planning, Hammersley had moved his way up from member of the intercolonial match committee to secretary of the Melbourne Cricket Club.⁵⁵⁶ In August Hammersley was elected as one of the secretaries for the intercolonial match committee, putting him on the match committee again. Other potential members of the match committee had to face a ballot of the 'twenty-five gentlemen... proposed as eligible to act'. Wills was the only man chosen unanimously.⁵⁵⁷ Both were further elected, along with W.P. Barter, as selectors. This shows their diverging roles: Hammersley, playing the political game and moving up the rungs of respectability; Wills, unanimously respected as the best cricket mind and body in the land.⁵⁵⁸

As 1857 progressed there was further evidence of a divergence in the two men's paths. Hammersley was now one of the main drivers seeking to entrench the Melbourne Cricket Club's pre-eminence in Victorian cricket; a project that was stalling somewhat. The MelCC under Hammersley's direction was unable to gather the requisite 20 members to hold their annual general meeting as planned on September 5, and the meeting had to be moved back.⁵⁵⁹ When the club did find a quorum, however, Wills was elected secretary; Hammersley was overwhelmingly

⁵⁵⁶ 'Advertising', 7 May 1857, 7.

⁵⁵⁷ 'Tasmania', *Argus*, 3 August 1857, 5.

⁵⁵⁸ 'Victoria v. New South Wales', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 8 August 1857, 4.

⁵⁵⁹ 'Melbourne Cricket Club', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 September 1857, 3.

elected to the committee and to act on behalf of the committee. Wills took the symbolic role that required work, Hammersley had the lesser status but more power to act.⁵⁶⁰

In the same newspaper column, we see Wills' next attempt to monetise his cricketing reputation, publishing the first edition of the *Australian Cricketer's Guide*, an antipodean version of Lillywhite's successful English publication (Fig. 8). Also announced is a coming match between *I Zingari* and the County of Bourke. This is obviously not the English *I Zingari*, but Wills' attempt to recreate the prestigious



Figure 8: Australia's versions of Marylebone, Wisden's, and *I Zingari* – all involving Tom Wills

club in Australia.⁵⁶¹ Although not strictly the realm of the gentlemen of leisure like in England – this was Australia after all – it did include members of prominent Victorian families like the merchant Butterworths and political A'Becketts, as well as Hammersley. Meanwhile, the County of Bourke side was the club of several prominent professionals including Coulstock, Elliott, Bryant, and Rennie.

⁵⁶⁰ The secretary did the functional work to keep the club going – something Wills was not very adept at, his 'record keeping' on handing the role over after a year consisting of throwing a pile of documents on the floor. Actual decision making power was vested in various committees. Roy Hay, 'Tom Wills – A Bit of Care Is Necessary', *Almanac Footy*, accessed 19 August 2022, <https://www.footyalmanac.com.au/almanac-footy-tom-wills-a-bit-of-care-is-necessary/>. 'Melbourne Cricket Club', *Age*, 21 September 1857, 6.

⁵⁶¹ 'Cricket', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 September 1857, 3.

Wills' intention to start a club of wandering cricketers was immediately met with resistance from clubs worried they were about to lose their best player.⁵⁶² Just a week after his first call in *Bell's*, he was writing to those who 'say it, as a club, will deteriorate from other clubs' with a plea that 'an I.Z. club' would help the development of good cricketers at club level, rather than drag them away. This starts yet another English cricketing tradition in Australia: an increasingly public, and increasingly personal, series of attacks played out on the pages of *Bell's*. Although the editor in Melbourne was quicker to call an end to the public spat, printing 'we think both parties have hit each other hard enough, we beg to decline inserting it'.⁵⁶³

A new issue soon popped up: players playing for more than one team. Originally raised by Wills himself when he complained: 'amongst the ranks of the Richmond, two well-known members of the MCC'.⁵⁶⁴ The issue being that a man should not be a *member* of more than one club, and that if a man wishes to play for more than one club he should be considered a professional. Opponents responded pointing out his hypocrisy: Wills was at the one time positioning himself to be one of the pre-eminent Gentlemen cricketers of the colony, whilst being a member of Melbourne *and* Collingwood, and picking up games for St. Kilda besides.⁵⁶⁵ The matter ended on 21 November, with Wills being excoriated by an anonymous author, noting that his reception – as a cricketer – since arrival:

cannot be other than most gratifying to his feelings [but as] Secretary to the MCC, a member of the Match Committee, and a member of the committee for arranging the match with NSW, and one of the three appointed to select the players ... it would be far better to endeavour to smooth over any little

⁵⁶² 'Cricketers' Register', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 September 1857, 3.

⁵⁶³ 'Cricketers' Register', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 10 October 1857, 3.

⁵⁶⁴ T.W. Wills, 'What Will Cricket Come To?', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 7 November 1857, 3.

⁵⁶⁵ Wills' most fervent opponent was 'Stumps', likely George Shoesmith, Secretary of the Richmond Cricket Club from 1858-62. Stumps, 'What Will Cricket Come To?', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 14 November 1857, 3.

*differences or unpleasantness that may arise, than to create jealousies and ill feelings which no after time may completely eradicate or allay.*⁵⁶⁶

I will leave the editor to close the issue with his own words:

[We insert these letters on the principle of allowing both sides to be heard ; but, in our opinion, the time has arrived when the correspondence should cease from as it is not calculated to advance the cause of cricket. Our correspondents must not forget the old proverb of the bundle of sticks.—ED. B. L.]

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⁵⁶⁶ 'Cricketers' Register', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 21 November 1857.

⁵⁶⁷ The old proverb of the bundle of sticks is referring to Aesop's Fable 'The Old Man and His Sons' (fable 53 in the Perry Index) in which the moral is strength in unity.

Preparations continued for the intercolonial match. Wills wrote to *Bell's* begging for the side to be put together so they could practice, reminding everyone this was the point of the *I Zingari* matches in the first place (Fig. 9).⁵⁶⁸ Meanwhile, a team could not be put together as the match committee was struggling to host a meeting that had a quorum.⁵⁶⁹ This was rectified at a match committee meeting on 7 December, a provisional side selected due to the 'limited opportunity afforded of forming an opinion of the different players'.⁵⁷⁰ With the side selected, and an organising committee appointed, all that was left was the match.

EPISTOLARY BATTLES.
In all sporting matters, whether connected with the quadruped or bipedal turf, undoubted benefit accrues to present well-doing and future quosies from the occasion.

wise the remedy is far worse than the disease. Correspondents to the Press, who are merely indulging in a *cacothesis scribendi*, had far better use their tongues than the goose quill, for by such means their individual fancies can be better bruited in the circles to which they are appropriate, and their candid expression will prevent the bitterness of feeling that arises from a covert attack.

We, as sporting journal, feel the utmost interest in all that concerns the national pastimes of Britain, and our columns are always open to any writer who takes the field on the general issue of a combat, but there is a strong line of demarcation to be drawn in the verbal license allowed to the patrons of different games. In horse-racing, pedestrianism, and the prize-ring, there are often certain combinations of persons and circumstances which may authorise the strictest inquiry into ~~and the most unflinching~~ *the conduct*.

leads to occasional evil practices. But, in the noble and manly game of CRICKET, laurels alone are sought to be gained by its followers, and there is scarcely room for bitterness or wrong-doing to nestle in the bosom of its earnest veterans or recruits. He who would accuse, whether in person or by pen, gives a chance to the slip that any qualified umpire would give "out" as off the field.

appeared lately in our columns. Some two months since we threw out a hint that it were wise to drop literary warfare, and we hoped our advice would have been followed; but one after communication has led to another—each becoming more and more personal—until we now feel bound to take the place of long stop. It is better than another, and not to be blamed; it is possible to prefer individuals in shooting, quail-playing, rowing, and many other sports; but to draw personal comparisons between members of a club who may be included or excluded from an eleven, cannot be done without the risk of fostering private ill-will, and destroying the unity so necessary to the well-being of a club. The actual election of a committee whose powers are to be complete should close all discussion of fitness or that able services. Any able homily on the use of the bat proper placing and activity of fielders, styles of bowling or improvement of regulations, will be hailed by us and the cricket world; but we must decline printing anonymous writers who only fall foul of committees and hint at favouritisms. We must, at any rate, whatever they do pen, let it be under their own patronymics, and not encourage such joking queries as "Who's Stumps?" etc. Even in the case of our excellent friend who "put his name to his hat" it were better to "take the will (s) for the deed!"

Figure 9: The Bell's Victoria editor had many of the same issues experienced by his counterpart in London.

The dispute between Wills and *Stumps* continued in print over the summer.⁵⁷¹ The editor of *Bell's* penned a long response, reminding cricketers they were cricketers, and such feuds, while to be expected amongst the horse racing and boxing set who were competing for money, were

⁵⁶⁸ T.W. Wills, 'The Match to Come', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 November 1857, 3.

⁵⁶⁹ 'The Victoria v. New South Wales Match', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 5 December 1857, 4.

⁵⁷⁰ 'Victoria v. New South Wales', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 12 December 1857, 4.

⁵⁷¹ Stumps, 'New South Wales v. Victoria', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 January 1858, 3; Stumps, 'New South Wales v. Victoria', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 19 December 1857, 3.

unbecoming to the 'manly and noble' sport. He also noted they would now not be printing anonymous letters to avoid the 'who's Stumps?' question.⁵⁷²

This does not stop the editor printing the letters, however.

The High Bowling 'Crisis'

In January of 1858 the New South Welshmen came down to face the Victorians. They were fêted with a breakfast hosted by D.S. Campbell, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Richmond and the president of the Melbourne Cricket Club, prior to the match and a grand dinner following the end of the match, hosted by His Excellency the Governor. Notably, the dinner guests included a number of members of the Legislative Assembly, including Haines, Ireland, Aspinall, Fellows, Moore, and Evans, along with 200 of Melbourne's élite. The dinner was conducted on the formal lines of an expected occasion in England, with the 'usual loyal toasts' followed by toasts to important patrons and the cricketers themselves as would be expected.⁵⁷³

The attendance at the dinner for the New South Wales cricketers shows the convergence of politics and sport in early colonial Melbourne. Already one of the grand events of the year, it would be expected the grand men of the colony would appear. Whilst at this stage it would appear to be just that, the true power and purpose of such connections can be seen in the formation that winter of the committee for the 1859 match, which we will examine in the next chapter.

⁵⁷² 'Epistolary Bat-tles', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 January 1858, 3.

⁵⁷³ 'The usual loyal toasts' will become a running theme. This is further examined in Chapter 6. 'The Inter-Colonial Cricket Match', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 January 1858, 3.

The 1858 match itself was notably marked by the difference between the bowling of the two sides. The Victorians dominated the match, winning by 171 runs. The correspondent in *Bell's* put this down to Victorian proficiency with round-arm bowling, compared to the underarm bowling of the New South Welshmen.⁵⁷⁴ The notable incident of the match was the retirement of Gilbert of NSW when he was injured standing up to one of Wills' round-arms. Allowed a substitute runner when he returned to try and salvage the match for NSW at the end of their second innings, he was somewhat confused by the absolutely legal, but little-used in Australia rule, and was run out due to a mix up with his runner. This caused some controversy amongst fans who did not understand the complexities of the rule book.

This difference in bowling came down to Wills and Hammersley. There was no one in Sydney like Wills and Hammersley; men of great talent who had recently arrived from England. Hammersley, and in particular Wills, had brought a new piece of cultural capital: round-arm bowling. Although the style had been around for decades, it was controversial and strictly regulated, and for the main ignored by Australian cricketers. Wills and Hammersley were both in England to witness the rise of Edgar Willsher, who by the time both men left England had begun to terrorise batsmen with his quick round-arm deliveries. It was not until 1862 that Willsher famously became the first cricketer to be no-balled for bowling over-arm in the incident that would mark the transition to over-arm bowling, but his performance in the 1857 season had already started the debate in the halls of Marylebone, where an alteration to Law 10, which covers bowling action, had been suggested.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷⁴ 'The Inter-Colonial Cricket Match', 16 January 1858.

⁵⁷⁵ Willsher's no-balling is the incident that finally brings to a head the debate around the legality of a ball bowled with a straight arm over the height of the shoulder. Through the period of this thesis the round-arm delivery had been replacing the under-arm delivery as the sport's standard. Bowler's slowly got higher and higher as they realised the additional accuracy this added to the pace of round-arm. In an *England XI v Surrey* match in 1862 John Lillywhite became the first umpire to explicitly no-ball an over-arm delivery. Willsher left the ground, along with the 8 other professionals on his side, leading to Lillywhite being

Australians read about the high bowling crisis in their local papers. In a letter published in *Bell's Life in Victoria* on 29 May 1858, Hammersley wrote of influential MCC member Robert Grimston's proposal as published in *Bell's Life in London* on 14 March, adding he believes the motion will fail.⁵⁷⁶ Here Hammersley is positioning himself as the voice of Marylebone in Australia. He speaks with authority, yet retains deference to the MCC. A letter from Wills supporting a change in bowling appeared at the end of the month.⁵⁷⁷

Appearing alongside this is another letter from Wills, striking back at the Committee of the Mel.C.C. (of which Wills was secretary) for their admonishment of Wills not attending the Annual General Meeting.⁵⁷⁸ Wills felt slighted and threatened to quit the club. Perhaps quite reasonably so. He was far and away the best player in the colony, and had dedicated many hours to the club. Yet even while serving as secretary, there was a sense he was a mere professional, and should be treated as such. For someone who had been the captain of the Rugby School XI, and a member of the MCC, this must have been quite the insult. This is the beginning of an increasingly fractious relationship between Wills and the Melbourne élite that would become the local proxy for the professional/amateur divide building in England.

In the interlude between news of the meeting being called to discuss high bowling, and the news of the outcome of the meeting, both Hammersley and Wills wrote letters to *Bell's Victoria* noting

removed as umpire so the match could continue. This forced the issue and rules were amended to allow for over-arm bowling from 1864.

⁵⁷⁶ We first met Robert Grimston as one of the 'nobs' in Chapter 1. He would be president of Marylebone in the 1880s. In 1858 he was a highly influential member, and the one who first proposed an alteration to law 10. William Hammersley, 'High Bowling', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 May 1858.

⁵⁷⁷ 'The Late Meeting of the M.C.C.', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 26 June 1858, 3. Hammersley's letter from the previous week is also reprinted as an article.

⁵⁷⁸ 'The Late Meeting Of The M.C.C.', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 26 June 1858, 3'.

the necessity of having some sort of formal arrangement to discuss how rules would be interpreted in Australia. Fearing too much power going to 'one or two individuals', Hammersley suggested either the forming of a committee of 'some leading club, such as the Melbourne' (of which, of course, he was a committee member) or a 'committee of cricketers from different clubs' (which he, no doubt, would be on).⁵⁷⁹ Wills' letter appeared immediately below that of Hammersley. Although arguing from a different starting point – Wills' objection was to how the rules which designated what club someone could play for – he came to a similar conclusion: 'a congress of cricketers should be called together to form new rules'.⁵⁸⁰ Despite their increasingly combative relationship, it is not surprising the two are in lockstep opinion, as at the time they were forming an alliance, not just within cricket, they were just now months away from the meeting that started Australian Rules football.⁵⁸¹

However, unlike in England, there was as yet no accepted central organisation of the game in Australia. So it was time for another *ad hoc* committee. These committees had a tendency to be opaque, and caused some consternation amongst other cricketers as to who was running cricket.⁵⁸² Tensions also appeared between Melbourne and the other clubs. Melbourne, being both the most central and biggest club, was able to send more delegates to the conferences organised to discuss administrative matters. Other clubs felt this gave Melbourne far too much

⁵⁷⁹ The 'one or two individuals' refers to a letter the previous week from 'Umpire' suggesting the task should fall to the publisher of the *Cricketer's Guide* in Australia, William Fairfax. For his part, Fairfax rejected the idea, saying the *Guide's* purpose was to report, not to be a lawkeeper, and threw his support behind Wills. 'Umpire' also had a letter next to Fairfax's, begging that his 'object has been misconceived' and that he is 'not a partisan', but 'an advocate for greater perspicuity in the laws'. Umpire, 'Construction of 31st Law', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 July 1858, 3; William Fairfax, 'Construction of 31st Law', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 July 1858, 3; Umpire, 'Construction of 31st Law', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 July 1858, 3.

⁵⁸⁰ T.W. Wills, 'Construction of The 31st Law', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 24 July 1858, 3.

⁵⁸¹ Tony Collins, *How Football Began: A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (Routledge, 2018), 84.

⁵⁸² 'Victoria v. New South Wales', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 5 December 1857, 4.

control over the game in general. There were frequent attempts for votes to be restricted to one per club, but these always failed.⁵⁸³

This incident shows the nature of capital and power transferal. Australia was a long way away from central authority – not just in cricket, but all aspects of public and government life. Disputes, and the time it took to get verification from London, provided the perfect opportunity for men of the colonies to promote their own positions. Hammersley is a great example of this. Almost immediately upon his arrival in the colony he had worked his way into the inner sanctums of Victorian cricket and become a trusted and authoritarian voice. No doubt his Cambridge education, MCC membership, and powerful social network gave him the authority he needed, despite the fact that the 1850s was a decade of failure for Hammersley. Here was a man who had never really worked a day in his life, who had abandoned his wife and four young children to ‘seek opportunity’ on the other side of the planet, and was yet able to find immediate respect and authority in the colony based on little more than his resume.

What to do with the old professional?

Before concluding this chapter there is another event to note from the January 1858 intercolonial match that will give some context for the following chapter. At the match a fund was being raised for Murray of New South Wales, who had been injured in the match. However, also injured in the match was George Elliott, the Melbourne Club’s main professional bowler. Wills called for a benefit match for Elliott.⁵⁸⁴ Wills more than most in Australia would have appreciated the life that

⁵⁸³ ‘Cricket Conference’, *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 9 September 1858, 3.

⁵⁸⁴ ‘Elliott’s Benefit’, *Bell’s Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 13 February 1858, 3.

awaited the professional cricketer once their playing days were over. He had played with and against the greatest Players of the time, no doubt sharing tales along the way. Additionally, benefit matches were quite common in England at the time, each season seeing a number. These were most usually a local game for the benefit of local players, however, some were major matches, like William Lillywhite's benefit that preceded the 1853 School's Week.⁵⁸⁵ It is an easy stretch of the imagination to think of young Tom, with his schoolmates in their bunks reading over every detail of the match being played to raise a retirement fund for his coach's father. Although Tom was not the most academic student, if he had access to multiple accounts – one imagines his coaches or masters were ensuring the boys had access to reading materials, including newspapers – he likely would have noticed that some reports mention the *non pareil's* less than glorious opening bowling that saw him taken off after too long, while another wrote 'Lillywhite's name appeared in the list of players, but although on the ground, he was not sufficiently in health to play. He made an attempt, and "Stood out," but was necessitated to abandon the field'.⁵⁸⁶

For all his failings with the books, Tom seemingly took a lesson in how to write in a newspaper

(Fig. 10). In his call for Elliott's benefit,

Wills notes Elliott 'has done his duty' for Victoria on every occasion, and calls for 'all gentlemen who are really fond of that noble game' to support the match. He praises Elliott as a 'good and sober man' who was always available when gentlemen members wanted someone to

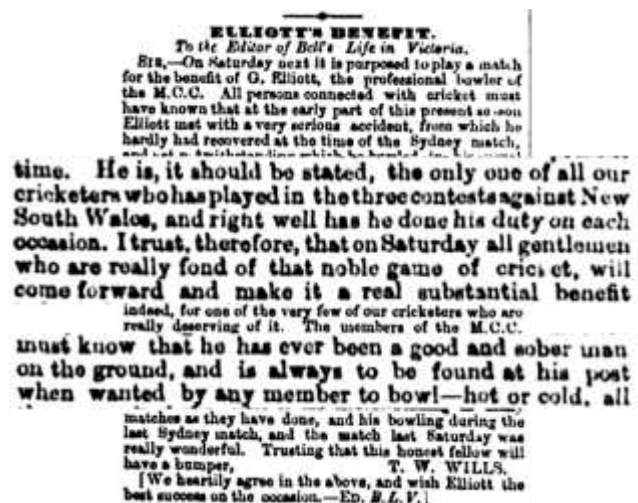


Figure 10: Wills transferring the duty of patrons of the 'noble and manly game' to provide for professionals on retirement.

⁵⁸⁵ Lillywhite Senior had several benefits over the course of 1853, however, this was by far the most notable. The state of the elder Lillywhite's health at this stage is marked by his retirement from his benefit match against 'The Lansdowne (Bath) Club', *Field*, 30 July 1853, sec. 7.

⁵⁸⁶ 'All England v. Sussex (With Parr)', 104.; 'Sussex (with Parr) v. England', *The Era*, 31 July 1853, 6.

bowl to them. Supporting the club's aging professional was the *duty* of the members, and all those who had basked in Victorian cricketing glory. The Melbourne club faced the County of Bourke in a match that doubled as Elliott's benefit, as well as a warm-up match for their upcoming tour of Tasmania.⁵⁸⁷ This is apparently the first match played in Australia that was specifically for the benefit of a single professional, but it was quickly followed by others and became – as it was in England – a standard feature of the late career professional.

The *ad hoc* committees used to select the first sides were continued, with representatives of the various clubs meeting to select honorary, organising, and selection committees.⁵⁸⁸ The honorary committee of 1858 highlights the role cricket had begun to play in the social and political culture of the colony. This will be our focus for the next chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how Hammersley and Wills transferred the social and cultural capital they earnt in England to attempt to reproduce a habitus similar to that they experienced in England. In this way they were attempting to transfer the English habitus to Australia. However, as we saw in the previous chapter, these relationships are two way, and the conditions in Australia, in turn, have an impact on the capital that is produced and reproduced.

⁵⁸⁷ 'Cricket Matches', *Argus*, 13 February 1858, 4.

⁵⁸⁸ 'Victoria v. New South Wales', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 5 December 1857, 4.

Chapter 5: Building Bonds, Bridging Breeches – Honorary Committees

As seen in the previous chapter, by the time Tom Wills returned to Melbourne in 1856, the intersection between cricket and politics was already being established. This chapter will examine how various committees surrounding cricket, beginning with the 1858 Intercolonial Cricket Honorary Committee, would become the location for men to raise or reinforce their social status in the wider community, creating and reproducing bonding and bridging capital. Through this process cricket in part takes up the mantle of the confirmer of gentlemanly status left by the waning power of the élite gentleman's Melbourne Club.

Also examined is the Cricketer's Mutual Fund – a retirement plan for professional cricketers in England. The contrast between the make-up of these two committees, particularly who held the power within them, shows the divergence in how cricket was acting as a gatekeeper for 'good society' in Victoria and England.

Early Victorian Gentlemen

Horatio Wills was elected to the Victorian Legislative Council in 1855. Like most men who had made it to the fringes of good society, he expected Tom would follow in his footsteps and bridge the final gaps of respectability.⁵⁸⁹ Tom needed to know *who* was important, and *why*. Much had changed since he went off as a lad to Rugby, particularly what constituted the qualifications to be

⁵⁸⁹ Tom would not become a politician. Paul De Serville calls the way a man could rise in the social vacuum of a colonial outpost as the 'colonial promotion'. Paul De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes* (Melbourne; New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 32.

a gentleman. It is to this process that we now turn before beginning our examination of bonding and bridging capital.

There were three kinds of ‘gentleman’ in the early Port Phillip colony. Paul De Serville classifies them into three groups: gentlemen by birth – those descended from the noble houses of Britain, either still great or decayed; gentlemen by profession or commission – clergy, lawyers, military officers, and graduates of Oxbridge; and gentlemen by upbringing – those men without one of the first two claims to gentleman status, but whose social, cultural, and economic capital allowed them to outwardly present as a gentlemen.⁵⁹⁰ By the time Tom Wills and William Hammersley were in Melbourne as young men in the mid-1850s, many of the ‘gentlemen’ who established these rules were gone from the colony, often broken by the weather or their own mismanagement.⁵⁹¹ This was particularly true of the ‘gentlemen by birth’ group, in what de Serville calls “McCombie’s Law” that gentlemen make poor colonists: ‘Those settlers who obeyed the dictates of business survived the vicissitudes of colonial life, while the gentlemen devoted to their pleasures went to the wall’.⁵⁹² By the 1850s the gentlemen by birth had by necessity become more inclusive of the other two groups, as their interests increasingly aligned against the influx of new migrants.⁵⁹³ The classification of ‘gentleman’, especially the tension between these three

⁵⁹⁰ One of the common methods of obtaining the necessary cultural capital of a gentleman was through reading Kenelm Digby’s *Broad Stone* mentioned in Chapter 1, including Governor La Trobe himself. However, even by the 1840s this was out of date, much more suited to the Regency gentleman than the Victorian. This is one example of a similar, yet unique, culture forming in the colonies. De Serville, 31–32; 35; 57.

⁵⁹¹ While no doubt some were victims of circumstance in the economic collapse of the early 1840s, de Serville notes a thread evident in the sources from the time that failure to make a successful colonist was due to one’s personal failings. The argument for this is that it was in particular the hard working Calvinist Scots and the pastoralists shunned by good society that survived the crash, while those with high status granted by titles and wealth from England who could not replicate the toughness of the former two groups went to the wall. De Serville, 24.

⁵⁹² Named after the observations of Thomas McCombie in the novel *Arabin*. De Serville, 32; 60.

⁵⁹³ John Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2009), 155.

claimants to the title, remained a part the hegemonic culture in the Australian colonies until the First World War.⁵⁹⁴

The clearest insignia of the Melbourne gentleman was membership to the élite Melbourne Club.⁵⁹⁵ Through the 1840s the Melbourne Club had been the gate-keeper of 'good society'; the second highest rung on the social ladder below the inner circle of the governor and his close associates.⁵⁹⁶ To be a 'clubman' one had to have all of the credentials: birth, wealth, behaviours, and networks. Those who had access to this inner sanctum were able to perpetuate their place in society through monopolising events such as welcome committees, balls, clubs, and charities.⁵⁹⁷ Below these came 'the respectables'; men who may not meet the full requirements of a true gentleman, particularly birth, but who still had the means and behaviours to be welcome associates, if not welcome into the Club itself. Below the respectables came men of business; the merchants and those squatters who did not meet the birth and behavioural requirements for acceptance into the class of gentleman. The economic turmoil of the 1840s – largely the result of land speculation – and the influx of migrants due to the gold rush, saw the levelling of social classes. Men of rough origin struck it rich and the working classes saw their wages skyrocket. The Melbourne Club had to loosen its requirements, symbolic of the general flattening of the upper hierarchy as the gentlemen's place as the leaders of society came under pressure.⁵⁹⁸ By the mid-1850s there was a true tussle for social primacy in the new colony.

⁵⁹⁴ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 26.

⁵⁹⁵ A gentleman's club, not to be confused with the Melbourne Cricket Club.

⁵⁹⁶ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 55.

⁵⁹⁷ De Serville, 58.

⁵⁹⁸ De Serville, 157; Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History*, 156.

Victorian Politics 1851-1856

Geoffrey Serle outlines the Left/Right divisions in the Victorian Parliament at the time as essentially dividing on a suffrage spectrum from conservative to radical.⁵⁹⁹ Gold was found in Victoria in 1851 when it was just a series of nascent settlements at the south end of New South Wales. This had the immediate effect of ending transportation, as the flood of ‘good’ migrants were expected to take up the slack left by the undermining of indentured labour.⁶⁰⁰ With finance and labour freely available, Governor La Trobe entered upon an ambitious programme of public works in 1853.⁶⁰¹ However, when Colonial Engineer, Charles Pasley, arrived in 1854, the accounts were a ‘dreadful mess’.⁶⁰² This was amplified by La Trobe’s tendency, when appointing government positions, to privilege local allies and letters of introduction over qualifications.⁶⁰³ Once his appointees took up their positions, moreover, La Trobe had little further influence over his appointments; his appointment for Attorney-General, William Stawell, was said ‘rarely embarrassed his chief by consultations on official routine’.⁶⁰⁴ Although this was a common way to run a colony – La Trobe saw a letter of introduction as a shorthand for competence – he did not receive the funding from London to support such a scheme, leading to a bloated and inefficient public service.⁶⁰⁵ Hugh Childers, Member of the Legislative Assembly until his return to England in 1857 wrote of La Trobe: ‘Poor Mr La Trobe, I pity him sincerely, as he is a good and industrious man, but so wedded to old habits and old friends that I fear he will get into trouble ere long’.⁶⁰⁶ Government debt blew out, and attempts to find new forms of revenue through taxation were

⁵⁹⁹ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 281.

⁶⁰⁰ Boyce argues that this was part of the squatter’s attempt to legitimise themselves and their settlement. One squatter argument being that conflict with Indigenous populations were caused by undesirable settlers, not dispossession and genocide. Boyce, 1835, 56, 157.

⁶⁰¹ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 159.

⁶⁰² Pasley MS. letter, 29 May, 1854, cited in Serle, 160.

⁶⁰³ Serle, 160.

⁶⁰⁴ W. Kelly, *Life In Victoria*, vol. 1, p. 195, cited in John Barnes, *La Trobe: Traveller, Writer, Governor* (Braddon, Australian Capital Territory: Halstead Press in association with State Library Victoria [and] La Trobe University, 2017), 270.

⁶⁰⁵ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 77.

⁶⁰⁶ E.S.C. Childers, *Life and Correspondence of H.C.E. Childers*, vol. 1, p. 43, cited in Barnes, *La Trobe*, 272.

rejected in the Legislative Council. La Trobe requested permission to resign in late 1853, and in June 1854 Sir Charles Hotham arrived to an economy in crisis with a tempest brewing on the goldfields.⁶⁰⁷

Hotham immediately ended La Trobe's system of appointments. He set about repairing the economy. Imports were pouring in, but not finding a market; the trade deficit exceeded £10m. Land speculation – the government's prime source of income – had dried up. The banks, up to this time free and easy lenders, started to tighten their belts, leading to the downfall of businesses and thousands of personal bankruptcies.⁶⁰⁸ Prices and wages collapsed.

Hotham then toured the goldfields to see the risk of unrest for himself. He thought many men were making a fortune in the fields; so any avoidance of the licence system had to be stopped. The subsequent violence, and stand-off with the government in December 1854, known as the Eureka Stockade, has become Australian folklore. In the aftermath the sides divided between the 'traditionalists' like Hotham and the squatters – who claimed vast tracts of land before there was a central system of allocation and purchase – and 'democrats', like the miners, the influential politician John O'Shanassy, and the editor of the *Age*, Ebenezer Syme.⁶⁰⁹ The democrats then moved beyond tax relief for miners. They demanded radical reforms – drawn from Chartism, and the American and French revolutions – such as full male suffrage, two houses of parliament, abolition of all taxes in favour of property taxes only, and a wider release of land.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁷ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 176; De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 48;127.

⁶⁰⁸ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 180.

⁶⁰⁹ Serle, 191.

⁶¹⁰ It is worth noting that the Catholic/Protestant divide did not align with these factions. Although religion was an important and pressing issue – particularly during elections when people of different sects were appealing for votes – it was these secularist values, not some anachronistic 'Judeo-Christian values' that were the defining political and cultural ideologies prevalent at the formation of Victoria. Holly Randell-

Although perhaps not the ‘symptom and incidental outbreak’ of a ‘general revolutionary movement’ Karl Marx thought it was, the democratic fervour brought about by Eureka was the context in which the Constitution of Victoria was drafted.⁶¹¹

The Victorian Constitution was drafted in the Legislative Council in 1854.⁶¹² There was little opposition to self-government in London, particularly once Earl Grey retired in 1852.⁶¹³ The political turmoil in England in the first half of the 1850s also meant there was little focus in the Colonial Office on Australian matters: the bill passed in Westminster with little alteration.⁶¹⁴ Queen Victoria gave her consent in July 1855 and it was proclaimed in Victoria in November. However, due to disorganisation on behalf of Governor Hotham, possibly due to illness – he was to die on New Year’s Eve 1855 – the existing parliament ran until 13 March 1856. The last act of the final government before transition to responsible government with its own constitution was to enact the secret ballot. Victoria now joined Tasmania and South Australia in enacting similar provisions, and along with France, were the only places to have what came to be known as the ‘Australian ballot’.⁶¹⁵ The first Victorian self-governing parliament did not sit until November 1856.

Moon, ‘The Secular Contract: Sovereignty, Secularism and Law in Australia’, *Social Semiotics* 23, no. 3 (June 2013): 360–62. Serle, *The Golden Age*, 192; 271.

⁶¹¹ ‘Karl Marx in *Die Neue-Oder Zeitung* 1855, accessed 10 March 2021, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1855/03/07.htm>.

⁶¹² The Legislative Council is the Upper House in the Victorian parliament. However, the first responsible government following separation from New South Wales was only the Legislative Council, represented by 20 members elected from the mainly Squatting class, and 10 members selected by the governor. This was expanded in 1853 to 54, 18 of which were to be nominated. Serle, *The Golden Age*, 161.

⁶¹³ Serle, 214.

⁶¹⁴ The only major amendment made in London was for Parliament there to retain veto power over internal affairs. This was more about wider legal structures of the Empire, and the difficulties giving the Australian colonies what might be seen as preferential treatment than it was about anything particular to do with the Victorian constitution. Serle, 217.

⁶¹⁵ There is more to the ‘Australian Ballot’ than just anonymity, which was in place in other jurisdictions. One of the most notable features to make the Australian version of the secret ballot truly unique was that all ballots were centrally printed by the government, meaning they were all identical in appearance. Prior to this, when used in places such as Canada, the US, or the UK, ballots were either slips of paper provided by the voter themselves, or by a candidate. As such, it was often possible to tell who someone was voting

This meant that on 25 March 1856, Victoria had one of the most democratic political systems on the planet, but had no Governor, and no government.

These first constitutions made no reference to increasing fellowship between the Australian colonies, let alone any reference to any future united Australia: that must wait for the cricket match.⁶¹⁶ However, before we turn to how cricket committees were used to reproduce social capital, we must first understand a subset of social capital: bonding capital and bridging capital.

Bonding and Bridging Capital

‘Networking’ in the language of Bourdieuan capital can be best understood as the production and reproduction of *bonding* and *bridging* capital. These terms were first coined by American sociologist Robert D. Putnam in his 2000 book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Putnam describes them: ‘Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40’.⁶¹⁷ A Scots historical sociologist, Wray Vamplew soon showed how these concepts of social capital as either bonding or bridging or both could apply to pre-1914 British golf clubs. Vamplew explained this, first by framing definitions that also apply to this study of mid-nineteenth-century cricket.⁶¹⁸

for through observation of the ballot they were filling out. However, it is still the common narrative, proposed by historians John Hirst, Geoffrey Serle, and James Jupp, as well as the Australian Electoral Commission, to equate the secret ballot with the Australian ballot. Peter Brent, ‘The Australian Ballot: Not the Secret Ballot’, *Australian Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 1 (1 March 2006): 39–50.

⁶¹⁶ Co-operation was in the air. Despite there being nothing mentioned in the constitutions, the first free trade agreement between Victoria and New South Wales was signed in 1855, before the constitution was ratified. Serle, *The Golden Age*, 227.

⁶¹⁷ Robert D. Putnam and Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon and Schuster, 2000), 23.

⁶¹⁸ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon and Schuster, 2000).

*Bonding social capital draws people together from a similar sociological niche and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and maintain homogeneity, whereas bridging social capital brings together people from diverse social divisions and tends to generate broader identities and wider reciprocities than the reinforcement of narrow groupings as occurs with bonding social capital.*⁶¹⁹

Vamplew found a thread of social homogeneity in member lists of Edwardian golf clubs; middle-class men meeting middle-class men to reinforce middle-class values. They were bonding their social capital to one another. However, he also noted threads of bridging capital, especially in the admission of women and artisans through ‘ladies’ sections and artisan clubs. Lowered fees only enabled restricted access to the course and facilities, which maintained the social homogeneity of the club, while giving access to much needed funds.

Bonding and bridging capital are not the contradictory forces and ends they may seem. These forces can either reinforce existing norms or create new ones. Most institutions combine these two forces as they recreate themselves. As noted in the introduction, institutions are focus points for different forms of capital, and its reproduction.

The Outsiders

To examine how bonding and bridging capital were performed in Melbourne in the 1850s, one event and two men stand out: the 1858 Intercolonial Cricket Committee, and John O’Shanassy, premier of Victoria, and William Fairfax, a seemingly lost member of the Fairfax family who spent his entire life trying to break into the ranks of good society. Through a brief examination of their lives in Melbourne, culminating in their inclusion in the Intercolonial Cricket Committee, we will

⁶¹⁹ Wray Vamplew, ‘Sharing Space: Inclusion, Exclusion, and Accommodation at the British Golf Club Before 1914’, *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 34, no. 3 (August 2010): 360.

see how bonding and bridging capital were used to reinforce cricket's position as the arbiter of gentlemanly status.

John O'Shanassy

John O'Shanassy was born in County Tipperary, Ireland, in 1818. His father was a land surveyor who died when John was 13. This ended John's education; he was apprenticed to a draper and spirit merchant.⁶²⁰ His father's death came at a tumultuous time for the Irish Catholics.

When the Acts of Union that formed the Kingdoms of Ireland and Great Britain were passed in 1800, they were accompanied by a promise from Prime Minister Pitt the Younger for emancipation of the Catholics. However, even with a majority in the Commons, opposition from the upper house – and especially from King George IV, who felt it violated his role as head of the Anglican Church – meant that little headway was made in the early decades of the nineteenth century. However, the act had brought five million Irish into the Union, who now represented about a third of the population.⁶²¹

This stand-off changed in the 1820s. Daniel O'Connell formed the Catholic Association in 1823 to agitate for Catholic emancipation. This led to his election to the House of Commons in 1828, although he was not allowed to take up his seat as Catholics were not able to take the Oath of Supremacy. This resulted in the *Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829*, removing most restrictions on

⁶²⁰ S. M. Ingham, 'O'Shanassy, Sir John (1818–1883)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed 25 June 2020, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/oshanassy-sir-john-4347>.

⁶²¹ Excluding military and government personnel, Irish Catholics would also make up about a third of all white settlers in the Empire. Oliver P. Rafferty, 'The Catholic Church, Ireland and the British Empire, 1800–1921', *Historical Research* 84, no. 224 (1 May 2011): 292.

Catholics, although they were still required to pay a tithe to the Anglican Church.⁶²² Restrictions on royals being, or marrying, Catholics remained. Additionally, the property qualification for suffrage was raised, effectively disenfranchising many of the middle class who had gained the vote in recent times, while severely restricting the number of new Catholic voters emancipated by the Act.⁶²³

Along with voting and religious practices, another key restriction on Catholics in the pre-emancipation era was a ban on higher offices in the public service. John's father was blocked from advancement in his career due to his religion. It is probable this informs John's political beliefs later in life.

Just why O'Shanassy migrated to Australia in 1839 is unknown. Most stories have him following out a family member.⁶²⁴ This was still half a decade before the Irish Famine saw a quarter of the population of Ireland either die or leave the country. While the story of him following a family member helps to explain his arrival in Australia, his departure was also likely related to John seeking better opportunities for social mobility than were available to Catholics in Ireland. Opportunities for Catholics in the Empire lay in the 'colonial promotion' – being able to fill power vacuums in distant colonies – not Ireland.⁶²⁵

⁶²² There were such a raft of restrictions against Catholics that even when they were introduced it was assumed they would never be enforced. This includes banning Catholic clergy wearing robes outside of church and restrictions on Jesuits. Desmond Keenan, *The Grail of Catholic Emancipation 1793 to 1829* (Xlibris Corporation, 2002), 432. Catholics were barred from the position of Lord Chancellor of England, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland or Regent of the Kingdom. Keenan, 431–32.

⁶²³ Prior to the Emancipation Act, all those who had a 40 shilling per year rent could vote. When the Act raised this to £10, it disenfranchised much of the Irish peasantry. The number of electors in Ireland dropped from 200 000 to 26 000. Mark Frassetto, 'Catholic Emancipation: 1760-1829', SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 9 January 2013), 35.

⁶²⁴ Paul Strangio and Brian J. Costar, *The Victorian Premiers, 1856-2006* (Federation Press, 2006), 17.

⁶²⁵ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 32.

Upon arriving in Sydney John was persuaded by the local Catholic priest to try his luck in the Port Phillip District.⁶²⁶ After a failed attempt to start a farm in the Western Port region, he moved to Melbourne in 1845 and opened a drapery. Success in this business gave him the financial independence he craved, and he moved into politics.⁶²⁷

O'Shanassy was part of the convention that wrote the Victorian constitution. Although a progressive in comparison to his colleagues, he was not a radical. While he supported equal votes between districts, he also supported a land-value qualification of £5 000 for suffrage, as well as rejecting the idea of the secret ballot.⁶²⁸ The number of enfranchised voters was increased from 15 000 voting in the Legislative Council in 1853 to 160 000 voting in the second election for the Legislative Assembly in 1859, despite just a doubling of the population. This was due to the introduction of universal male suffrage in 1857 which removed the land qualification for the Legislative Assembly. This was supported by vigorous efforts on behalf of democrat and radical members of parliament to register voters. O'Shanassy increasingly found himself on the side of the squatter class as the increasingly democratised electorate agitated for land reform.⁶²⁹ He also found himself on the unpopular side of the tariff debate, being one of the staunchest free-traders.⁶³⁰

In choosing John O'Shanassy to be one of my representatives of early colonial Victoria, it is not so much O'Shanassy's personal history, nor his connection to cricket – although both are relevant –

⁶²⁶ Ingham, 'O'Shanassy, Sir John (1818–1883)'.

⁶²⁷ Strangio and Costar, *The Victorian Premiers, 1856-2006*, 17.

⁶²⁸ Strangio and Costar, 18.

⁶²⁹ It is unclear exactly why O'Shanassy's politics shifted, although I would conjecture that it was based more on his desire to secure power, as outlined in this chapter, rather than a genuine shift in ideology.

⁶³⁰ Strangio and Costar, *The Victorian Premiers, 1856-2006*, 20.

as his role as a shifting pole of power through the 1850s and 1860s. O'Shanassy was series of contradictions; a squatter and a merchant, his economic links and allegiances lay with the wealthy élite, yet early in his career he was frequently the champion of democratic rights. As an Irishman, and particularly a Catholic, he found himself economically aligned with people who distrusted and looked down upon him, while fighting against his poorer co-religionists and countrymen.

William Fairfax

William Fairfax does not show up on the Fairfax family tree, nor is he mentioned amongst the Fairfax family's *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entries.⁶³¹ This was potentially due to the shame of Charles Fairfax – proprietor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* – marrying William's sister (and Charles' cousin) Anne. William's father began his career in Sydney as a furniture importer, before starting a steam operated sawmill.⁶³² William himself arrived in Melbourne in 1851, and in 1854 went into partnership with the proprietors of the *Argus*, Wilson and Mackinnon, bringing a new steam operated printing press to the paper.⁶³³ William's first foray into good society was being a part of the testimonial committee for the opera singer Miss Catherine Hayes' departure.⁶³⁴ He also signalled his intent to be active in colonial society by being part of the committee to elect David Moore as representative for Melbourne in the Legislative Assembly.⁶³⁵ Importantly, this was the first time he signed his name 'esquire'. This was an important signifier. With the Melbourne

⁶³¹ His father, William Snr. is listed as John's brother, but that branch of the family tree includes just the single son, John. J. O. Fairfax, 'Fairfax, John (1804–1877)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed 5 October 2022, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fairfax-john-3493>; 'Tree View - William Fairfax - People Australia', accessed 5 October 2022, <https://peopleaustralia.anu.edu.au/treeview/32802>.

⁶³² 'Imports', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 October 1853, 2; 'Advertising', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1854, 1.

⁶³³ This happens around the same time his father starts his steam mill. It seems the family were actively getting into the new technology, and William decided to try his hand at the other family business as well. 'Latest Dates', *Argus*, 31 August 1855, 4.

⁶³⁴ 'Local Intelligence', *Age*, 12 January 1856, 3.

⁶³⁵ 'Election Notices', *Argus*, 2 September 1856, 6.

Club's decline as the bestower of gentlemanly status, the suffix 'Esq.' had become *the* identifier of the gentleman in Melbourne.⁶³⁶ This followed a similar change occurring in England. The claim was much harder to verify in Melbourne, however, leading many men seeking entry into the social élite to claim the moniker.⁶³⁷

William took on many philanthropic and charitable roles, including the fund for a statue to self-proclaimed founder of Melbourne, John Pascoe Fawkner, helping to organise a public dinner for an alderman, and several other election committees, including those for the conservatives Charles Ebdon and Thomas A'Beckett.⁶³⁸ In 1858 he took over from Tom Wills as the secretary for the Melbourne Cricket Club.⁶³⁹ As a publisher he was responsible for *The Cricketer's Guide*, and *The Australasian Guide*.⁶⁴⁰ In the 1860s he would repeat these acts of bonding and bridging first in Brisbane and then in Warrnambool, before retiring to Sydney where he died in 1881.⁶⁴¹ Each time he relocated he was awarded a testimonial, attended by many dignitaries and accompanied by a generous gift, a sign of esteem for him.⁶⁴² All through his life William Fairfax sought to raise his station in society through the careful cultivation of bonding and bridging capital.

⁶³⁶ Hirst, *Sense and Nonsense in Australian History*, 153.

⁶³⁷ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 76.

⁶³⁸ 'Election Notices', *Argus*, 18 September 1858, 8; 'Geelong', *Argus*, 25 April 1857, 4; 'Advertising', *Age*, 2 May 1857, 1; 'Advertising', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 1857, 5; 'Election Notices', *Argus*, 6 July 1857, 8.

⁶³⁹ 'Cricket', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 25 September 1858, 3.

⁶⁴⁰ 'Advertising', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 November 1858, 1; 'University Intelligence', *Argus*, 29 December 1858, 5.

⁶⁴¹ 'Death of Mr. William Fairfax', *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 18 June 1881, 7.

⁶⁴² 'Melbourne News', *Bendigo Advertiser*, 15 October 1860, 3; 'Victoria', *Empire*, 18 October 1860, 8; 'Cricket', *The Queenslander*, 28 April 1866, 12.

Victorian Politics 1856-58

In 1856 O'Shanassy initially tried aligning with the more radical elements of the parliament. However, by June in the lead up to the first election, he teamed up with opportunistic liberals such as Ebdon, McCulloch, Chapman, Ireland, and Michie to form an opposition bloc to Haines in the parliament. The Haines faction was victorious, forming the first Victorian government under his leadership. O'Shanassy took on a role as one of the opposition leaders.⁶⁴³

It should be noted that trying to place any one politician within the category of 'Left' or 'Right' at this time can be somewhat anachronistic. There was no party system. Members aligned as factions on specific issues, or, more frequently, behind individual personalities. Whilst some members had genuine convictions, especially those at the more extreme ends of democracy versus conservatism, often a political position was taken out of expediency, either for personal benefit, or to be exchanged later.

This lack of any party cohesion was evident almost immediately when Charles Duffy introduced a bill to abolish property qualifications for members. Despite ostensibly sitting in opposition, Duffy was able to pass the bill through the lower house without any support from the government benches.⁶⁴⁴ This was immediately followed by a controversy over the payment of a civil servant, which caused Haines to offer his resignation. Although rebuffed, the issue arose again almost immediately, when Haines' attempt to pass an immigration bill failed and brought down his

⁶⁴³ Henry Gyles Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria: From Its Discovery to Its Absorption Into the Commonwealth of Australia* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 73.

⁶⁴⁴ Turner, 74.

government. The first Haines ministry lasted only three and a half months after the first meeting of the new parliament.⁶⁴⁵

Haines' downfall came at the end of a campaign of no confidence led by O'Shanassy and his allies. However, the alliance immediately fell apart, as Michie and others refused to serve in a proposed O'Shanassy ministry. Their reasoning was that their business commitments were too pressing for them to dedicate their time to a cabinet role, however, it is more likely they were uncomfortable aligning their political prospects with two powerful Irish Catholics in John O'Shanassy and Charles Duffy.⁶⁴⁶ In going to the centre moderates for not just his first, but second choices, O'Shanassy also offended more progressive members who saw it as an abandonment of the values they campaigned on, and an undermining of the 'People's Ministry' O'Shanassy claimed to be leading.⁶⁴⁷

Now allying with Haines, Michie led the movement to remove the government over the issue of state aid to religious education.⁶⁴⁸ This led to the downfall of the first O'Shanassy government in just 50 days, and the reappointment of Haines as Premier. Haines' main priorities for his second government, under pressure from the parliament, was the 'land question' and reform of the electoral system. The 'land question' – who had access to land and for how much – was ever present in Victorian politics at the time. Now those opposed to the squatters, led by Duffy, organised themselves into the Victorian Land League. The Land League further reformed within the year to become the Victorian Land Convention, made up of elected representatives from Land

⁶⁴⁵ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 281.

⁶⁴⁶ Serle, 283.

⁶⁴⁷ Serle, 283.

⁶⁴⁸ Serle, 283.

League branches across the colony.⁶⁴⁹ The Land Convention's primary goal was to reform the allocation of crown lands to promote the settlement of small farmers. Reform of the electoral system centred on expanding male suffrage. Where one's position lay on these two issues generally correlated with how radical one's politics were.

The issues of land and suffrage dominated the first years of the Victorian Parliament. The democrats in parliament pushed for more suffrage, with the support from Catholics who felt it would increase their representation in Parliament. This led the squatters, anti-Catholics, and even some of the democrats to withdraw support from the government, leading to a successful vote of no confidence.⁶⁵⁰ Governor Barkly attempted to convince Haines to reform a ministry, but Haines rejected the offer. Barkly repeated the offer to Clarke, and then Chapman, but both likewise refused. Finally, Duffy, Harker, Evans, Ireland, and O'Shanassy were gathered. O'Shanassy said he would only join the ministry if he was premier, and so began the second O'Shanassy government in March 1858.

The 1858 Victorian Intercolonial Cricket Honorary Committee

In March 1858, the Haines faction broke up. Merchants and businessmen like Michie, Moore, and McCulloch quit parliament to return to their businesses. Haines returned to England for a three-year visit. Childers returned permanently to pursue a career in English politics. There was a need to build new factional alignments. The honorary committee to organise the proposed 1858 Victorian Intercolonial Cricket match became a field where bonding and bridging capital were used

⁶⁴⁹ John Ireland, 'The Victorian Land Act of 1862 Revisited', *Victorian Historical Journal* 65, no. 2 (October 1994): 130–32.

⁶⁵⁰ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 301.

by O'Shanassy to strengthen his own position and shore up his factional support. The practices were being used not only to broaden social networks and build power, but to act as a gatekeeper of membership to the colonial élite.

Honorary committees were commonplace in social or charitable organisations of the time. They served two roles; as a genuine organizational unit, as well as to give respectability to the institution.⁶⁵¹ We have already seen this at work in the organisation of, and selection for, the intercolonial cricket matches in the previous chapter. We have also already observed that prominent members of society were called upon to give their support to these matches in the form of subscriptions. Finally, we know that in 1858 tensions were high between various factions within Victorian cricket, especially over who had control of the game. What

makes this committee especially notable, particularly in the context of this thesis, is that the committee now expands well beyond the boundaries of the cricket club and those interested in

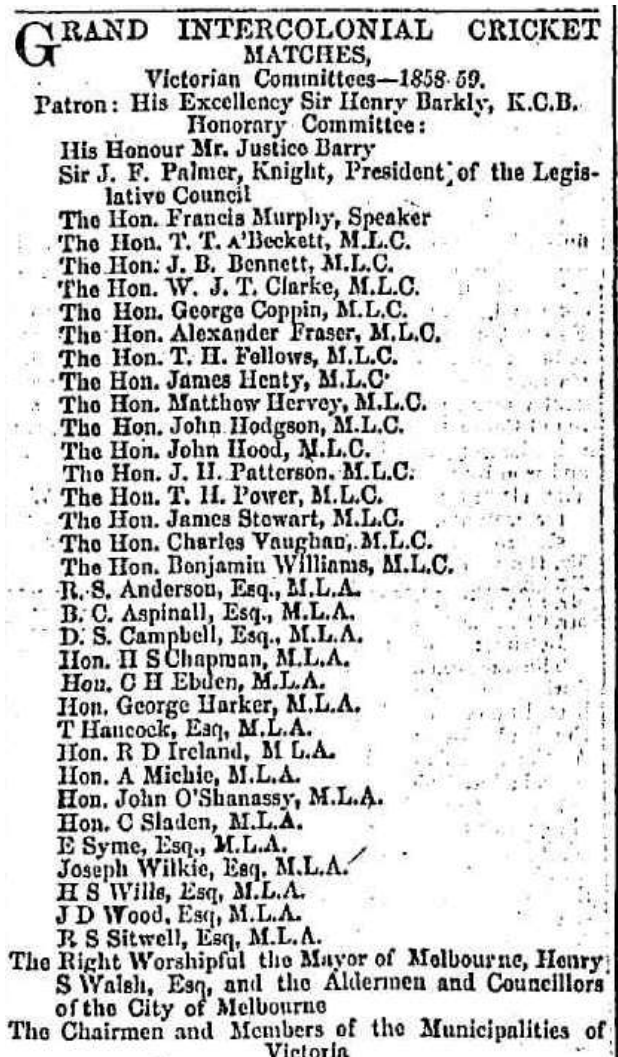


Figure 1: Politicians invited to the ICC.

⁶⁵¹ Geoffrey Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (Routledge, 2016), 92.

the game. Here we get a glimpse of cricket being used to build various forms of capital amongst the social and political élite.

An announcement of a committee for the organisation of the 1858-59 intercolonial match appeared in the *Age* on 16 December 1858 (Fig. 1).⁶⁵²

Unlike many other honorary committees which utilised members to achieve some goal – for example, the Melbourne hospital had a management committee and was funded by subscription, or the various *ad hoc* committees formed for intercolonial matches up to this time – this honorary committee had no actual power or responsibilities. They only had the right to attend meetings, not the right to vote.⁶⁵³

Who was on the honorary committee is significant.⁶⁵⁴ The first thing to note is that all those who do not have another title, such as the doctors, professors, and sirs, were given the suffix 'Esq.'; this was a list of gentlemen. They fall into 3 separate groups; politicians, cricketers, and the Acting Committee.

The politicians group can be further divided; firstly into the general: 'the Aldermen and Councillors of the City of Melbourne' and 'The Chairmen and Members of the Municipalities of Victoria'.⁶⁵⁵ Not only do they want all those who have an interest in cricket, but all those who have an interest

⁶⁵² 'Amusements', *Age*, 16 December 1858, 1.

⁶⁵³ 'Melbourne Hospital', *Argus*, 30 January 1858, 6.

⁶⁵⁴ Although whether they had accepted the position is unknown, so there is every chance this is just an aspirational list.

⁶⁵⁵ 'Advertising', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 18 December 1858, 4.

in the governing of the new colony – at least those who have been elected. There is an assumption built in here that if someone has been elected then they have at least some potential quality, at the very least, many people around them chose to be represented by them.

Given that every local councillor had been given an invite, why not just extend this to the entirety of the new parliament? Why were there individual call outs? There are several possible explanations. First, this is a list of some of the most powerful and influential men in the colony. By printing this list it places them in proximity with cricket, whether they have agreed or not. Second, by naming individuals, it sets up an expectation that these names will be appearing when the subscription lists are announced. Not donating would look like an error.

The advertisement left the list open to be expanded. By announcing the list 'with power to add to their number', it gives them the flexibility to have

The Presidents, Secretaries, and Members of the Cricket Clubs in Victoria	
A J Agg, Esq.	Dr Jacob
W M Bell, Esq	G Kirk, Esq
S Bindon, Esq	E Klingender, Esq
J Baddock, Esq	W Kaye, Esq
T H Bear, Esq	C Lister, Esq
J Blackwood, Esq	G Lewis, Esq
H Box, Esq	D C Macarthur, Esq
C W F Brown, Esq	C M Mackinnon, Esq
J Brown, Esq	W H F Mitchell, Esq
K E Brodribb, Esq	C F Morgan, Esq
C Bright, Esq	F C Moule, Esq
W B Burnley, Esq	E J Murphy, Esq
G Burrell, Esq	W Nicholson, Esq
W H Campbell, Esq	W Perry, Esq
H G Cameron, Esq	F A Powlett, Esq
W Chaplin, Esq	W Philpott, Esq
H Creswick, Esq	Dr Plummer
T Clarke, Esq	J D Pinnock, Esq
Cleve Brothers	R Power, Esq
E Cohen, Esq	W Raleigh, Esq
De Pass Brothers	W Randle, Esq
C Downward, Esq	S S Rennie, Esq
T A Drysdale, Esq	T Reed, Esq
E G Fitzgibbon, Esq	J Ricardo, Esq
Dr Ford	E Row, Esq
J G Francis, Esq	G W Ruden, Esq
F B Franklyn, Esq	R Scaife, Esq
J Gill, Esq	F M Selwyn, Esq
R Goldsbrough, Esq	G Symons, Esq
S Gregory, Esq	A Seddon, Esq
W Hammill, Esq	H S Shaw, Esq
O L Hanbury, Esq	Sir George Stephen
M Hart, Esq	S Thorp, Esq
T F Hamilton, Esq	P Turnbull, Esq
W B Hamilton, Esq	J Thornton, Esq
G Holmes, Esq	S Woolley, Esq
T Hunt, Esq	F Walsh, Esq
Professor Irving	C Wedel, Esq
P Johnson, Esq	G F Verdon, Esq
C B Payne, Esq	A Laing, Esq
J Skillinglaw, Esq	E Courtney, Esq
T S. Martin, Esq	A W Fraser, Esq
E Crisp, Esq	F Wilkinson, Esq
H Newton, Esq	W P White, Esq
C P Hackett, Esq	C Knight, Esq
C Hipwell, Esq	A K Smith, Esq
T Loader, Esq	A Wolfen, Esq
G Higinbotham, Esq	H A Coffey, Esq
G Hicks, Esq	W Bayles, Esq
James Smith, Esq	James Caple, Esq
Murray Smith, Esq	B Butterworth, Esq
R E Jacomb, Esq	

With power to add to their number.

The above gentlemen have been selected as the Honorary Committee by the Acting Committee.

Meetings are held at the Criterion Hotel, on Fridays, at Four o'clock.

Figure 2: Cricketers invited on to the I.C.C.

'honestly forgotten' to add someone, or for someone to convince the committee to add them.

The cricketers on the list are ‘The Presidents, Secretaries, and Members of the Cricket Clubs in Victoria’ (Fig. 2).⁶⁵⁶ If you were a member of a cricket club, you were welcome to the meeting. This seems fair and obvious, the desire at this time was to bridge all cricketers and bond them together, if not in one body, then at least united for the benefit of cricket. However, by including all of them on this ‘list of gentlemen’, it was also confirming the status of cricket as an élite institution. The acting committee were members of the Melbourne Cricket Club assigned to the organisation of the Intercolonial cricket match (Fig. 3).

Most notable amongst this list is William Fairfax. As secretary, Fairfax would have played a pivotal role in selecting who was invited: this list were gatekeepers for access into the meeting. Fairfax would have been aware of the value of aligning himself with the other men on the list, and more importantly, declaring that this was a list of gentlemen. The organisers wanted a large turnout, most likely with the intention of getting subscriptions out of



Figure 3: The I.C.C. Acting Committee

them. But subscriptions were not the only factor at play. The organisers were creating a space, a *habitus*, of bonding social capital. In a new colony, and with a new parliament, *loci* of capital

⁶⁵⁶ ‘Advertising’, 4.

transfer and reproduction were still being formed. The organisers took the opportunity to create a centre of power. That cricket happened to be at the centre of it was just a happy coincidence.

Far from being a just list of the influential cricket fans in the colony, it was another one of William Fairfax's moves to ingratiate himself with the élite of the colony, with O'Shanassy also taking advantage to firm up his power base. Although not perfect – there are several exceptions, particularly amongst the Members of the Legislative Council – analysis suggests the Acting Committee were trying to align their power base with that of O'Shanassy – or vice versa. As noted, one of the prime bases of O'Shanassy's power came from opposing the power of the squatters, particularly in support of 'urban finance capital'; those who arrived in the colony prior to the 1850s and the gold rush had been able to obtain large tracks of public land with relatively low rents.⁶⁵⁷ The money and population brought in by the rush undermined their power. As Charles La Trobe lamented: 'This miserable gold ... these abominable discoveries!'.⁶⁵⁸ One of the key elements of the new Victorian Constitution transferred power over land from the Imperial Parliament to a Colonial one, and William Howitt duly explained what this meant:

*the battle betwixt the colonial public and the squatters and landowners will at once be transferred from the mother-country to those colonies; and that battle will be fought out with much pugnacity and heat.*⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ The rents for public lands paid by the squatters were wildly inconsistent, based mostly on when one was able to sign their lease. For example, in 1860 R. Fenhan was paying just £40 p.a. rent on his 225 000 acres under lease, while J. Austin was paying £2348 p.a. for just 106 000 acres. Some, like R.N. Clarke and Cunningham and Co. did not pay rent at all. At that stage around 30 people controlled approximately 8% of the total land in the colony. 'Squatters' Runs and Rents', *Gippsland Guardian*, 6 January 1860, 2; Ingham, 'O'Shanassy, Sir John (1818–1883)'; John Waugh, 'Framing the First Victorian Constitution, 1853–5', *Monash University Law Review* 23, no. 2 (1997): 335.; Peter (Casimir) R. Zielinski, 'The Upper House and the Australian Aristocracy', 2, accessed 2 November 2022, https://www.academia.edu/35867770/The_Upper_House_and_the_Australian_Aristocracy.

⁶⁵⁸ La Trobe to Griffith, 30 October 1851 & La Trobe to FitzRoy, 20 December 1851, cited in Waugh, 'Framing the First Victorian Constitution, 1853–5', 340.

⁶⁵⁹ William Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold, Or, Two Years in Victoria: With Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land* (Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), xiii.

The Members of the Legislative Council (MLC – the upper house) on the list were, apart from Hervey and Patterson, residents of Melbourne.⁶⁶⁰ The Legislative Council was firmly pro-squatter at this time, although only Clarke and Power (and Ebden MLA) on this list were amongst the truly great landholders in the colony.⁶⁶¹ The other MLCs represent ‘urban finance capital’. Likewise, the list of Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLA – the lower house) shows mainly those already connected (or soon to be) with the O’Shanassy faction in parliament.

When this list was compiled in December 1858, all but five of the sixteen MLAs listed were either solid or occasional supporters of O’Shanassy. Four of those five had a connection to cricket: D.S. Campbell was the sitting president of the MelCC, and Horatio Wills was the father of its best cricketer. R.S. Anderson was a member of Emerald Hill.⁶⁶² Charles Sladen was a former president of the Corio Cricket Club.⁶⁶³ Robert Sitwell had no apparent connection to cricket. He was, however, an Oxford graduate.⁶⁶⁴

Of O’Shanassy’s supporters invited to the committee, most were not cricketers. Aspinall seemingly had no connection to cricket prior to being vice-chair of the dinner for the New South Wales side in January 1858, where Haines was the chair.⁶⁶⁵ This dinner also appears to be Richard Ireland’s first contact with the cricketing world. Ireland had previously been Charles Duffy’s colleague at the radical newspaper, the *Nation* in Ireland.⁶⁶⁶ The St. Kilda Cricket Club had tried to entice H.S.

⁶⁶⁰ Kathleen Thomson and Geoffrey Serle, *A Biographical Register of the Victorian Legislature, 1851-1900*, Australian Parliaments: Biographical Notes 4 (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972).

⁶⁶¹ ‘Squatters’ Runs and Rents’.

⁶⁶² ‘Emerald Hill Club’, *Bell’s Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 15 October 1859, 2.

⁶⁶³ ‘Town Council of Geelong’, *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 10 January 1855, 2.

⁶⁶⁴ ‘Oxford’, *Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard*, 6 May 1845, 1.

⁶⁶⁵ ‘The Grand Cricket Match’, *Age*, 15 January 1858, 5.

⁶⁶⁶ Thomson and Serle, *A Biographical Register of the Victorian Legislature, 1851-1900*, 101.

Chapman (their local member) into their midst, but were apparently rebuffed.⁶⁶⁷ Only Hancock, of East Richmond Cricket Club was a member of a cricket club.⁶⁶⁸

So why do these men suddenly seem keen to stack the honorary committee of a cricket match? The answer perhaps lies in the adjournment of Parliament in January 1858 for the *Victoria v New South Wales* match.⁶⁶⁹ At the time, Harker objected in Parliament, and the *Age* editorial (presumably penned by Ebenezer Syme) was scathing:

*we find the public business subordinated to a Cricket Match. Probably, next week, the Houses will be asked to adjourn out of compliment to Mr Coppin's great wizard, Professor Anderson. Or there may be a "benefit" at the Princess's, under the patronage of Mr Ebdon; and the Government will be in duty bound to cut "business" out of respect to their volatile colleague!*⁶⁷⁰

The implication here was that the business of governing was subservient to not just the recreational, but also to the business interests of some of its MPs. However, O'Shanassy, ever the canny operator, clearly saw that Parliament did not adjourn for other frivolities – cricket was something special. Within a few months he and many of his core supporters were on a committee that also held some of the more liberal squatters and businessmen members of the Council, the governor, and every member of a local council.⁶⁷¹

Within two months of the match MLAs Ireland, Chapman, Hancock, and Harker had all joined the anti-squatter Land Convention.⁶⁷² Anderson, although never an O'Shanassy supporter and a

⁶⁶⁷ 'St. Kilda v. Richmond', *Argus*, 20 April 1858, 5.

⁶⁶⁸ 'Cricket', *Argus*, 26 September 1860, 5.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Parliament at Cricket', *Age*, 13 January 1858, 4.

⁶⁷⁰ 'Melbourne', *Age*, 13 January 1858, 4.

⁶⁷¹ Of course, the councillors were just invited, rather than being named.

⁶⁷² 'The Convention', *Age*, 9 March 1858, 5.

conservative, was elected on behalf of the Convention that year.⁶⁷³ This had the effect of strengthening O'Shanassy's power base in the lower house, as he could now rely on these votes in his fight against the squatting interests.

Ebden was an intriguing character, as he is one of the few pro-squatter MLAs invited to the committee. Known for his 'ultra-squatting beliefs', he was mocked for his dandyism: 'Ebden had something of the ripe vulgarity of the Regency, something of the Victorian heavy swell'.⁶⁷⁴ He nonetheless worked closely with O'Shanassy many times. His relationship with O'Shanassy was possibly part of the latter's shift away from the more radical and democratic views that dominated the Assembly, towards the more conservative views that dominated the Council. However, in the chaotic early parliaments ideology often took a back seat to pragmatism, and O'Shanassy would move Ebden as much as Ebden would move O'Shanassy.

At first it may seem incongruous for cricket to align *against* the great land holders, but this is 1850s Melbourne. There had been a great influx of people to the colony during the decade, many from wealthy backgrounds in England, and many who had made fortunes in gold or trade. In other words, there were now significant bases of economic capital outside the landed élite; this struggle for power between the wealthy had been one of the defining struggles in Victorian politics of the 1850s. Additionally, there was a difference in the social capital of the élite groups, with the squatters being less likely to include those with titles and wealth from England. They had gotten

⁶⁷³ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 296.

⁶⁷⁴ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 46. Geoffrey Serle, 'Ebden, Charles Hotson (1811–1867)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed 25 June 2020, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ebden-charles-hotson-2018>; 'Background', accessed 25 June 2020, <https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/archive/Assembly/FactSheet12/Fact12.htm>.

in early and staked their claims. They saw those coming over from England trying to settle into the aristocratic hierarchy without land as a challenge to both their economic and social statuses.

Victoria had outright rejected calls for a hereditary upper house as had been proposed in New South Wales. It was not in the interest of those wanting to attract the ‘right kind of people’ to the colony if access to power was based on having turned up first, many of whom were ex-convicts or opportunistic settlers who moved into essentially ungoverned lands.⁶⁷⁵ While this may have been all well and good a way to run a country that your people had occupied for millennia, it was a problematic way to set the social structure of a *Terra Nullius*.⁶⁷⁶ The case has been laid out by early Australian Republican, Daniel Deniehy in coining the phrase ‘the Bunyip Aristocracy’. English aristocracy could trace its roots to the Norman conquest and had held their position for centuries by the power of the robe and sword. The Bunyip Aristocrats were seeking to attain the same legitimacy through a ‘swift act of the proposed constitution’.⁶⁷⁷ Deniehy is often given sole responsibility for the rejection for the proposal for hereditary aristocrats, and indeed, a pithy pejorative can have a remarkable effect on public opinion, but the battles over the issue in the Victorian parliament show this was a very real concern of many in the colony of Victoria as well, and it must be understood as one of the prime political drivers of the 1850s.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁵ Zielinski, ‘The Upper House and the Australian Aristocracy’, 3.

⁶⁷⁶ Australia was not, of course, *Terra Nullius*, but that was the understanding at the time.

⁶⁷⁷ Zielinski, ‘The Upper House and the Australian Aristocracy’, 4.

⁶⁷⁸ Credit for Deniehy includes: ‘Daniel Deniehy: The Bunyip Aristocracy’, Independent Australia, accessed 25 June 2020, <https://independentaustalia.net/australia/australia-display/daniel-deniehy-the-bunyip-aristocracy,3205>; Zielinski, ‘The Upper House and the Australian Aristocracy’, 4.; David Headon, ‘Alexis De Tocqueville Democracy In Australia’, Manning Clarke House Inc., 18 December 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20051218024333/http://www.manningclark.org.au/papers/wentworth.html>; In February 1860, debate on the bill was brought forward a few days so as to avoid a conflict with the Victoria v New South Wales match. ‘The Victorian Parliament’, *Argus*, 1 February 1860, 6.; De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 126.

Some others on the list include top bureaucrats like A.J. Agg, wealthy merchants like the Cleve Brothers, and intellectuals like Professor Irving. Again, everyone was given the suffix Esq., apart from those who had the title Dr or Professor. Whilst there were some lawyers and minor nobility on the list, not all had a right to use Esq. This is an act of performative social bridging – the Acting Committee stating clearly that these are ‘gentlemen’. This not only has social cachet in the wider community, but also of course has a very specific and meaningful definition in cricket. These are amateurs, not professionals. The problem in Australia was the dearth of legitimate ‘gentlemen’, as well as the lack of legitimate ‘professionals’. Although some clubs were employing a bowler or paying talent to join the side for a match or two, there were not yet eleven men in the colony earning what could be considered a wage from cricket, and there were not eleven men in the colony with the *bona fides* in both titles and talent to justify a Gentlemen of Melbourne XI.⁶⁷⁹

The Melbourne Club 1857

It is useful to compare the committee list with that of the Melbourne Club in 1857. As mentioned, the Melbourne Club was, if no longer the only, it was still the primary institution that bestowed gentlemanly status, and the membership list was a proxy for social and ruling élite.⁶⁸⁰ This list shows another site of bonding capital in colonial Melbourne, although not much bridging was occurring there. The names on the list are a stark contrast to the Intercolonial Cricket Committee

⁶⁷⁹ Interestingly, Wills had ‘gentleman’ status at this time. Playing for the Gentlemen against the Players in 1860 at the MCG. ‘The Gentlemen v. The Players’, *Bell’s Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 April 1860, 2.

⁶⁸⁰ De Serville goes so far as to argue that the correlation is direct. Membership of the Melbourne Club was the defining quality of the early colonial gentleman, although his study is focussed on the period before 1851.

– mostly pro-squatters, the MPs amongst them more likely to be part of the Legislative Council and aligned with Haines. Several were members of the falling gentry of ‘McCombies Law’.

It is perhaps arguable that Melbourne Club committee members were missing because the invitation was to members of parliament and cricket clubs. Two men, Frederick Powlett, the first president of the Melbourne Cricket Club, and William Bell were invited by name through the list of club members. The only other member of the 1857 Melbourne Club committee was its vice-president Francis Murphy; the first speaker of the Legislative Assembly. He won election to the position by promising not to be involved in debate, unlike his opposing candidate George Griffin. Although a conservative, Murphy’s politics are better thought of as pragmatic populism – he sought to keep his mouth shut on issues as often as possible, and when he did have to take a stand, would usually follow the mood of the room.⁶⁸¹ Murphy was the only Melbourne Club committee member not invited through a cricket club. Of the 150 names on the list for the Intercolonial Cricket Committee, there were only 22 of the 203 active members of the Melbourne Club.⁶⁸² This highlights that there was a separate and alternative group of gentlemen being formed.

Up until the mid-1850s, it would be unlikely to find a group trying to take on the mantle as the colony’s élite that did not beg and scrape to get the Melbourne Club on board. The Intercolonial Cricket Committee was making a bold statement that the social, cultural, and governing élite were those connected to cricket; de Serville’s ‘respectable men of substance’, gentlemen by education and behaviour, not the failed aristocrats who made up much of the Melbourne Club

⁶⁸¹ Margot Beever, ‘Murphy, Sir Francis (1809–1891)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, accessed 27 March 2021, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murphy-sir-francis-4275>.

⁶⁸² Melbourne Club, *Rules and Regulations of the Melbourne Club, Victoria*. (Vic.: Goodhugh & Hough Printers, 1857).

membership.⁶⁸³ In the new democratic Victoria the political élite were to be those who could build bridges across constituencies.

1859 Victorian XI Redacted




Figure 4: The Victorian XI 1859. Back Row: F. F. Morres, A. Burchett, B. Grindrod, G. Elliott, J. Bryant. Middle Row: G. Marshall, W. Hammersley, Joe Rhodes (umpire), Thornton, T. F. Wray. Front Row: T. Wills, J. B. Thompson (emergency), W. Fairfax (scorer), E. H. Whitlow ⁶⁸⁴.

This is further highlighted by the lack of de Serville's 'gentlemen by birth' on the Intercolonial Cricket Committee. By the mid-1850s only around a third of the 152 such gentlemen remained in the colony. Of the approximately 50 of these most legitimate of the 1840s gentlemen left, only three – Thomas A'Beckett, Redmond Barry, and Charles Sladden – were invited to the Intercolonial

⁶⁸³ De Serville calls those men examples of 'McCombie's Law', who migrated with substantial economic, cultural, and social capital, but who due to their desire to keep up the appearance of a gentlemen went broke in the economic collapses of the 1840s and early 1850s. However, many were able to maintain their place in good society through government commissions. This 'law' was named after Thomas McCrombie, owner of the *Port Phillip Gazette*. McCombie first highlighted this group in his 1844 novel *Arabin*.

⁶⁸⁴ Freeman Bros., *Victorian XI Team, Australia 1859*, 1859, Photograph, 1859, M.2015.763, Lord's.

Cricket Committee.⁶⁸⁵ Of course, many of the first gentlemen had died by the time of the ICC, but as a contrast eight of the 250 'Gentlemen in Society' listed by de Serville were invited to the ICC.

We can see here how the social structures of England were being simultaneously broken down and reproduced.⁶⁸⁶ As with any power vacuum, in the absence of a genuine aristocratic élite, the powerful of the colony were rushing to fill the void and legitimise their power. Thus, in the context of 1858, we can see that nearly all the MLAs who were on the honorary committee were those who were either firm supporters of O'Shanassy, or members whose support he was relying on to remain in government. O'Shanassy was using the Intercolonial Cricket Honorary Committee to build the bridging and bonding capital that would be required for him to rule. Likewise, the Committee itself was defining what it was to be a gentleman in colonial Victoria. This empowered those who held power in cricketing circles to act as a gatekeeper for 'good society'.

For another example of how bonding and bridging capital were being deployed through cricket during this time, we turn to look at the development of the Cricketer's Mutual Fund in England. This will provide a contrast to show how absent the social upheavals witnessed in Victoria over the previous ten years, in England, Establishment power in the form of established gentlemen, were still able to use cricket committees to act as a gatekeeper to 'good society'.

⁶⁸⁵ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 160.

⁶⁸⁶ This is indeed a process that can happen simultaneously. As already noted, what made a gentleman was already in a process of being corrupted, leading to a diverging of the meaning of gentleman in Britain and Australia; i.e. it was breaking down. However, at the same time, those with power bestowed on them by their gentlemanly status were keen to see this power reproduced. Whilst this was frequently drawing on British examples, they were also changing the definition of gentleman to suit their own ends. See also 'Simultaneity' in the Theoretical Framework.

Cricketer's Mutual Fund

When we last left them in Chapter 2, England's professional cricketers were still in the tentative early days of peace that followed the death of William Clarke. Now, the United and All England teams were meeting 'on the *most friendly terms*' (emphasis in original) – the writers to *Bell's Life in London* now playing pacifier, constantly reassuring their readers.⁶⁸⁷ Perhaps most significant was the *Married of England v Single of England* match played at The Oval at the beginning of August 1858, where members of both elevens mixed together to play one last great match for the season.⁶⁸⁸ By now teams using the name 'England' were common, and the professionals were moving amongst them fluidly. The *United v All England* matches had now become a twice annual affair. One of the matches in both 1857 and 1858, and both in 1859 were for the benefit of the Cricketer's Fund Beneficial Society, which by 1859 was being managed by Dean for United and Parr for All England, both under the oversight of the MCC. We are seeing the cementing of the class structure that would remain with cricket for over a century: professionals were allowed a degree of freedom to manage their own affairs, but it was always under the watchful eye of the gentlemen.

Beneficial Societies Act

In the late Regency period Building Societies had 'been established in different parts of the kingdom, principally amongst the industrious classes, for the purpose of raising by small periodical subscriptions a fund to assist the members thereof in obtaining a small freehold or leasehold

⁶⁸⁷ 'Dean's Benefit and the Two Elevens', 7.

⁶⁸⁸ 'Married v. Single', *Field*, 7 August 1858, 8.

property'.⁶⁸⁹ The working classes were now using bridging capital to gain access to financial capital that would help raise their status. During the 1840s these groups evolved into what came to be known as 'Friendly Societies'; financial co-operatives set up to provide insurance in case of sickness, death, or bereavement.⁶⁹⁰ These early co-ops enabled perhaps one hundred thousand working class people to own their own home between the 1830s and 1870s, speeding up the process of urbanisation.⁶⁹¹

Activism from early co-operative leaders and Christian Socialists led to increased regulation over mutual societies, including the *Friendly Societies Acts* of 1834 and 1846.⁶⁹² The increasingly patchwork nature of the law left unclear what was and was not a legal use of a fund's capital. This caused, amongst other problems, stock bubbles which impacted the entire economy. These problems led to the first *Industrial and Provident Societies Act* of 1852. The Act better distinguished for-profit Joint Stock Companies from not-for-profit Societies. The non-profits were the Industrial and Providential Societies, both of which existed to provide a legal entity for shared capital investment, and Friendly Societies which existed to provide for the welfare of their members.

Initially a Whig proposal, it was eventually passed by the *Who? Who?* Ministry under Lord Derby, just a month before the School's Match in Chapter 1. Derby's Chancellor of the Exchequer,

⁶⁸⁹ Preamble to the statute 6 & 6 Will. 4, c. 32. Cited in Arthur Scratchley and Edward William Brabrook, *The Law of Building Societies: Comprising Societies Under the Act of 1874, Act of 1836, Act of 1871 and Societies Not Registered; with Model Rules, a Practical Introduction, a Digest of the Statutes and Cases, and a Copious Index* (London: Shaw & Sons, 1875), 1.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁹¹ Ian Snaith, 'Regulating Industrial and Provident Societies: Cooperation and Community Benefit', in *Regulating Enterprise: Law and Business Organisation in the UK*, ed. David Milman (Oregon: Hart Publishing, 1999), 164.

⁶⁹² Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*, was one of these early Christian Socialists. Edward R. Norman, 'Thomas Hughes', in *The Victorian Christian Socialists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 80–97.

Benjamin Disraeli, convinced other Tories such societies were beneficial to their interests. One of the objections to such societies was that it would encourage ‘Socialist trading companies’. However, as one editorial wrote ‘the Act carefully avoids any expression which shall give encouragement’ to such bodies, and that ‘[t]hose who look to co-operative trading societies as a means of elevating the condition of the working classes will now be able to test the merit of their schemes’.⁶⁹³ Conservative media reported enthusiastically that the Act would have the dual benefit of opening:

a true field ... for the fulfillment of the hitherto false boast, that in England any man may by industry raise himself from the humblest to the highest class in society [and that] the knell has tolled of the old suicidal Trades’ Unions and strikes, in which artizans [sic] exhausted their savings, and starved themselves back to the will of their masters and the wages they had spurned’⁶⁹⁴

In essence, it was hoped that providing workers limited access to economic capital through the use of their bridging capital in the form of mutual societies, would preclude them from using it for a more revolutionary purpose. How large an impact these series of acts had in avoiding the wider social unrest that spread across Europe during this period is beyond the scope of this thesis.

One important element of the 1852 Act is that it provided that no one who works for a society shall be paid less than a member of the society.⁶⁹⁵ This effectively set a minimum wage for professional cricketers.

The Cricketer’s Fund

⁶⁹³ ‘Industrial and Provident Societies’, *Weekly Dispatch*, 29 August 1852, 10.

⁶⁹⁴ ‘Parliamentary Proceedings’, *Bury and Norwich Post*, 10 November 1852, 4.

⁶⁹⁵ ‘Industrial & Provident Societies Act’, *Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald*, 10 November 1852, 4.

William Denison, MCC member, the original secretary of Surrey from 1845-48, and one of the behind-the-scenes agitators of the cricket wars in Chapter 2, had proposed in 1846 for the establishment of a Friendly Society to benefit professional cricketers. The Fund was established under the auspices of the MCC, and Denison organised for a committee of Players to write up a list of rules for the management of the society. In 1848, Denison charged that the players had failed to do so and hence he was winding the Fund up and returning funds raised (minus expenses of course), and that 'the conduct of some of the Players had induced me to decline any further efforts in their behalf'.⁶⁹⁶ However, William Lillywhite disputed this narrative, claiming that the Players had set up the fund in 1846, and that Denison, in his role of honorary secretary, had been absent in his duties in properly depositing the money in a bank and publishing the details.⁶⁹⁷ For his part, Denison claims this was because the Players had not put together a charter of rules as required by law for the bank account to be opened. Lillywhite demanded that rather than returning money received for the fund from various gentlemen, Denison should forward the money on to those now managing the fund, but this did not occur.

Through all of this time, the MCC continued to raise money at matches, publish amounts held, pay out to widows and retired players, and appoint a Player to chair the fund. However, by 1853 it was clear that despite the publications of Lord's, no such fund was in operation.⁶⁹⁸ In 1854 Frederick Miller, a member of Surrey County Cricket Club, who played for both the Gentlemen of Surrey and the United England Eleven in 1854, suggested Denison had 'pocketed ... and walked' off with the fund.⁶⁹⁹ Denison objected, reminding Miller that he had dissolved all association with the fund in 1849 – and charging Miller to take his accusations to court. For its part *Bell's* (London) apologized

⁶⁹⁶ 'The Cricketer's Fund', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 October 1848, 6.

⁶⁹⁷ 'The Cricketer's Fund', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 3 December 1848, 6.

⁶⁹⁸ 'Cricketer's Fund', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 11 December 1853, 6.

⁶⁹⁹ William Dennison, 'The Gentlemen of Surrey and Sussex Match', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 8 October 1854, 6.

for printing a letter ‘containing expressions of an offensive nature towards a gentleman which would otherwise have been suppressed’.⁷⁰⁰

Just who oversaw the fund following Denison’s withdrawal is unclear. The MCC were continuing to publish annual balances, but there does not seem to have been a pay out during this period.⁷⁰¹

There was a sense among the public that there was money in the bank ‘somewhere’ but that this money was not being used to support retired cricketers.⁷⁰² It was not until 1856 – perhaps uncoincidentally almost immediately following Clarke’s death – at a meeting at Fuller Pilch’s pub, that the ‘Cricketer’s Society’ was formed, such an organisation having been ‘devoutly wished for by the aristocratic handlers of the bat, and others equally skillful in the science of cricket’.⁷⁰³

Gentlemen were appointed to the positions of president, trustees, and treasurers, while Players – who the fund was meant to represent – were appointed to the positions of Chairman of the Committee and two secretaries; these being Tom Box, Fred Lillywhite, and John Wisden.⁷⁰⁴

Over the following seasons, the annual match between the two professional elevens became a major fundraiser for the fund. Through modern eyes it is easy to see these matches and the fund as a benevolent charity. However, the report from the annual meeting in 1857 gives an insight into the attitudes of those in charge of the fund: ‘after which [the general meeting] noblemen, gentlemen, as well as clubs will have the rules forwarded them, with a request that they may honour the society with their patronage’.⁷⁰⁵ The key word here being ‘patronage’. The rules of the society were not forwarded to members of the society, even though most professionals were

⁷⁰⁰ Dennison, 6.

⁷⁰¹ ‘The Cricket Season of 1854’, *Globe*, 6 May 1854, 3.

⁷⁰² ‘Cricketer’s Fund’, 1853, 6.

⁷⁰³ ‘The Cricketer’s Fund’, *The Era*, 7 September 1856, 5.

⁷⁰⁴ ‘The Cricketer’s Fund’, *London Evening Standard*, 2 September 1856, 1.

⁷⁰⁵ ‘The Cricketer’s Fund’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 26 July 1857, 8.

paying an annual due, but to the aristocrats and gentry ‘patronising’ the Fund. Additionally, much like what we saw in the previous chapter, Fund subscribers were published annually in *Lillywhite’s Guide to Cricketers*.⁷⁰⁶

It is also important not to misconstrue the Fund as an insurance policy in modern terms. Membership of the fund did not guarantee payment from the fund. This is highlighted through a passionate letter written to *Bell’s* (London) appealing to the Fund for support for William Hillyer.⁷⁰⁷ A professional stalwart for Kent and the MCC, Hillyer was the leading wicket taker in most seasons between 1842 and 1849 and held the season wicket taking record of 174 – at a time where 100 wickets in a season was rare – for 25 years. Hillyer broke his thumb in a fall in 1855. Combined with the deterioration of his rheumatism following a tour in Scotland, this injury led to his retirement from the game. The writer in *Bell’s* asserts his unimpeachable character, and suggests his destitution is in part responsible for the lack of umpiring work provided to him by Kent. Here we have a legend of the game, true Club Man, knight in the service of cricket, who had been led to poverty through illness and injury obtained through the promotion of the game, having to beg, albeit through a proxy, for some relief.

However, patronage of the gentry and nobility, fundraisers, and membership dues were not enough. It was reported in 1858 that just £457 5s. had been raised for the fund that year.⁷⁰⁸ A financial report shows that most donors paid between one and two pounds – and that there were barely enough of them to form a cricket team themselves.⁷⁰⁹ This compares to the £1 1s.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘Cricket’, *Brighton Gazette*, 3 June 1858, 7.

⁷⁰⁷ ‘Hillyer, the Cricketer’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 June 1857, 12.

⁷⁰⁸ ‘The Cricketer’s Friendly Society’, *Field*, 2 October 1858, 9.

⁷⁰⁹ There are two notable exceptions: Mr Dark, the proprietor of Lord’s donated £40 14s, and Edmund Wilder, one of the organisers of the upcoming tour of North America and president of the Fund, who donated £25. ‘The Cricketer’s Fund Friendly Society’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 November 1858, 6.

membership fee that several professional cricket teams were paying. Although it is hard to find how much was raised through the various fundraising matches, the claim was that all money after costs was going to the fund. These matches regularly had 10 000-20 000 spectators attending across the three days, all (except for members) paying usually a shilling to enter. With 20 shillings to the pound, even with extremely high expenses, even with only one match per year – and there were usually several – it is evident that by far most of the money in the fund was being raised by the Players themselves, either through their own labour or by payment of membership dues. Despite this, the Fund was consistently promoted as the benevolence of the aristocratic lovers of cricket, all of whom got to have their name in print as noble patrons of the noble game. In the terms of this thesis, the gentlemen were increasing their own social capital through co-opting the bonding capital of the players, highlighting the inherent power inequality between the two classes.

The lack of funds led to appeals for the general public to start contributing, particularly ‘noblemen and gentlemen’.⁷¹⁰ Despite the fact that much of the money for the fund was coming from the Players themselves, the power of deep pockets and the nature of a patronage based society led Fred Lillywhite to publish the following appeal to several professionals refusing to play in one of the benefit matches:

*Without the professionals (for whose especial and exclusive advantage the fund has been originated) show they are disposed to make some slight sacrifice of private feelings on its behalf, and work well together on this occasion, it cannot reasonably be expected that noblemen and gentlemen will contribute very liberally or generally to this institution.*⁷¹¹

⁷¹⁰ ‘The Cricketer’s Fund Friendly Society’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 1 November 1857, 7.

⁷¹¹ Frederick Lillywhite, ‘The Two Elevens’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 January 1859, 6. Lillywhite was not wrong to fear the loss of noble patronage. The loss of patronage of blood sports that came about with the new Victorian morality had seen a large reduction – and even outright banning – of many ‘sports’ such as bear-baiting, bull-running, and cock-fighting. Mark Alan Kellet, ‘The Power of

Without the social capital that came from being attached to a noble and manly game, the professionals would find their own access to economic capital reduced. In some ways, this is reversing the power structure of the previous paragraph; the players were reproducing their own power by associating with the gentlemen. However, it is important to note that although the Players benefitted from this proximity to power, they had little control over how, when, and how much access they had to it.

As soon as the war between the professionals settled into a co-operative peace, the gentlemen of the Counties – the powerful southern Counties of Marylebone, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex in particular – immediately set about taking the power of the purse away from the professionals. Sure, the professionals were still able to ply their trade – arguably with much more freedom than earlier in the decade, with the individual Counties no longer backing one team over the other – but their financial security in retirement was firmly in the hands of the gentry and nobility, who now had the power to decide who was supported into retirement as a legend of the game, and who died in poverty.

The Cricketer's Fund illustrates the class relationships at this time. Patronage relationships in sport would have been well understood by men of the Victorian Age as the social responsibility of the élite. As Lorna Jackson found in her research on sport and patronage in Argyll in the Victorian era, this system of patronage, a hangover of a previous era, had remarkable resilience through all of the social and economic changes of the nineteenth century. This was not replicated in Australia, where the game became self-sufficient through the turnstile. Patronage in English cricket did not

Princely Patronage: Pigeon-shooting in Victorian Britain', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 1 (April 1994): 63–64.

really cease until the dawn of the new century, when it was gradually replaced by what would be considered a more modern form of sponsorship, although wealthy landowners would continue to ‘sponsor’ teams almost entirely on their own.⁷¹²

The Fund’s stated purpose was to support old and injured professionals. However, in practice, its purpose turned into a carrot and stick wielded by the MCC committee to police professionals’ behaviour. The right of the Gentleman to not only expect deference from the Player, but also to be able to actively discipline him if he forgets his place, is central to understanding not just the interactions between the Gents and Players of the 1850s, but to understand the roots of so many of the rivalries and disputes that echo through the pavilions of cricket grounds to this day.

Conclusion

Through this chapter we have seen how bonding and bridging capital was deployed through committees to reproduce social, cultural, and economic capital. These committees formed with the stated purpose of benefiting cricket were used to create and enforce norms of expected behaviour, as well as to align interests between different poles of power and gatekeep access to that power.

⁷¹² Lorna Jackson, ‘Sport and Patronage: Evidence from Nineteenth Century Argyllshire’, *The Sports Historian* 18, no. 2 (1 November 1998): 103.

Chapter 6: The First International Tour

With the new age of collaboration between the professional cricketers of England came new opportunities. No longer split between two warring factions, the Players of United and All England could now collude. The act of blacklisting a Player from a particular County or professional side because of an appearance in another team was over. The Players now had an enhanced financial and organisational capability to embark on tours that were riskier, but potentially more lucrative. The increased solidarity of the Players, even if under the watchful eye of the Gentlemen, also gave them unprecedented power to control cricket, and the livelihoods of professionals. This power was short lived in England, however. Touring professional sides would soon be completely overwhelmed by the County system, as gentlemen amateurs took back control from the paid men. But for a few short decades from the late 1850s to the late 1870s the touring professionals were the primary drivers of spreading cricket values to new lands. This shows how much they had been captured by the Gentleman's ideal of cricket that they were the key disseminators of this ideal overseas.

Performing Capital Reproduction

We have seen through this thesis so far how various types of capital were reproduced through habitus in cricket in the 1850s. How the social capital one had from birth could still be strengthened through connections to institutions such as schools and cricket clubs. How, once a youth or man had access to these places, an individual could build his cultural capital through learning the ways of the bat and of the Gentleman. How men could bond together with like companions, and bridge social, cultural, and economic divisions to collectively strengthen their capital as a group. We will now look at how individuals, groups, and institutions *performed* these

reproductions of capital using a juxtaposition of the Canadian and United States legs of the 1859 English cricket tour of North America.

Performativity

Although earlier theorists, notably J. L. Austin, had suggested language could be performative (rather than simply descriptive) it was Judith Butler who most effectively outlined a theory of performativity in *Gender Trouble*.⁷¹³ Austin was focused on language and utterances, whereas Butler saw performativity as an *act*, not just an utterance. Butler has been criticised for giving too much agency to individual actors in *Gender Trouble* while ignoring structural factors.⁷¹⁴ However, Butler has successfully re-balanced their ideas in subsequent writing. Rather than re-hash these arguments, what is important is that we understand some fundamental elements to performativity as examined in this thesis.

First, *performativity* is something that happens within the habitus. Secondly, these performances both inform, and are informed by, the habitus. The extent of this mutual co-creation is definitely debatable, and I would argue it is contingent: different in every situation. In *Excitable Speech* Butler uses the example of Rosa Parks in 1950s Alabama – a prime location for examination.⁷¹⁵ The race, gender, and class dialectics are clear, although this is perhaps what leads some to see the broader idea as one that can only be applied to oppression; they misunderstand the fluidity of power transfer. Parks' actions were a clear violation of the habitus. The impact of Parks' actions

⁷¹³ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), xv–xvi; John Langshaw Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Clarendon Press, 1975).

⁷¹⁴ Lisa Disch, 'Judith Butler and the Politics of the Performative', *Political Theory* 27, no. 4 (August 1999): 550.

⁷¹⁵ Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 148.

on the habitus, and vice-versa, are also clear. Provocative interactions create much clearer contradictions than more mutually beneficial ones.

With this understanding of the mutual influence of performativity and praxis, we can undertake a closer examination of how capital reproduction occurred in different places, according to habitus. To do this we will see how the English cricketers behaved on their 1859 North American tour. Specifically, how they performed the habitus of Empire, depending on whether they were in Canada or the United States. This is done by examining ceremonies at the dinners the cricketers attended in each nation.

There have already been hints of this in earlier chapters, most notably in the dinner given to the New South Wales cricketers when they visited Victoria in January 1858. Although that chapter was focused on the attendance of some notable politicians, I foreshadowed the ‘usual loyal toasts’.⁷¹⁶ The specifics did not need to be mentioned; all those with the right cultural capital would know what ‘the usual loyal toasts’ were. The sacraments of the formal dinner were rigidly codified in pre-Victorian England. Marc Baer has noted highly ritualised political dinners being used by radicals to influence politics from the 1790s onwards.⁷¹⁷ He also notes that arguments for the decline of such dinners from the 1830s misses their rebirth in the 1860s. This is not a decline seen in cricketing circles; the ‘usual loyal toasts’ continued as a regular feature of cricketing dinners throughout the 1840s and 1850s.⁷¹⁸ As such, cricket was able to retain previously earned cultural

⁷¹⁶ See Chapter 4: High Bowling Crisis

⁷¹⁷ Marc Baer, ‘Political Dinners in Whig, Radical and Tory Westminster, 1780–1880’, *Parliamentary History* 24, no. S1 (2005): 184–85.

⁷¹⁸ This can actually be shown to be held in the person of Lillywhite Snr himself, first through his annual dinners at Brighton, to his appearances in the ‘grand matches’ of the middle of the decade, and then with his connection to the early All England sides. ‘Lillywhite’s Annual Dinner’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 May 1840, 3; ‘Grand Cricket Match on Lansdown’, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 8 August 1844, 3; ‘Grand Match of Cricket’, *Essex Herald*, 3 October 1848, 4.

capital, even as it became less valuable. Then, as the dinner in the 1860s gained popularity again as a tool for wielding influence, cricket was able to deploy this retained capital, which further reinforced the centrality of cricket as a location for the arbitration of the hegemonic culture.

Peter Brett emphasises that such dinners ‘were a particularly effective forum in the early nineteenth century, functioning as an intersection between metropolitan or national politics and local political concerns’.⁷¹⁹ The role such dinners played in the power projection of the royal court, and the homogenising and reinforcing of aristocratic culture within England should hopefully be obvious by now. However, with the expansion of the Empire along with the Industrial Revolution, these dinners became increasingly about projecting *British* power, and about reinforcing *English* culture within the Empire. Indeed, that these ‘ritualised’ dinners held on in cricketing circles during this time, and were a primary site of their re-emergence, shows both the tendency of cricket to hold on to traditions as well as the place of cricket as a central location for the reproduction of empire.

⁷¹⁹ Peter Brett, ‘Political Dinners in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Platform, Meeting Place and Battleground’, *History* 81, no. 264 (1996): 528.

Speeches and Toasts

As 'good society' spread further beyond the English metropole, and was increasingly opened to those without the social capital of being born into the upper classes, social rules increasingly needed to be written down. Although several decades beyond this thesis, this finds its ultimate expression in 1883 with the publication of *Speaking Made Easy: Speeches and Toasts; How to make and propose them* (Fig. 1). Whilst it is likely that some elements had changed by the time of its publication, it is highly probable that the form written down in 1883 was little modified from that as

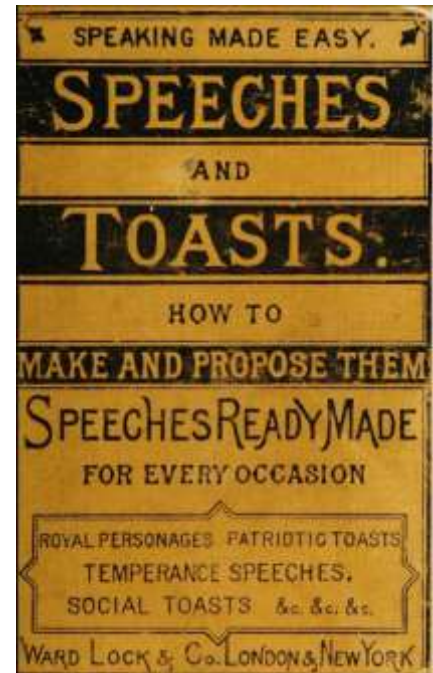


Figure 1: *Speeches and Toasts* 1881

had been spoken in the late 1850s.⁷²⁰ Indeed, the greatest variations were most likely due to the errors of the 1850s dinner hosts in deviating from the standard procedure, hence the need for the book.

For example, someone raised in an aristocratic household would *just know* the order of precedence and etiquette. Knowing who sits where at the dinner table and how to hold cutlery, was something absorbed by osmosis, with little need for formal instruction. However, how would the wife of a man who had been raised to prominence from nothing in a new colony, know how to seat people at a dinner party? Where does the eldest daughter of the second son of the duke sit?

⁷²⁰ That the phrase 'the usual loyal toasts' was common through the 1840s and 1850s suggests that the format was widely understood, at least in cricketing circles. C.f. note 5.

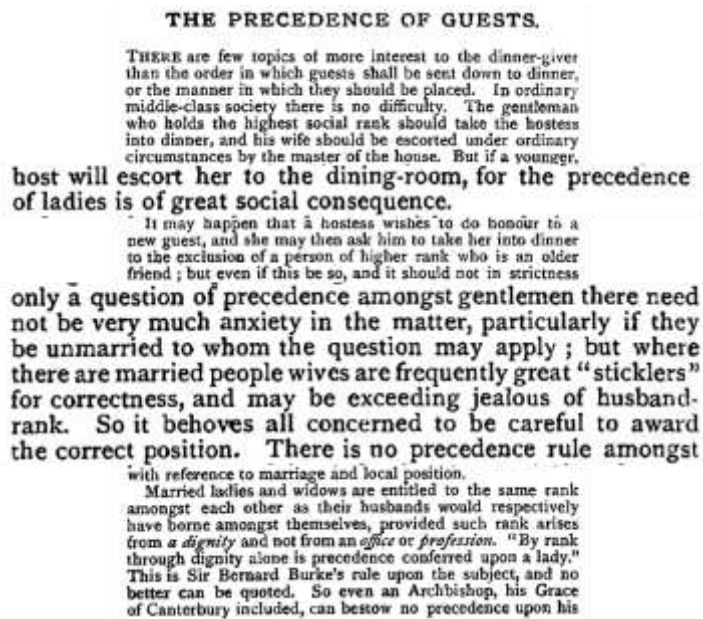


Figure 2: The Orders Of Precedence. P. 131.

Note that if only unmarried gentlemen were associating, then there wasn't much anxiety (Fig. 2). This is not some chauvinistic trope about 'proper' gentlemen being above the anxieties of precedence, but exactly the opposite. *Proper* gentlemen had the cultural and social capital to seat a dinner party correctly. One benefit of aristocratic

hierarchy is that everyone knows where they stand – or as in the case of a dinner, sit.

Likewise, this is not some gendered trope about hysterical women obsessing over petty grievances. These middle classes, who were frequently the newly-rich industrialists and capitalists, were so eager to ape the rules of aristocratic society that they put themselves into conniptions trying to understand it. Incorrectly seating someone of social prominence could be scandalous, causing not just offence to those seated incorrectly, but it might bring shame and disgrace upon the host by showing their lack of the necessary cultural capital to be in a social circle with the *élite*.

Speeches and Toasts is an example of cultural capital transfer: an education in London social hierarchy to be sent around the Empire. The printing locations – Melbourne, Toronto, and London – reinforce this idea. There is also a revised edition from 1914 that is worth a brief examination.

Looking at the similarities and differences will give us a better understanding of continuity and change.⁷²¹

There were some minor formatting changes that would be expected, such as Queen to King. Some parts were shifted; notably the 'Chairman and His Duties' section was moved from the end to the front, suggesting this was now seen as the key purpose of the book. There have also been speeches added, removed, or given extra nuance. Some of these are the most interesting. The addition of 'territorials' in responses to military speeches, and the addition of 'Empire Dominions' in speeches for Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa, shows the changing political organisation of the Empire during the period and the addition of 'clergy and ministers of all denominations' alongside Anglican speeches in the 'Ecclesiastical' section shows growing religious tolerance. Extra speeches included in 'Miscellaneous' include farewells and welcome homes, suggestive of increased movement with greater ease around the Empire, and the addition of speeches to the police force and fire brigade show the increasing prominence of these institutions within the towns and cities of the Empire. The 'Temperance' speeches show a change from explanatory to directional; from 'what is Temperance' to 'this is how to do Temperance'. Finally, perhaps most interestingly for us, the sport section changes: gone is archery, in comes cycling, and what were previously 'Cricket (and Football)' speeches become just 'Cricket' speeches. Although there was already a working/middle class divide in cricket and football in 1883, by the early 20th century, this had become far more pronounced, to the point where by 1914 football clubs were no longer included in the performance of Empire by the social élite.

⁷²¹ I will only very briefly cover this here. However, this would be an interesting activity to undertake to understand social and cultural change during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. *Speeches and Toasts: How to Make and Propose Them*, New Edition (Ward Lock, London, 1914).

The English Cricketers' Trip to Canada and The United States

There is an additional mode of performativity that we gain out of this tour, again in the form of a book: Fred Lillywhite's *The English Cricketers' Trip To Canada And The United States*.⁷²² This is arguably the first cricket tour book, indeed, the first tour book of any sport. That is not to say it was without antecedents. European travel writing has a history that traces back to ancient times – after all, what is the *Odyssey* if not a travelogue?⁷²³ There had been an explosion of travel writing during the Regency and early Victorian periods as travel became more accessible, and in the decades prior to the tour were the second most popular kind of book behind the novel.⁷²⁴ It is therefore not surprising that the first real international tour generated the first international tour book.⁷²⁵

Like the genre it spawned, *The English Cricketer's Trip to Canada and The United States* is more personal and refined than newspaper articles, even those written by players. Where the brouhaha in *Bell's London* (discussed in Chapter 2) gave us insight into the animosity amongst the leaders of cricket in the 1850s, Lillywhite's book reveals the intimate goings-on of the first true international

⁷²² Frederick Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip to Canada and the United States* (F. Lillywhite, 1860).

⁷²³ Jaś Elsner and Joan Pau Rubiés, 'Introduction', in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. John Elsner, Jaś Elsner, and Joan Pau Rubiés (Reaktion Books, 1999), 8.

⁷²⁴ Joanne Shattock, 'Travel Writing Victorian and Modern: A Review of Recent Research', *Prose Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 1982): 154.

⁷²⁵ As noted below it would be some time before another representative of the media travelled with a tour with the intent of producing an official account of the trip. Anthony Bateman writes of the 'tour book as colonial travelogue' and notes of particular interest Cecil Headlam's *Ten Thousand Miles Through India and Burma* (an account of the 1902/03 tour of India by the Oxford Authentics), and the Indian legend Prince K.S. Ranjitsinhji's tour of Australia with the English XI, *With Stoddart's Team In Australia*. Additionally, as noted below, there were earlier 'international' matches between the USA and Canada, but this is the first trip that can be called an international 'tour'. Anthony Bateman, 'The Politics of the Aesthetic: Cricket, Literature and Culture, 1850-1965' (Ph.D., England, University of Salford (United Kingdom), 2005), 199; 203; Cecil Headlam, *Ten Thousand Miles through India & Burma: An Account of the Oxford University Authentics' Cricket Tour with Mr. K.J. Key in the Year of the Coronation Durbar* (London: J.M. Dent & Co, 1903); K. S. Ranjitsinhji, *With Stoddart's Team in Australia* (London: Bowden, 1898).

tour. It includes a vast array of pictures, something rare for fans of the day, some of which will be reproduced here.

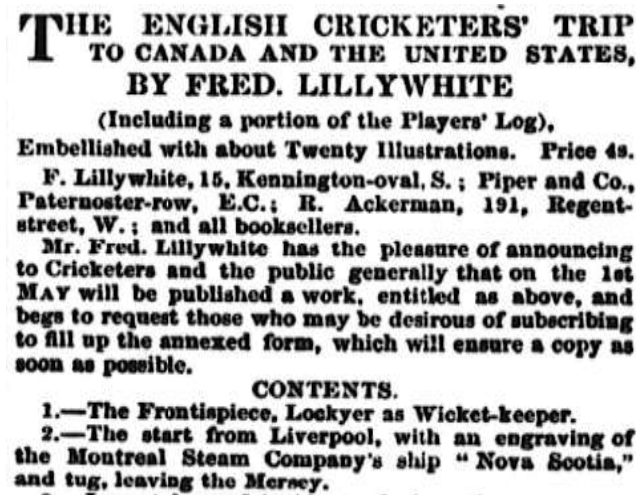


Figure 3: An example of the advertisement for Lillywhite's tour diary

Fred Lillywhite was the non-player in the Lillywhite family. He printed scorecards. The production of this book gave him the excuse he needed to join the team. It would also give the side additional publicity upon return. In 1859 it was still very easy to view the other side of the world, and the events happening there, as

far removed from life in London. The tour book was widely advertised and sold, bringing the tour to the English fans (Fig. 3).⁷²⁶ The inclusion of the full contents allowed even those who did not purchase the book to get some appreciation of the particularities of the tour. This increased the exposure of the Players and raised their prestige as England's cricketing representatives on the world stage, producing further social and cultural capital for the team. They were then able to transfer this capital into real economic capital, using their fame to take advantage of the bigger and more enthusiastic crowds that started attending cricket in the 1860s.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁶ 'Advertising', *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*, 24 April 1860, 1.

⁷²⁷ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', 7.

At the opening of his book, Fred Lillywhite lays out his credentials:

It has happened to have been the lot and privilege of the writer of these pages to have attended, professionally, the earliest wanderings of the Eleven of England throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, and it has ever been his earnest endeavour, in the discharge of his duties, whilst chronicling their performances in the tented field, to disseminate amongst all classes that love of "England's pastime," to which its manly and health-bestowing qualities so justly, and so naturally entitle it.

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⁷²⁸ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, v.

The Photograph

This tour also gives us one of the most wide spread images of an early cricket tour (Fig. 4). There are earlier photos of cricket, including those shown in the previous chapters. However, the following image, being of the first international tour, is seminal in sports photography.



Figure 4: The first English touring team pictured on board ship at Liverpool

Standing at left Robert Carpenter, William Caffyn, Tom Lockyer; middle row John Wisden, HH Stephenson, George Parr, James Grundy, Julius Caesar, Thomas Hayward, John Jackson; front row Alfred Diver, John Lillywhite.

Most interesting for us in this picture are John Wisden, sitting in the chair, George Parr, the dashing man in the very middle, and John Lillywhite, on the ground on our right. Many of these men would be part of H.H. Stephenson's first English tour of Australia in 1861-62. Notably, William Caffyn, who would remain in Australia after that tour, along with Charles Lawrence. Caffyn and Lawrence would have a similar impact on cricket in Sydney as Hammersley and Wills in Melbourne. It is also

worth noting the men's uniforms are a polka dot pattern, not white. The pure white or cream of the cricketer's uniform – today seen as one of the most traditional elements of cricket – was still decades away.

The 1859 Tour of North America

The negotiations for a side of professionals to tour North America began in 1856. Fred Lillywhite opened correspondence with Mr. Willard of the St George Cricket Club in New York, and Mr. Pickering of the Montreal Cricket Club, for the purpose of organizing a tour of a professional eleven to North America. It is no surprise that North America was chosen as the first candidate for an international cricket tour. Indeed, technically the first ever 'international match' came in 1844 when two sides met at 30th and Broadway, New York. What is now a bustling intersection of commercial and residential high rise was at the time St George's Cricket Club, which, along with Philadelphia were the powerhouses of American cricket. The 1844 match between the USA and the British Empire's Canadian Province was won by 23 runs by the Canadians. They were awarded a trophy donated by Karl André Auty of Chicago. What is now the Auty Cup has been contested between the two nations, with several breaks, ever since, letting it lay claim to being both the oldest and longest running international sporting fixture in the world.

The colonials' and their rebel cousins' love of cricket was not the prime motivator for the tour, however. The real lure was the enormous wealth being generated in the New World. Currency backed by the gold standard, combined with the California gold rush saw a massive accumulation of wealth. Often drawing on British capital, this wealth was partially redirected to the building of new rail lines across the continent. With the rail lines came the telegraph, market economy,

industrialisation, and millions of new migrants fleeing famine and war in Europe, or just looking for new opportunities.

The possibility of a tour had looked promising in 1856, but eventually had to wait till 1859. A banking crisis in New York led to a run on the banks in 1857, known as the ‘panic of ‘57’. The British economy experienced few effects, however, which meant that for most English people, the American Panic of 1857 passed with little comment. In cricketing circles, however, the destruction of the American economy – with the knock-on effects felt in Canada – made the prospect of an international cricket tour unviable, and the idea was shelved.

In the summer of 1859, the American panic was over and ‘the “dollars” were again in free circulation’.⁷²⁹ Lillywhite re-engaged W.P. Pickering of Montreal and R. Waller of New York to renew their efforts to get the best cricketers in the world to North America. Contact was made with Mr Wilder in London, a friend of Pickering. In his role as president of the Cricketer’s Fund, Wilder was able to conduct private conversations with all the players and gain agreement on terms. Wilder agreed to stand security for Pickering; the offer to the players being £50 plus expenses, which would eventually work out to around £90 per player.⁷³⁰ Although half the amount the Players had sought in 1856, it still represented an enormous sum of money for the Players.⁷³¹ This amounted to a doubling or more of the season’s wages.⁷³² In the 1860s a Surrey professional

⁷²⁹ Lillywhite, 2.

⁷³⁰ Keith A.P. Sandiford, ‘Amateurs and Professionals in Victorian County Cricket’, *Albion* 15, no. 1 (1983): 45.

⁷³¹ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers’ Trip*, 2.

⁷³² As an example, William Caffyn, one of the highest paid professionals, played 30 matches in 1859. In 1860 a professional position at a County Club paid around 30 shillings a week, for a 4-month season. By the late 1870s the amateur W.G. Grace was the highest paid cricketer, earning up to £50 a match. In 40 years of cricket from 1870-1910 it is estimated he earnt some £120 000 from cricket, far more than any professional. Keith Sandiford, ‘Amateurs and Professionals in Victorian County Cricket’, *Albion* 15, no. 1 (1983): 38; ‘Advertisement’, *Sporting Life*, 21 April 1860, 1.

earnt £3 per match, with more for 'great matches' such as *South v North* or *Gentlemen v Players*.⁷³³

Additional sources of income were private lessons to wealthy families and grounds keeping at a club. By 1875 the annual income of a professional cricketer was around £100, compared to a labourer's wage at that time of £80. Selection in a test match would bring a further £10 per match.⁷³⁴

The tour was hastily organised. Negotiations continued until the middle of August and were announced at Canterbury Cricket Week, a highlight of the cricket season, but closer to the end of the season than the start.⁷³⁵ The team departed on 6 September 1859, just weeks before the end of the cricket season. And unlike later tours to the Southern Hemisphere that would depart around the same time, they were well into autumn in the Northern Hemisphere and heading for New York and Quebec.

o'clock a.m. we were distant from Liverpool 220 miles. At this period a heavy sea sprung up, with a head wind, which reduced our "going" from eleven to five knots an hour. Stephenson, Caffyn, John Lillywhite, and Jackson were not quite so comfortable as when on land, and were frequently evincing their arithmetical propensities, by casting up their accounts, the balancing of which they found to be a most troublesome and unpleasant operation.

Figure 5: The rough seas caused some to 'cast up their accounts'. P. 3.

The weather on the trip over was what one might expect from the North Atlantic in

October. The team was beset by gales for much of the trip. Although perhaps not the best conditions for élite athletes preparing for a major competition, it did give Fred Lillywhite the opportunity to colourfully write about cricketers off field in a

fell rapidly. Upon casting one's eye round the deck, the usual places were filled by those to whom a sea voyage was anything but one of pleasure, and these appeared exceedingly desirous of putting foot on land again. Upon turning round you would find two or three passengers on their backs, an excellent position, when the ship takes a severe roll. Caffyn and Stephenson here attempted the task of going below, when an alarming pitch at the moment caused them both to be precipitated to the bottom of the steps, and nothing more was seen of them for two days and a half. At this moment, too, Lockyer, who had up to this period been perfectly well, very good naturedly enquired of Grundy, "how he liked the motion," to which question, he could get no answer, but a sigh, his heart and stomach being too full for utterance, except in one peculiar way. A rubber at whist, among

Figure 6: Grundy particularly struggled. P. 5.

⁷³³ Mandle, 'The Professional Cricketer in England in the Nineteenth Century', 6.

⁷³⁴ Sandiford, 'Amateurs and Professionals in Victorian County Cricket', 39.

⁷³⁵ 'Cricket - Canada Against All England', *Downpatrick Recorder*, 13 August 1859, 2.

manner unavailable to him in a sports report (Figs. 5 & 6).

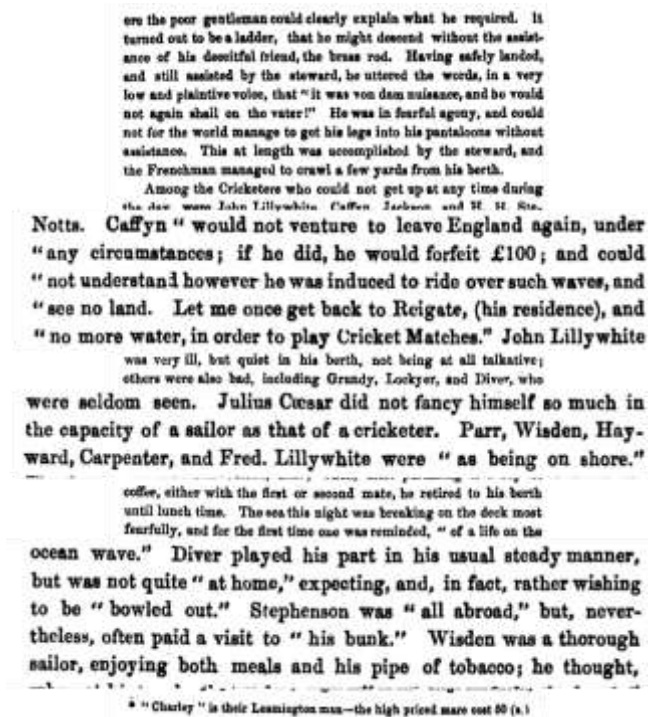


Figure 7: Caffyn swears off overseas travel. This would not last. P. 7.

Indeed, nearly the entirety of the description of the trip over is about storms and vomit, with the most time spent on the tale of a Frenchman who fell out of his bunk. Caffyn, for his part, declared he 'would not venture to leave England again, under any circumstances ... Let me get back to Reigate (his residence), and no more water, in order to play Cricket Matches' (Fig. 7).⁷³⁶ Clearly this was a passion of the moment, as he

would again board a ship to play cricket in 1861 and 1864. Although for the latter trip, he delayed his return to England for seven years.

⁷³⁶ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 7.

The desperate state of the cricketers was described in the account of a night of singing in the Smoking Room, where along with Lillywhite's ruminations on ruminations, he included the following engraving:



Figure 8: The roughness of the seas clearly left a mark on Lillywhite. P. 9.

Other notable events included in the trip include the Captain introducing the players to a new game called 'shuffleboard' and a description of the Sunday church service – although that description is only one sentence long as very quickly a gale arose, leading to more discussions of seasickness and accidents, again delightfully captured in engraving:



SCENE IN THE DINING SALOON.

Figure 9: The rough seas were relentless. P. 11.

At last, on Sunday 18 September, the call of 'LAND HO!' rang out. Although not the end of the voyage, it was the end of the rough seas, and after a further four days sailing down the Gulf of St Lawrence, the team arrived in Quebec City on Thursday 22 September, and there boarded a train for Montreal and the first display of proper English cricket in the New World.

Much like the modern traveller, lost luggage on an intercontinental voyage was a problem. However, instead of losing their suitcase with travellers' cheques inside, the English were short one desk with 120 sovereigns inside. The desk – with the sovereigns – arrived in Montreal on the next train. Later in the tour they would have the same issue – and resolution – with a *printing press*.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁷ Lillywhite, 46.

The team was put up in the St Lawrence Hotel, residence of the Governor-General when in Montreal. For men used to being the servants of the rich and powerful, it must have been a heady experience. According to Lillywhite, the enthusiasm of the Canadian crowd was immense. Thousands had arrived in Montreal for the intended start on Monday 19 September and stayed awaiting the arrival of the Players. Press from all over North America attended, fighting over access to the telegraph lines.⁷³⁸ However, Lillywhite was most surprised that no one was gambling, despite all of the enthusiasm – he saw genuine passion for the game of cricket. Interestingly, excitement was not a feeling that came through in the Canadian newspapers of the time. This disconnect is perhaps explained by Lillywhite confusing the excitement of *anything* happening in a colonial town, with genuine interest from the wider community. While perhaps expected in New York, it provides a stark contrast to the enthusiasm that surrounded the English trip to Australia that is covered in the next chapter. This points to a different process of cultural reproduction occurring in Canada than in Australia. The North American colony was already finding the influence of the Mother Country diminished by growing cultural power of their southern neighbour, as well as developing their own unique Canadian sporting identity centred around Indigenous and winter sports, particularly lacrosse, snow shoeing, and moose hunting.⁷³⁹

MONTREAL CRICKET CLUB—ALL ENGLAND ELEVEN—Mr. Pickering, the Secretary of the M. C. Club, has received by the last mail the following list of famous players about to arrive in Canada :
CAFFYN, LOCKYER, GRUNDY, LILLYWHITE, CARPENTER, WISDEN.
PARR, DAFT, JACKSON, HAYWARD, DIVER, CAESAR.
The first six are of the United Eleven ; the last six of All England Eleven. One of the twelve will act as umpire.

Figure 10: The first announcement of the tour in the Quebec Gazette

However, in wanting to confirm Lillywhite's claims, I reviewed two Canadian newspapers during the period of the tour; the *Quebec Gazette*, an English language newspaper based out of Montreal, and the *British*

⁷³⁸ Lillywhite, 19.

⁷³⁹ Gillian Poulter, 'Snowshoeing and Lacrosse: Canada's Nineteenth-Century "National Games"', *Culture, Sport, Society* 6, no. 2–3 (June 2003): 295.

Colonist, out of Halifax.

These were two of the major cricketing centres of Canada at the time. It was very surprising just how little of the tour was mentioned in either



Figure 11: Unless one knew the great cricket names of the day this would have passed without notice.

paper. The *Gazette* has next to nothing: there was one small article mentioning that Mr. Pickering has received the names of the men who would arrive (Fig. 10).⁷⁴⁰ A second reference has the players' names listed on the arrivals for the Nova Scotia, but the link to the grandest match seen on the continent was not made (Fig. 11).⁷⁴¹ This suggests Pickering provided the information to the publisher. Initially, I suspected that this was due to the paper not being interested in cricket (or sports in general). However, during the period of the tour a long article on the 'Character of Cricket', reprinted from the *Cricket Field*, espousing the benefits of the manly and scientific game,

THE GREAT CRICKET MATCH.—We are sorry to observe that dissensions have arisen amongst the different clubs of Canada, through sectional jealousies about the selection of ground and other trivial matters connected with the arrangements, which bid fair to mar their chances of success in land" eleven. We hope for the credit of our common country that they will make up their unworthy differences in time to enable them to meet their redoubtable opponents with the very best cricketing talent which their Province affords

Figure 12: Wherever there was cricket, there was a battle for control.

was printed. Additionally, on 7 October a reprint from the *Globe* of a report of the New York match appeared.⁷⁴² However, yet again, no link was made to the tour.⁷⁴³

⁷⁴⁰ 'Montreal Cricket Club', *Quebec Gazette*, 31 August 1859, 3.

⁷⁴¹ 'Arrival of the Nova Scotian', *Quebec Gazette*, 21 September 1859, 3; 'Passengers', *Quebec Gazette*, 23 September 1859, 4.

⁷⁴² 'The Great Cricket Match', *Quebec Gazette*, 7 October 1859.

⁷⁴³ I suspect what is mainly at play here is that the *Quebec Gazette* does not do much original reporting. It is largely reprinting news from other sources and advertising. This supports the notion that the lack of publicity is mainly due to a lack of effort on Mr. Pickering's behalf.

The findings from the Halifax *British Colonist* are even more revealing.⁷⁴⁴ An interest in cricket is shown by a reprint of a letter to the editor of the London *Times* from a Canadian colonist on 27 September 1859 about the high bowling controversy in England, with the additional complaint that Canada needs professional cricketers to teach them how. Alongside this is an article expressing concern that ‘sectional jealousies ... bid fair to mar their chances of success ... we hope for the credit of our common country they will make up their unworthy differences’ (Fig. 12).⁷⁴⁵ These mirror the concerns in Australia and England that petty personal differences will undermine the game of cricket, and the Australian worry that they were not up to the standards of English cricket, and needed English bowlers to teach them. This shows that while cricket was a far less significant part of life in Canada, the concerns amongst cricketers were – at this time – similar. However, the sparsity of cricketing news in general shows that cricket was already losing cultural power in Canada.

⁷⁴⁴ Confusingly, there are two Canadian newspapers named the *British Colonist* being produced in 1859. One is printed in the town of Victoria in British Columbia, the other in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In the Victorian version there is very little mention of cricket beyond some single line notes about the *USA v Canada* match and some local club notices. This likely represents the much less developed nature of British Columbia; the Vancouver Island colony was just a little over a decade old at the time, whereas the British had taken the French colony of Acadia (now Nova Scotia) and settled Halifax in 1713.

⁷⁴⁵ ‘The Great Cricket Match’, *British Colonist*, 27 September 1859, 2.

On 1 October 1859 an article of significant length appeared in the Halifax *British Colonist*. The article begins with telegraphed results from the first day of play in Montreal, including noting '[t]he dinner to the English cricketers came off last night at St. Lawrence Hall with great *eclat*' (Fig. 13).⁷⁴⁶ The article also includes a 'clip' of 'the annexed sketch of the 'strong points' of each of the English cricketers', and an outline of the American team they will



Figure 13: The *British Colonist* carried cricket news from across Canada

face, reprinted from *Porter's Spirit of the Times*. It also provides the reader with an explanation of why a team of eleven is meeting a team of twenty-two. Comparing the Canadians with militiamen and the English with regular army not only provides a useful analogy but also serves to reinforce the connection – as exemplified in the military – between the colony and the Mother Country (Fig. 14). This is interesting, as it suggests that the intended audience is assumed not to be close followers of the English game, particularly the new professional teams. Received via telegram, the format, particularly the player bios, is similar to the format of articles about the touring professionals in England, and of later tours between Australia, England, and South Africa. Therefore, even though it is

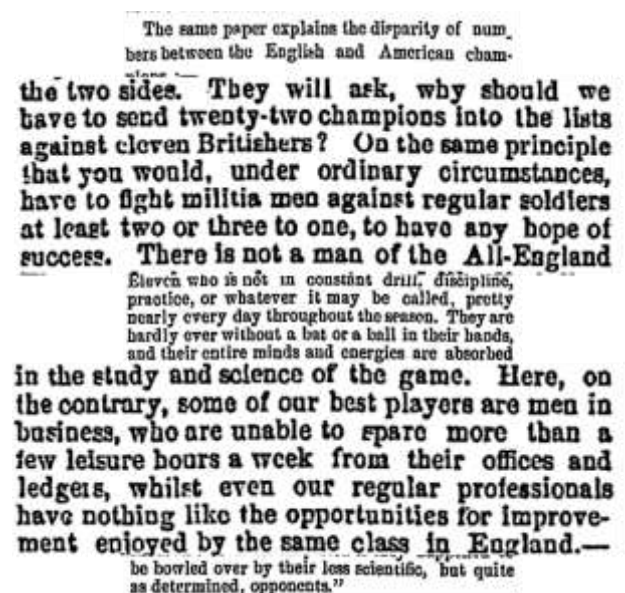


Figure 14: The British regulars v the Canadian militiamen.

⁷⁴⁶ 'International Cricket Match', *British Colonist*, 1 October 1859, 2.

unsigned, I suspect that the telegram was the work of Fred Lillywhite and intended as promotion for the tour. Indeed, the lack of exposure when the team first arrived, compared to as the tour progresses, suggests that the local promoters did not do very much actual promoting, and this was left largely to Lillywhite when he arrived on the continent.

The *British Colonist* on 4 October includes reports of the match played in Montreal (although it is followed by a more detailed report of a local match), as well as a long report of the match in New Jersey, and the score of the match played in New York.⁷⁴⁷

However, perhaps most notable in its absence is advertising for the match. Future tours to Australia were major affairs, not only were all the press talking about it, there were frequent advertisements for the games. The lack of advertising suggests organisational neglect, or perhaps that generating a large crowd was not the primary purpose of the tour for the Canadian organisers. Wilder, Waller, and especially Pickering had staked an enormous sum on the tour, if the benefit was not profit through gate takings, then it must have been in some other form. By now, this should be clear. The benefit for the three men backing the tour came in the social and cultural capital they generated for themselves by being closely associated with the cream of English cricket. It is worthwhile then to take a closer look at two of the grand dinners the players attended on the tour.

⁷⁴⁷ 'The Cricket Match at Windsor', *British Colonist*, 4 October 1859.

The Dinner Report

Reporting of cricket matches in the time before television and radio varied widely. It is common not to be able to find little more than a sentence or two about a major match. The advent of the penny press in the 1860s, and the consequent rise in sport-based newspapers, greatly increased the coverage of all cricket. However, it would be a long time before papers were dedicating specific resources to covering something like an international tour. The first official media coverage of a tour occurred in the Australian summer of 1932-33, when Bruce Harris of the London *Evening Standard* accompanied the English team in what became known later as ‘the Bodyline’ series.⁷⁴⁸ Fred Lillywhite’s role on the tour of 1859 was truly ahead of its time.

At the other end of the scale there are matches from the Aboriginal tour of 1868 that were recorded in such detail in various newspaper articles that I consider it a viable proposition to recreate the match in audio commentary.⁷⁴⁹ Much like the frustratingly short articles, these were fairly common. The least common were the ones in between: those that give you an overview of a day or a match in 100-1000 words – the match report we are familiar with today. That the middle-length reports were the least common is related to who was writing the report. For instance, frequently the reporter was just a spectator who was at the ground. In regional areas, this would likely be a local member of the club, who watched the game and then sent a report in to *Bell’s*, which actively solicited such requests.⁷⁵⁰ As such, the report depended on the skills, attention, knowledge, and attendance of various authors. That they come down to these two main

⁷⁴⁸ As mentioned in note 10 there were other ‘tour diaries’ between this tour and Bodyline. One wonders what difference having a full time journalist with the team made to the way Bodyline was covered.

⁷⁴⁹ See for example: ‘Black Aborigines V. Eleven Gentlemen’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 12 August 1868, 4; ‘The Aboriginal Cricketers in England’, *Lyttelton Times*, 19 August 1868, 3.

⁷⁵⁰ *Bell’s* London went so far as to request secretaries of opposing clubs select a single representative to send the match report in ‘to avoid repetition’. ‘Cricketers’ Register’, *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 10 May 1857, 6.

categories – the sentence report and the ball by ball, is yet another example of memetic spread of cultural capital. It was a new craft; everyone learnt off each other. They wrote like that because that was how one wrote about cricket.⁷⁵¹

Many of the longer match reports from games in London at the time, especially those of the touring professionals, were written by Fred Lillywhite. This is unsurprising; he had a great knowledge of the game, access to all the top professionals and gentlemen, and took his own printing press along to matches. This allowed him to print out score cards for people entering in the morning, and a match report for them on leaving (which would then be sent to *Bell's* in London). Unfortunately, it was common practice to not by-line match reports in the 19th and early 20th century, or if they were by-lined, they were by-lined with a *nom de plume*. Although we know who some of the anonymous authors were, like Hammersley's *Longstop* in *Bell's* in Melbourne, nearly all of them use some sort of cricketing term like 'slips' or 'an old cricketer' – regardless of whether or not there was already someone publishing under that name – making it hard to determine who was whom.

The following 'Lunch Reports' come from Lillywhite's tour diary. Although not original in format – such lunches had been more widely reported in their earlier heyday as a propaganda tool – Lillywhite's record of the English cricketer's tour set the tone and style of cricket tour reporting for generations to come. For example, from this time on it was common to get entire transcripts of the speeches given at these lunches, often dozens of column inches long. These are an incredible source to examine power and personal relationships at work behind the scenes. While

⁷⁵¹ 'Memes are hypothetical cultural units passed on by imitation'. Although 'meme' now usually refers to an image with text, they are just one subset of Richard Dawkin's explanation of how cultural capital is transferred. Scott Atran, 'The Trouble with Memes', *Human Nature* 12, no. 4 (1 December 2001): 351–81.

most of the people quoted were aware their words were going to end up in the newspaper, these reports still show intimacies of opinion that cannot be gleamed from on field reports, or even later autobiographies, or from the tour story books that become so popular in the middle of the 20th century. As such, it can be assumed these words were as much for the wider audience of the newspaper reader, as much as they were for the people in the room.

Montreal

The first dinner examined was the first after the arrival of the team in Montreal. The dinner was presided over by F. G. Johnson, Esq., at the time the Recorder of Rupert's Land, essentially the top judge in a colony that was owned by a corporation (the Hudson Bay Company).⁷⁵² When several Canadian colonies joined together in the Canadian Confederation, and then the Dominion of Canada in 1867, Johnson was appointed as judge to the Superior Court of the new province of Quebec. Alongside Johnson was A. Heward, one of the best batsmen in Canada at the time, having frequently averaged over 50 a season for the previous decade, representing Canada multiple times.⁷⁵³ The *Canadian Cricketer's Guide* of 1857 describes him 'the luckiest bat in Canada, and for many years unquestionably the most successful'.⁷⁵⁴

In order to examine how capital was being reproduced at these dinners it is worth comparing Lillywhite's report to the formal dinner format outlined in *Speeches and Toasts*. However, before

⁷⁵² Rupert's Land is the area around the Hudson Bay that had been leased to the Hudson Bay Company, who held exclusive economic rights over it. It was sold to Canada in 1868. It was a huge area that included parts of what are now the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, Nunavut, Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan, and the US states of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana.

⁷⁵³ Members of the St. Catherine's Cricket Club, *The Canadian Cricketer's Guide and Review of the Past Season* (Ontario: James Seymour, 1858), 39.

⁷⁵⁴ Members of the St. Catherine's Cricket Club, 68.

looking at this, it is worth examining a peculiar phrase that Lillywhite uses early in his dinner report: ‘Cricketer’s Justice’ (Fig. 15).

Cricketer’s Justice

Lillywhite begins by noting the most important guests and the attendance of the Regimental band. This not

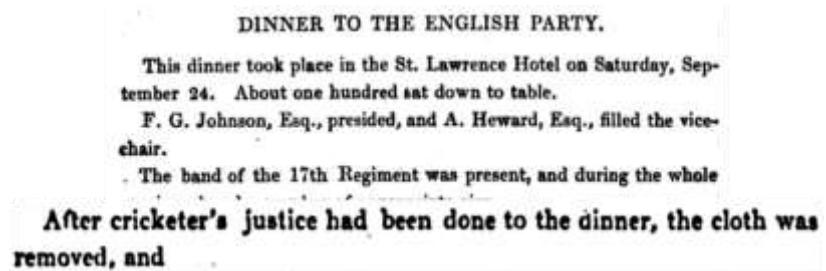


Figure 15: ‘Cricketer’s Justice’ was done to the meal.

only follows the rules demanded by the ‘orders of precedence’ outlined in *Speeches and Toasts*, it also serves to link together politics, sport, and the military.⁷⁵⁵

‘Cricketer’s justice’ – used to denote devouring a meal – is both a delightful turn of phrase, and an opportunity to examine transnational transfer of cultural capital within the British Empire in the nineteenth century.⁷⁵⁶ The prepositional phrase ‘to do justice to’ is not unique here. Indeed, it is quite common up to this day; frequently with a person as the object, but often with a thing, in this particular instance, food.

For example, in an 1823 report on a military

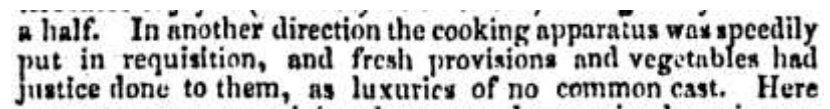


Figure 16: Justice was done to the fresh vegetables in 1823.

operation, fresh vegetables ‘had justice done to them’ (Fig. 16).⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁵ See Chapter 6, Figure 2.

⁷⁵⁶ It is written as both ‘cricketer’s justice’ and ‘cricketers’ justice’. The phrase’s earliest use, according to the OED, is from 1799, in R. Warner’s *Second Walk Through Wales* ii. 61.

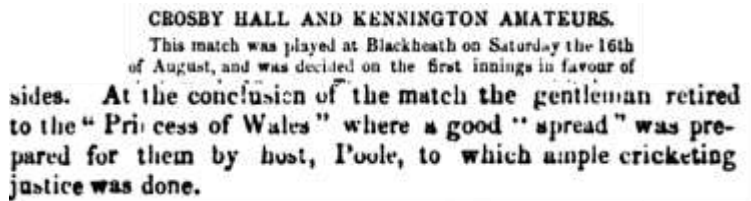
⁷⁵⁷ ‘The Northern Expedition’, *Sun*, 25 October 1823, 2.

The honour for the first use of

‘cricketer’s justice’ goes to a

report on the match *Crosby Hall*

v Kennington Amateurs, at



CROSBY HALL AND KENNINGTON AMATEURS.
This match was played at Blackheath on Saturday the 16th of August, and was decided on the first innings in favour of Crosby Hall. At the conclusion of the match the gentleman retired to the "Princess of Wales" where a good "spread" was prepared for them by host, Poole, to which ample cricketing justice was done.

Figure 17: The first recorded instance of "Cricketer's Justice" being done to a meal.

Kennington Oval, in 1856 (Fig. 17).⁷⁵⁸ It was used again in July of 1859 in a report on the match *Gentlemen v Servants of St. John's College*, at Fenner's.⁷⁵⁹ It then explodes through the 1860s, with at least 17 references in English papers during the decade. Then follows a dip in recorded use in England, before resurging in the late 1880s. The last example from England was in 1895.⁷⁶⁰

This shows the movement of cultural capital around the Empire. The Kennington Amateurs play at Kennington Oval, a.k.a: The Oval being the home ground of the Surrey County Cricket Club. "Fenner's" is F. P. Fenner's Ground, Oxford, home ground to the Oxford University Cricket Club. The Kennington Amateurs and the Gentlemen were both teams made up of the aristocracy and gentry. While none of the players in these matches are of any interest in themselves, many of them would have been part of the social circles of the men we are interested in, as many members of the early touring teams, professional and amateurs alike, had connections to Oxford University and the Surrey County Cricket Club.

Both of these games pitted working-class sides (Crosby Hall and Servants) against Gentlemen. Indeed, Crosby Hall 'owed its origin to the Saturday Half-Holiday Movement, which had latterly become so general in the City'.⁷⁶¹ This exemplifies how cricket was moving away from its London

⁷⁵⁸ 'Cricket', *The South-London News*, 23 August 1856, 6. Note to users of the British Newspaper Archive: The *South-London News* can be found in the archives for the *Lambeth and Southwark Advertiser*, the paper's original name.

⁷⁵⁹ 'Gentlemen v. The Servants of St. John's College', *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 30 July 1859, 8.

⁷⁶⁰ 'Barnsley Cricket Club Dinner', *Barnsley Chronicle*, 16 November 1895, 7.

⁷⁶¹ 'The First Annual Dinner of the Crosby Hall Cricket Club', *Lambeth and Southwark Advertiser*, 1 November 1856, 4.

aristocratic roots and becoming more universal as the 'national game'. Here were men of note, taking equal footing with labourers.

An adjournment was now effected to the luncheon pavilion. Dr Sewell presided, and cricketing justice was done to the entertainment provided by Messrs Spiers and Pond. The Chair-

In Australia the phrase was imported

with the first English tour in 1862. In

Figure 18: The first occurrence in Australia - at a dinner we will visit in the next chapter.

the English XI's match against the Victorian XXII 'a cricketing justice was done to the entertainment provided by Messrs Spiers and Pond'; Spiers and Pond were the owners of the Café de Paris and catered the event, in addition to funding the tour (Fig. 18).⁷⁶² However, unlike in England, it remained a fairly constant way to refer to eating a lunch right up until the First World War. New Zealand, the other nation with a digital news archive to enable this kind of search, shows the phrase getting there by 1866, but never really catching on, only occurring sporadically.⁷⁶³ New Zealand has the latest use that I can find; a reference from 1938 at a function for the silver jubilee

of the Otago Cricket League, during a toast

to 'the Old Brigade', perhaps indicative of

the old fashioned nature of the phrase by

then (Fig. 19).⁷⁶⁴

"THE OLD BRIGADE."

After an excellent dinner menu had been done full justice to, and the chairman had extended a welcome to those present, Mr J. H. S. Dixon, who had been the league's first president, handled the toast of "The Old Brigade." He paid a warm tribute to the pioneers of the movement, and related a number of stories concerning early matches.

Figure 19: The phrase held on in New Zealand the longest.

Watching the phrase 'cricketers justice' bounce around the globe helps to show the process of the transfer of cultural capital. The origins of the phrase are irrelevant. What we can track is it going from Oxford, to London, to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand, all via international cricket tours. Although it was common for newspapers across the world to reprint each other's articles, it seems more probable that the source of this cultural transfer were cricketers like Fred Lillywhite and

⁷⁶² This luncheon will be further examined in the next chapter. 'The International Cricket Match', *Age*, 21 March 1862, 6.

⁷⁶³ 'Bay of Islands', *Daily Southern Cross*, 23 January 1866, Vol XXII, Issue 2657 edition, 5.

⁷⁶⁴ 'Otago League Cricket', *The Evening Star*, 14 February 1938, 1.

those around him. Nearly all on the tour in 1859 had a direct connection to either Surrey or Oxford; both clubs were also closely connected to the MCC and Lord's, often sharing members. Lillywhite himself was based at Kennington Oval from 1862 until his death in 1867. His book of the tour was first published in 1860 and was available for sale in Melbourne by the time the first English tourists arrived in 1861.⁷⁶⁵ In 1864, the first first-class match in New Zealand was played – involving Otago, the final destination for the phrase – included three men who had played against the English in Victoria in 1861.

This phrase – passed around at lunches, and through newspapers and books – shows how the civilising mission of cricket worked. Ultimately, the civilizing mission is about power, of course – who has it, and who obeys it.

Order of Speeches

There was a formal order in which speeches were given at a formal dinner like the one held for the English cricketers in Montreal. The example speeches in *Speeches and Toasts* are laid out in the order they should be

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Figure 20: The order of speeches, as dictated by *Speeches and Toasts*.

⁷⁶⁵ 'Answers and Notices to Correspondents', *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, 18 January 1862, 2.

performed (Fig. 20). As such, this gives a standard against which to compare the dinner at the St. Lawrence Hotel in Montreal. The relevant sections are excerpted here.

Following the introduction of the hosts and the ‘cricketer’s justice’ done to the dinner, Lillywhite records the toasts.

The opening toast to ‘the Queen’, was given by Johnson, who explained that normally an Englishman will simply toast ‘the Queen’ without preface (Fig. 21).⁷⁶⁶ He was performing genteel Englishness. Johnson taught

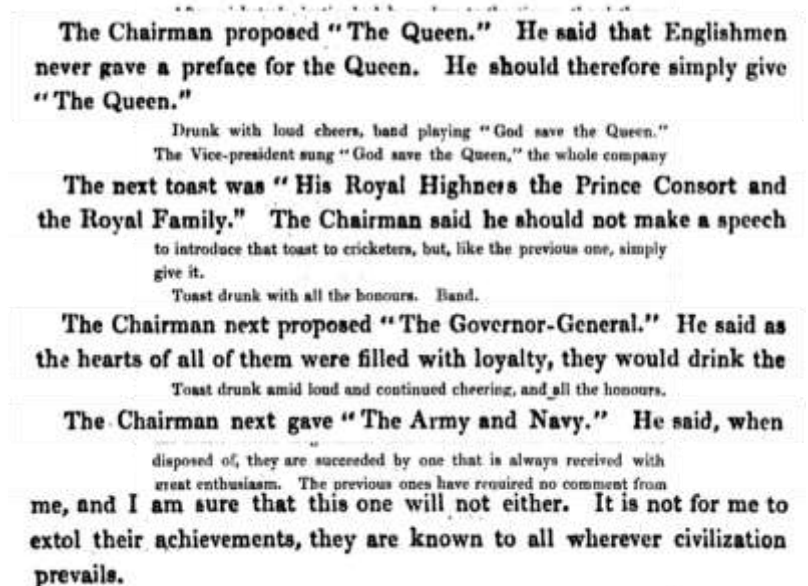


Figure 21: The Canadians largely stuck to the correct order. P. 26.

those present at the dinner how to be English. While un-prefaced toasts were common at the time, it is likely that it was fading in fashion or a colonial hangover from an earlier age. *Speeches and Toasts* makes no mention of this convention, and the five example toasts to the Queen given are quite more verbose than a simple "The Queen!"; the shortest being well over 100 words!

Consider who would have been in the crowd. Yes, there would have been proper Englishmen. But there would have also been men who arrived in the colony as a low class individual and had made themselves into a man of substance – de Serville’s ‘colonial promotion’ – who perhaps had never

⁷⁶⁶ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 25–29.

had the opportunity to be at a 'proper' dinner before.⁷⁶⁷ Etiquette had changed radically in the previous 40 years.⁷⁶⁸ There would have been men who had left England so long ago, that even if they knew the proper etiquette when they left, they may not anymore, not to mention those who were the descendants of immigrants and never learnt English etiquette in its native land. Montreal was the place where many of the loyalists of the American Revolution had fled. Their descendants may still have been fiercely loyal to the crown, but many had not set foot in the Motherland in generations. There would have also been men who were not English at all, or even British. They were after all, in Montreal, which had been part of the French colony of New France until ceded the Seven Years War in 1763. Indeed, the period leading up to this visit had been one of growing tension between the French population and the ever-increasing English population.

As per *Speeches and Toasts*, following the toast to the Queen were those to the Prince Consort and the Royal family. Then came a slight deviation: a toast to the Governor-General was proposed by the Chairman. Although a deviation of the standard form, it was common to do this in the colonies, as it appropriately placed the Governor-General behind the Royal Family, but above the military in rank.

Johnson's praise of the military is noteworthy. Up until this point, the toasts were perfunctory and done according to etiquette. The extra emphasis given to the military shows the priorities of the local population. It was not so much the Queen and her family that were important to the English

⁷⁶⁷ De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes*, 32.

⁷⁶⁸ This process was connected to the changing standards of masculinity at the time, as well as a rejection of 'the excesses of the Regency'. Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996), 3; Sarah Ailwood, "'What Men Ought to Be': Masculinities in Jane Austen's Novels' (Ph.D., Wollongong, University of Wollongong, 2008), 60.

Canadians, but the army and navy under her command. This is understandable for people living in what was still a frontier society, surrounded by potential enemies.

Johnson, following appropriate etiquette, then gave his toast to the guests, or as they are named in *Speeches and Toasts* 'our opponents'. However, rather than to extol the English cricketers, or express excitement at the quality of talent the Canadians were getting the opportunity to see, he first emphasised the role of Mr. Pickering for organizing the tour.

The Chairman next gave the toast of "Our Guests." He said, in
 sible. I have, I think I may venture to say, adhered to that promise.
 But an occasion now presents itself when it will be very difficult indeed
 to carry out that promise. I do not propose to make you a long
 speech—nothing could be less acceptable than such a speech, and yet
 it is very difficult to resist the gratification of attempting to express the
 pleasure I really feel—which all here feel—in having the "Eleven" of
 Old England—(cheers)—the "Eleven" of England, I say, dining with
 us in Montreal for the first time, and not only with us for the first time,
 but the first time they have ever dined together on this continent.
 (Loud cheers.) And none, I trust, will forget to whom we owe this
 Montreal existence. It is not necessary to name to you the name of
 the captain of your cricket club here in Montreal; it is not necessary to
 name the name of Pickering—(loud cheers)—nor that you should be
 made aware that he it is who has the honour of having originated this
 only equalled by the original thought itself. Now, gentlemen, this is
 not vain and inflated language. I have lived in Montreal for twenty-
 two years, and I may say that, apart from some very small attempts at
 playing on St. Helen's Island, I was a member of the very first cricket
 club ever got up in Montreal. And I know that if even five or six years
 ago we had talked of getting out the Eleven of All England to play a
 Therefore, there is due to Mr. Pickering a very great deal of credit for
 having originated the project and so successfully carried it through to
 its fulfilment. (Hear, hear.) I will not attempt to draw a picture of
 the merits of cricketing, because that is a very trite theme—one that
 may be seen in any newspaper—one on which all have written and
 You all know what Englishmen are capable of, what they have done,
 and what they can do. And this, I say, is attributable in no slight
 measure to the cricket field and the hunting ground, the rivers whereon
 glorious country through which they ride. Boys are taught upon the
 playground to be gentlemen in the highest acceptance of the word;
 they are not taught to be gentlemen in the sense of a class as distin-
 guished from other classes, but in the highest sense of the word—that
 is to say in the sense of conduct: in morals and in respect and
 be done by." (Cheers.) This teaching, which makes cricketers, the
 sons of plain artisans, entitled to sit with us, and according to which
 teaching they are received by us with the right hand of fellowship as
 our equals—that teaching, I say, is no unimportant part of the educa-
 tion of a gentleman. I have said that I would not attempt to extol the
 manly game of cricket, but there are some thoughts which strike me in.

Figure 22: Most credit went to Mr Pickering. P. 26-27.

This emphasis on Pickering's role must be read alongside the lack of advertising for the games. It seems that for Pickering, the main point of this tour was not to make money, but to raise the status of cricket in Montreal, and subsequently, his own place in society. Hosting a tour of English cricketers enabled direct connections with everything the cricketers represented: England, Empire, the Queen, and the 'correct order' given to the world by colonialism. This is no different than a corporation putting their logos on

a jersey today: the attempt to co-opt the values – basking in reflected glory – of the side as a

representative of the sponsor. This is further emphasised by Johnson's claim that 'it is not necessary to name the name of Pickering', despite doing so extensively (Fig. 22).

The toast to 'the guests' was also used as an opportunity to extol the virtues of the English gentleman. As we have seen throughout this thesis, these values were once again linked directly to the cricket field. Although, interestingly, this includes the most direct statement referring to the class unifying qualities of cricket where 'sons of plain artisans' were 'taught upon the playground to be gentlemen' so they can be received at events such as this 'as equals'. It is not surprising this comes during English cricket's first voyage outside their own borders. Like we have seen in Australia, the class distinction in Canada was far from clear, especially on the cricket field.

connection with it. We live in a country, one of the most glorious dependencies of the British Crown, in which are numerous varieties of sorts of people of various of various political, commercial and otherwise. May not a lesson be learned from the game in which you have this day been engaged—a lesson of moderation, a lesson of good moderation—may we learn the lessons from which only the gentleman without animosity, emulation without enmity—that people may rival each other not only in cricket, but in all other pursuits of life, and be like brothers, and remain so. I hope that the Eleven of England, when with the exception of the women, which are very so insignificant since their arrival, and has prevented them from travelling as much as they desired, they may be able to express themselves pleased with their reception here. And I hope they will take home with them the desire consider themselves not strangers to us, but as if they were our own brothers, and of the same flesh and blood, as in reality they are. But I hope that there is one thing that they will not be able to say when they go home. They have amongst them a martial gentleman, one who could speak in a martial manner—Julius Caesar. And I hope that, unlike the Roman chief, he will not have it to say, on his return to his own country, "Feni, vidi, vici." (Loud cheers.) Peace drunk with all honours and loud cheering which continued for

Mr. George Parr rose and briefly replied.

The Chairman then called upon Wisden for a toast, who rose and briefly made allusion to the spirit exhibited by the Lower Canadians in inviting them out to this country. He merely proposed the health of Mr. Pickering.

The toast was drank with Highland honours, and loud and continued cheering.

the manner in which they had drunk his health. The person who deserved all the credit for bringing about the match was one well known to all present, but to many he was a man in every sense of the word—

Figure 23: The English were less enthusiastic in their speeches. P. 28.

In case some in attendance did not understand what these 'cricket lessons' were, Johnson stated them directly. Along with gentlemanly virtue came 'moderation', and 'emulation without enmity' (Fig. 23). Most important, however, was driving home the brotherhood between Canadians and English. An exuberance of spirit probably explains Mr. Carpenter

breaking formality to sing a song, before George Parr got them back on track with the opposing

captain's reply. Next, Heward asked Wisden to say a few words, instead of the toast to the club, as formality dictated. Wisden took the opportunity to thank the club and praise the Lower Canadians, setting the order right again.

Compare the verbosity of Johnson to the brevity of Parr and Wisden. They were not themselves gentlemen, but had spent most of their lives on the fringes of gentlemanly society. They would have been quite used to playing subservient roles to the 'great men' of the clubs, towns, and counties they competed against in England. Of course, they had also just played a game of cricket in the trying conditions of a Canadian autumn, but this alone does not explain their taciturn nature; they simply had less motivation. For them, the tour was about making money, not about spreading culture.

Notice that Johnson did not think it necessary to extol cricket – its virtues were taken as given. Instead, Johnson connected cricket instead to a wider English identity; particularly values of gender and class. This was not without need. The British North American colonies, including Canada, had only obtained responsible self-governance in 1855. Additionally, this is just five years before the Quebec and Charlottetown Conferences of 1864 that led to Canadian confederation in 1867. Canadian national identity as something separate from the British was far more advanced at this time than comparative identities in Australia. It is in this context that lines like 'consider themselves not strangers to us, but as if they were our own brothers' must be read.

When combined with this mix of nationalities, with degrees of Englishness and loyalty to the crown, it is understandable how for the men organising this match on the Canadian side, it was far more than just entertainment. Much as having the likes of Caffyn and Wisden in country would

do wonders for the development of Canadian bowling, having the team in Canada was an opportunity to teach and reinforce the 'proper' ways to be English. On and off the field, cricket was about 'civilising' the uncivilised; a sentence which can be just as easily understood to mean Englishifying and gentrifying the non-English and non-gentry. The civilizing mission is perhaps best understood in the lines spoken by Johnson:

*Boys are taught upon the playground to be gentlemen in the highest acceptation of the word; they are not taught to be gentlemen in the sense of a class as distinguished from other classes, but in the highest sense of the word – that is to say, in the sense of superiority in morals and in conduct, and in carrying out that great rule in life, "to do to others as you would be done by"*⁷⁶⁹

This perfectly encapsulates the civilising mission of cricket. Cricket can make you a gentleman; not one of those economic gentlemen, but a real gentleman of morality.⁷⁷⁰

This re-connection of class with the qualities of good behaviour, while simultaneously disconnecting it from its actual economic roots, was one of the fundamental purposes of cricket in the Victorian Empire. Cricket gave anyone the opportunity to reach the rank of a gentleman on the field, not through skill and talent, but through acceptable behaviour.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁹ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 27.

⁷⁷⁰ Compare this to the shift in what defined a gentleman in colonial Victoria as outlined in the previous chapter.

⁷⁷¹ While the rank of gentleman earned on the field is honorary only in general, and did not convey any actual economic benefit, this is not entirely true. The rank of honorary gentleman was essential before one could hope to join the gentry in an economic sense. This is an act that is played out by coal miners in Yorkshire, Parsi merchants in Bombay, black intellectuals in Cape Town, and Aboriginal stockmen in Melbourne. On the field all could be equal, giving some a chance, even if it was a small chance, to parlay opportunities off the field.

The toasts become increasingly loquacious and obsequious. After all, the purpose of the toast is to drink. The speeches are initially toasted ‘with full honours’; an emptying of the glass. This moves

Full highland honours Redacted

on to ‘with full highland honours’. When full highland honours are called, ‘every one, unless incapacitated from age, is expected to mount his chair, with his glass in hand – a bumper – and put his right

Figure 24: An example of toasting with ‘full highland honours’ from 1872.

foot on the table, supporting

himself on his left, which is on the chair’ (Fig. 24).⁷⁷² This is noteworthy, as the mid-nineteenth century was a period where Scottish ‘romantic signs and symbols of a re-invented Highland culture’ became key to the ‘interaction of home and Empire in the reconciliation of Scottish ethnic nationalism with its global stage’.⁷⁷³ 150 years after the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, with the ‘Stuart treason’ becoming a distant memory, Scottish identity was being reborn as unique, yet still *within* the Empire, and specifically *within British* identity. Canada had a large Scots population, many of whom would be carrying the old grudges. The performance of Highland identity within the formal structures of the performance of an Empire identity helped to transmit this new, acceptable Scottish identity, to the colony.

Perhaps unsurprisingly given the full highland honours, at this point the usual order of toasting broke down. Pickering rose to speak in the role of secretary, but rather than praising the opposing

⁷⁷² Mark Boyd, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years* (Appleton, 1871), 3. Image source: ‘Festival of the Highland Society’, *Illustrated London News*, 6 April 1872, 5.

⁷⁷³ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (December 1998): 221.

captain, he praised Mr Wilder and the people of Montreal for their roles in making the tour happen. He then toasted Mr Johnson. Johnson then rose to accept the toast and gave a history of the colony, noting the role of the Hudson Bay Company.

The next speech, proposed by Wisden, should have been for the opposing captain. However, it seems the team did not have a captain. None is listed in the records, and as Johnson mentioned in his speech 'it is not necessary to name to you the captain of your cricket club here in Montreal'.⁷⁷⁴ It is possible either that the role was contested, or that the organisers did not want the spotlight taken off them. Wisden, however, seems to have taken it upon himself to regard Mr Daly, top scorer for the Canadians, as their 'captain' in proposing a toast to him in this spot. After this, Lillywhite simply notes the toasting continued until midnight, when the party broke up; the lack of reporting likely related to Lillywhite's participation in the toasting.

New York

In the mid-nineteenth century it was far from certain that the nascent sport of baseball would become the dominant bat and ball sport in the USA. Particularly in the north-east, cricket enjoyed wide popularity up until the Civil War.⁷⁷⁵ However, by the time of the tour, the writing was on the wall for cricket. *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, a New York newspaper modelled on *Bell's Life in London*, founded in 1856, was from its earliest issues a vocal supporter of baseball.⁷⁷⁶ The still

⁷⁷⁴ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 27.

⁷⁷⁵ Boria Majumdar and Sean Brown, 'Why Baseball, Why Cricket? Differing Nationalisms, Differing Challenges', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 2 (2007): 141.

⁷⁷⁶ The newspaper was published under the title *Spirit of the Times*, however, it is common practice amongst historians to refer to it as *Porter's Spirit of the Times* to distinguish it from several other newspapers of that name being published in the United States. Norris Wilson Yates, *William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times: A Study of the Big Bear School of Humor* (Louisiana State University Press, 1957), 3.



Figure 25: Prior to the tour Porter's *Spirit of the Times* was supportive of the value of cricket.

relatively obscure nature of the sport exemplified by the need for *Porter's Spirit* to publish the rules of baseball in one of its earliest issues.⁷⁷⁷

When the English were in New York, *Porter's Spirit* published an article endorsing the value of cricket to the United States (Fig. 25).⁷⁷⁸ The author of this article thought cricket would become 'naturalized' – a loaded term at a time of fierce anti-immigrant sentiment amongst conservative New

Yorkers. The author saw it as open to 'be indulged equally by the rich and poor', that it would provide exercise for a country with a tendency to neglect physical fitness, and would keep men away from alcohol. Perhaps most interestingly on the moral side was the claim that 'swearing or profane language is forbidden'. While this is indeed a law of cricket today (law 42.1), it was not

⁷⁷⁷ David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game* (U of Nebraska Press, 2006), 226; 'Outdoor Sports', *Spirit of the Times*, 3 December 1859, 505.

⁷⁷⁸ 'Something About the Game of Cricket', *Spirit of the Times*, 8 October 1859, 414.

part of the 1835 laws that governed the game in 1859.⁷⁷⁹ This is likely because such a law would not be needed to govern English cricketers – the code of the gentleman already applied. That this is never mentioned when introducing cricket to readers in any of the colonies is perhaps the best example of the already stark contrast between Victorian and antebellum United States codes of conduct.

The games which are to become naturalized in this country are certainly base ball, and quoits. Cricket has its admirers, but it is evident it will never have that universality that base ball will. The latter named game is essentially "fast," is easily learned, affords all the exercise demanded, and occupies no unnecessary time in preliminaries and parliamentary rules and discussions. Quoits have always been popular in Republics. The finest statue preserved from the splendid arts of antiquity is the quoit-player, as he appeared in the best days of Greece and Rome, and now that nity, where there are a half-dozen persons capable of "pitching the die-cus." The St. Andrews Quoit Club, though a recent organization, is strong in numbers, and is presided over by R. McMarvine, Esq. The New York Quoit Club was organized in 1857, and has now over seventy members. It has by-laws and a constitution, and its annual gatherings are enlivened by the distribution of valuable prizes. A match was recently played between the two Clubs alluded to, at the distance of 18 and 21 yards; the playing was very fair, the score a tie. The East New York Cricket Club has wound up its season with a dashing game, and a

Next year we understand that the Brooklyn Cricket Club will be incorporated with the New York Club, thus making it one of the strongest in the Union. No formal notice has been made by the players of base ball, but the winter weather precludes any outdoor sports where the bat and ball are used. The promise is, that next year a new era will be inaugurated of innocent and healthful amusements, and the result will certainly be to improve the health and happiness of our people.

Figure 26: After the tour, in the shadow of the Civil War, enthusiasm had started to wane.

However, mere weeks after the English tour *Porter's Spirit* published an article outlining why it would be 'games suitable to a republic' – baseball and quoits, rather than the 'parliamentary' cricket – that would become the national sports of the USA, even as the article shows that cricket

was still the more organised of the two bat and ball sports (Fig. 26).⁷⁸⁰ Of course, it is not unusual to have contributors to the same paper holding different opinions. It is, however, notable this change in attitude occurs when the English are playing in the United States: this would be the peak of cricket's popularity in the United States. Also of note is another event that occurred during the English tour: John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, 'the raid that sparked the [American] civil war'.⁷⁸¹ There had already been calls for 'independent' national sports, particularly baseball; calls

⁷⁷⁹ One of the quirks of cricket is that it has laws, not rules. The 1835 code lasted until 1884, with the exception of the alteration of (then) Law 10 to allow overarm bowling in 1864. 'The Laws of Cricket', *Kentish Mercury*, 4 July 1835.

⁷⁸⁰ Interestingly, quoits was played by the English on the ship over the Atlantic and Lillywhite included a full description of the game and how to play it. Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 9.

⁷⁸¹ Tony Horwitz, *Midnight Rising: John Brown and the Raid That Sparked the Civil War* (Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 5.

that would increase following the Civil War.⁷⁸² This perhaps contributed to the change in attitude exemplified by American sports journalist Henry Chadwick. A fan of both games, until 1860, he considered cricket the more 'manly' game. However, after the war he changed his opinion, it was baseball, not cricket, which 'best suited the character of American people'.⁷⁸³ According to Majumdar and Brown 'it was not until after the Civil War that baseball's supremacy was assured'.⁷⁸⁴ However, it is also important not to overstate cricket's popularity. Outside of Philadelphia, New York, New Jersey, and a few other north-eastern cities, it would have been little more than a curiosity, if it existed at all.

Cricket was a link between the Mother country and the colonial rebels, but it was not in New York on a 'civilising' (read colonising) mission, in the same way it was in Canada, or later Australia, South Africa, India, or New Zealand. This was cricket as a capitalist mission – to make money – something the English would publicly eschew as antithetical to the game, although Australians would embrace it with gusto.⁷⁸⁵ The financial imperative was evident in the greater advertising for the matches. Pickering in Montreal apparently did not care if he made money as long as he had the opportunity to receive all the praises in front of the right people. Compare this with Waller in New York. The tour had been announced as early as July in *Porter's Spirit*, outlining matches in New York and Philadelphia, along with those in Canada.⁷⁸⁶ There were even requests published in *Porter's Spirit* in July 'calling upon our Cricketing friends on Her Majesty's farm this side of the pond to contribute'.⁷⁸⁷ This is in stark contrast to the almost benign neglect on behalf of the

⁷⁸² Majumdar and Brown, 'Why Baseball, Why Cricket? Differing Nationalisms, Differing Challenges', 142–44.

⁷⁸³ Robert M. Lewis, 'Cricket and the Beginnings of Organized Baseball in New York City', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4, no. 3 (December 1987): 327.

⁷⁸⁴ Majumdar and Brown, 'Why Baseball, Why Cricket? Differing Nationalisms, Differing Challenges', 142.

⁷⁸⁵ The story of the tensions surrounding professionalism in Australia is a well-trodden one, but outside the time period of this thesis. C.f. Pollard, *The Complete Illustrated History of Australian Cricket*, 168 ff.; Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, 132 ff.

⁷⁸⁶ 'Cricket', *Spirit of the Times*, 16 July 1859, 270.

⁷⁸⁷ 'The All England Eleven', *Spirit of the Times*, 30 July 1859, 294.

Canadian organisers. Nowhere is the effect of this more apparent than the massive crowds. The best crowd in Canada was 3 000 on the first day at Montreal. When the team arrived at the ground for the first day's play in New York there were already 5 000 spectators 'actuated by a curiosity as to the manner of playing the game of cricket', the number swelling to 25 000 during play.⁷⁸⁸

The match held at Hoboken, New Jersey, on the Hudson River right across from Greenwich Village on 3-5 October had an estimated 20-25 000 people in attendance on the first day. Several thousand well-wishers greeted the Players outside their hotel in the morning. This was an incredible crowd. 10 000 was a good crowd in London.⁷⁸⁹ Baseball would not see similar crowds until the late 1860s.⁷⁹⁰ However, it is also important not to misinterpret large crowds for interest in the game, rather than just a strange attraction. To Lillywhite's eyes, however, it was more than strange curiosity:

*It appeared to us that it was pretty evident that the gathering of about 25,000 spectators on the ground, was not caused by any public desire for triumph on either side, but that those who attended each day seemed to be simply actuated by curiosity as to the manner of playing the game of cricket, with a natural desire to see the men who accomplished so long a journey, and become so famous as players in England.*⁷⁹¹

Dinner in New York

The second dinner to be examined is that given at Astor House in New York. Astor House was the first luxury hotel in New York, and although by the time of the tour it was overshadowed by the newer – and centrally heated – St Nicholas Hotel and Metropolitan Hotel, Astor House was still a

⁷⁸⁸ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 2, 19, 31.

⁷⁸⁹ Sandiford, 'English Cricket Crowds During the Victorian Age', 6–7.

⁷⁹⁰ James L. Terry, *Long Before the Dodgers: Baseball in Brooklyn, 1855-1884* (McFarland, 2002), 68.

⁷⁹¹ Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 32.

venue appropriate for royalty; Abraham Lincoln would stay at the hotel on the way to his inauguration in just over a year's time.

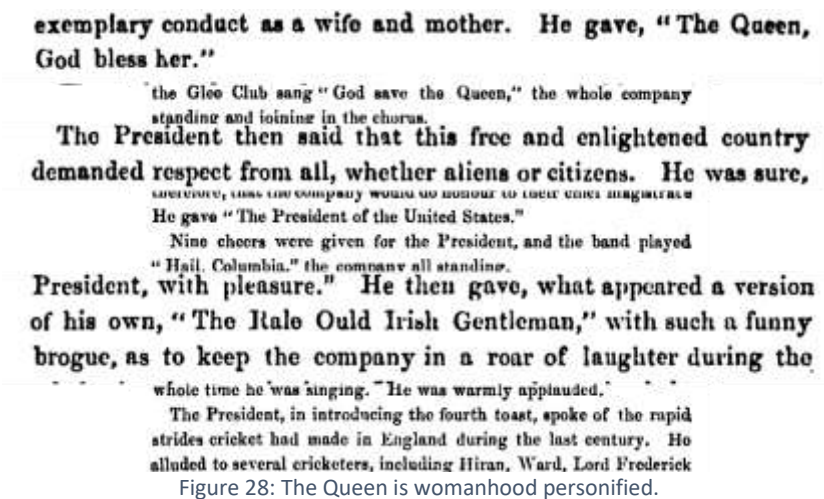
This dinner, taking place *outside* the Empire, elicits contrasts and exceptions that prove the rules of cultural transfer already discussed in this thesis. To examine this contrast, we can once again turn to *Speeches and Toasts*, and compare that with what happened.



Figure 27: The dubious claims of a Spartan origin for the 'noble and manly game'.

After a brief introduction, we are introduced to the host, Mr R Waller, President of the St George's Cricket Club. As we saw in Canada, custom would dictate that the first speech be dedicated to the Queen. Instead, Waller

praises the virtues of cricket, alluding 'to the fact that the Spartans were famed for out-door games', and that 'cricket was traceable to these people' (Fig. 27). It is perhaps no accident the American was trying to trace roots back to the ancient civilisations that so influenced the founding fathers, rather than promote it as a quintessentially British game, as it was depicted throughout the Empire. However, there was one aspect of cricket that was universal: it was the 'noble and manly game'.



Next came the national anthems – rarely part of the formal part of a dinner, the singing of songs was usually kept until after the libations had taken effect. It was

not until after the national anthems that the Queen was toasted, and then in a quite illuminating manner: 'Americans love the Queen, she is a great example of how to be a good wife and mother, followed by "the Queen! God bless her"' (Fig. 28). The juxtaposition of manly cricket and the 'good wife' executive would not have gone unnoticed by the English cricketers.

Waller then states 'that this free and enlightened country demanded respect from all, whether aliens or citizens'. This suggests the crowd were more liberal, rather than anti-immigrant conservatives.⁷⁹² This is probably why the opportunity was not taken to extol the virtues of the Democrat President, James Buchanan. Buchanan was considered an unpopular 'doughface' (a Northerner with Southern sensibilities and allegiances) to New Yorkers at the time. Buchanan was unmarried and considered 'soft', 'sterile', and a 'cold-blooded bachelor' by Northerners – some

⁷⁹² The 1850s were a time of increased political nativism in the USA. In New York in particular, conservatives splitting from the Whigs were drawn towards the anti-immigrant 'Know Nothing' party. This found its main expression in anti-Irish sentiment, as well as attacks on those who supported them such as the Democrat party. This culminated in anti-Catholic violence on the streets of New York in 1853 and 1854. Thomas Joseph Curran, 'Know Nothings of New York' (Ph.D., United States -- New York, Columbia University, 1963), 1; Raymond L. Cohn, 'Nativism and the End of the Mass Migration of the 1840s and 1850s', *The Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 2 (June 2000): 373.

not so veiled jabs at his sexuality.⁷⁹³ For lovers of the ‘noble and manly game’ better just to leave it at ‘we are led by a man’.

Unlike the far more formal Canadian dinner, which stuck to the rules of speech making, the New York dinner rather than continuing on to toast the military, the opposition, the sides, the hosts etc., once the bare essentials of the executives was out of the way, it was time for a comic song; a version of ‘a rare ould Irish gentleman’. What the lyrics were on the night is unfortunately unknowable, as none of our sources recorded that much detail. It is a curious choice – either it is representative of that grand American tradition of not knowing the difference between England, Britain, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, or, what I believe is more likely, an opportunity for some good old fashioned anti-Irish racism in the form of jokes. By denigrating Paddy, the élite of New York and London could find common ground. This was reinforced with the hope that it will

Mr. George Parr very briefly returned thanks on behalf of the English.
A Gentleman referred in flattering terms to Mr. Stevens, on whose grounds the match was played, and after some able remarks on the
those at the recent match), he concluded by hoping that balls would continue to fly between the two countries with the rapidity, but not the hostility, of cannon balls, and that cricketers on each side would exert themselves to do what was best for their country, so that they would soon establish peace on earth, and goodwill towards men. He offered the following sentiment:—"England and America—the mother and the daughter. One race, one language, one interest, one hope. Those whom God hath joined together let not man dare to put asunder."

Figure 29: Despite being increasingly unique cultures, there is a fraternity between American and British that cannot be broken.

be cricket balls, not cannon balls that fly between the two nations, an idea developed by the toast: ‘England and America – the mother and the daughter. One race, one language,

⁷⁹³ Not all of the criticisms of Buchanan were based on these prejudices, however. He is regarded by historians as one of, if not the worst, president in US history. ‘Total Scores/Overall Rankings | C-SPAN Survey on Presidents 2021 | C-SPAN.Org’, accessed 20 October 2022, <https://www.c-span.org/presidentsurvey2021/?page=overall>. Brie Swenson Arnold, ‘No Back Bone, Sir, All Dough’: James Buchanan, Doughface Democrats, and Manliness in Northern Print and Political Culture, 1854–1861’ (Symposium on 19th century press, the Civil War, and free expression, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, 12 November 2014); Thomas Balcerski, ‘The 175-Year History of Speculating About President James Buchanan’s Bachelorhood’, *Smithsonian Magazine*, accessed 23 October 2022, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/175-year-history-examining-bachelor-president-james-buchanans-close-friendship-william-rufus-king-180972992/>.

one interest, one hope. Those whom God hath joined together let not man dare to put asunder' (Fig. 29).

Although perhaps not apparent to those of us reading with the eyes of Empire, there is some notable American national myth making going on here. The United States was going through a time of mass migration. Although commonly thought of as a 'nation of immigrants', following the Revolutionary War, immigration to the new United States had almost stopped. From the period of the Revolution through to the first decade of the nineteenth century, only around 4000 migrants per year came to the country, of whom about half left again for other parts of the globe.⁷⁹⁴ By 1830 this had jumped to over 20 000, by 1832 over 60 000, and over 100 000 annually by 1842. Total immigrants peaked in 1854 at 427 833 that year, and with the exception of the Civil War years would never drop below 100 000 again.⁷⁹⁵ From being almost entirely 'native born' in 1800, by 1850 around 10% of all residents were foreign born, rising to around 15% by 1860 and staying there until the First World War.⁷⁹⁶ This migration changed the face of the nation – especially in the north-east. While never as 'English' as imagined, given the large number of free and unfree Africans, as well as large Hispanic populations across the formerly Spanish south, not to mention Indigenous populations, for those in New York and New Jersey America was undoubtedly a culturally 'English' nation. However, in the early decades of the migration boom nearly 40% of migrants came from a European nation other than the United Kingdom.⁷⁹⁷ And of those from the United Kingdom, half were from Ireland.⁷⁹⁸ In this context, it makes the singing of

⁷⁹⁴ E. P. Hutchinson, 'Notes on Immigration Statistics of the United States', *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 53, no. 284 (1 December 1958): 968.

⁷⁹⁵ Even during the Civil War the number did not drop far below 100 000 per annum.

⁷⁹⁶ James P. Smith and National Research Council, eds., *The New Americans: Economic, Demographic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration* (Washington, DC: National Acad. Press, 1997), 35.

⁷⁹⁷ This is even discounting the large increase in Chinese migration at this time. However, this was an effect mostly felt on the West Coast and frontier areas.

⁷⁹⁸ Raymond L. Cohn, 'A Comparative Analysis of European Immigrant Streams to the United States during the Early Mass Migration', *Social Science History* 19, no. 1 (1995): 66.

'rable ould Irish gentleman' more marked; anti-Irish sentiment was something that both Americans and English could bond over as part of their shared cultural heritage. In essence, this was a toast to 'whiteness' as defined as 'English' or 'British' excluding the Irish.

North American Post-Script

In an alternate timeline it is easy to see how this tour could have had a similar effect to cricket in North America that later tours had in Australia, introducing the public to the 'scientific' elements of the game (i.e. watching people play who actually knew what they were doing), and leaving behind players, especially bowlers, of quality who could become coaches.⁷⁹⁹ Unfortunately, the Panic of '57 had not only upset the organisation of a cricket tour, but had also upset the balance of power in the US between the northern industrial states and the southern slave states.⁸⁰⁰ The panic had a far greater impact on the industrial north than the agrarian south, which increased the confidence the southerners had to make demands of the north.

Cricket in Canada would hold on through to the First World War, albeit under increasing pressure from hockey and lacrosse. For the United States, however, the Civil War would be the end of cricket. Seeking to unify a divided nation still bleeding from a civil war, baseball was promoted as a national game that could unite the people, like cricket did for the English. Cricket was increasingly seen as decadent; the realm of the gentlemanly leisure class, and not suitable for a hard-working American meritocracy. Cricket was also of longer duration, unsuited to an industrialising America. Being the main camp sport for both armies, the popularity of baseball

⁷⁹⁹ Lillywhite identifies the need for trained bowlers to spread the game in the USA. Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, 32.

⁸⁰⁰ See p. 286.

exploded during the Civil War.⁸⁰¹ Following the war, with the need to stitch the nation back together, baseball as the national game became propaganda, playing the unifying role cricket did across the Empire. Cricket was declared a foreign sport played by élites, and was said to be boring. Baseball was the exciting everyman's game. The fate of American cricket was sealed.

Conclusion

In juxtaposing two dinners of the 1859 tour, we have seen there was already a significant divergence in the cultures of the independent United States and 'Her Majesty's farm this side of the pond'. While the colonists were keen to promote their own position in society and reinforce the values of the Empire, the Americans used the tour as a money-making exercise. Although the Americans still believed in the moral worth of the 'noble and manly game', they were more interested in noting the differences in American culture, while still acknowledging a fraternity with the British. This is one example as to why the term 'Victorian' should not be applied to the United States in the nineteenth century. While there were many similarities, particularly in the realm of aesthetics, the United States was missing the 'code of the gentleman' that is one of the definitional qualities of the Victorian Age. Without the leisure class with the time to play themselves, and the wealth to hire professionals, cricket was ultimately antithetical to American culture.

⁸⁰¹ David Samuel Crockett, 'Sports and Recreational Practices of Union and Confederate Soldiers', *Research Quarterly. American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation* 32, no. 3 (October 1961): 341.

Chapter 7: The First English Tour of Australia

The final chapter of this thesis will examine one further international tour, and one lunch from that tour: H.H. Stephenson's XI tour of Australia in the summer of 1861-62, and the dinner held for the tourists during their match against XIX of Melbourne and Districts on 4 January 1862.⁸⁰² In one example this will bring together all of the processes of capital reproduction shown through this thesis.

The Unstable Government of Victoria

Sir John O'Shanassy returned to power in 1858, but his efforts to shore up his power using the 1858-59 Intercolonial Cricket Committee only brought a brief respite. The O'Shanassy coalition fell apart as the interests of 'urban finance capital' – which most members of the ministry represented – ran up against the demands of the Land Convention – where the O'Shanassy ministry found most of its popular support. The fracture should have seen the end of the government; only a lack of unified opposition managed to keep O'Shanassy in power. Charles Duffy quit the parliament soon after it was dissolved ahead of the 1859 election, feeling O'Shanassy had gone too far to the right. A deep hostility had grown between the men.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰² Eighteen players on a side was very unusual, the normal against-the-odds sides being 15s or 22s. This was due to a disagreement as to just how bad the Victorian players would be; Stephenson wanted a 15, the Melbourne Cricket Club wanted 22. Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, 64.

⁸⁰³ Duffy would run – and be elected – again in the upcoming election. Serle notes that at this time the two Irish Catholics were no longer unified around their Irish Catholicism; Duffy was the champion of the Irish, O'Shanassy the champion of the Catholics. This caused such conflict amongst the Irish Catholic population that it took Church intervention in 1861 after Duffy had left the colony to mend the rift. Serle, *The Golden Age*, 308.

Two new movements that had sprung up since the previous election in 1856 further undermined O'Shanassy's fragile 'urban finance' coalition. First was the Political Labour League, representing the trade unions, and second those backing protectionism. Along with the Land Convention, these movements now split the radical faction of parliament into three groups with different priorities. The conservatives now rallied around William Nicholson, whose politics were 'pragmatic'.⁸⁰⁴

By the election of 1859, O'Shanassy completed his move to the right, and was now running in opposition to the Land Convention. The government was crushed. Only six members were returned. The big winners were the Nicholsonite conservatives, returning around 30 members. The Land Convention saw eleven members elected, with a further 18 considered 'sympathizers'.⁸⁰⁵ Nicholson was able to put together a ministry with mostly conservative support, although he needed two mining members from the goldfields to form government.⁸⁰⁶

The main debate in the second parliament was again around land. As such, the radicals, democrats, and trade unionists who made up the fractured left wing of the parliament rallied behind Duffy, seeing that only a united opposition could hope to soften the worst elements of a conservative land bill. This faction came to be known as 'The Corner'.⁸⁰⁷ By the time a land bill was passed in September 1860 it was 'in mutilated and almost unrecognizable form'.⁸⁰⁸ The squatter-dominated Legislative Council was having none of it, rejecting the bill. Duffy and his allies in The Corner made it clear they would only support a government that passed the watered-down (more

⁸⁰⁴ Serle, 314.

⁸⁰⁵ Serle, 318.

⁸⁰⁶ It is worth noting that at this time ministers had to face another election before being confirmed in a portfolio.

⁸⁰⁷ Despite being in opposition The Corner were able to pass major progressive legislation including a select committee to oversee railway construction and another to discuss tariffs. An attempt to legislate the 8-hour day was compromised to see the abolishment of imprisonment under the Masters and Servants Act, and possibly their greatest achievement, passing the payment of members.

⁸⁰⁸ Serle, *The Golden Age*, 323.

progressive) version of the bill. Nicholson resigned, realising a government could not govern without the support of the Legislative Council. They would never support a more progressive land bill. Governor Barkly first approach Charles Ebdon to form a government, hoping he would be able to moderate the Council. Unable to do so, Ebdon refused. Next Barkly tried O'Shanassy, who refused unless he could introduce his own land bill. Then Barkly sent for Heales, who asked Nicholson to return and support the original proposal; Nicholson refused. Finally, with no other options, Barkly approached Duffy, who with the support of The Corner, was able to form a tentative ministry. Duffy considered it the 'first democratic Ministry'.⁸⁰⁹ Duffy asked Barkly for a promise to dissolve parliament if they could not move forward on a land bill, so an election could be held to break the deadlock. When Barkly refused, Duffy declined to move forward with the ministry. Amidst all the chaos, Barkly was finally able to persuade Nicholson to form a government and proceed with the Legislative Council's conservative version of the land bill.

The night before the first sitting of the parliament, the Land Convention held a mass meeting at the Eastern Market. As parliament returned the following day, the crowd swelled around the House. At 9pm they stormed the chambers. Nicholson sent in the police, batons waving. This led to the complete discrediting of the Convention, allowing Nicholson to proceed with the bill before parliament went on recess. When parliament resumed in November 1860, the Nicholson ministry was battered, drained, and bereft of ideas, The Corner was all but a memory. O'Shanassy was out for revenge.⁸¹⁰ The ultimate solution was a ministry under the Heales, with Ireland as Attorney-General. Support was gained from O'Shanassy, Ebdon, and the other squatting interests, so long as Duffy himself was kept far from the government benches. Although this would be yet again another impotent ministry, it had the effect of ending the personality based factionalism of the

⁸⁰⁹ Serle, 325.

⁸¹⁰ Serle, 327.

previous decade, crystallising 'a new basic political division – a clear-cut division based on wealth, economic class, and to some extent social origins'.⁸¹¹

Now the main debate was over balancing the budget, a debate Heales ultimately lost. With the government again unable to find a parliamentary majority for necessary but unpopular decisions, Heales resigned and Governor Barkly once more intervened. Several attempts to unify the parliament failed, and Heales reluctantly returned to the role of premier, albeit without a working majority. It took until June 1861 for an opposition to gain enough coherence to challenge Heales, but when a vote of no confidence was finally moved, it passed with an overwhelming majority.

Finally submitting to the inevitable, Governor Barkly dissolved the parliament and called an election.⁸¹²

Barkly's assumption in calling the election was that Heales would put forward a radical programme which would either be rejected by the electorate, confirming conservative power in parliament, or he would gain wide support and confirm the power of the democratic members.

One of the central issues to the 1861 election was free trade or protectionism. Heales, himself a small manufacturer, was the candidate of the protectionists. Representing the new, largely economic class- based divide, candidates campaigned on platforms either supporting or opposing Heales. This pushed the formerly liberal merchant class towards the conservatives, while the

⁸¹¹ Serle, 328.

⁸¹² The victors of the no confidence vote actually refused to acknowledge this, but brought the same result by effectively refusing supply and forcing the election that way. Serle, 331.

protectionists counted on support from the goldfields as import tariffs were traded for export duties on gold. O'Shanassy and Duffy now found themselves once again aligned against the government, albeit this time from the opposite ends of the political spectrum. Ireland – a free trader – now turned against Heales.⁸¹³

...in the Government on principles more likely to produce stability in the state. If he were called upon to take part in such a Government, he should not shrink from doing his duty to the best of his ability; or, if it were necessary, he would remain in Opposition, where he preferred to be.

test. For the first time in this country politicians would be divided into two parties. In England and other countries parties of a similar nature exist, and it would be very difficult for government to be carried on without them. He had no doubt that party which was most calculated to give stability and carry on government with the greatest advantage to the country, would end in a triumph. During the last ten years the

Figure 1: For the first time Victoria had two political parties

Although Heales was able to return with a slim majority, the turnover was so great that the former opposition was nearly halved.⁸¹⁴ The biggest change was an overwhelming government victory on the goldfields, winning 22 of the 27 available seats there, including many leaders of the Eureka movement (although Peter Lalor, one of the leaders of the movement, was elected as a conservative). O'Shanassy noted: 'for the first time in this country, politicians will be divided into two parties' (Fig. 1).⁸¹⁵ However, this did not lead to the predicted stability, and another budget dispute brought down the Heales ministry in November 1861.

The following extract from the *Ballarat Star* shows O'Shanassy had now built an alliance out of his former opponents William Nicholson, Richard Ireland, Charles Duffy, and William Haines (Fig. 2):

The budget debate is over and Ministers are beaten by a majority of six. To this end Mr O'Shanassy and Mr Ireland have buried the hatchet, and Mr Duffy has joined them with the pipe of peace. To this end Mr Nicholson and Mr Haines "have merged all minor differences," and

THE DEBATE ENDED.
THE budget debate is over and Ministers are beaten by a majority of six. To this end Mr O'Shanassy and Mr Ireland have buried the hatchet, and Mr Duffy has joined them with the pipe of peace. To this end Mr Nicholson and Mr Haines "have merged all minor differences," and have fought shoulder to shoulder in the long minded war of words. To this

Figure 2: O'Shanassy and his allies

⁸¹³ If rumour is to be believed, Ireland's defection was actually over being refused a government pension (he was the first minister to have served a full two years in a portfolio), or that O'Shanassy had promised him a place in any new government the Irishman would form. The latter of these is strengthened by the attendance of the two at the dinner to the English Eleven.

⁸¹⁴ Nearly half of all members elected in 1861 were new to the parliament. Serle, *The Golden Age*, 333.

⁸¹⁵ 'Mr. O'Shanassy At Kilmore', *Argus*, 12 August 1861, 7, cited in Serle, *The Golden Age*, 334.

*have fought shoulder to shoulder in this long-winded war of words.*⁸¹⁶

Nicholson and Ireland would be by O'Shanassy's side at the lunch to the English Eleven examined below (Fig. 12).

The First Tour of Australia

One might assume the impetus for the first tour of Australia was the success of the North American tour, but this was not so. As shown in the previous chapter, several members of the 1859 side were not too keen on the idea of another long trip overseas. The advantage of the Australian cricketing season occurring during the English off season was nullified by the sheer distance and expense a trip to Australia entailed. And so it was left to a pair of enterprising entrepreneurs, English-born residents of Melbourne, Felix William Spiers and Christopher Pond, to provide the motivation and capital required to get an English team to the Southern Hemisphere.

Spiers and Pond were prime examples of the idiom 'selling shovels in a gold rush'. Felix Spiers arrived in Melbourne in 1851 seeking gold. There he met Christopher Pond. They opened the Shakespeare Grill Room to cater to miners. This was followed with a catering contract for the Melbourne-Ballarat railway, and the opening of Café de Paris, a more upmarket establishment at the Theatre Royal in Melbourne. In order to promote their business ventures, and as an entrepreneurial endeavour in itself, they attempted to contract with Charles Dickens for a speaking tour of Australia. Ultimately, Dickens declined the £15 000 sum on offer; his 1842 trip to

⁸¹⁶ 'The Debate Ended', *Star*, 11 November 1861, 2.

the United States had quashed any desire he had to undertake a long sea voyage ever again. Undaunted, Spiers and Pond turned to the enormously popular sport of cricket, wanting to bring a team of English professionals to wow Australian crowds.⁸¹⁷

Spiers and Pond sent William Mallam – an agent of George Coppin – to London, with £7 000 of funding already secured and a promise of £150 a man for the tour, plus expenses.⁸¹⁸ On arrival Mallam initially sought the advice of William Burrup, secretary of the Surrey County Cricket Club (and son of John Burrup, who we met as Surrey secretary in Chapter 2). Burrup directed Mallam towards George Parr to try to secure the services of the All-England Eleven. Parr rejected the offer; the experiences of 1859 convinced him £150 was not enough to cover what would be a seven-month tour. Not to be deterred, Mallam went back to Burrup, who referred him to Heathfield Simpson, the Surrey captain. Stephenson called on the rest of Surrey's professionals – seven men in total, to make up the core of the team.⁸¹⁹ They were joined by professionals from Yorkshire, Kent, Middlesex, and Sussex (Fig. 3 & 5).⁸²⁰ There had been three main professional 'England' sides touring in 1861: All England, United All England, and New All England. This side included members from all three. While the 1859 side could boast being the best in England, H.H. Stephenson's XI had some notable exclusions including Parr, Willsher, Caesar, Tarrant, Wisden, and John Lillywhite.

⁸¹⁷ Tom Wills would at times claim he was the originator of the idea, as would George Coppin. Coppin at least did have some involvement with Spiers and Pond early in the organisation for the tour, but there is no evidence to suggest Wills took part in any official capacity, although it is likely he spoke well of the All England Eleven and the benefits of professional touring Xis.

⁸¹⁸ Harte, *A History of Australian Cricket*, 60–61.

⁸¹⁹ The Surrey players were: H. Stephenson, Caffyn, Mortlock, Griffith, Mudie, and Sewell. From Yorkshire came their captain Iddison, and N. Stephenson. From Middlesex Tom Hearne, as well as Lawrence who played for them in 1861. George Wells played for Sussex, and George Bennett, Kent.

⁸²⁰ Caffyn, *Seventy One Not Out*, 173.

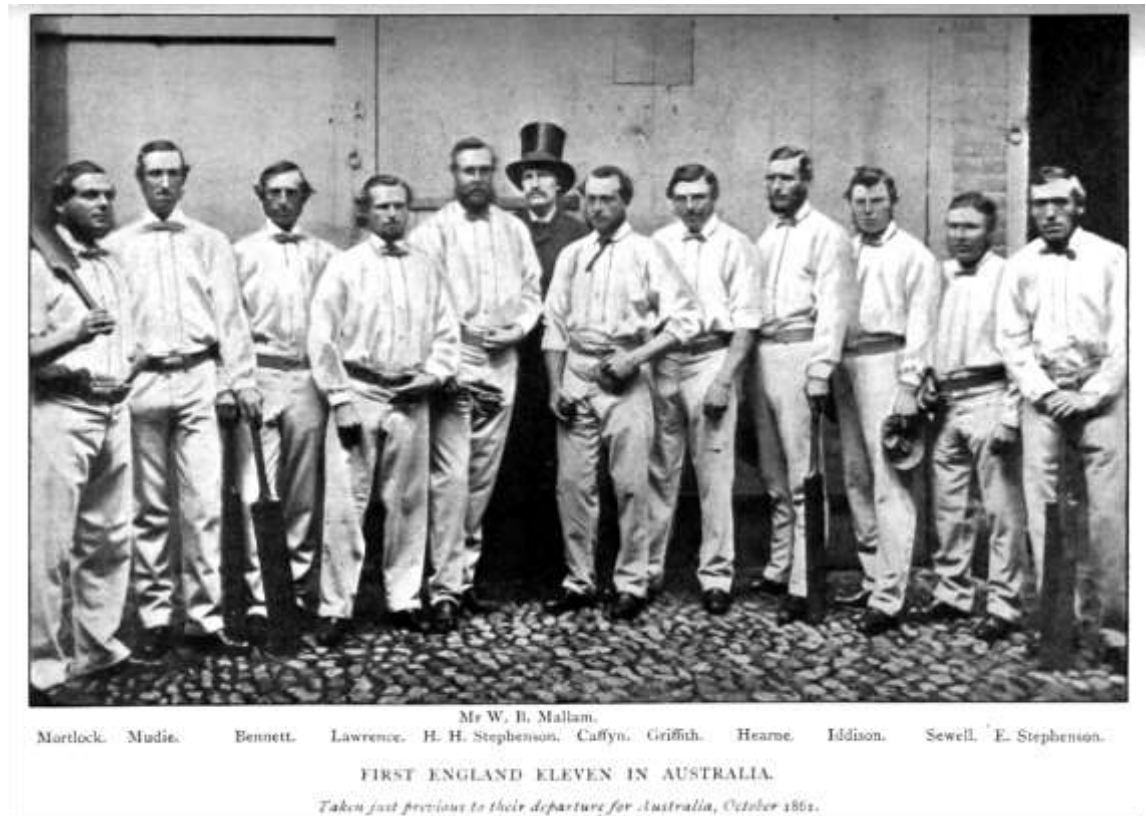


Figure 3: H.H. Stephenson's XI

Unlike in North America, preparations for the tour were poured over in Australia, even though the news was often delayed by distance. An initial announcement of a group formed to lure out some English cricketers was published in March of 1861 (Fig. 4).⁸²¹ Then there was little news until June when Spiers and Pond announced they had taken over organisation for the tour and sent Mallam to London.⁸²² The first major announcement of the tour as a certainty came in August, in a reprint from the *Field* in London. Published before Mallam had even reached England, it suggests Spiers and Pond were already communicating with contacts in London. This article, printed originally in London and reproduced in the Melbourne *Argus*, is a good example

THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.—Five gentlemen, with Mr. Coppin at their head, have undertaken to provide the means of bringing the eleven over, of maintaining them, and of sending them home with something in their pockets. The promoters of this plan will take the management of the matches and make them self-supporting, taking nothing more than the capital advanced, with ten per cent. interest. At the same time they will be personally responsible to the eleven for their passage money, expenses, and share of the profits. *next mail, and the eleven will be asked to set sail immediately on the close of the cricketing season in England.*

Figure 4: A planned tour is announced

⁸²¹ 'A Visit of a First-Class English Eleven to the Australian Colonies', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 March 1861, 2.

⁸²² 'Cricket', *Adelaide Observer*, 22 June 1861, 3.

of how cricket was used to narrow the distance – literal and figurative – between the Colonies and the Motherland (Figs. 6 & 7).⁸²³

Match card Redacted

Figure 5: A 'Match Card' printed at the ground ⁸²⁴

CRICKET AND THE COLONIES.
(FROM THE FIELD.)

dozen counties; when Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, and the Metropolis, with the exception, perhaps, of Nottingham and the public schools and universities, were the only nurseries of our national game. We need hardly remind our readers of the wonderful alteration that a few years has been gaining ground. Within a few weeks from the present time half the aristocracy of England, of both sexes, will be assembled to see the friendly contests of North and South, of Oxford and Cambridge, of Eton and Harrow, of Gentlemen and Players, and of representatives from every province in England. It boots not now to tell of old-fashioned twisters, or modern pace; of the fine old times when we went in in a pair of fannels and shirt-sleeves, or of these humilia-

pastimes not one has taken such universal hold of the British mind, to the exclusion of all foreign interference and rivalry, as cricket. That it is peculiarly calculated to produce good feeling amongst classes widely separated by external circumstances—that it admits of participation by men of moderate means—that it induces a training or discipline of mind as well as of body, by the quickness, attention, obedience, and temperance it demands—but, above all, that it is peculiarly English in its manliness.

We put it before our readers in this light, because the endeavour that is now making to bring together the children of a distant soil with those of the mother country by means of this game.

Figure 6: Creating cricket as a hegemonic culture

The article begins with the process covered in the first two chapters of this thesis: the rapid spread of cricket out of London, the public schools, and universities – ‘the nurseries of the game’ – then north through Nottinghamshire and on to Scotland and Ireland. The article notes the importance of the grand matches, including Schools Week, where ‘half the aristocracy of England, of both sexes, will be assembled’. It puts the primacy of cricket ‘to the exclusion of all foreign interference and rivalry’. The

value of cricket as producing ‘good feeling amongst classes’ is noted, as are the physical and moral qualities – ‘peculiarly English in its manliness’ – the game promoted. Now cricket had the opportunity to ‘bring together the children of a distant soil with those of the mother country’.⁸²⁵

The article also gives an impression of the English view of Australia:

amongst the better classes, is to be found many an old patron of cricket, whose fate has taken him from the mother country ... The cricketing world of England, though thousands of leagues distant is no terra incognita, to them.

⁸²⁵ Interestingly, in conflict with the orthodox narrative of the tour, the reluctance of the professionals and Stephenson’s involvement is already mentioned. This is not to doubt Mallam did indeed approach, and was rejected by, Parr before reaching out to Stephenson, but to suggest that the outcomes were predetermined before Mallam arrived in England.

Finally, the author connects cricket with the grand programme of empire:

It is the principle, moreover, of our Government to encourage the independence of our colonies. As the young becomes stronger and more self-reliant, it not only deserts the parent nest, but sometimes entertains views and interests opposed to its earlier teaching. Personal predilection, individual amenities, social kindness, and participation of taste and pastime, may have helped in other quarters to soothe national animosities and prejudices of race; may have warded off, if not positive evil, at least some possible inconveniences. If, then, we can by interchange of courtesies, and by the cultivation of mutual good feeling and honesty of purpose, draw our colonies around us and make a favourable impression upon them, by an interchange of even such trifling civilities as this, we think it desirable that no stone should be left unturned to promote the match.

When the side arrived, they were mobbed by thousands of well-wishers at the docks. The crowd's numbers had grown so much by the time they arrived at Café de Paris, the Melbourne *Herald* proclaimed 'the Corinthians never gave a prouder ovation to the Athenians who had sailed across the Saronic gulf in the sacred ship for the purpose of competing in the games of the

might be arranged from the middle of December; and starting again about the middle or third week in February, with a moderately good passage, the second week in May would see them once more on their own ground. If, therefore, there be no insuperable objection of which

Eleven ought not to forget that in the colonies, amongst the better classes, is to be found many an old patron of cricket, whose fate has taken him from the mother country at an age when he was in its full enjoyment. Such men are not likely to have forgotten the professors of the game, and the names of Parr, Wadell, Lilly.

cricketing world of England, though thousands of leagues distant, is no unknown land, no terra incognita, to them; the welcome to the match will be a hearty one, and we believe it would be their interest and their duty to accept the invitation. It is the principle, moreover, of our Government to encourage the independence of our colonies. As the young becomes stronger and more self-reliant, it not only deserts the parent nest, but sometimes entertains views and interests opposed to its earlier teaching. Personal predilection, individual amenities, social kindness, and participation of taste and pastime, may have helped in other quarters to soothe national animosities and prejudices of race; may have warded off, if not positive evil, at least some possible inconveniences. If, then, we can by interchange of courtesies, and by the cultivation of mutual good feeling and honesty of purpose, draw our colonies around us and make a favourable impression upon them, by an interchange of even such trifling civilities as this, we think it desirable that no stone should be left unturned to promote the match. The offers

Figure 7: Cricket reinforcing the bond between mother country and colony

couple of crossed claymores? Above all, have not the All England Eleven arrived? Did not Messrs. SPIERS and POND meet them at Sandridge Pier on Tuesday morning, and give them, after their long voyage of sixteen thousand miles, a befittingly triumphal procession into the most cricket-loving city in the Southern Hemisphere? Why, in the palmiest days of their renowned and superb city, the Corinthians never gave a prouder ovation to the Athenians who had sailed across the Saronic Gulf in the sacred ship for the purpose of competing in the games of the Isthmus. mastering man it used to be among the Greeks during the celebration of their manly games. Everything and everybody must give place to the one supreme interest. The re-

Figure 8: The Australians were not immune to Classical elusions

Isthmus' (Figs. 8, 9 & 10).⁸²⁶ The first match was to take place on New Year's Day, 1862, and it is to the lunch on Day 4 that we now turn.

⁸²⁶ I originally sourced this quote from Harte's *A History of Australian Cricket*, p. 64. However, the quote is given there as 'There had been no welcome like it since the Athenians arrived in Corinth'. I find the original quote far more evocative. 'Popular Pastimes', *Herald*, 26 December 1861, 4; Andrew Messner, 'An Illustrated Essay upon Early Photography Relating to the All England Cricket Team's First Tour of Australia in 1861-62.', *Andrew Messner* (blog), 23 May 2018, <https://andrewmessner.net/2018/05/23/cricket-photography-sydney-1860s/>; Samuel Calvert, *The All-England Eleven: Arrival at the Cafe de Paris*, Engraving (Charles Frederick Somerton, 1862).

Arrival Redacted

Figure 9: Photograph of the arrival at Café de Paris (likely taken by William Davis) held at the Australian Sports Museum.

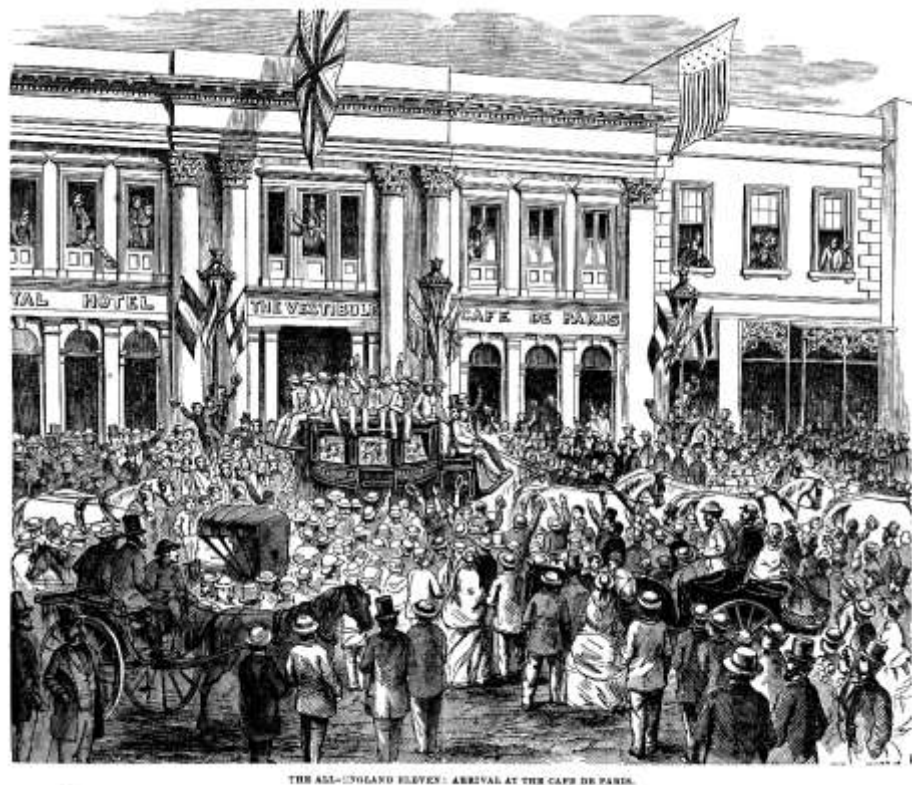


Figure 10: Crowds unlike any seen in Melbourne.

15 000 turned out on day 4 to see the conclusion of the match – although not that many paid their shilling to enter. The fence was constructed to separate the paying patrons, but for those unwilling to pay, the hill outside the fence and eucalypts surrounding the ground became makeshift grandstands (Fig. 11). The great heat of the day helped the businessmen who had paid up to £150 to have a concession stand to make their profits quenching the thirst, or settling the bets, of the fans. For additional entertainment, Spiers and Pond arranged for the colony's first ever hot air balloon to take off from the ground before play started. By the time the bell rang for lunch the match was being played for exhibition purposes only, the English XI had completely outclassed the Victorian XIIX.



Figure 11: During play. Note the crowds on the hill on the outside of the fence.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁷ Cuthbert (Ismir) Clarke, *The First Cricket Match Played by the All-England Eleven and Eighteen of Victoria. On the Melbourne Cricket Ground, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, & 4th, January 1862*, lithograph, 1862, H6653, State Library of Victoria Pictures Collection.

in 1861, he was starting out his life as a public man. Along with being a member of the Legislative Assembly, in 1863 he would take over the *Herald*, which he ran until 1868, when he took over the *Age*. This luncheon was his first great public appearance outside parliament.

There were also ‘several other members of the Legislature’, although I am unsure why they are not named. The choice of who is named suggests they were now seen as the important men in parliament – at least to the author.⁸²⁹ This was a bigger event than the Intercolonial matches; it is not surprising to see many of the same names building bonding and bridging capital were at both matches.

That the toasts to the Queen, her family, the government, and the military were covered off under ‘the usual loyal toasts’ suggests by now the sporting public of Melbourne were aware of what these entailed, and given they were performed according to the proper rules, did not need to be published verbatim. Other examples of the ‘loyal toasts’ are common in other cricket contexts, including the English match in Beechworth, and interestingly, by William Fairfax – in Queensland – at a dinner to celebrate the English cricketers’ visit to Australia, even though they would not visit the newly formed northern colony.⁸³⁰

The next speech, as dictated by *Speeches and Toasts*, was to the English, with a response from the captain. Ireland then took the floor. He reiterated the refrain of the value of cricket to all as a guide for life and referred to his side as ‘Young Australia’; another time cricket was ahead of

⁸²⁹ That this article appears in *Bell's* Melbourne leads me to believe that the author of this article would have been *Bell's* main cricket correspondent, William Hammersley.

⁸³⁰ ‘The All-England Eleven at Beechworth’, *Empire*, 16 January 1862, 2; ‘The Club Dinner’, *Courier*, 3 February 1862, 2.

governments in helping form a continent-wide national identity. He also used the ‘regulars v militia’ analogy we saw in New York, likely learnt from Lillywhite’s account of the tour, now widely available in Australia.⁸³¹ Likewise, Ireland hoped the visit from the English would be a learning experience, showing a tacit understanding of how cultural capital moved around the Empire through cricket.

As per *Speeches and Toasts*, it was then time to toast the home side, with a response from their captain George Marshall. As hosts, the committee of the Melbourne Cricket Club were toasted next, with special mention of Robert Bagot for his efforts in preparing the ground.⁸³² Responding, Bagot noted the close relationship of the organising committee with ‘those members of the government ...

indefatigable exertions for the successful carrying out of many arrangements of the greatest importance. Mr. R. C. Bagot in responding modestly refused to mention that it was to his individual exertions that any have done nothing. He begged to thank those members of the government who were present for their prompt attention in forwarding the views of the committee, and they were also indebted to Captain Standish, the Chief Commissioner of Police, for his great courtesy and assistance. A great compliment had been paid by the All England men as to the state of the ground. It was no matter now how much the committee had

Mr. H. S. Chapman, M.L.A., said that he was glad, from what had fallen from the last speaker, that even the Ministry had managed to make a little political capital out of the game of cricket. Mr. Marshall had spoken of the jovial meeting, but let them not forget those who had provided for them the means of entertainment during the four days' match, Messrs. Spiers and Pond. (Cheers) It had been said by some that it was no merit to those gentlemen to bring out the Eleven, as they would get profit by it. He hoped they would. They had ventured thousands on the speculation when the result was a matter of uncertainty six months ago, and he was glad that they had been successful in their speculation, as it would stimulate them to join in other enterprises. He hoped they would all join with him in drinking to the health of Messrs Spiers

Mr. Spiers could not find words with which to respond. They had done their best to carry out the affair in a creditable manner; and he hoped that they had succeeded.

Mr. Pond also expressed his gratitude to the committee for their co-operation in carrying out the arrangements; and but for that they would probably not have

Mr. Rusden, in proposing the health of the chairman, took an opportunity of passing some severe strictures on people who took it upon themselves to write accounts of the game in newspapers and abuse the cricketers, who knew as much about cricket as he did about the middle of Africa.

Figure 13: Reproducing political capital

present’, as well as acknowledging the help of the Chief Commissioner of Police (Fig. 13). This close relationship with the government was reinforced by Henry Chapman MLA, a supporter of

⁸³¹ ‘Advertising’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1860, 8; ‘Answers and Notices to Correspondents’, 2.

⁸³² Robert Bagot is best known as a long serving secretary of the Victorian Racing Club, however, his attendance at the luncheon would have been due to his position as a member of the Melbourne Cricket Club. His most notable achievements, however, are perhaps his development of sporting facilities. He was responsible for the ground works and drainage at the Melbourne Cricket Ground, Richmond Cricket Ground, and Flemington racecourse. ‘The Melbourne Cricket Club’, *Argus*, 7 September 1863, 5; ‘Richmond Cricket Club’, *Argus*, 24 September 1863, 7; ‘Obituary - Robert Cooper Bagot’, *Australasian*, 16 April 1881, 9.

O'Shanassy.⁸³³ Here the understanding of capital reproduction is explicit in Chapman's statement: 'even the ministry had managed to make a little political capital out of the game of cricket'. The cricket field was indeed a *field* for politics

The other hosts – Spiers and Pond – were next to respond, although they offered little more than thanks to the players and those who arrange things. After one final toast from Mr Rusden (a member of the match committee) to the health of the Chairman, speaker Francis Murphy, Murphy thanked those assembled and called an end to the lunch, sending the well lubricated cricketers back out into the 4pm heat to finish off the play.

Although few players were mentioned by name, of note in attendance for the English side was William Caffyn. Along with Stephenson from the 1859 tour, Caffyn was the only other to make the trip to Australia. Caffyn also returned to Australia on the next English tour in 1863-64, remaining behind as coach of the Melbourne Cricket Club, before moving to Sydney and becoming involved in the Albert Club. Also playing for the English was Charles Lawrence, who we met playing against Tom Wills in Ireland. Lawrence remained in Australia, moving to Sydney, where he became Australia's first professional cricket coach, also at the Albert Club. He captained New South Wales and took over from Tom Wills in managing the Indigenous team that toured England in 1868.

There were two notable exclusions from the Victorian side. First, Tom Wills was currently in Queensland. He had followed his father to help establish 'Cullin-la-ringo', an expansive 260 square kilometre sheep station in Central Queensland. One of the Wills' neighbours, Jesse Gregson,

⁸³³ Chapman was soon to leave parliament for a seat on the bench. 'Mr. Chapman and Mr. Brooke', *Argus*, 8 January 1861, 7.

erroneously accused some of the local Gayiri people of stealing cattle, and had murdered a Gayiri man as punishment. The following revenge attack by the Gayiri – mistakenly focussed on the Wills' station – killed 19 of the 25 colonists, including Horatio. Fortunately for Tom, he had yet to arrive on-site. In retaliation, the colonists sent out a vigilante party who killed at least 100 and as many as 370 people, leading to the near extinction of the Gayiri.⁸³⁴

The second was William Hammersley, who retired from cricket the previous year.

Test Match Cricket

As mentioned above, it is likely Hammersley who was the one recording details of this lunch. Indeed, it is on this tour the term 'test match' was coined (Fig. 14).⁸³⁵ It



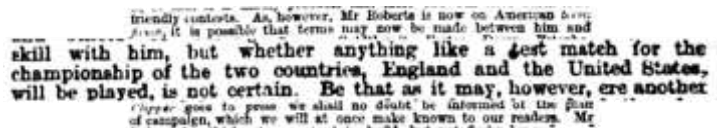
Figure 14: Origin of the term 'Test Match'

was used in an article in the *Sydney Empire* to describe a practice match for the NSW intercolonial

⁸³⁴ Whether Tom was involved in the hostilities is of debate. He made no mention of it during his lifetime, however, an anonymous letter published in the *Chicago Tribune* on 27 January 1895 – fifteen years after Tom's death – has him boasting of participating in the massacre. It includes enough intimate details to make it probable the anonymous source heard the story directly from Tom. As with many reprisal attacks on Indigenous people the exact numbers are difficult to ascertain. The lowest figure of 30 provided by the website *Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia, 1788-1930* apparently includes just the initial skirmish and is undermined by contemporary accounts claiming as many as 100, as cited in Reid. The most cited figure of 370 comes from *Conspiracy of Silence* by Bottoms and Evans. Russell Jackson, 'Experts Add Weight to Implication of Sporting Hero Tom Wills in Mass Murder of Indigenous People', *ABC News*, 18 September 2021, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-09-19/experts-add-weight-to-discovery-tom-wills-indigenous-massacre/100469428>; 'Centre For 21st Century Humanities', *Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia, 1788-1930*, accessed 19 November 2022, <https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=660>; Gordon Reid, 'From Hornet Bank to Cullin-La-Ringo', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 11, no. 2 (1981): 75; Timothy Bottoms and Raymond Evans, *Conspiracy of Silence: Queensland's Frontier Killing Times* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2014), 53.

⁸³⁵ Rowland Bowen, *Cricket: A History of Its Growth and Development throughout the World; Introduction by C. L. R. James* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), 99.

team due to visit Melbourne while the English tour was on. It is clear the article was written by someone at the ground: 'this match, as it has been looked on as a kind of test match'.⁸³⁶ The context of what we have seen from the lunch and dinner speeches, moreover, suggests the origin of the phrase.⁸³⁷



The term 'test match' reveals the transfer of cultural capital – this

Figure 15: Test match arrives in the English press via America

time in the opposite direction. Coined in Australia in early 1862, 'test match' first appears in English newspapers only in 1866 via the *New York Clipper* in an article about English billiards player John Roberts, where it again refers to testing two nations against each other: 'but whether anything like a test match for the championship of the two countries, England and the United states, will be played is not certain' (Fig. 15).⁸³⁸ The first references in a specifically English sporting context came in August 1868: twice used in reference to rowing, and both in the *Newcastle Journal*.⁸³⁹ Yet, the first usage in the *Newcastle Journal* article also suggests the term was already

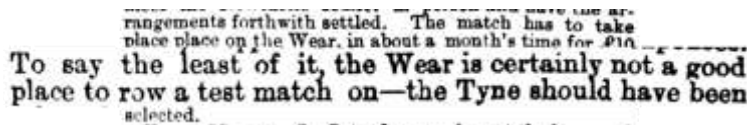


Figure 16: Test match rowing

common knowledge: 'To say the least of it, the Wear is certainly not a good place to row a test match on' (Fig. 16).

⁸³⁶ The term would not take on an official designation we would recognise today until the 1890s, although matches back to 1877 would be granted Test match status retrospectively. 'Cricket', *Empire*, 31 December 1861, 5.

⁸³⁷ As the history of the phrase 'test match' involved much greater detail than initially anticipated, further detail on the origin and spread of the phrase 'test match' will be published in the future. For the purposes of this thesis it is just necessary to get a sense of the spread of the phrase, and that cultural capital spread both ways.

⁸³⁸ 'Mr J. Roberts in America', *The Sportsman*, 13 February 1866, 6.

⁸³⁹ 'Aquatics', *Newcastle Journal*, 3 August 1868, 3; 'Proposed Challenge to the Champion Four', *Newcastle Journal*, 31 August 1868, 3.

The first use in a cricketing context in England again comes from America: a reprint from *Porter's Spirit of the Times* (Fig. 17).⁸⁴⁰ It appears in an article reporting on the All England Eleven tour of North America in 1868, however, it was not referring to the international match, but a local 'first class' match between two elevens.⁸⁴¹ This was the first reference of a test match being a 'test' of two equal sides. During all of this time, there was no further mention of 'test match' in Australia

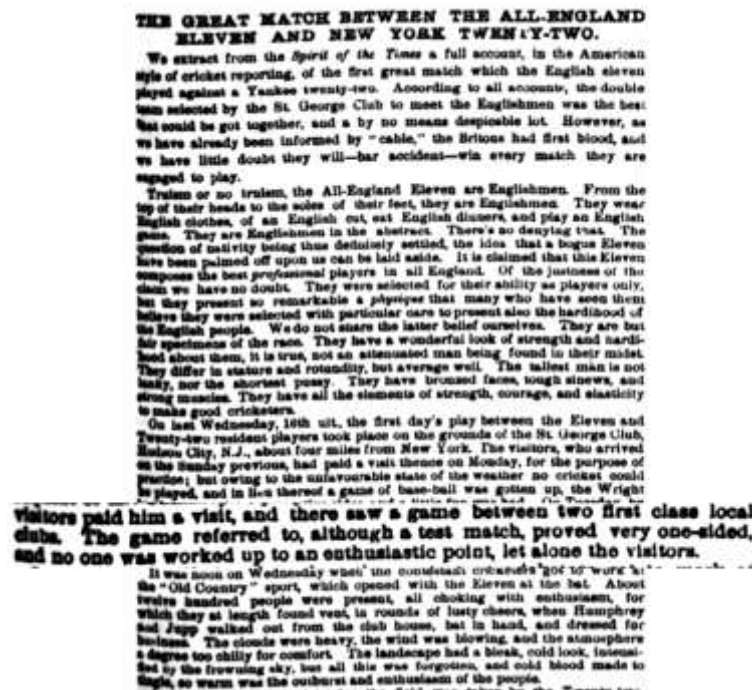


Figure 17: Test match cricket also comes to the English press via America

once the English Eleven left in 1862.

Although the links are not as clear cut as those laid out for the phrase 'cricketer's justice', it is easy to imagine the provenance of the phrase.

Coined by Hammersley, 'test match' was taken back to

England with the English Eleven, where it entered the vernacular amongst English sporting enthusiasts. One can conceive it arriving in America with an English sportsman, gaining popularity amongst sports fans with connections to England. The casual use in the report on rowing suggests it had become part of a common vernacular by 1864, while its use alongside the All England Eleven in America in 1868 shows further development towards the term as we understand it today.

⁸⁴⁰ 'The Great Match Between The All-England Eleven And New York Twenty-Two', *Sporting Gazette*, 3 October 1868, 13.

⁸⁴¹ Use of the term 'first class' is interesting, as it had no formal definition until 1894, and at this stage was used interchangeable with the terms 'great' or 'grand' cricket match.

This periphery-to-centre translation of the meaning of ‘test’ reinforces points made in Chapter 4, that the movement of cultural capital was *already* bi-directional between Australia and England. Previous scholarship on this, most notably Jared van Duinen’s *The British World and an Australian National Identity* assumes this started to begin with cricket when the 1877 Australians went ‘home’.⁸⁴² Likewise, Adair et al. place the beginning of the transfer back to England as occurring in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, and connect it specifically with the physicality and masculinity of the cricket and rugby tours of the 1870s and 1880s.⁸⁴³ However, as noted by Peter Hoffenberg, this bi-directional transfer was already taking place in the form of exhibitions such as the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations*. Such exhibitions ‘created early nationalist intellectual communities and public cultures, as well as the cultural sinews of the British Empire’.⁸⁴⁴

Conclusion

In conclusion, the 1861-62 tour is a perfect example of the process of how cricket was used as a habitus of cultural and social capital production and reproduction across the Empire of Queen Victoria in the 1850s. Through its proximity to power, in this case to the politics of Victoria in 1862, cricket was able to play a central role deepening the culture of the hegemony, through traditions it upheld, values it promoted, and people it brought together. Although separated by oceans, cricketers across the Empire shared in ‘the gentleman’s game’ even as they sought to re-define ‘gentleman’. *Bonhomie* reconstrued the game away from the rigid class-based, and often effete

⁸⁴² van Duinen, *The British World and an Australian National Identity*, 25.

⁸⁴³ Daryl Adair, John Nauright, and Murray Phillips, ‘Playing Fields through to Battle Fields: The Development of Australian Sporting Manhood in Its Imperial Context, c. 1850–1918’, *Journal of Australian Studies* 22, no. 56 (January 1998): 51–67.

⁸⁴⁴ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (University of California Press, 2001), 34.

designations of the early part of the nineteenth century, towards the morals and behaviour of 'Muscular Christianity', preparing British men to take on the challenges of the colonising mission and future imperialist wars.

Conclusion

As shown in this thesis, cricket in the Empire of Queen Victoria was a vehicle for the reproduction and transfer of social, cultural, and economic capital. This occurred by defining and normalising the *fields* and *habitus* of the hegemonic culture (Chapter 1). This process could be embodied in a person – through both individuals like Parr, Wisden, or Wills (Chapters 2 and 3) – as well as through groups – the Marylebone or Melbourne Cricket Clubs (Chapters 1 and 4). The hegemonic culture could be reproduced through these people and groups (Chapters 4 and 5), as well as through the media in match reports and tour diaries (Chapters 3 and 6). We have seen how the phrase ‘cricketer’s justice’ – an example of cultural capital – moved through the Empire, transferred from cricketer to cricketer, via personal interactions and media reports (Chapter 6). Finally, all of these were brought together in Chapter 7 to highlight that they were not discrete processes, but were occurring simultaneously.

Although the main topic of analysis has been using the language of Pierre Bourdieu’s capital reproduction, the methodology has been phenomenological. We have gone *to the things themselves* – most clearly through the inclusion of primary sources and images in a way that is intended to bring the reader closer to the artefacts of history. However, the key phenomenological elements – and what makes it distinct from the work of Bourdieu – has been the recognition that the things themselves are not only the objects of history, but also the subjects, and that these subject-objects are always in a dance of mutual co-creation. Through incorporating methods of prosopography and thick description I have endeavoured to provide the reader with the *deep context* necessary to make historical inferences. This frees historians from the prison of reconstructionism where absence of evidence suggests evidence of absence, and allows them to use the knowledge they have gained through becoming experts in their subject. Perhaps most importantly, this opens the space for non-documentary history to give voice to the subalterns of

the past; those whose voices were silenced in their own time, or have had their voices silenced by the mythmaking of national histories. If 'history is written by the winners' then it is incumbent on historians to look past the writings of the past, and use their knowledge of the hidden structures of society to find ways to bring the voices of the oppressed to the fore.

To conclude this thesis, I would like to offer one final speculation, not involving cricket, but involving one of the main characters of this text – Tom Wills – and the knowledge we have gained about him to weigh in on one of the most disputed debates of recent Australian sport history: *Marngrook* and the origins of Australian Rules Football.

Marngrook and Australian Rules Football

Much is made in the histories of Tom Wills about the impact his time at Rugby had on his development into the man who would wield this influence.⁸⁴⁵ It is my firm belief, that both his time at Rugby *and* his time spent playing with Jardwadjali children at Mount William, influenced Wills in his creation of Australian Rules football. Much of the surrounding debate cites a lack of documentary evidence in Wills' own hand that the game of *Marngrook* was an inspiration.⁸⁴⁶ However, this reading wilfully ignores the proximity Wills had to people whom we do have documentary evidence played the game, or disputes the documentary evidence itself.

⁸⁴⁵ de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport*, 43; Ruddell, 'The Marn-Grook Story', 35; Hay, 'Tom Wills – A Bit of Care Is Necessary'.

⁸⁴⁶ de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport*, 323.

The counter-arguments made by Hay, de Moore, Hibbins, and others – that Australian Rules football has no direct relationship to *Marngrook* – have convincing elements, but I believe should be seen as additive to our other understanding, not replacing it.⁸⁴⁷ Hibbins' argument that Wills was not as influential to the development of football in Victoria is rather moot as to whether *Marngrook* had an influence on Wills. Hay has argued that Wills was an unreliable narrator prone to self-embellishment for personal reasons, a justifiable conclusion. However, there are many reasonable answers as to why Wills would omit any Indigenous influence from his own telling – Hay himself is very cognisant of the plight of Indigenous people in Victoria nineteenth century. Wills was certainly not ignorant to the reviled feelings towards Indigenous people by many colonists, especially those in the cultural élite to which he spent his life trying to claim legitimacy. Then there is his disputed participation in the retribution against the Gayiri, something he did not write about in his own lifetime. De Moore writes: '[t]he imprint of John Lillywhite and Rugby School was stamped upon Tom until the day he died', using this as evidence that the lack of such recollections of an Indigenous influence means Indigenous influence did not exist.⁸⁴⁸ As this thesis has made clear, the decision of which groups we choose to promote or deny connections to, is not necessarily based on the internal power of those connections.

The conclusion that a negation of evidence is evidence of negation, must come after asking if there are other reasons the documentary evidence may not exist. This is not to question the motives of any of these historians, most of whom seem mostly interested in celebrating *Marngrook* in its own right, and object to the mythologising of the history by the Australian Football League.⁸⁴⁹ These

⁸⁴⁷ Ruddell, 'The Marngrook Story', 29–32.

⁸⁴⁸ de Moore, *Tom Wills: First Wild Man of Australian Sport*, 30.

⁸⁴⁹ Hibbins, the reconstructionist, calls it 'A Seductive Myth', and considers the debate closed. Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd provide an insightful counterpoint highlighting the limits of a purely reconstructionist telling of the original of Australian Football. Gillian Hibbins, 'Myth and History in Australian Rules Football', *Sporting Traditions* 25, no. 2 (2008): 50; Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd, 'Duelling Paradigms: Australian Aborigines, Marn-Grook and Football Histories', *Sport in Society* 15, no. 7 (1 September 2012): 975–86.

are arguments I am ultimately sympathetic to. Others, such as Trevor Ruddell's belief that following Wills' time with the Jardwadjali, 'it is unlikely Wills shifted his cultural identity at all' is coming from a place of outright refusal to make historical deductions from other than documentary evidence.⁸⁵⁰ However, ultimately I think Phillips and Osmond's summary of the debate – referring especially to Ruddell's reading of Barry Judd, is most valid:

Writing about the origins of Australian football as an exclusive product of colonial settler initiation represents a narrow, traditional, and limited understanding of history making. It is based on a scientific view of history as a forensic examination of empirical evidence, in this case exclusively from documentary sources, that is objectively assessed by impartial historians, who then produce author-evacuated texts of the past-as-it-was for all to appreciate ... it fails to consider indigenous culture, traditions, and knowledge systems. It does not take into account the fact that Aboriginal people did not use written language, and, therefore, the lack of a documentary archive positions their views, beliefs, and contributions out of sight for traditional, empirical historians.⁸⁵¹

It is worth re-emphasising that I am positing the claim 'it is likely that Wills was influenced', against the claim 'it is certain he was not'. I am making a claim of grey – or to use the terminology of my foreword, colour – against claims of black and white. This highlights the usefulness of this phenomenological approach. That I am using this proximity to infer the influence of *Marngrook* is not a statement of certainty, just an evaluation based on the balance of the facts. Rather than suggest an *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, I posit that perhaps historians need more methodological tools to see evidence that is non-documentary. This is the gap for phenomenology.

⁸⁵⁰ Trevor Ruddell, 'On the Boundary Line: Colonial Identity in Football', *Sporting Traditions* 27, no. 1 (May 2010): 130.

⁸⁵¹ Phillips and Osmond, 'Australian Indigenous Sport Historiography: A Review', 197. Ruddell, 'The Marngrook Story'; Barry Judd, 'The Question of Indigenous Origins and the Unlevel Playing Field: Outside the Boundary of the Dominant Paradigm', *Sport in Society* 15, no. 7 (September 2012): 1026–33.

As I paraphrased Ahmed in the theoretical framework: ‘Phenomenology asks us to be aware of the ‘what’ that is ‘around’ – the *orientation*. I am asking us to consider the orientation of Tom Wills; his *corporal schema thrown-into-the-world*, being modified by Fanon’s historical-racial schema. The fundamental nature of this *thrownness* is that it is most often something that is below the level of our conscious experience. This seriously complicates the idea that we can gain pure insight into the motivations of a historical actor through their own documentary evidence: how are we to determine someone’s motivations from their own words if their motivations are not explicit and conscious to them? Once again I stress, this is not to make claims of certainty, but to counter-argue such claims.

What Phillips and Osmond are highlighting is the orientation of the historian. If our epistemological construct is such that it only allows us to consider contemporary documentary evidence, then we blind ourselves to a much richer historical world. This is not to suggest that all evidence is equal – indeed, there must be a hierarchy – it is to push back on claims of objective certainty, of history as a science.

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Appendix

The following is a list of some of the more notable of William Hammersley's Cambridge class.

Archaeologists: Augustus Franks and Thomas Brooks

Nursing: Henry Bonham Carter of the Bonham Carter family which includes Florence Nightingale and Helena Bonham Carter.

Mountaineering: Inc. Fenton Hort, but there is at least one other.

Theologians: Inc. George Tottenham, a member of the Ponsoby family.

Bureaucrats: Inc. Charles Barrington future private sec to Palmerston and Russell, Lord Montagu, mentioned in previous chapters,

Those who make their names in the colonies:

Henry Bryant – Son of Sir Jeremiah B. at Calcutta, future privy council

Charles Barrington – grandson of Viscount Barrington, Private Sec to Palmerston and Russell

Henry Bonham Carter – call to bar, cousin of Florence Nightingale, founder of metro nursing, Bonham Carter Family, has it's own wiki page

Sir John Barpur Crewe Bart. – already sir when he enters school, high sheriff of Derbyshire

Augustus Franks - Archaeologist, eventually knighted, son of an army captain

David Fenn – born in India, priest, lots of missionary work in India

Nobility:

George Grey – Lord Grey of Groby,

William Hardman – called to bar, founder Primrose League, future knight

Fenton Hort – priest theologian, revised the New Testament in 1870 (with others), founder alpine club

Charles Locock – son of Queen Victoria's doctor (who gets a baronetcy to which Charles succeeds)

Lord Montagu – 2nd son of Duke of Manchester, privy council, author, politician

The Hon. William Scarlett – son of 2nd Baron Abinger, army, becomes baron in 1861

Henry Mackenzie – eldest son of Lord Mackenzie, adm to bar

Sir Charles Cunliffe Smith – only son of Sir Charles Joshua 2nd Bart – became baron in 1831, NOB

Edward Sullivan – son of Bart. JP, becomes 5th Bart. NOB

George Tottenham – 10th son of the rt rev lord Ponsonby (i.e. member of the Ponsobys), priest, canon of St Pats Dublin, Chaolian at Turin, NOB

Arthur Walsh – eldest son of baron, grandson of earl, army, MP, becomes baron in 1881.

Edward Ward – future 2th baron Bangor

“Sirs”: Sir John Barpur Crewe and Sir Charles Cunless Smith

William Waddington – Became French, member of the national assembly and senator, prime minister

Alfred Walker – of the walkers of southgate

John Roget – call to bar, son of the author of Roget’s Thesaurus