

**From Barclay to Brickett:  
Coaching Practices and  
Coaching Lives in Nineteenth  
and Early Twentieth Century  
England.**

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**Abstract**

Training and the role of the coach became central to sporting activities during the nineteenth century with the term "coach" appearing in rowing and cricket reports from the 1840s. As in other social processes, the complexity of training evolved with constant reference to the past and coaches continued to depend on oral traditions linked to personal experience, their ability to innovate and apply entrepreneurial skills, and a body of craft knowledge operating within communities of practice. As the nature of British society changed, coaching communities came under threat especially from the structural restrictions imposed by nineteenth century amateur regulators who excluded professional pedagogues from emergent governing bodies. Led by the medical establishment, traditional coaching skills and knowledge were publicly discredited by men who embraced "scientific" and "moderate" approaches to training. A swimming case study analyses how this policy of separation through enforcement led to a decline in English competitiveness internationally as amateur administrators discouraged technical developments. Swimming also provides a useful medium for exploring how a variation in coaching biographies, in this case of Professors Frederick Beckwith and Walter Brickett, could result from the power of sporting bodies to structurally determine the nature of the coaching environment. However, the extent of the impact of this amateur professional dichotomy needs to be viewed as something other than a sudden fault in the timeline of coaching. Faced with deskilling, with structural constraints, and with the hostile values of amateurism, some professional coaches utilised their entrepreneurial skills to make a living from their knowledge and expertise, while others found ways to work within, and alongside, the dominant amateur structures. The craftsmanship, entrepreneurship, and innovations of all these men may have been diluted but the late nineteenth century amateur hegemony in sport did not immediately lead to the extinction of professional coaching cultures.

**Keywords:** Frederick Beckwith; Coaching; Training; Walter Brickett; Communities of Practice; Swimming.

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# **From Barclay to Brickett: Coaching Practices and Coaching Lives in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England.**

## **Introduction.**

1-5	<i>Coaching Concerns</i>
5-9	<i>A Coaching Vocabulary</i>
9-15	<i>The Coaching Context</i>
16-19	<i>Coaching Practice – Emerging Themes</i>

## **Chapter 1. A Changing Environment: Amateur Ethos and Coaching Practice.**

20-22	<i>The Late Victorian Middle Classes</i>
23-29	<i>The Middle-Classes and Sport</i>
30-36	<i>Amateur Attitudes to Professionals</i>
36-38	<i>Amateur Attitudes to Professional Coaches</i>
38-44	<i>Regulating Coaches</i>
44-51	<i>Walter Brickett: A Respectable Professor</i>

## **Chapter 2. Coaching Communities and “Know-how”.**

53-67	<i>Coaching at Home and Abroad</i>
67-74	<i>Coaching as Craft</i>
74-78	<i>Literacy</i>
78-80	<i>Tacit Knowledge</i>
80-81	<i>Structural Influences</i>

## **Chapter 3. Coaching Methods (I) “Science”, “Pluck”, and “Wind”.**

82-85	<i>“Science” and Victorian Sport</i>
85-89	<i>Will and Pluck</i>
89-91	<i>Wind</i>
91-95	<i>Traditional Training Methods</i>
95-103	<i>Amateur Attitudes</i>
103-106	<i>Continuity and Variety</i>
106-109	<i>Staleness</i>
109-110	<i>Massage</i>
111-112	<i>Coaching Credibility</i>

## **Chapter 4. Coaching Methods (II) Steaks, Stout, and Strychnine.**

113-116	<i>Steaks</i>
116-118	<i>Medical criticism</i>
118-119	<i>Vegetarian Alternatives</i>
119-122	<i>Coaching Advice</i>
122-126	<i>Stout</i>
126-130	<i>Strychnine and Other Stimulants</i>
130-135	<i>Measuring the Man</i>
135-138	<i>Mending the Man</i>
138-141	<i>Craft and Continuity</i>

## **Chapter 5. A Wonderfully Fast Stroke But...**

142-145	<i>The Organisation and Regulation of Competitive Swimming</i>
145-147	<i>The Amateur Swimmer</i>
147-152	<i>Enforcing Amateurism</i>
152-163	<i>"Professors", Coaches, and Teachers</i>
163-167	<i>Physical Training and Conditioning</i>
167-168	<i>Competition Advice</i>
168-173	<i>Technique</i>
173-176	<i>British International Swimming Performance</i>
176-179	<i>Exclusion and Decline</i>

## **Chapter 6. The Beckwith "Frogs" – A Nineteenth Century Coaching Life.**

180-183	<i>The Swimming Context</i>
183	<i>Lambeth</i>
184-186	<i>Lambeth Baths</i>
186-194	<i>Frederick Beckwith</i>
195-197	<i>Willie and Charles</i>
197-202	<i>Coach and Entrepreneur</i>
202-205	<i>The "Aq"</i>
205-213	<i>Agnes Beckwith</i>
213-214	<i>Competitive Events</i>
214-219	<i>Professional Swimming Association</i>
219-221	<i>Sport and Entertainment</i>
221-225	<i>Honouring Beckwith</i>

## **Coaching Lives: Continuity and Change.**

226-229	<i>Coaching Lives</i>
229-232	<i>Communities, Craft, Innovation, and Experience</i>
232-235	<i>Amateurism and Structural Exclusion</i>
235-239	<i>Home and Abroad</i>
239-240	<i>Concluding Comments</i>

## **Bibliography.**

241-243	<i>Primary Sources</i>
243-247	<i>Contemporary Texts</i>
247-250	<i>Secondary Sources – Texts</i>
250-258	<i>Secondary Sources – Journal Papers and Magazine Articles</i>
258	<i>Conference Papers and Other Resources</i>
259	<i>Internet Resources</i>

## Introduction

The urge to give advice is one of the strongest temptations to which mankind is exposed, and the temptation is rarely resisted. Everyone is only too willing to give it. It is remarkable then that advice is so often paid for.<sup>1</sup>

During the summer of 2005, coaching in Britain became a focus of attention as the nation's athletes demonstrated their inability to compete internationally in a variety of individual sports. The World Swimming Championships in Montreal saw the British team return with just three bronze medals, British tennis players failed again at Wimbledon, there was another American win in the British Open Golf Championship, and the World Athletics Championships resulted in a failure to sustain even the isolated successes achieved at previous events. Subsequent results at the 2006 European Championships and the 2007 World Championships exacerbated apprehension about prospects for the Beijing Olympics. Athletics appeared to be at its lowest ebb since its regulation during the latter stages of the nineteenth century and a normally nationalistic media lapsed into recrimination and debate over the standard of coaching, concluding that foreign coaches should be imported as a panacea for the nation's sporting ills.<sup>2</sup>

Concerns about coaching standards were nothing new. There was pessimism about the country's readiness to compete before the 1948 Olympics and anxiety about the diminishing international standing of British sport. While Britain had won all five boxing categories in 1908, this had been in "spacious days when we were an acknowledged power in world sport". In golf and tennis, commentators consistently drew comparisons with America, whose golfers had "become pre-eminent by making a modern study of the game" and the Lawn Tennis Association was urged to visit "American states to see how they have overcome their difficulties."<sup>3</sup> Previews of the Olympic rowing events concluded that British rowers would struggle to be competitive. The European Championships had been won by Italy, "a country defeated in war, yet able to finance a fine national crew," while Britain, "the country which saved the world", was short of boats and money and could provide "only two mediocre crews...trained on a starvation diet." The solution was to put Jack

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<sup>1</sup> Harris, H. A. (1964). *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*; See for example Anita Lonsborough 28 July 2005 p. S4 and 1 August 2005 p. S11 for swimming and Tom Knight 1 August 2005 p. S7 and 8 August 2005 p. S6 for athletics; See also Kate Hoey, Sports Pages, 26 September 2007 for analysis of 2007 World Championships.

<sup>3</sup> See Rivers, J. (Ed.) (1948). *The Sports Book: Britain's Prospects in the Olympic Games and in Sport Generally*, London: Macdonald and Co. particularly Whiting, G. on Boxing pp. 32-33, Cousins, G. on Golf pp. 185-201, and Doust, S. on Lawn Tennis pp. 216-231.

Beresford in charge with power to co-opt suitable coaches.<sup>4</sup> Another author argued that a "College for Coaches" should be established to address the generic standards of coaching and the support given to coaches. Britain needed "an abundance of first-class coaches" and a College of Sport would offer three year courses covering, amongst other topics, first aid, psychology, massage, and the "modern methods of coaching".<sup>5</sup> However, Oxbridge members of the Achilles Club, the traditional backbone of international athletics teams, remained somewhat ambivalent about the coaching role, despite many of them being Honorary Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) coaches. Although they agreed that coaches were necessary in technical events it was also argued that runners could "acquire a good technique without ever being coached", and that the rigid application of a coaching system could "ruin a man of great natural gifts."<sup>6</sup>

These tensions mirrored similar debates emanating from failures at Stockholm in 1912, at a time when elite sports were predominantly class-orientated activities engaged in by amateurs who, ostensibly, eschewed both coaching and serious training. The influence of amateur values in sport has engendered considerable academic analysis but there has been no serious reflection on their impact on coaching, even though one of the first steps undertaken by amateur regulators was to exclude professional pedagogues from emergent governing bodies. This thesis explores the nature of coaching lives and coaching practice in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during which time this amateur model of exclusion was imposed at home and abroad. The focus is on individual sports, primarily because coaching and training practices in the early nineteenth century specifically related to pedestrianism, prizefighting, rowing, and swimming, and it is through these activities that continuity and change can be identified. While Halladay, Dodd, and Wigglesworth, for rowing, Lovesey, Radford, and Hadgraft, for pedestrianism, and Mewett and Park, more generically, have touched on aspects of the coaching role there has been no systematic consideration of coaches and coaching practices in England during this period.<sup>7</sup> In writing on swimming, Terret, Parker, Hayes, Keil

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<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, 2 January 1947 p. 8; Cleaver, H. (1948). Rowing, In Rivers, J. (Ed.) (1948). *The Sports Book: Britain's Prospects in the Olympic Games and in Sport Generally*, London: Macdonald and Co. pp. 89-101.

<sup>5</sup> Trembath, H. (1947). *British Sport*, London: Skelton Robinson British Yearbooks pp. 17-18.

<sup>6</sup> Meyer, H. E. (Ed.) (1955). *Athletics*, London: J. M. Dent and Sons pp. 3-4, 293.

<sup>7</sup> See Dodd, C. (1992). *The Story of World Rowing*, London: Stanley Paul and Co.; Halladay, E. (1990). *Rowing in England: A Social History-The Amateur Debate*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Wigglesworth, N. (1992). *The Social History of English Rowing*, London: Cass; Lovesey, P. (1979). *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletics Association*, Enfield: Guinness Superlatives; Radford, P. (2001). *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London: Headline; Hadgraft R. (2004).

and Wix, and Love, consider only briefly the lives and practices of its professors,<sup>8</sup> even though their exclusion had long-term consequences for the sport, and the later chapters of this work redress this issue. Swimming also provides a useful mechanism for the exploration of coaching biographies to uncover the diversity of coaching lives and circumstances.

The social context of sport and the broader interactions between amateur and professional have been extensively studied. However, even in seminal texts by Mason, Holt, and Lowerson, observations on coaching lives, or practices, normally occur as a footnote or an aside, and the breadth of material presented in this thesis reflects attempts to access and integrate such disparate coaching references.<sup>9</sup> Allison described social historians as being "rooted in a very British, archive-oriented empiricism which regards theory and methodology with suspicion...they regard detail as the key to a high level of understanding and admire the writer who can tell a detailed story well."<sup>10</sup> This thesis follows this empirical, narrative tradition in presenting relevant archival material from both the AAA and the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) but a "detailed story" of coaching could never be gleaned solely from the records of organisations whose core ideology was antagonistic to both coaches and training. While committee minutes have been

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*The Little Wonder: The Untold Story of Alfred Shrubbs, World Champion Runner*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books; Hadgraft R. (2006). *Beer and Brine: The Making of Walter George, Athletics' First Superstar*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books; Mewett, P. G. (2002). From Horses to Humans: Species Crossovers in the Origin of Modern Sports Training, *Sport History Review* 33 pp. 95-120; Park, R. J. (1997). High-Protein Diets, "Damaged Hearts," and Rowing Men: Antecedents of Modern Sports Medicine and Exercise Science, 1867-1928, In Holloszy, J. O. (Ed.) *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews* 25 Baltimore, MD. London: Williams and Wilkins pp. 137-169; Park, R. J. (1992). Athletes and their Training in Britain and America, 1800-1914, In Berryman, J. W. and Park, R. J. (Eds.) (1992). *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press pp. 57-107.

<sup>8</sup> Terret, T. (1995). Professional Swimming in England before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1) pp. 18-32; Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878, *The Sports Historian* 21 pp. 58-72; Hayes, W. (2002). The Professional Swimmer, *The Sports Historian* 22 (2) pp. 119-148; Keil, I. and Wix, D. (1996). *In the Swim: The Amateur Swimming Association from 1869 to 1994*, Loughborough: Swimming Times; Love, C. (2007). Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) pp. 603-619.

<sup>9</sup> Mason, T. (Ed.) (1989). *Sport in Britain: A Social History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Holt, R. (1992). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon; Holt, R. (Ed.) (1990). *Sport and the Working Class in Modern England*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Lowerson, J. (1993). *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914*, Manchester University Press. Tony Mason's edited volume has thirty-nine references to "coaching" in the index but other texts ignore the subject area in their indexes.

<sup>10</sup> Allison, L. (1998). Sport and Civil Society, *Political Studies* XLVI pp. 709-726. For further commentary on the use of archives see Booth, D. (2006). Sites of Truth or Metaphors of Power? Refiguring the Archive, *Sport in History* 26 (1) pp. 91-109; Johnes, M. (2007). Archives, Truths and the Historian at Work: A Reply to Douglas Booth's "Refiguring the Archive", *Sport in History* 27 (1) pp. 127-135.



useful in triangulating and detailing the structural and regulatory initiatives that amateur administrators employed to exclude professionals, this work considers coaching practice by focussing primarily on newspapers, posters, notices, music hall programmes, and, most importantly, contemporary texts.<sup>11</sup> For details of coaching lives, census records from 1841 to 1901 and the General Records Office (GRO) Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, supplemented by access to family records, as in the case of swimming professor Walter Brickett, have been utilised to identify and track individual engagement with sports.<sup>12</sup> The synthesis of this material provides not only a generic picture of coaching but also facilitates a more detailed consideration of the intersection between teaching, coaching, and entrepreneurial activities, as in the biography of Frederick Beckwith. Overall, the sources employed offer a direct expression of coaching lives and traditions, and illuminate the broader concepts of coaching practice, such as the development and extension of networks. The author draws occasionally on contemporary social theory, as in the exploration of communities of practice, but coaching biographies have not adopted a fully Bordieauian approach, as suggested by Bale, and thus, in that sense, the thesis represents a starting point for the study of English coaching during this period.<sup>13</sup>

It has to be recognised that this is essentially the history of a male endeavour, even though some females taught gender appropriate activities such as swimming and golf. Fanny Easton was working as a *swimming mistress* between 1881 and 1901, Eleanor Mary Classey (Clarrey) was a *professional swimming teacher* in Marylebone in the same period, and the Humphrey sisters, Charlotte and Jane, spent all their working lives as *swimming teachers* in London.<sup>14</sup> Some early women golf professionals, like Mrs Cordon Robertson at Prince's Ladies club, Mitcham, and

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<sup>11</sup> Polley, M. (2007). *Sports History: A Practical Guide*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan p. 154 summarises a primary source as a "piece of evidence that was created at the time the historian is studying". Although contemporary published texts are sometimes regarded as secondary sources they are a key resource for understanding coaching practices.

<sup>12</sup> In all references to census data the occupations given by the census are shown as italics in the text. The 1841 census is referenced as year (piece/book/folio/page). Census references from 1851 to 1901 are shown as year (piece/folio/page). GRO Birth, Marriages and Deaths Indexes are recorded as GRO (year/event/quarter/district/volume/page).

<sup>13</sup> Bale, J. (2006). Amateurism, Capital and Roger Bannister, *Sport in History* 26 (3) pp. 484-501; For recent discussion on the relationship between theory and empiricism see Collins, T. (2005). History, Theory and the "Civilizing Process", *Sport in History* 25 (2) pp. 289-306; Curry, G., Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. (2006). Sociological Versus Empiricist History: Some Comments on Tony Collins's "History, Theory and the "Civilizing Process", *Sport in History* 26 (1) pp. 110-123; Vamplew, W. (2007). Empiricist Versus Sociological History: Some Comments on the "Civilizing Process", *Sport in History* 27 (2) pp. 161-171.

<sup>14</sup> Census Returns 1871-1901. Easton 1881 (337/61/1818), 1891 (141/84/67), 1901 (1253/76/40); Classey 1881 (1009/5/4), 1891 (96/68/26), 1901 (110/61/10); Charlotte Humphrey 1871 (165/19/30); Charlotte and Jane Humphrey 1881 (31/10/13), 1891 (22/91/11), 1901 (23/123/12).

Miss Lily Freemantle at Sunningdale Ladies' from 1911, were from professional golfing families.<sup>15</sup> However, toleration did not extend to all sports and the current paucity of female coaches at performance levels suggests that exclusionary and demarcationary strategies continue to limit women's access to elite coaching.<sup>16</sup>

### *A Coaching Vocabulary*

Words like "coaching" and "coach" have contemporary connotations from which they cannot be divorced, since definitions are influenced by changing social, cultural, temporal, and geographical parameters.<sup>17</sup> It is therefore necessary to clarify how "coaching" is to be interpreted in this thesis since the use of current sports terminology in an historical context could be misleading. References to Spartan or Roman "sports coaches"<sup>18</sup> conjure up images that may not equate to the realities of the ancient world, even if the behaviours, practices, and values, of these individuals have some congruence with those of their modern counterparts. Similar issues arise when deciphering the meanings of descriptors such as "professor", which was adopted by performers, coaches, and teachers, in a range of nineteenth century activities. If the term is interpreted in the context of its modern usage, that of the holder of an academic post, then it is easy to become satirical about the presumed pretentiousness of those who adopted the title. Realistically, however, the word should be interpreted in the sense of describing someone who is an expert practitioner rather than an aspirant to academic status. "Professors" were advertising their personal expertise in the field, the fact that they earned their living through the activity, and, in most sporting instances, that they were available for coaching engagements.<sup>19</sup>

Although not a use of the word that early nineteenth century trainers would have been familiar with, the term "coach" has been broadly interpreted in modernity as the individual responsible for training others for an athletic contest, and "coaching" as preparing an athlete for competition. This preparation usually has a technical component, involving the acquisition and mastery of skills and techniques, together with the requisite muscular co-ordination. The athlete also needs an optimum level

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<sup>15</sup> Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press pp. 37-42.

<sup>16</sup> West, A., Green, E., Brackenridge, C. H. and Woodward, D. (2001). Leading the Way: Women's Experiences as Sports Coaches, *Women in Management Review* 16 (2) pp. 85-92.

<sup>17</sup> Carr, E. H. (1961). *What is History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1990 Davies, R. W. (Ed.) pp. 24-25.

<sup>18</sup> McIntosh, P. (1987). *Sport in Society*, London: West London p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2007). Professor - "A person who makes a profession of any subject or field; a person who follows a particular activity, occupation, or vocation as his or her profession...a professional sportsperson, as distinguished from an amateur."

of fitness and the psychological tools to be able to compete effectively. Although specialists can be responsible for each component, the term "coach" often encompasses the responsibilities of technician, trainer, and psychologist.<sup>20</sup>

While the range and extent of the coaching role differs according to circumstance the prime attributes of successful coaches have been suggested as knowledge of an activity, combined with an ability to communicate effectively. This basic model of human interaction can be applied to numerous situations in which individuals impart experience and understanding to others and, in that sense, virtually any human activity in any era could be described as "coaching". The increasing use of the term in business and in "life coaching" emphasises that "coaching" is being constantly reinterpreted.<sup>21</sup>

This evolution in etymology is not a new phenomenon. "Coach" first appeared in the English language in 1556 as "coche", a large carriage, but, by 1850, it had also become a colloquial expression for a private tutor who prepared candidates for examinations.<sup>22</sup> The term also permeated general usage, one artisan noting of a speaker in the 1860s that he had clearly been "coached for the occasion".<sup>23</sup> This educational interpretation appeared regularly in novels and a distinction was made between "pass" and "honour" coaches.<sup>24</sup> Their importance to the gentlemen of the shires was highlighted by one man at Oxford in 1859 who found, to his "disgust", that daily lectures interfered with his hunting. As a result, he resorted to a coach at examination time, an "absolute necessity" to the undergraduate. His personal choice had been the Rev. Mr. Cornish, who had a preference for "sporting" pupils, and charged a "fiver" for a daily hour of cramming.<sup>25</sup> This reading of "coaching" survived into the twentieth century. In 1903, *The Daily Mirror* reviewed the novels

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<sup>20</sup> Phillips, M. (2000). *From Sidelines to CentreField: A History of Sports Coaching in Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press; Woodman, L. (1989). The Development of Coach Education in Australia, *Sporting Traditions* 5 (2) pp. 204-224.

<sup>21</sup> Martens, R. (1990). *Successful Coaching 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics p. 14; Johnson, H. (2004). The Ins and Outs of Executive Coaching, *Training* 41 (5) pp. 36-41; Peterson, D. B. and Hicks, M. D. (2006). *Leader as Coach: Strategies for Coaching and Developing Others*, Minneapolis: Personnel Decisions International; Bartlett II, J. E. (2007). Advances in Coaching Practices: A Humanistic Approach to Coach and Client Roles, *Journal of Business Research* 60 pp. 91-93; Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development Annual Survey Report (2005) reported 88% of UK organisations were using coaching as a technique for employee development and that International Coach Federation had doubled to 9,500 members in thirty-four countries. Available at [www.cipd.co.uk](http://www.cipd.co.uk) (accessed 3 June 2007).

<sup>22</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2007) Oxford University Press.

<sup>23</sup> Wright, T. (1867). *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes*, London: Tinsley Brothers p. 143.

<sup>24</sup> Trollope, A. (1875). *The Way We Live Now*, Oxford University Press World Classics Paperback, Sutherland, J. (Ed.) 1992 pp. 431, 434; Thackeray, W. M. (1877). *Vanity Fair*, Penguin Popular Classics 1994 p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, October 1900 LXXIV (488) p. 248.

of H. W. Wells, son of a professional cricketer, who had a first class degree in zoology and made his living as a "coach".<sup>26</sup>

The transfer of the term from education to sports during the nineteenth century was initiated and sustained by sportsmen applying the language of school and university in a different context. It is significant that when "coaching" became associated with preparation for competitive events it should be in those sports most closely associated with the universities, rowing and cricket. Although the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that the first references to "coach" appeared in 1885 for rowing and in 1888 for cricket, professional oarsman Robert Coombes was "coaching the Oxonian team" in 1841,<sup>27</sup> and eights were being advised to practice "under judicious coaching" in 1847.<sup>28</sup> It was noted in 1852 that college crews could become "so wedded to some peculiar fault that no amount of coaching afterwards can correct it",<sup>29</sup> and Walsh ("Stonehenge") observed in 1857 that following individual practice with the stroke, or "the waterman", crew members would not require "coaching" to make them row well together.<sup>30</sup> In the Chambers against White professional match in June 1860, Chambers took the "centre of the river, and Tom Grant was to do the 'coaching' for him."<sup>31</sup> Between the 1850s and the mid 1860s, coaching terminology became commonplace enough for authors to dispense with speech marks. One *Times* correspondent in 1865 suggested that "the best plan of coaching men" was to train them in the "practising boat".<sup>32</sup> University Boat race reports on 3 February 1866, noted that the Cambridge coaches had been "profitably employed in electing and coaching uncertain candidates," while Oxford had taken "a long sweat to Abingdon, the president of the club coaching them as he rode along the towing-path".<sup>33</sup>

The association of "coaching" with cricket was equally long-standing, partly because professional cricketers were employed in the public schools. James Lillywhite, professional at Winchester, was described in 1861 as "one of the best 'coaches' that

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<sup>26</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 17 November 1903 p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 28 March 1841 p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> *The Era*, 14 November 1847 p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> *The Era*, 16 May 1852 p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. p. 484.

<sup>31</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, October 1860 II (8) p. 38.

<sup>32</sup> *The Times*, 30 December 1865 p. 12. Letter from AN OLD STROKE, BUT NOT OF THE FIRST TRINITY (stroke to the University in days when it had not been degraded into that caddish abomination, the "Varsity.") *The Old Style of Rowing at Cambridge*.

<sup>33</sup> *The Sporting Gazette*, 3 February 1866 p. 83; *The Times*, 3 February 1866 p. 12; *John Bull*, 9 February 1867 p. 89 notes "coaching from the bank" was an important part of training a crew.

boys could have", while, in 1864, the batting at Rugby "was really good, and the "coaching" of Diver in that art does great credit to him."<sup>34</sup> Again, speech marks were gradually dispensed with. Describing cricket as the game "which saves half the boys in England from being too clever" one commentator declared, "As long as cricket flourishes, and schools are provided with good coaches, there will be hope of some greatness."<sup>35</sup> The word had become acceptable enough by 1908 to be used in the archetypal amateur team sport, rugby. The Richmond men had "all the makings of a good side, but they want a leader, a coach...will not someone take them in hand and teach them?"<sup>36</sup>

Although "coach" was not widely used in working class sports, where the nomenclature "trainer" survived almost intact in pedestrianism, pugilism, cycling, swimming, and wrestling, it did begin to appear in reports from the late 1860s. When Ben Cort attempted ten miles in one hour and eight minutes for £10 a side he failed "despite the admirable coaching of Alf Barss",<sup>37</sup> while university athlete E. M. Prothero only required "steady training and a little of the necessary coaching to make him utilise successfully very good material".<sup>38</sup> In an 1884 outing of fourteen miles for Blackburn Harriers, "Choppy" Warburton "coached the hounds, who ran in grand style".<sup>39</sup> Pugilist Price came to scratch in 1877 with the "cunning Baldock at his elbow, coaching his principal with a Mephistophelean grin", while champion wrestler E. Bibby "trained and coached" Owen Mcarthy for his match with F. Smith a year later. An 1879 advert from Professor Ned Donnelly, boxing instructor to London Athletic Club, declared he had "coached 13 of the 31 winners of the Marquis of Queensberry's Cups".<sup>40</sup>

Differences between sports remained nevertheless. Sporting deaths chronicled in 1884 included Mr. George Morrison, who had "coached Oxford", Mr. T. A. Mantle, who had been "cricket coach at Westminster School", and Bob Rogers (1846-1884), a professional "ped" of the 1860s, who had been "trainer to the London Athletic Club and subsequently in America with the New York Athletic Club".<sup>41</sup> While there was a class component to this differentiation, there was also a more practical

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<sup>34</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, July 1861 III (17) p. 149; *The Times*, 2 July 1864 p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, August 1864 VIII (54) p. 226.

<sup>36</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 7 October 1908 p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 June 1869 p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> *The Sporting Gazette*, 5 March 1870 p. 156.

<sup>39</sup> *The Preston Guardian*, 9 February 1884 p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 8 Dec 1877 p. 9; 23 March, 1878 p. 5; 15 February 1879 p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 December 1884 p. 5.

distinction in that rowing in a crew required the subtle refinement of skills, as did batting in cricket. Style could not be displayed without attention to technique and even today, sports that require high levels of technical ability are likely to be coached more than others.<sup>42</sup> Plebeian sports, including professional sculling, focussed more on "wind", and other tasks allotted to professional trainers, such as massage, would have been beyond the remit of a skills "coach".

While the Victorians may have distinguished between trainers and coaches, these terms have never been precise or mutually exclusive. In professional athletics, boxing, swimming, and cycling, trainers have looked after skill development as well as the fitness of the athlete. In rowing, the coach refines technique but also plans physical training programmes. Given this blurring of the boundaries in the modern idiom it is impossible to be precise about any of the terms that have been historically used to describe individuals acting in coaching roles. Therefore, this thesis uses the word "coach" interchangeably with "trainer" wherever the role under discussion involves preparation for competitive performance and irrespective of which term was current among contemporaries in any sporting context.

### *The Coaching Context*

As societal relationships change, and power balances alter, there are concomitant transformations in the organisation and meanings of coaching, although even during periods of significant change, signs of continuity are detectable as coaches draw on their personal biographies when interpreting the coaching role. Scholars have highlighted the persistence of traditional sporting practices, and, while its format may have been different, sports coaching did not develop spontaneously in the nineteenth century, since practitioners invariably drew from, and elaborated on, existing practices.<sup>43</sup>

Basic coaching principles were employed in the ancient world, where Greek competitors were shaped by coaches (*gymnastes*), usually former athletes, whose

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<sup>42</sup> SportscoachUK. (2004). *Sports Coaching in the UK - Final Report*, Research Study pp. 24, 53.

<sup>43</sup> Cross, N. and Lyle, J. (1999). *The Coaching Process: Principles and Practice for Sport*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann p. vii; Polley, M. (2003). History and Sport, In Houlihan, B. (Ed.) *Sport and Society: A Student Introduction*, London: Sage pp. 49-64; Coakley, J. J. (1994). *Sport in Society 5<sup>th</sup> Edition*, St. Louis: Mosby; Gorn, E. J. (1986). *The Manly Art: Bare-knuckle Prize Fighting in America*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Metcalfe, A. (1982). Organized Sport in the Mining Communities of South Northumberland, 1800-1889, *Victorian Studies* 25 pp. 469-495; Tranter, N. L. (1990). Organized Sport and the Working Classes of Central Scotland, 1820-1900: The Neglected Sport of Quoiting, In Holt, R. (Ed.) *Sport and the Working Class in Modern England*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

role included that of both the trainer (*paidotribês*) and the masseur (*aleiptes*). In the tradition of succeeding generations, the Romans adopted some elements of Greek training, discarded others, and refined coaching methods as advancements in medical, scientific, and technical knowledge emerged. Coaching expertise was highly valued and, from the second century B.C., former gladiators, acting as masseurs (*unctores*) and coaches (*doctores* or *magistri*), structured regimes based on well-balanced diets, hard training, and careful medical attention.<sup>44</sup> Given the emphasis on competition preparation in these and all other recorded societies, it is likely that those in subsequent unrecorded contexts also used accumulated knowledge in developing physical and technical performances.

Since traditions are not self-perpetuating, successive generations are normally indoctrinated into appropriate behaviours using both written and oral mechanisms. Although early medieval literacy was largely associated with the Church, a continuous documentary tradition survived from antiquity within the laity, with the *Epitoma Rei Militaris* of Vegetius, for example, continuing to influence military strategists until the Renaissance.<sup>45</sup> The main agent of knowledge transfer, however, involved the kinship group that surrounded male adolescents, while a system of Godparenthood, like other forms of pro-parenthood, served to link familial units out to wider kin. This brought young men into contact with a range of skilled adults, an ideal way to transfer expertise in the use of weapons and in how to prepare for wrestling contests, horse races, and falconry. In the tenth century, Saxon chronicler Widukind divided such activities into training games (*exercitia ludi*) or riding training (*exercitia equitatis*).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Woody, T. (1936). Philostratus, Concerning Gymnastics, *Research Quarterly* 7 pp. 3-26; Semotiuk, D. (1982). Human Energy in Sport Coaching: Historical Perspectives from Ancient Greece, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* XIII (2) pp. 18-29; Harris, H. A. (1964). *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London: Hutchinson and Co. pp. 171-179; Finley, M. I. and Pleket, H. W. (1976). *The Olympic Games: The First Thousand Years*, London: Book Club Associates pp. 83-97; Philostratus, On Gymnastics 45 ca. A.D. 230, In Miller, S. G. (2004). *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: University of California Press p. 172; Barton, C. A. (1989). The Scandal of the Arena, *Representations* 27 pp. 1-36; Kohne, E. and Ewigleben, C. (2000). *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome*, London: British Museum pp. 68, 75, 140.

<sup>45</sup> Elsternwick, M. R. (1991). Striking Similarities Between 'Tae Kwon Do' - Self-Defence Training - and the Roman Soldier, *Australian Society Sports History Bulletin* 13 pp. 4-10; Armitage, J. (1977). *Man at Play: Nine Centuries of Pleasure Making*, London: Frederick Warne and Co. p. 38.

<sup>46</sup> Wareham, A. (2001). The Transformation of Kinship and the Family in late Anglo-Saxon England, *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (3) pp. 375-399; Whitelock, D. (1963). *The Beginnings of English Society*, Penguin Books pp. 92-93, 104-107, 242-243; Brown, W. (2002). When Documents are Destroyed or Lost: Lay People and Archives in the Early Middle Ages, *Early Medieval Europe* 11 (4) pp. 338, 356; Charles, V. O. (1981). From the Arts of Chivalry to Gymnastics, *The Canadian Journal of the History of Sport* XII (2) p. 31; Stafford, P. (2001). Review Article: Parents and Children in the Early Middle Ages, *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2)

Mewett argues that Classical practices have no relevance to later training methods,<sup>47</sup> but there is enough contextual evidence to suggest that subsequent generations of coaches drew on a body of accumulated knowledge that owed at least some of its substance to the Ancients. Specialist knowledge concerning the training of horses and the making of weapons, the essential elements of Greek medicine, the basics of horticulture, vital martial techniques, and aspects of religious practice, all survived into the Middle Ages, albeit altered and amended. Knowledge transfer took place orally and there is no reason to assume that each generation reinvented the principles of training or that ancient practices were entirely lost. This is not to argue that there was a direct and traceable lineage of training for competition from the ancient world into the Middle Ages but merely to point out that continuities would have existed in this aspect of human life as in any other. In 1820, Pierce Egan wrote, "The manner of training among the ancients bore some resemblance to that now practised by the moderns. But as their mode of living and general habits were somewhat different from those of the present age, a difference of treatment is now required to produce the same effect".<sup>48</sup>

From the twelfth century onwards, all social groups engaged in activities that involved competition, the outcome of which was determined by physical skill, strategy, or chance, and preparation for which required appropriate expertise and training. Vestiges of Roman martial training survived, with writers recommending "a constant and attentive attack of the pel", and thirteenth century tournament professionals like William Marshall adopting rebated "arms of courtesy".<sup>49</sup> Archery contests were popular, and, because of its military importance, parish constables, fathers, and masters of apprentices, were required to ensure boys were trained on the longbow. Quarterstaff was taught in schools of defence, whose professors were incorporated by Henry VIII in 1540, and scholars studying to become provosts of

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p. 268. In the ninth century, Walafrid Strabo recounted his feelings for the masters and surrogate parents who reared him.

<sup>47</sup> Mewett, P. G. (2002). From Horses to Humans: Species Crossovers in the Origin of Modern Sports Training, *Sport History Review* 33 pp. 95-120; Sinclair, J. (1806). *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader p.48 included a long letter from Dr. A. P. Buchan entitled "On the Manner of Training the Antient Athlete" where he remarked on the considerable degree of conformity between the ancient and the modern practice of training, in the kinds of food and drink preferred and in exercise.

<sup>48</sup> Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 London pp. 89-90.

<sup>49</sup> Carter, J. M. (1985). Sport, War, and the Three Orders of Feudal Society: 700-1300, *Military Affairs* 49 (3) pp. 132-139; Cline, R. H. (1945). The Influence of Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages, *Speculum* 20 (2) pp. 204-211; Francis, P. H. (c.1950). *A Study of Targets in Games*, London: The Mitre Press p. 20.



defence, and then "maisters offence", fought public qualifying contests.<sup>50</sup> During the Renaissance, archery, swordplay, running, dancing, and horsemanship, became important social skills and European royalty recruited Italian experts, with Robert Alexander, for example, a pupil of Neopolitan Pignatelli, becoming Henry VII's riding master. By Elizabeth's reign, fencing lessons in the Spanish or Italian style were part of a gentleman's education.<sup>51</sup> Bowls, whose first written rules appeared in Charles II's reign, was a game, like billiards and tennis, where a skilled player and gambler could make a living. Tennis also provided coaching opportunities. At Hampton Court Palace, the first Master of the King's Tennis Courts was Oliver Kelly c.1540-3 and the marker's residence was built in the 1620s. Pedestrianism was popular, with Lady Anne Clifford recording in 1616 that "my Lord's Footman, lost his race to my Lord Salisbury" and Pepys noting another contest in 1663, between "Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner."<sup>52</sup>

The form that sport took at any moment in time altered with its social context but, whether wrestling or racing horses in Saxon times, jousting in the thirteenth century, shooting bows in Tudor England, or running for gain in the seventeenth century, there was always a competitive component. The existence of professionals, such as tournament knight William Marshall, Elizabethan swordsmen, or those who made a living from bowls, billiards, and tennis, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, suggests that competition could be profitable. Successful performance was dependant on a training process that included both the acquisition of skills and the optimisation of physical capacities. Coaches, as the term is interpreted here, gathered information, passed on their experience, and experimented with new methods. These fencing and riding professors, falconers, wrestling trainers, and masters at arms, employed verbal and visual methods of

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<sup>50</sup> Armitage, J. (1977). *Man at Play: Nine Centuries of Pleasure Making*, London: Frederick Warne and Co. pp. 29-30; Guttmann, A. (1986). *Sports Spectators*, New York: Columbia University Press; Hole, C. (1949). *English Sport and Pastimes*, London: B. T. Batsford pp. 65-66, 72. When Gregory Greene tried for his Scholar's Prize at Chelmsford in 1578, he fought eight men at two-handed sword and seven at backsword. In 1579, John Blinkinsop, playing for his master's degree, contended with six fully qualified masters at backsword, two-handed sword, quarterstaff, and sword-and-buckler.

<sup>51</sup> Charles, V. O. (1981). From the Arts of Chivalry to Gymnastics, *The Canadian Journal of the History of Sport* XII (2) p. 41; Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport: A Social History*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press p. 23; McIntosh, P. (1987). *Sport in Society*, London: West London.

<sup>52</sup> Struna, N. L. (2000). Social History and Sport, In Coakley, J. and Dunning, E. (Eds.) *Handbook of Sports Studies*, London: Sage pp. 187-203; Henricks, T. S. (1991). *Disputed Pleasures: Sport and Society in Preindustrial England*, Westport Ct: Greenwood; Parker, S. E. (2005). *Grace and Favour. A Handbook of Who Lived Where in Hampton Court Palace 1750 to 1950*, Murphy, C. (Ed.) Surrey: Historic Royal Palaces; Ruhl, J. K. (1984). Religion and Amusements in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England: 'Time might be better bestowed, and besides wee see sin acted', *British Journal of Sports History* 1 (2) pp. 125-165; Griffith, T. (Ed.) (1997). *The Concise Pepys*, Wordsworth Editions p. 237.

instruction just as, in the early medieval period, the oral traditions and memories of kinship groups had kept some classical ideas and practices alive. During the Renaissance, an understanding of the classical world became important, and the seventeenth century saw treatises on gymnastics, Greek sports, and Roman games. Hieronymus Mercurialis (1530-1606) cited over a hundred authors from antiquity in *De Arte Gymnastica* when describing aspects of athletic training.<sup>53</sup>

This classical appreciation, combined with increased entrepreneurial opportunities, provided a platform for individuals to further develop coaching and training practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Influenced by greater urbanisation, the evolution of a triadic model of class, and changes in the nature of work and religious beliefs, sports became more regulated. Increasing rationalisation was reflected in the competitive preparation of a rising number of professionals who, like their predecessors, adopted existing training practices while incorporating contemporary knowledge into their regimes. In the 1740s, Thomas Higginson offered tennis and fives at his Lincoln's Inn Fields court, where he gave lessons and sold equipment. Fencing was increasingly promoted by exponents like Domenico Angelo, as beneficial in giving "strength of body, proper confidence, grace, activity, and address."<sup>54</sup> Noblemen employed cricketers but there were also some independent professionals and, by the 1790s, William Beldham considered that serious cricket was nearly "all professional". The best amateur, Lord Frederick Beauclerk, reputedly made six hundred guineas annually,<sup>55</sup> and sport was a way of sustaining gentlemen of limited means. Richard Bouchier who "if he could have lived upon two or three hundred a year the tennis courts might have maintained him" won money not so much by his skill, "as his dexterity in hiding it." John Cavanagh, the fives player, frequently played for wagers and dinners, while rackets in the Fleet and King's Bench Prisons provided a livelihood for Hoskins, "the racket-

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<sup>53</sup> McIntosh, P. C. (1984). 'Hieronymus Mercurialis 'De Arte Gymnastica': Classification and Dogma in Physical Education in the Sixteenth Century, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 1 (1) pp. 73-74, 81-84.

<sup>54</sup> Underdown, D. (2000). *Start of Play: Cricket and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, London: Allen Lane p. 53; Shoemaker, R. B. (2002). The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London, 1660-1800, *The Historical Journal* 45 (3) pp. 528-530. One observer noted in 1728 that no-one was "treated with greater contempt, than common fencing masters"; Wolkemir, R. (1996). En garde! We Seem to be Getting the Point of Fencing, *Smithsonian* 27 (3) p. 76. Domenico Angelo, born in Livorno, Italy, in 1716, studied in Pisa and Paris before establishing a fencing school at Carlisle House in 1763.

<sup>55</sup> Underdown, D. (2000). *Start of Play: Cricket and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, London: Allen Lane pp. 69-70, 119-120, 160-163, 191-192. Beldham got five guineas for a win in the 1780s, five times what a London artisan, and over twenty times what an agricultural labourer earned. Hambledon's paid players included bricklayers, tailors, butchers, thatchers, and carpenters.

master, a capital player".<sup>56</sup> The gambling that underpinned professional livelihoods also occurred in rowing. After elite regattas became popular, schools raced each other for amounts that often exceeded those wagered on professional matches, while gentlemen oarsmen competed for prizes augmented by a sweepstake.<sup>57</sup>

Initially, most "peds" were farmers, tradesmen, or servants, with the Duke of Queensberry reportedly putting servants under a professional trainer, treating them as "he would a running horse, under like discipline", to prepare for lucrative challenges.<sup>58</sup> In 1809, Captain Barclay walked 1,000 miles in as many hours for a wager of 1,000 guineas although side bets meant his success was apparently worth 16,000 guineas.<sup>59</sup> Pedestrian events gradually moved to measured courses and "running grounds", which promoted races "from eighty yards to five miles, wrestling matches, and pugilistic benefits upon a large scale" and which remained popular with "Saint Mondayites" throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

Boxing had become fashionable by 1755 when Elizabeth Montague recorded that "Emin...dined with me yesterday...Lord Lyttelton pays for his learning French, fencing, boxing, &c."<sup>61</sup> Between 1780 and 1824, thirty-six prizefighters operated in London, where a champion could make a living by fighting, by becoming the host of a public house, or by establishing a gymnasium. John Jackson became champion in 1795 and, in conjunction with Harry D'Angelo, he gave lessons at rooms in Bond Street, which remained a focal point for the sporting community until he retired in 1824. Jackson also controlled exhibitions at the Fives Court in Little St Martin's

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<sup>56</sup> Birley, D. (1996). *The Primrose Path, The Sports Historian* 16 The Sports Pages Lecture 1995 pp.1-15; Money, T. (1997). *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the Nineteenth-Century Sporting Revival*, London: Duckworth p. 167; Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 London pp. 42-47. Cavanagh, an Irishman and a house painter, died in 1819. Another well-known sportsman was John Davies, racket, tennis and fives player.

<sup>57</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 August 1829 p. 3; Money, T. (1997). *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the Nineteenth-Century Sporting Revival*, London: Duckworth p. 134; Wigglesworth, N. (1992). *The Social History of English Rowing*, London: Cass pp. 43, 65, 118, 185, 186.

<sup>58</sup> Wilson, G. (1815). *Memoirs of the Life and the Exploits of G. Wilson, the Celebrated Pedestrian, who Walked 750 Miles in 15 Days*, London: Dean and Munday p. 178; Sinclair, J. (1806). *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader p. 10.

<sup>59</sup> Radford, P. (2001). *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London: Headline p. 2. A farm labourer or artisan earned about 50 guineas a year.

<sup>60</sup> Wright, T. (1867). *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes*. London: Tinsley Brothers p. 123; Brailsford, D. (1999). *A Taste for Diversions: Sport in Georgian England*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press p. 204. There was 'Hounslow inclosure-ground' in 1818, the 'inclosure' at Kilmersdon, near Bath, in 1821, and in 1825 the 'prepared ground' near Daventry, a two mile circle at Ashted Park and Sheffield's Hyde Park Ground by the 1830s.

<sup>61</sup> Montagu, E. R. (1720-1800). Letter from Elizabeth Robinson Montagu, 3 May 1755 in *The Letters of Mrs. E. Montagu, With Some of the Letters of Her Correspondence, vol. 4*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809 p. 12 *British Women Letters and Diaries*.

Street, and trained fighters, including Bill Richmond, who subsequently established his own teaching reputation at the Royal Tennis Court. For Egan, no-one was better able to "teach the science" than Richmond, because of his boxing knowledge, his "acquaintance with men and manners", and his ability to analyse the "talents of the various professors of the art of boxing".<sup>62</sup> Pugilists normally based their training headquarters at inns such as the *One Tun Tavern* in London, where prizefighter Bill Warr established a reputation as a boxing coach and a trainer for any sport.<sup>63</sup> Pedestrian trainer Jacky Smith, who had won trophies at the Artillery Ground in the 1760s, also acquired a reputation as a coach and training expert, most notably as Barclay's mentor. Barclay subsequently trained Bill Cousens at *The Angel Inn*, near Barnet, for his successful 1829 bout with Teddy Sweeney.<sup>64</sup>

Training and the role of the coach clearly became more central in sporting activities during the early stages of the nineteenth century. By the 1820s, competitive sports training usually involved participants preparing for around two months under the guidance of professional trainers like Jackson, Barclay, Smith, Richmond, and Warr, all of whom had a level of autonomy that allowed them to experiment with ideas gleaned from observation and social networking. They drew on their own competitive experiences, together with a sport's oral traditions, to devise appropriate training regimes and knowledge transfer occurred both orally and through collaboration with others to develop training practices. However, these coaching developments do not represent an abrupt break with the past. Pedestrian performances remained stable during the eighteenth century and improved only slightly, if at all, during the first half of the nineteenth, suggesting that new training and coaching methods took time to supersede traditional practices.<sup>65</sup> As in other social processes, the complexity of sports training evolved with constant referencing both to the past and to developing knowledge.

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<sup>62</sup> Hurley, J. (2002). *Tom Spring: Bare-Knuckle Champion of All England*, Stroud: Tempus pp. 31, 39-40; Brailsford, D. (1999). *A Taste for Diversions: Sport in Georgian England*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press p. 123; Egan, P. (1812). *Boxiana; or Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism*, London: G. Smeeton pp. 403-404.

<sup>63</sup> Radford, P. (2001). *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London: Headline pp. 74-76. When Jem Belcher arrived in London in March 1799, he was taken to Warr who took him to the sparring room to test his skill with the gloves on.

<sup>64</sup> Gee, T. (1998). *Up to Scratch: Bareknuckle Fighting and Heroes of the Prize-ring*, Harpenden: Queen Anne pp. 68-69, 87; *Sporting Magazine*, October 1792 pp. 14-15; Miles, Pugilistica, I, p. 436, In Brailsford, D. (1999). *A Taste for Diversions: Sport in Georgian England*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press pp. 201, 208; Radford, P. F. (1998). The Good, The Bad and The Ugly, *Sociology of Sport Online*, <http://physed.otago.ac.nz/sosol/> notes that Smith was described in the *Sporting Magazine*, December 1798, as "very knowing in all sporting science" (accessed 15 April 2008).

<sup>65</sup> Radford, P. F. and Ward-Smith, A. J. (2003). British Running Performances in the Eighteenth Century, *Journal of Sports Sciences* 21 p. 436.

### *Coaching Practice - Emerging Themes*

Given that societies differed in their economic, social, and political configurations, it was inevitable that the centrality of the coach changed according to circumstance. All cultures needed such men to pass on their expertise but, while in some societies the coach was highly valued as a contributor to competitive performance, in others, where public competitions assumed less importance, the sporting pedagogue became essentially an instructor. The prominence achieved by *gymnastes* in Greece and *doctores* in Rome may not have been replicated by Saxon wrestling teachers or early medieval falconers but the later emergence of professors of swordplay, and dancing, fencing, and riding masters, suggests that wherever athletic performance was valued then so was coaching. As sporting opportunities expanded during the eighteenth century, commercially and structurally, such men discovered the possibility of making their living from exploiting their skills, initially as competitors and later as coaches. Succeeding cadres of coaches never found it necessary to reinvent coaching practices which, throughout all periods, show a degree of consistency in how they were transmitted and subsequently sustained. The key elements appear to be, firstly, the importance of oral tradition linked to personal experience, secondly, an ability to innovate and apply entrepreneurial skills, and, finally, the existence of a body of craft knowledge operating within communities of practice.

Coaches tended to emerge from within the activity, as retired performers used the knowledge and practical skills developed during their own competitive lifetime to work with aspirants, either for financial reward or for the satisfaction gained from remaining involved. As ex-performers, their own training methods, understanding of skills, and approaches to contests, formed the basis of their instructional techniques. As in any coaching scenario, this information was transmitted orally and the power of this method of communication to establish and maintain traditions should not be underestimated. Rules for Cornish hurling, Welsh "knappan", and Shrove Tuesday football, were legitimated by an oral tradition, which was powerful enough to ensure continuity in the way that the game was played. This suggests that both strategy and competition preparation would have been similarly imparted to succeeding generations.<sup>66</sup> Some of these games, and the rules and traditions surrounding them, survived into modernity and it seems reasonable to suppose that the longevity of these sports forms, despite their reliance on oral knowledge, might

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<sup>66</sup> Dunning, E. (1973). The Structural-Functional Properties of Folk-Games and Modern Sports: A Sociological Analysis, *Sportwissenschaft* 3 (4) pp. 215-232; Magoun, P. M. (1931). Scottish Popular Football, 1424-1815, *The American Historical Review* 37 (1) pp. 1-13.

be matched by the resilience of coaching and training knowledge in these and other contexts.

From their experiences as performer and coach, and the mores of oral tradition, individuals amassed an assortment of coaching techniques and sport-specific practices related to skill development and physical preparation. While some elements of training practice have proven durability, such as the use of heavier implements in training, it is also true that no generation of coaches can be entirely exempt from contemporary influences. Coaches experimented in applying emerging knowledge, intuitively accepting or rejecting appropriate material, especially during times of significant educational and scientific advances. Tradition notwithstanding, each coach, and his successors, thereby added something to the training process, particularly in periods when sport provided commercial opportunities. At such times the incentive to innovate was strong, especially for those who relied financially on their coaching skills, if only to distinguish themselves from competitors. This applied to fencing masters of the Renaissance, who developed complex methods of conducting a contest, just as it did to tennis court owners who offered lessons in the eighteenth century.

Oral traditions and experience, together with personal or observed innovations, provided coaches with a body of craft knowledge which, in contrast to professional knowledge, or formal coach education, was "knowing in action", an intuitive feel for coaching which developed with experience.<sup>67</sup> In the context of this thesis, craft knowledge is interpreted as a particular knowledge form which constitutes skill, and which is passed on by way of a modelling relationship between experts and novices. Craft knowledge invokes all the features of a tacit pedagogy, with practical mastery as its function, but it is also specialised knowledge that can be widely applied.<sup>68</sup>

Use of the word "craft" does not imply incorporation into formalised guilds. In fact, craft knowledge appears to have been embedded within informal structures, communities of practice, created by coaches engaging in a process of collective learning. Partly because of the exclusion of coaches from organisational decision-making, English coaching has invariably centred on informal groups, who learn how to coach effectively by interacting regularly, and in the nineteenth century most coaching communities were small and locally based. These features can be clearly

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<sup>67</sup> Knowles, Z. and Borrie, A. (1998). *Towards Reflective Coaching in Gymnastics*. BAGA. <http://www.jonatmat.zen.co.uk/jonatmat/towards.htm> (accessed 12 October 2000).

<sup>68</sup> Gamble, J. (2001). Modelling the Invisible: The Pedagogy of Craft Apprenticeship, *Studies in Continuing Education* 23 (2) p. 186.

identified in the kinship groups, coach/athlete relationships, and close-knit local groups of individuals surrounding Frederick Beckwith, the subject of the final chapter of this work. Professors like Beckwith were practitioners who developed a shared methodology and a repertoire of resources, involving experiences, stories, and ways of addressing recurring problems, which contributed to their "toolbox" of craft knowledge.<sup>69</sup> Every community of practice regenerates itself as individuals leave and new members replace them, gradually moving closer to peers who serve as exemplars of mature practice. Learning, in contrast to the vertical transmission implied in teacher/pupil and mentoring relationships, occurs between individuals in a horizontal and mainly non-cognitive fashion. Skills and knowledge are reproduced across generations not through instruction, but through the granting of access to shared understandings.<sup>70</sup>

These themes would be familiar to modern researchers who have found that the complex integrated concepts employed by expert coaches are often difficult to record.<sup>71</sup> Contemporary coaches consistently identify other coaches as their most important resource in terms of developing the skill of coaching, with trial and error or experimentation, and their own past experiences, as other key reference points.<sup>72</sup> In this respect, despite social changes, and scientific and technological advances, it appears that Greek *gymnastes*, Roman *doctores*, professors of sword play and wrestling from Tudor times, along with Jacky Smith, Bill Warre, Robert Barclay, John Jackson, and Harry D'Angelo, among others, all have recognisable links to twenty-first century coaching practice.

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<sup>69</sup> Wenger, E., McDermott, R. and Snyder, W. (2002). *Cultivating Communities of Practice: A Guide to Managing Knowledge*, London: McGraw-Hill; Wenger, E. and Snyder, W. (2000). Communities of Practice: The Organizational Frontier, *Harvard Business Review* January-February, pp. 139-145; Wenger, E. (2004). Knowledge Management is a Donut: Shaping your Knowledge Strategy with Communities of Practice, *Ivey Business Journal* January/February pp. 1-8; Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>70</sup> Buysse, V., Sparkman, K. L. and Wesley, P. W. (2003). Communities of Practice: Connecting What we Know with What we Do, *Exceptional Children* 69 (3) pp. 263-277; Cornford, C. S. and Carrington, B. (2006). A Qualitative Study of the Experiences of Training in General Practice: A Community of Practice? *Journal of Education for Teaching* 32 (3) pp. 269-282; Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Owen-Pugh, V. (2003). *The Elite British Basketball Club as a 'Community of Practice': Situating Lave and Wenger's Model of Learning within Elias' Theory of the Group*, Centre for Labour Market Studies Working Paper No. 40 University of Leicester pp. 3-4; Whitelock, D. (1963). *The Beginnings of English Society*, Penguin Books pp. 132-133. In the reign of the Confessor, Winchester street names included Tanners' Street, Shoemakers' Street, Fishmongers' Street, and Shield-Makers' Street, showing the tendency of men of the same trade to congregate together.

<sup>71</sup> Salmela, J. (1995). Learning from the Development of Expert Coaches, *Coaching and Sport Science Journal* 2 (2) pp. 3-13.

<sup>72</sup> Irwin, G., Hanton, S. and Kerwin, D. (2004). Reflective Practice and the Origins of Elite Coaching Knowledge, *Reflective Practice* 5 (3) pp. 430-432, 439.

This thesis explores the impact of changes in sporting habitus on the role and practice of nineteenth century and early twentieth century coaches. In particular, the work highlights stability in traditional coaching methods and the longevity of coaching communities based on experiential knowledge, while recognising the uniqueness of individual coaching lives. Although industrialisation and urbanisation, together with scientific and technological advances, facilitated the potential for change in all aspects of nineteenth century culture, it seems that coaching practices were often distinguished by continuity rather than novelty, although the amateur ethos impacted here as elsewhere in sport. The work focuses firstly on societal changes during the nineteenth century and the structural restrictions that amateur regulators of sport imposed on the professional coach. Subsequent chapters address the continuing influence of coaching communities, and the persistence of traditional methods relating to diet and training, despite a growing scientific understanding of the mechanisms of the body and the increasing influence of the medical profession. Swimming is then presented as a case study of how the marginalisation of coaches and the ascendancy of amateurism delayed the adoption of new techniques and led to a decline in English competitiveness abroad. Finally, although a history of Victorian coaching cannot be encapsulated merely by the history of one individual, this thesis concludes with a biography of swimming coach and entrepreneur, Frederick Beckwith, which is illustrative of how one man, and his immediate coaching community, experienced a nineteenth century coaching life.



## **Chapter 1. A Changing Environment: The Amateur Ethos and Coaching Practice**

The evolved nature of coaching was altered by a number of factors during the latter stages of the nineteenth century, not least an increasing internationalisation of sport that extended the horizons for coaching practice. Industrialisation, urbanisation, technological progress, and increasing commercialisation, enabled coaches to make greater entrepreneurial use of their existing skills and expertise, although emerging scientific and medical knowledge began to undermine traditional training methods. A more potent threat was posed, however, by the formation of governing bodies of sport, dominated by a professional middle class, which, publicly at least, espoused views that marginalised coaching and training. Their antagonism to professional sport encompassed an antipathy to professional coaches, reflected in the regulatory mechanisms amateur administrators employed to exclude them from their activities.

### *The Late Victorian Middle Classes*

The Victorian milieu was never composed of clearly delineated self-contained classes and even within streets there could be fine gradations of social class, defined by income, property, and status, or education, religious allegiance, and political affiliation. There were splits between manufacturing, commercial, and professional groups, and social relationships were often unique to a locality. The landed classes gradually absorbed some middle class values and there was a repositioning of the concept of "gentleman", which became defined not so much by birth or wealth as by education, thereby benefiting members of the liberal professions, for whom sport became an important tool in differentiating themselves from other middle class groups.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Cannadine, D. (2000). *Class in Britain*, London: Penguin pp. 59–108; Gordon, E. and Nair, G. (2002). The Myth of the Victorian Patriarchal Family, *History of the Family* 7 p. 126; Kennedy, D. (2004). Locality and Professional Football Club Development: The Demographics of Football Club Support in Late Victorian Liverpool, *Soccer and Society* 5 (3) p. 339; Huggins, M. (2004). Direct and Indirect Influence: J. A. Mangan and the Victorian Middle Classes: Major Revisionist in the History of Sport, In Crawford, S. A. G. M. (Ed.) (2004). *Serious Sport: J. A. Mangan's Contribution to the History of Sport*, London: Frank Cass p. 35; Seed, J. and Wolff, J. (1984). Class and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Manchester, *Theory, Culture and Society* 2 (2) pp. 38-53; Eisenberg, C. (1990). The Middle Class and Competition: Some Considerations of the Beginnings of Modern Sport in England and Germany, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (2) pp. 267-268; Francis, M. (2002). The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth-century British Masculinity, *The Historical Journal* 45 (3) p. 649; Holt, R. (1992). *Sport and the British. A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon pp. 113-114.

The late Victorian middle-class consisted broadly of this public school educated elite and a commercial class, which lacked the same degree of power and influence. Elements of this entrepreneurial middle class merged with similar constituents of the working class as small-scale capitalists drove the expansion of the leisure industry. The running paths established during the 1850s, for example, retained an association with public houses, pleasure gardens, and cricket grounds. Robert Sadler's New Surrey Pedestrian Ground opened in 1853, adjoining the *Wellington Inn* in Wandsworth, and James Baum, proprietor of the *White Lion*, created a similar venue at Hackney Wick in 1857. Mr. Cockell of *The Lord Auckland Tavern*, Battersea, roped and staked ground for pedestrianism at the back of the inn in 1856 and installed professional pedestrian Charles Westhall as manager. When legislation and trade union activism reduced the working week and wages rose, sport and leisure became industries in their own right.<sup>74</sup> Sport, technology, and commercialism, evolved symbiotically in cycling, which emerged as a commercially dynamic spectator sport following the development of the safety bicycle and the pneumatic tyre in the late 1880s and early 1890s.<sup>75</sup> Innovations in filming stimulated interest in boxing during the late 1880s, and a new evening press used sport to sell papers, while sporting magazines multiplied, particularly those aimed at clerks and artisans, such as the *Sporting Life* (1859), *Sporting Gazette* (1862), *Sporting Opinion* (1864), *Sportsman* and *Sporting Times* (both 1865).<sup>76</sup>

Industrial, commercial, and media entrepreneurs undoubtedly contributed to the expansion of sporting activity but they were not inherently "gentlemen". Like other

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<sup>74</sup> Golby, J. M. and Purdue, A. W. (1984). *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750-1900*, London: Batsford Revised 1999 Sutton Publishing p. 79; Vamplew, W. (1982). The Economics of a Sports Industry: Scottish Gate-money Football, 1890-1914, *The Economic History Review New Series* 35 (4) pp. 549-550; Roe, W. (2002/2003). The Athletic Capital of England: The White Lion, Hackney Wick 1857-1875, *British Society of Sports History Bulletin* 16/17 p. 40; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 30 March 1856 p. 7; King, D. B., Raymond, B. L. and Simon-Thomas, J. A. (1995). History of Sport Psychology in Cultural Magazines of the Victorian Era, *The Sport Psychologist* 9 p. 377 cite estimates that Britain spent \$233 million annually on sports during late 1890s.

<sup>75</sup> Ritchie, A. (2005). Review Essay. Bicycle: The History, by David Herlihy, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (3) p. 458; Rubinstein, D. (1977). Cycling in the 1890s, *Victorian Studies* 21 pp. 47-58; Ritchie, A. (1999). Mile a Minute Murphy: Paced Bicycle Racing and the Quest for Speed at the End of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, *North American Society of Sports History Proceedings Paper*.

<sup>76</sup> Betts, J. R. (1953). The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40 (2) pp. 249-250; Green, J. P. (1988). Boxing and the 'Colour Question' in Edwardian Britain: The 'White Problem' of 1911, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 5 (1) p. 116; Graves, C. (1935). *The Price of Pleasure*, London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson p. 149; Dobbs, B. (1973). *Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914*, London: Pelham Books p. 33; Tate, S. (2005). James Catton, 'Tityrus' of *The Athletic News* (1860 to 1936): A Biographical Study, *Sport in History* 25 (1) pp. 99-101. New titles also appeared in the provinces, including the Manchester based *Sporting Chronicle* (1871) and *Athletic News* (1875); See also Mason, T. (1988). *Sport in Britain*, London: Faber and Faber pp. 46-50. The Traditional Sporting Press in Britain.

middle class factions, they were subject to a status hierarchy, at the pinnacle of which stood the professional class, for whom duty was a creed and whose primary obligation was to the greater moral welfare of society. These super-proletarians, as Marx called them, promoted ideals of industry, aptitude, and civic duty, and justified their social status by their mastery of mental activity. As a social group, they functioned between the upper class and a petty bourgeoisie that lacked the resources to educate their heirs into the professions. When Trevelyan introduced civil service examinations, the ideology of a meritocracy never threatened social elites because few others could afford an appropriate education.<sup>77</sup>

The highest status for professionals was reserved for those connected with science, listed as a profession from 1857. Victorian scientific societies saw no need for institutionalised expert training or formal qualifications, an attitude typical of professional men who disparaged specialised academic training. The Clarendon Commission reports celebrated a public school model that focussed on classical studies, cultivated autonomy and manliness, and moulded the character of an English gentleman.<sup>78</sup> The main criterion for a public schoolmaster was a good liberal education, which distinguished him as a gentleman. Instruction in the theory and practice of education was associated with elementary school teachers, particularly after the introduction of certification and the pupil-teacher system in 1846, and the public schoolmasters' aloofness emphasised the upper class contempt for expert training.<sup>79</sup> Non-public school educated individuals in all pedagogical positions, including those employed as professional coaches, belonged to menial occupations unfit for a gentleman.

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<sup>77</sup> Silbey, D. (2004). Bodies and Cultures Collide: Enlistment, the Medical Exam, and the British Working Class, 1914-1916, *Social History of Medicine* 17 (1) p. 62; Becker, S. (1971). *Sociological Work*, Penguin; Freidson, E. (1994). *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*, Cambridge: Eliot; Bellon, R. (2001). Joseph Dalton Hooker's Ideals for a Professional Man of Science, *Journal of the History of Biology* 34 pp. 61-63; Waller, J. C. (2001). Gentlemanly Men of Science: Sir Francis Galton and the Professionalization of the British Life-sciences, *Journal of the History of Biology* 34 pp. 90-92, 106-107.

<sup>78</sup> Desmond, A. (2001). Redefining the X Axis: "Professionals," "Amateurs" and the Making of Mid-Victorian Biology – A Progress Report, *Journal of the History of Biology* 34 p. 11; Waller, J. C. (2001). Gentlemanly Men of Science: Sir Francis Galton and the Professionalization of the British Life-sciences, *Journal of the History of Biology* 34 pp. 83-84, 101, 105; Bellon, R. (2001). Joseph Dalton Hooker's Ideals for a Professional Man of Science, *Journal of the History of Biology* 34 pp. 66-68; De Bellaigue, C. (2001). The Development of Teaching as a Profession for Women before 1870, *The Historical Journal* 44 (4) pp. 983-984.

<sup>79</sup> De Bellaigue, C. (2001). The Development of Teaching as a Profession for Women before 1870, *The Historical Journal* 44 (4) pp. 972-976, 985-987; Searby, P. (1982). *The Training of Teachers in Cambridge University: The First Sixty Years*, Cambridge: Brookside Resources Centre p. 8; Reader, W. J. (1966). *Professional Men: The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth Century England*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson p. 107.

### *The Middle-Classes and Sport*

Holt has described amateurism in all its guises as a “complex phenomenon with complex causes” and there is no doubting its longevity as a sporting creed that valued, “play for play’s sake rather than for profit”.<sup>80</sup> While other classes may have adopted the amateur ethos, it was the professional middle class that developed the principles and refined them into a philosophy of sport. A corresponding belief in voluntarism, in both administration and coaching, essentially limited involvement to those with time, income, and social influence. The propagation of amateurism was achieved through organisations, which, although ostensibly managed by democratically elected committees and based on principles of universal admittance, managed to sustain a degree of elitism. Through voluntary associations, the middle-classes interacted with social equals and engaged in a common endeavour, thereby nurturing capacities for collective action. Amateur status, defined initially by social status but increasingly by reference to financial parameters, was essential, although it might not be enough.<sup>81</sup> Even if the “lower orders” had never competed for money this was “NOT sufficient to make a man a gentleman as well as an amateur”,<sup>82</sup> and there were constant concerns about status dilution with complaints that, “At most festivals lately that very hard and difficult to be defined word “gentleman” has been left out of the prospectuses”.<sup>83</sup> An 1880 *Times* editorial discussed the tensions between professionals and amateurs and noted the practice of excluding working class athletes, ostensibly to ensure that prizes would “fall into the right hands”.<sup>84</sup> *Bell’s Life*, quoting an “eminent legal authority”, who defined a “gentleman” as anyone who “did not habitually black his own boots”, was less sympathetic to “gentleman amateurs who draw the line at retail traders”.<sup>85</sup>

The late 1880s were a period of working-class militancy, with over five hundred strikes in 1888 alone, and this social climate probably influenced the way in which

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<sup>80</sup> Holt, R. (2006). The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain, *Sport in History* 26 (3) p. 353; Polley, M. (2006). The Amateur Ideal and British Sports Diplomacy, 1900-1945, *Sport in History* 26 (3) p. 454.

<sup>81</sup> Allison, L. (2001). *Amateurism in Sport: An Analysis and a Defence*, London: Frank Cass p. 25; Baker, N. (2004). Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society, *Sport in History* 24 (1) pp. 2-6; Holt, R. (1992). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon pp. 107-108, 110-111; Eisenberg, C. (1990). The Middle Class and Competition: Some Considerations of the Beginnings of Modern Sport in England and Germany, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (2) pp. 271-272; Hall, P. A. (1999). Social Capital in Britain, *British Journal of Political Science* 29 (3) pp. 417-421; Holt, R. (2006). The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain, *Sport in History* 26 (3) p. 352.

<sup>82</sup> *The Sporting Gazette*, 27 July/3 August 1872 p. 543. Letter from John Tomlinson Hon. Sec. RCHAC (Railway Clearing House Athletic Club).

<sup>83</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 9 October 1874 p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> *The Times*, 26 April 1880 p. 11.

<sup>85</sup> *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 24 September 1881 p. 10.

the professional classes framed amateur sport, although these activities were never solely the construction of one specific class. Bourdieu maintained that not everyone attributes the same meaning to a sport, or expects the same benefits from it, and working class athletes often supplied their own interpretations of middle class activities.<sup>86</sup> From a public school perspective, fives was clearly a game for amateurs since it had, "no professors who make their living and their renown as its teachers or exponents" and the game did not "exalt the individual player." By contrast, when fives, or handball, became popular among the working class in North East England during the 1860s and early 1870s, it rapidly attracted a mass following and publicans induced players to their hotels by offering large purses.<sup>87</sup>

Many working class participants outwardly embraced the hegemonic amateur ethos. The London Athletic Club (LAC) held its first meeting in 1866, the same year that the Amateur Athletic Club (AAC) was created by former University athletes so they could compete, "without being compelled to mix with professional runners."<sup>88</sup> Among the exclusions they enforced was to deny AAC membership to any clubs affiliated to the Tradesman's Rowing Association.<sup>89</sup> Although its championship became a prominent annual event, the AAC was just one club amongst many and when the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) was created in 1880, power clearly lay with constituent clubs.<sup>90</sup> Confronted by the Northern Counties Association, the AAA dropped the AAC's manual labour clause, relying instead on prohibitions on prize-money, appearance fees, and expenses. By the 1890s, standardised track and cross-country championships were well established, while professional pedestrianism declined, especially after the 1906 Street Betting Act banned wagering at sports events.<sup>91</sup> Extracts from committee business throughout this

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<sup>86</sup> Dobbs, B. (1973). *Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914*, London: Pelham Books p. 28; Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge; Riess, S. A. (1994). From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport, *Journal of Sport History* 21 (2) p. 152; Thompson, F. M. L. (1981). Social Control in Victorian Britain, *The Economic History Review* New Series 34 (2) pp. 190-191, 201; See also Mason, T. (1980). *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, Sussex: Harvester Press especially pp. 69-81 on Amateurs and Professionals.

<sup>87</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing pp. 411-435; Melling, J. (1990). Sport, Spectacle and Class: Handball in the North East, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (3) pp. 443-447.

<sup>88</sup> Shearman, M. (1889). *Athletics and Football 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Badminton Library pp. 52-53.

<sup>89</sup> *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 21 February 1885 p. 39.

<sup>90</sup> James, T. (1997). Searching for an Athletics Tradition, *The Sports Historian* 17 (1) pp. 21-29. Clubs created the Northern Counties AAA in 1879 and the Midland Counties AAA 1880.

<sup>91</sup> Birley, D. (1996). The Primrose Path: The Sports Pages Lecture 1995, *The Sports Historian* 16 pp. 1-15; Lile, E. (2000). Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales during the Nineteenth Century, *The Sports Historian* 20 (2) pp. 94-105; Rowbottom, M. (1997). Athletics: Enduring Allure of the One-to-One Challenge, *The Independent* 31 May.

period demonstrate the time devoted to clarifying and protecting amateur principles. In 1887, a professional cricketer, having retired from cricket, and never having run contrary to AAA laws, was declared eligible to compete as an amateur, while a certificate of registration for an amateur six days "go-as-you-please" event was withheld until guarantees were received that the proceeds would be devoted to charity or to amateur athletics. In 1906, it was resolved that travelling and hotel expenses to the Olympics in Athens could be paid, but not directly to the athlete, and, in 1911, it was ruled that a professional runner was allowed to take part in training runs with amateurs but not in "amateur competitions of any sort".<sup>92</sup>

For amateurs, sports provided a structure for socialising with peers, although individual sports could potentially engender selfishness and insularity. British representatives at Stockholm had been successful in events like eights rowing and football, which called "for combination rather than individual effort", and "it is those events that we can take pride in winning".<sup>93</sup> Oxbridge athletes avoided problems by concentrating on team athletics but they often withdrew from participation after graduation when, as C. B. Fry noted, competitions were individualistic, lacking the social interaction and the "comradeship which makes University track athletics so delightful." Fry, an international cricketer, footballer and world record equalling long jumper, epitomised the athlete-hero, a gentleman amateur with natural, uncoached, ability, playing for the sake of playing, and emphasising fair play.<sup>94</sup> Admiration for the gifted amateur permeated all aspects of social life and explains, for example, the opposition of many Victorian army officers to their professionalisation. Manners, signifying virtue, and classical education, signifying a honed mind, were better qualifications than expert practical training.<sup>95</sup>

The ideal amateur was one who could play several games well without giving the impression of strain and, because practising too much undermined natural grace

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<sup>92</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 4 April 1887; 29 April 1887; *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 1 February 1906; 2 November 1911.

<sup>93</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 23 July 1912 p. 16.

<sup>94</sup> Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 221; Oxford University Athletics Club 1850 - 1887: *In the Beginning...The Origins of Modern Athletics* <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ouac/info/history.pdf> (accessed 3 June 2007); Baker, N. (2004). Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society, *Sport in History* 24 (1) pp. 9-10; Woolridge, J. (2002). Mapping the Stars: Stardom in English Professional Football 1890-1946, *Soccer and Society* 3 (2) p. 65.

<sup>95</sup> Creighton, S. (1995). Organised Cycling and Politics: The 1890s and 1900s in Battersea, *The Sports Historian* 15 pp. 32-53; Harries-Jenkins, G. (1975). The Development of Professionalism in the Victorian Army, *Armed Forces and Society* 1 (4) p. 481.

and talent, he would prepare judiciously rarely, if ever, using a coach.<sup>96</sup> Elegance of style was generally considered essential since “bad style is never so effective as the same muscular development in a good form”.<sup>97</sup> The contrast between style and practicality in the use of the body is nicely juxtaposed by a contemporary comparison of William Gray, the racket player, with cricketer W. G. Grace who, although he played for the “Gentlemen”, had attended neither public school nor University. Gray played rackets “like a gentleman and a sportsman.” His object was to win but he was not satisfied unless victory was achieved in “faultless style”, and he was liable to apologise if he hit the side wall before the front wall, “a telling stroke from a strictly commercial point of view” but one that did not satisfy his “instinctively high aesthetic standard of style.” On the other hand, the methods by which Grace made his runs, “though sound, serviceable, powerful, and not without the dignity attaching to all very high efficiency, are not ornamental.” There was a certain “uncouthness and stiffness” in the performance and while those who measured skilfulness by success would be “abundantly satisfied” those who were concerned with style would “be sent empty away.”<sup>98</sup> Other commentators agreed, and as good as his play was it “was not so polished, and withal so effective, as that of Mr. Steel.”<sup>99</sup> Even in events like weightlifting, style was rarely ignored, and Englishman Montgomery was considered “more elegant in his lifting” than strong.<sup>100</sup>

Amateur athletes often compromised with their principles regarding coaching and training when faced with the demands of elite sport.<sup>101</sup> Despite their concern with effortless superiority, there was a tradition of coaching at both Oxford and Cambridge. Although Caspar Whitney commented in the 1870s that “there is no trainer at the English universities”, he observed that Oxford don Clement Jackson

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<sup>96</sup> Holt, R. (1992). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon p. 100; Young, D. C. (2005). Mens sana in corpore sano? Body and Mind in Ancient Greece, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (1) p. 31; Holt, R. (2006). The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain, *Sport In History* 26 (3) pp. 365-366.

<sup>97</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, April 1861 II (14) p. 394.

<sup>98</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Rackets* by E. O. P. Ouverie. pp. 353-407.

<sup>99</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, June 1884 XIII (292) p. 308.

<sup>100</sup> Le Roy, G. (1913). *Athlétisme et Gymnastique Suédoise* (Strength Athletics and Swedish Gymnastics), Paris: Pierre Lafitte. Trans. D. Chapman 1998 *Iron Game History* 5 (2) p. 32.

<sup>101</sup> Holt, R. (1992). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon p. 100; Woolridge, J. (2002). Mapping the Stars: Stardom in English Professional Football 1890-1946, *Soccer and Society* 3 (2) p. 65. Even Fry's autobiography in 1939 omitted details of coaching he had referred to in a 1912 biographical sketch.

gave university athletics "a great deal of personal and valuable attention".<sup>102</sup> Jack White, "the Gateshead Clipper", had been offering his services as a trainer to gentlemen amateurs at the Star Grounds, Fulham, from the 1870s and he secured employment as a coach, or more accurately a servant, in the early 1890s with Cambridge University Athletics Club and he accompanied their team to America. Alec Nelson (1872-1944), an ex-professional runner and trainer, coached middle distance runners at Cambridge from 1906 to 1922, wrote a book on training, and was an Olympic coach in 1912 and 1920. As for training, Bevil Rudd, who was at Oxford in 1913, recalled that he was able "to train at optimal times, unburdened by the demands of having to earn a living."<sup>103</sup> Rowing men always took their sport seriously. Training for the Boat Race in 1888, the Oxford crew rowed twice every day to Iffley and back, three miles, once during the week to Abingdon, seven miles, and once or twice a month to Wallingford, twenty-one miles.<sup>104</sup> At Henley in 1900, "University exponents ruled the roost" which was entirely expected because of their "superior opportunities for practice."<sup>105</sup> Similar examples of amateur commitment occurred outside the universities. As a young middle-class man with a respectable career, runner Walter George appeared to be a typical amateur but he was single-minded in his approach to athletics.<sup>106</sup> Police authorities often granted talented athletes dispensations to enable them to train and compete and the City of London Police tug-of-war team was kept "in hard training for over six months" before one competition.<sup>107</sup>

Victory was an acceptable goal for amateurs but it needed to be kept in perspective and the dangers associated with commercialised sport included the possibility that a focus on success might result in an abandonment of "fair play". This concept had evolved into an ideal that meant abiding by "the spirit of the game", rather than by formal rules, although not all middle class participants interpreted these values with

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<sup>102</sup> Lovesey, P. (2007). *E-mail correspondence* 9 September. Clement Jackson (1846-1924), holder of the 120y hurdles record in 1865 and a tutor at Hertford College, became Oxford's unpaid trainer for many years.

<sup>103</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 December 1871 p. 2; Lovesey, P. (1979). *The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletics Association*, Enfield: Guinness Superlatives p. 117; Oxford University Athletics Club 1850 - 1887: *In the Beginning...The Origins of Modern Athletics* <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ouac/info/history.pdf> (accessed 3 June 2007); Bryant, J. (2005). *3:59.4: The Quest to Break the 4 Minute Mile*, London: Arrow Books p. 228.

<sup>104</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 89-91.

<sup>105</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, September 1900 LXXIV (487) p. 220.

<sup>106</sup> Hadgraft, R. (2006). *Beer and Brine: The Making of Walter George, Athletics' First Superstar*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books p. 30.

<sup>107</sup> Haia Shpayer-Makov, H. (2002). Re-linking Work and Leisure in Late Victorian and Edwardian England: The Emergence of a Police Subculture, *International Review of Social History* 47 pp. 214, 233-234.



equal rigour.<sup>108</sup> Moneyed townsmen attending pigeon shooting centres in and around London, transgressed rules concerning both methods of shooting and general etiquette. At the Old Hats club, near Baling, the secretary kept a record of achievements, to make sure that everyone shot to the best of his ability since there was "no trick or cunning which...some of the 'professors' would not resort to".<sup>109</sup>

Preserving the amateur-professional distinction generated considerable hypocrisy within the middle class, notably in the spread of shamateurism, which also appeared in activities such as music where concerns arose about professionals, instrumental artisans with skills but limited understanding, playing alongside sensitive amateurs, and about soloists appearing for anyone who would pay expenses.<sup>110</sup> In National Hunt racing supposedly amateur jockeys made money from the sport, and shamateurism flourished in cricket.<sup>111</sup> In 1884, the AAA recorded their disapproval of giving money prizes in any sport but recognised they had no "jurisdiction over lawn tennis",<sup>112</sup> where firms supplied free equipment to outstanding players, resulting in amateurs sometimes refusing to attend a tournament unless a certain brand of ball was used.<sup>113</sup> In golf, the line between amateur and professional was difficult to draw because of "the number of boys employed to carry clubs, who afterwards develop into tradesmen". By 1906, an amateur was defined as one who did not play for, or accept, money prizes in a competition open to professionals.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Allison, L. (2001). *Amateurism in Sport: An Analysis and a Defence*, London: Frank Cass p. 22; Brailsford, D. (1985). *Morals and Maulers: The Ethics of Early Pugilism*, *Journal of Sport History* 12 (2) p. 127; Lowerson, J. (2001). *Starting from your own Past? The Serious Business of Leisure History*, *Journal of Contemporary History* 36 (3) p. 523 points out that an under explored theme in social history has been that of the fringes of middle-class life and its role in reinforcing core values.

<sup>109</sup> Wymer, N. (1949). *Sport in England: A History of Two Thousand Years of Games and Pastimes*, London: George G. Harrap and Co. pp. 213-215. Tricks included using an extra large-sized gun; putting in an extra charge of powder and shot; using loaded gun-waddings; bribing the man who takes the birds out of the hamper, to get heavier birds, or to pull out feathers to impede flight.

<sup>110</sup> Gillett, P. (2000). *Ambivalent Friendships; Music-lovers, Amateurs and Professionals in the Late Nineteenth Century*, In Bashford, C. and Langley, L. (Eds.) *Music and British Culture 1785-1914*, Oxford: Oxford University Press p. 321.

<sup>111</sup> Vamplew, W. and Kay, J. (2006). *Captains Courageous: Gentlemen Riders in British Horse Racing, 1866-1914*, *Sport in History* 26 (3) p. 370; Booth, K. (2002). *The Father of Modern Sport: The Life and Times of Charles W. Alcock*, Manchester: The Parrs Wood Press pp. 208-209. At Surrey, players were paid an amount not based on whether they were amateur or professional but according to their value to the club.

<sup>112</sup> *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 12 September 1884 p. 37.

<sup>113</sup> Dobbs, B. (1973). *Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914*, London: Pelham Books p. 166. When one firm invoiced a player for equipment supplied to him, the bill was returned together with a letter saying that a player of his standing could hardly be expected to pay.

<sup>114</sup> *Chambers Encyclopaedia*. (1906). A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge, New edition, Volume 1 London: William and Robert Chambers pp. 206-207. "In cricket it has been said that the difference between amateur and professional is, that the amateur receives two or

Workingmen also found that amateur sport could be quite lucrative. In cycling, "many so-called amateurs are men in the pay of manufacturers, and ride in races for the purpose of advertising their employers' machines" while others accepted money so that they could take time off work to train. The National Cycling Union (NCU) eventually declared these "maker's amateurs" to be professionals.<sup>115</sup> In athletics, some men sold their prizes, others engineered betting coups, and elite athletes demanded appearance money and inflated expenses. The AAA limited the value of prizes to £10, insisted that prizes worth £5 or over were inscribed, and threatened to suspend athletes caught claiming excessive expenses, although promoters colluded in making payments and a number of "amateur" athletes made a living from the sport.<sup>116</sup> For the prestigious Booth Hall Plate event it was an "open secret that many competitors undergo special training and in many cases leave their respective businesses for weeks together to enable them to get into the best possible condition".<sup>117</sup> Eventually athletes such as Bradley, Downer, Bacon, and Watkins, were suspended for asking for more than the "most liberal expenses" from promoters. Bradley included "among the heavy expense he was put to in winning £10 prizes every Saturday", the salary of his trainer.

Members of the prominent clubs, such as Manchester A.C. or the London A.C., have the benefit of a trainer, of course, and it is the practice, where a number are competing at a particular meeting, to take him with them at their own expense. But to hear of an individual, even an aristocrat of the path, having a trainer for his exclusive use, and making him a charge upon the meeting honoured by the great personage is quaint in the extreme.<sup>118</sup>

Clearly, the application of amateur values was somewhat fluid although, in dealing with those outside their immediate circle, such as professional athletes and coaches, amateur administrators within the emergent governing bodies were generally unequivocal, since core amateur values would inevitably become corrupted if money and winning became the *raison d'être* of sporting participation, whether as player or mentor.

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three times as much money as the professional. In lawn-tennis and archery contests, money-prizes are openly played for, and nobody thinks, of calling the players professionals".

<sup>115</sup> *Chambers Encyclopaedia*. (1906). A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge, New edition, Volume 1 London: William and Robert Chambers pp. 206-207; *The Manchester Guardian*, 4 February 1901 p. 12. Applicants for licences to race as amateurs under NCU rules were asked to state employment, name and address of employers, hours of employment, what period of the day was devoted to training, whether a trainer was employed and, if so, whether the trainer accompanied the applicant to race meetings.

<sup>116</sup> Vamplew, W. (1988). *Pay Up and Play the Game*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 198-199.

<sup>117</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 August 1893 p. 3.

<sup>118</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 27 July 1896 p. 7.

### *Amateur Attitudes to Professionals*

During the latter stages of the nineteenth century, the number of sportsmen paid to play or coach was small, although the number employed to service the sports industry was much larger.<sup>119</sup> Because professional jockeys, golfers, and cyclists, among others, easily outperformed anyone unable to devote their whole time to training, gentlemen amateurs designed their sport to reserve part of it for amateur participation only or, at the very least, to keep professionals in their place. This was achieved by legislation, by the master-servant relationship imposed on the teaching professional, and by a combination of paternalism and discipline.<sup>120</sup>

Professionals were rarely able to use sport for social or economic advancement because they lacked the security of employment and income enjoyed by middle class groups, whose master-servant attitudes to professionals reflected the residual influence of aristocratic values. Sporting professionals in cricket, pedestrianism, horse racing, and prizefighting, had initially emerged as servants to be gambled on and later sporting retainers included caddies and professionals in golf, gun-carriers and animal-beaters on safari, chauffeurs in motor racing, and Sherpas in mountain climbing. On shooting estates, both workers and animals were expected to cooperate appropriately, according to the events of the day, the season, or the whims of the sportsman.<sup>121</sup> The paternalistic approach taken to these men was reflected by one writer who was "sorry to hear Mr. Gratwicke's kindness in purchasing Harry Bell's discharge, and putting him on his horses, has been repaid

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<sup>119</sup> Booth, C. (1903). *Life and Labour in London of 1903*, London: Macmillan and Co. The MCC paid £4 for a win in a three day match at Lord's and £3 10s for a loss. For away games, the professional was given £5 to £6 for a three-day match but paid his own expenses. For a big match the fee was £10. Most players returned to their trades in winter although Surrey paid £1 or £1 10s a week to some as a retainer; Tranter, N. (1998). *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 20-77. Overseas coaching contracts typically paid £4 or £5 a week plus a benefit match; Taylor, M. (2001). Beyond the Maximum Wage: The Earnings of Football Professionals in England, 1900-39, *Soccer and Society* 2 (3) pp. 101-118. In 1906 foremen, supervisors, and inspectors earned annually £113, skilled workers £97, and semi-skilled workers £63.

<sup>120</sup> Vamplew, W. (1988). *Pay Up and Play the Game*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 198-199.

<sup>121</sup> Baker, N. (2004). Whose Hegemony? The Origins of the Amateur Ethos in Nineteenth Century English Society, *Sport in History* 24 (1) pp. 12-13; Riess, S. A. (1994). From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport, *Journal of Sport History* 21 (2) pp. 179-180; Booth, D. and Loy, J. (1999). Sport, Status, and Style, *Sport History Review* 30 pp. 1-26; Lorimer, H. (2000). Guns, Game and the Grandee: The Cultural Politics of Deerstalking in the Scottish Highlands, *Ecumene* 7 (4) p. 415; Huggins, M. (2006). Culture, Class and Respectability: Racing and the English Middle Classes in the Nineteenth Century, In Mangan, J. A. (Ed.) *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play*, London: Routledge p. 231. Racing trainers were both servants and employers, with Chifney, Day, Dawson, Scott, and other trainers achieving classic successes and considerable wealth.

with ingratitude, as, from drunkenness and disobedience of orders, he has been obliged to dismiss him."<sup>122</sup>

Sporting servants existed even in cycling, where some society participants employed cycling grooms during the 1890s,<sup>123</sup> although one lawn tennis player rued the fact that while cricket, real tennis, rackets, football, and billiards, all had "a large professional class" who could be pressed into service as officials, no such class existed in lawn tennis.<sup>124</sup> In real tennis, a marker needed "patience, decision of character, power of concentrating...a voice clear and audible, but not too obtrusive, and physical strength that will enable him to stand at his post for protracted periods". He also needed to be thoroughly versed in equipment repair as well as "a competent instructor, and a player of sufficient strength to be able to hold his own with all but the strongest amateurs."<sup>125</sup> Social inferiors in golf included club servants, caddies, the green staff, and the club professional, and by 1907, golf was providing employment for approximately 20,000 full time employees and 80,000 part time caddies. Although a few professionals could earn £1,000 annually, they were also expected to fulfil their traditional duties of repairing clubs, playing rounds with members, and teaching. Not surprisingly, their playing form was susceptible "to periods of vicissitude and distress".<sup>126</sup>

The Amateur Boxing Association (ABA) was formed in 1880 and amateur boxing became a classic expression of Victorian policy on sport in that it promoted a healthy lifestyle, was easily accommodated in an urban environment, and was supported by all classes. Distance between middle class organisers and working class participants was maintained by the hiring of servants, in the form of professional trainers like Bat Mullins at the London Boxing Club, to provide a buffer between administrators and boxers.<sup>127</sup> Professor Mullins was regarded as the most

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<sup>122</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, July 1862 V (29) p. 47.

<sup>123</sup> Rubinstein, D. (1977). Cycling in the 1890s, *Victorian Studies* 21 pp. 58-59.

<sup>124</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Lawn Tennis* by C. G. Heathcote p. 333.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, *Tennis* by J. M. Heathcote pp. 3-123.

<sup>126</sup> Holt, R. (1998). Golf and the English Suburb: Class and Gender in a London Club, c.1890-c.1960, *The Sports Historian* 18 (1) pp. 76-89; Lowerson, J. (1989). Golf, In Mason, T. (Ed.) (1989). *Sport in Britain: A Social History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 187-214; Dobbs, B. (1973). *Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914*, London: Pelham Books p. 165; Cousins, G. (1948). Golf, In Rivers, J. (Ed.) (1948). *The Sports Book: Britain's Prospects in the Olympic Games and in Sport Generally*, London: Macdonald and Co. pp. 185-201. Abe Mitchell, by becoming private professional to Samuel Ryder, donor of the Ryder Cup, was virtually paid to devote his time to playing tournament golf.

<sup>127</sup> Waterhouse, R. (2002). Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting, Masculinity and Nineteenth Century Australian Culture, *Journal of Australian Studies* pp. 101-115; McDevitt, P. F. (2004). "May

capable instructor of the day, and his academy in Glasshouse Street numbered peers of the realm and men of letters among its pupils. Boxing was also "scientifically taught by qualified professors" at Harrow, Highgate, St. Paul's, and Haileybury, among other public schools.<sup>128</sup>

Amateur rowing coach W. B. Woodgate recalled that, "the old theory of an amateur was that he was a gentleman", who could make rowing his sport as long as "he did not actually make it his ostensible means of livelihood." Such men were active in sculling races on the Thames during the first half of the nineteenth century and they barely differed in approach from the professional watermen who conducted their coaching and training, in that fouling was acceptable and they rarely competed unless for money. In 1847, Oxford made amateur coaches a condition of their race with Cambridge, although the reluctance of Cambridge to abandon employing professionals for training led T. S. Egan, former Cambridge coach, to offer his services to Oxford in 1852 arguing that, "eight-oar rowing necessarily declines from its high perfection in the hands of watermen." While Oxford were committed to the principle of amateur coaches, the 1857 Oxford president, A. P. Lonsdale, was so impressed by the boat designed by professional Matthew Taylor which had enabled Royal Chester Rowing Club to win both the Grand and the Ladies' Plate at Henley in 1856, that he ordered a similar boat to be built at his own expense. When Taylor went to Oxford to teach the crew how to get the best out of his new design they employed him, somewhat disingenuously, not to "instruct us in the art of rowing, but to show us the proper way to send his boat along as quickly as possible".<sup>129</sup> What eventually emerged at Oxbridge was a vision of rowing as something that could be honed to perfection by university men, then exhibited annually at the Boat Race and at Henley, and the amateur definition produced in 1878 reflected this perspective. A gentleman amateur had to be "an officer of Her Majesty's Army, or Navy, or Civil Service, a member of the Liberal Professions, or of the Universities or Public school, or of any established boat or rowing club not containing mechanics or professionals." Conversely, an amateur must not have

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*the Best Man Win": Sport, Masculinity and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan; Sheard, K. (2004). Boxing in the Western Civilizing Process, In Dunning, E., Malcolm, D. and Waddington, I. (Eds.) (2004). *Sport Histories: Figurational Studies of the Development of Modern Sports*, London: Routledge p. 23; Anderson, J. (2001). Pugilistic Prosecutions: Prize Fighting and the Courts in Nineteenth Century Britain, *The Sports Historian* 21 p. 47; Shipley, S. (1983). Tom Causer of Bermondsey: A Boxer Hero of the 1890s, *History Workshop Journal* 15 pp. 41, 47-49.

<sup>128</sup> Victoria County History 'Sport, ancient and modern: Boxing', *A History of the County of Middlesex: Vol.2* (1911) pp. 292-95. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=22197> (accessed 10 June 2007); *The Times*, 26 December 1898 p. 7.

<sup>129</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1891). *Boating*, London: Longmans p. 192; Burnell, R. D. (1954). *The Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race, 1829-1953*, London: Oxford University Press pp. 43, 53.

competed for "stake, or money, or entrance-fee, or with or against a professional for any prize...nor have ever been employed in or about boats, or in manual labour; nor be a mechanic, artisan or labourer".<sup>130</sup> The exclusionary principles of rowing were thus established, although working class professionals were always useful in supporting roles. Before the 1866 Boat Race, Oxford easily outdistanced a professional crew that it had engaged for practice.<sup>131</sup>

Objections to professional sport, and those associated with it, invariably invoked anxiety about cheating and gambling, especially given the financial returns reported in connection with some pedestrian events. The amateur concern was that an obsession with gambling, winning prizes, and striving for records, would encourage intentional fouls, bribery, and the arranging of results in advance.<sup>132</sup> Judging by the available evidence this argument had some justification. By mid-century, prize fighting had clearly become a vehicle for gambling interests, despite the efforts of the Pugilistic Benevolent Society, established in 1852, while pedestrian events witnessed impersonation, cheating, and match fixing, resulting in unfavourable comparisons with emerging amateur sports.<sup>133</sup> Competitors and coaches engaged in various forms of deceit, often based on their "stable" of runner, coach, and fellow athletes, which acted as a unit for betting purposes.<sup>134</sup> The objective was not to win every race, but to win a specific race to ensure a large return from prize money and gambling. Planning that win involved the concealment of a runner's ability, especially from handicappers, by running "dead" or deliberately losing races. Techniques differed between sprinters and distance runners, although athletes

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<sup>130</sup> Halladay, E. (1990). *Rowing in England: A Social History - The Amateur Debate*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Shadwell, A. T. W. (1842). ("A Boating Man"). *A Treatise on the Art of Rowing as Practiced at Cambridge*, Cambridge; (1844). *A Treatise on Steering*; (1846) and (c.1857) ("Oarsman") *Principles of Rowing*, Cambridge 1846, Oxford 1857. Shadwell suggested that it would be possible to produce a perfect crew using undergraduates in his 1846 rowing manual.

<sup>131</sup> *The Times*, 23 March 1866 p. 12; 24 March 1866 p. 12; *The Daily Mirror*, 12 March 1907 p. 14. F. B. Wilson commented on critical reports that Cambridge had used a professional crew emanating from Clasper's boatyard to pace them during a training row.

<sup>132</sup> Eisenberg, C. (1990). The Middle Class and Competition: Some Considerations of the Beginnings of Modern Sport in England and Germany, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (2) pp. 272-273.

<sup>133</sup> Anderson, J. (2001). Pugilistic Prosecutions: Prize Fighting and the Courts in Nineteenth Century Britain, *The Sports Historian* 21 p. 37; Lile, E. (2000). Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales during the Nineteenth Century, *The Sports Historian* 20 (2) pp. 94-105.

<sup>134</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 245-246. Sprinters in the 1870s were "kept" and trained for years together, before the day arrived when they were backed to win many thousands of pounds and "called upon to justify their employer's judgment, care and patience. These professionals maintained British supremacy in foot-racing until their hold on the public-foolishly and deservedly lost-not by the runners themselves, but by the men who controlled their doings-waned"; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 7 September 1851 p. 3. Pedestrian trainer Jerry Jim of Preston had the "extraordinary number of nine men training under my care".

commonly put in a hard training session before competition so that fatigue prevented them from performing to their true ability.<sup>135</sup>

The intersection between entrepreneurs, gambling, and the physical preparation of athletes, could be clearly seen in Australian professional sculling. Businessmen sponsored promising scullers by housing them during training, improving coaching standards, and providing stake money, recovering their expenses through betting. Between 1876 and 1892, two cartels sponsored or blocked overseas challengers, held back aspirants until experienced men retired, and discarded scullers who struggled to make the grade. Englishman Ernest Barry, who won the British Championship in 1908 from Towns, and then beat another Australian, Dick Arnst, for the World Championship, adopted the Australian practices of structured training, full-time professional commitment, the screening of opponents, and a refusal to race off home water.<sup>136</sup>

There was nothing of the artisan about Barry, and his immaculate clothes and dignified bearing raised the public standing of the professional as much as his rowing raised its standards of performance.<sup>137</sup> There was a tradition of tolerance for the "educated mechanic, the intelligent working man" who was credited with a degree of common sense.<sup>138</sup> Just as some English workingmen could be considered worthy and respectable, so some professional athletes and coaches could be deemed to display amateur-like qualities, and from the 1870s onwards, the concept of the "respectable professional" was applied in county cricket.<sup>139</sup> Tennis player Peter Latham impressed one writer who left a meeting with him "with a feeling of interest in and respect for a professional athlete which is a rare sensation to an

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<sup>135</sup> Vincent, G. T. (2001). 'Stupid, Uninteresting and Inhuman' Pedestrianism in Canterbury, 1860 -1885, *Sporting Traditions* 18 (1) pp. 44-45; Mewett, P. G. (2000). History in the Making and the Making of History: Stories and the Social Construction of a Sport, *Sporting Traditions* 17 (1) p. 15; Mewett, P. G. (2002). Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running, *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13 (3) pp. 292-308. Heavier running spikes, sometimes using lead, could be worn and on-track cheating included not breathing during a sprint, 'short-striding', deliberate use of poor arm action, adjusting blocks to affect starts, and starting a distance race too fast.

<sup>136</sup> Wigglesworth, N. (1992). *The Social History of English Rowing*, London: Cass; Ripley, S. (2005). The Golden Age of Australian Professional Sculling or Skullduggery? *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (5) pp. 867, 868-869, 878; Brown, A. (1980). Edward Hanlan, the World Sculling Champion visits Australia, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XI (2) pp. 1-44.

<sup>137</sup> Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society, 1887- 1910*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 218; Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 29.

<sup>138</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, February 1884 XLII (288) p. 45.

<sup>139</sup> Light, R. (2005). 'Ten Drunks and a Parson?': The Victorian Professional Cricketer Reconsidered, *Sport in History* 25 (1) pp. 71-73.

essentially amateur sportsman".<sup>140</sup> Amateur rowing men retained a degree of respect for professional oarsmen and were concerned at the poor standards of English professional sculling between 1880 and 1900. Following the defeat of George Bubar by Wallace Ross in 1884, "sackcloth and ashes should be fashionable wear" for professionals, while, by "common consent "Ichabod!" can only be spoken of professional exposition" at the end of the century.<sup>141</sup> In 1890, a general meeting of rowing men representing the Universities and the principal London boat clubs met to revive standards by re-establishing a National Regatta for professional oarsmen.<sup>142</sup> Although it was sometimes alleged that professionals could be "disloyal to amateur members of their sides", G. O. Smith had apparently never found anything but "thorough-going support from the professional element" whenever he captained England.<sup>143</sup> In 1913, *The Times* described professionals in golf, cricket, rackets, tennis and "practically every other form of sport" as "deservedly one of the most respected classes in the community." Professionalism, as opposed to shamateurism, was one of the most satisfactory features of the "athletic life of the nation."<sup>144</sup>

For the committed amateur sportsman, however, there would always be problems with professional sport, especially the focus on winning, exacerbated by coaches whose livelihood depended on results. This was reflected in the criticisms of American coaches such as Charles Courtney, a former professional sculler, who had "invented and patented" the Cornell style of rowing. He controlled their rowing completely, a serious issue for English observers suspicious of a system which allowed a professional, "to whom the impulse is to take advantage of everything", to impose tactics which stretched the letter of the law.<sup>145</sup> Because the professional creed was built around commitment, effort, and victory, the intrinsic value inherent in amateur sporting activity would inevitably be lost. The amateur was a gentleman who played fair and regarded his opponents with respect whereas professional coaches and athletes, despite the growing acceptance of some "respectable" individuals, remained essentially working class, money-orientated opportunists. Coubertin reflected this perspective in expressing concern over professionals who "gave up their whole existence to one particular sport, grow rich

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<sup>140</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1902 p. 5.

<sup>141</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, April 1884 XLII (290) p. 183; August 1900 LXXIV (486) pp. 145-146.

<sup>142</sup> *The Times*, 31 January 1890 p. 10.

<sup>143</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 September 1904 p. 15.

<sup>144</sup> *The Times*, 13 September 1913 p. 7.

<sup>145</sup> *The Badminton Magazine*, October 1895 pp. 419-420.



by practising it, and thus deprive it of all nobility".<sup>146</sup> Much of the debate about amateurism was specifically about money and it was considered essential to ensure "that filthy lucre is not an element in modern contests".<sup>147</sup> This attitude was reflected by the punitive way in which transgressors were dealt with. When it was proved that E. Whittaker "had received monies for training purposes" in 1903, the secretary of the Midland Counties AAA was instructed to inform him "he had forfeited his amateur status."<sup>148</sup> The acceptance of money not only changed an individual's relationship to sport, but also designated the type of person that he was. Men employed during the shooting season, for example, were "over-worked, over-fed, and over-paid for about two months of the year" but then "loaf about for the rest of the year, and become utterly useless for any honorable industry." A caddie "seldom learns a trade, or gives himself to steady work of any kind" and a young man hired to carry a game-bag "scarcely ever turns out well". Billiard-markers were "the offscourings of society", and in all instances where "pleasure is turned to a business, and...men are hired...the men so hired are utterly ruined."<sup>149</sup>

#### *Amateur Attitudes to Professional Coaches*

Entrepreneurs were often close to the sportsmen they backed and controlled, and they regularly dealt with professional coaches, especially if they were relying on the efforts of their athletes and teams to bring financial return or some modicum of local prestige. The physical conditioning, psychological preparation, and tactical development of individuals in professional boxing, pedestrianism, and sculling, demanded an expertise that was traditionally working class in origin.<sup>150</sup> The small businessmen who backed fighters in the London's East End recognised that their men needed expert training and coaching. For Bill Price at Hackney Wick, close contests between well-prepared athletes were essential in attracting paying spectators, and coaches, sometimes also acting as managers, were important intermediaries. Similarly, in professional sports like association football, or in the amateur boxing clubs, it was necessary to have someone who could prepare athletes directly while the middle class organised their clubs, and their sport, from a distance.

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<sup>146</sup> Coubertin, P. (1896). The Olympic Games of 1896, *The Century Magazine* 53, 31 November p. 37.

<sup>147</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, April 1884 XLII (290) p. 183.

<sup>148</sup> *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Committee Minutes*, 17 August 1903.

<sup>149</sup> *The Living Age*, 22 September 1883 158 (2048) p. 765.

<sup>150</sup> Lovesey, P. (2007). *E-mail correspondence* 9 September. William Price (died 1902) of Mile End, trained numerous runners and walkers, including the Mills brothers, Sam Barker, Jem Pudney, Bob Rogers, George Davidson, and William Hatley. Billy Fish of Royton trained a number of northern pedestrians, including William Lang and James Sanderson

Adherence to the amateur ethos by the professional middle class generally meant downplaying the value of coaching. Intimately connected to admiration of the all rounder was the fear of specialisation so expert coaching needed to be used prudently. However, in some sports, there was a difficulty in being able to perform effectively and stylishly without visible strain. Rowing crews required co-ordination of effort and physical ability so that the appropriate style, which emphasised effortless grace, could be displayed. In such instances, coaches were acceptable, providing of course they were also amateur gentlemen, since part of the problem in employing a professional coach was that any such coaching engagement inevitably involved the reversal of the traditional master-servant relationship. In 1801, a letter to *The Times* noted the way that Jacky Smith ordered Barclay, a gentleman, about "just as if he had been a spaniel".<sup>151</sup> The idea of a gentleman subverting his social status by allowing himself to be dictated to by a lower class coach was unpalatable and this was always going to be a difficult problem for coaches who, by the nature of their task, are drawn towards controlling tendencies. Some characters in Wilkie Collins's *Man and Wife* cannot accept the relationship between the gentleman amateur athlete, Geoffrey Delamayn, and his trainer, Perry, who controls his diet and his daily movements, refuses to share training times, and insists on total secrecy and isolation. When Geoffrey appears at training with Mrs Glenarm an apoplectic Perry reminds him forcibly of the agreed training rules. Despite the disparity in social status, "Geoffrey himself was afraid to show his temper in the presence of Perry...the first and foremost of British trainers was not to be trifled with, even by the first and foremost of British athletes."<sup>152</sup>

As a rule, the professional classes relied on coaching from their peers, when coaching was considered unavoidable, especially in rowing where professional coaches would not be able to understand the complexities or the aesthetics of the unison and style vital to rowing in an eight. For amateur rowers the only men able to appreciate their need to subsume individuality into the team effort, a core aspect of the amateur ethos, were amateur coaches from their own social class. In the schools, it was schoolmasters, in the universities, it was the dons, and, after university, it might be experienced members of their club. Edmund Warre was officially an "adviser" to the Captain of Boats at Eton, although he was clearly regarded as the coach. Leslie Stephen, while a junior fellow of Trinity Hall, coached

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<sup>151</sup> *The Times*, 14 November 1801 p. 4.

<sup>152</sup> Collins, W. (1870). *Man and Wife*, Page, N. (Ed.) Oxford University Press 1995 pp. 337-359.

college boats, as did H. A. Morgan at Jesus College.<sup>153</sup> When F. L. Playford and A. C. Dicker rowed each other for the Wingfield Sculls in 1875, Dicker was piloted by the professional Joseph Sadler, while Playford was steered by F. S. Gulston, captain of the London Rowing Club. Playford won, surpassing his Henley performance, thanks to "Mr. Gulston, whose coaching...has succeeded in improving his sculling in a most marked manner during the past three weeks."<sup>154</sup>

### *Regulating Coaches*

Individual sports presented a particular problem for amateur administrators who needed to maintain control but from a distance. The transmission of amateur values becomes problematic and the potential for subversion increases, if powerful figures with contradictory values of sport, such as professional coaches, are operating in the same arena. As a result, when rules were formulated for the new sporting associations the practice of receiving money for coaching or teaching was identified as a problem and amateur regulators used structural definitions to exclude professional pedagogues, thereby reinforcing the principle of voluntarism so important to the amateur ethos.

The first definition of an amateur in rowing concluded with a series of negative propositions to the effect that an amateur must not have "ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises of any kind as a means of livelihood". This clause was replicated faithfully when the Amateur Rowing Association (ARA) implemented the Playford report of 1878 and when the Henley rules were produced before the 1879 regatta. It was identical phraseology to that used by the AAC in 1868 in framing rules to keep out professional pedestrians and it gradually established itself as a template for amateur sporting bodies, at home and abroad, although local contexts and subtle wording differences allowed for varying interpretations of the coaching role.<sup>155</sup>

Amateur governing bodies regularly conferred on these issues to ensure consistency of purpose. In 1883, the Swimming Association of Great Britain (SAGB) informed the Southern Committee of the AAA (SCAAA) that they had

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<sup>153</sup> Money, T. (1997). *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the Nineteenth-Century Sporting Revival*, London: Duckworth p. 159; Halladay, E. (1990). *Rowing in England: A Social History - The Amateur Debate*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Mangan, J. A. (1984). 'Oars and the Man': Pleasure and Purpose in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, *British Journal of Sport History* 1 (3) p. 257.

<sup>154</sup> *The Times*, 24 July 1875 p. 13.

<sup>155</sup> Allison, L. (2001). *Amateurism in Sport: An Analysis and a Defence*, London: Frank Cass p. 20; Halladay, E. (1990). *Rowing in England: A Social History - The Amateur Debate*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

notified the School Board of London that all teachers charging two shillings per head for teaching boys to swim thereby became professionals and would not be able to join an amateur swimming club. The SAGB had suggested that the school board should add to the salary of the teacher instead of giving head money, which would do away with the objection, and the AAA committee agreed.<sup>156</sup> When the SAGB bath attendant rule was altered as from June 1884 this was also formally announced at a full AAA committee meeting.<sup>157</sup>

In 1885, the SCAAA decided "that a fixed and regular engagement with remuneration, for instruction in gymnastics etc. would render an athlete ineligible to compete under AAA laws".<sup>158</sup> Subsequently, the committee busied itself with clarifying potential misunderstandings, confirming in 1887 that paid instructors of gymnastics and fencing were professionals and could not, therefore, become vice-presidents of an affiliated club. Honorary instructors could attend committee meetings, provided they were not club members, but should not receive payment "beyond the actual out-of-pocket expenses incurred in visiting the clubs whose members they instruct". It was further recommended that expenses be paid through the officers of the club to which honorary instructors belonged.<sup>159</sup> In 1888, after cautioning them as to their future conduct, the committee reinstated thirteen Polytechnic gymnastic instructors on the understanding that they were in no way to be remunerated for services rendered to gymnasiums.<sup>160</sup>

The 1908 Olympic Games official report highlighted the importance placed by the English organisers on amateurism. Appendix E of the report was devoted to an exposition of amateur regulations, from Britain and from around the world.<sup>161</sup> Only amateurs were admitted to the Olympics, although the 1894 Sorbonne Congress had exempted fencing professionals, who competed in both 1896 and in 1900. Fencing teachers, or masters, were professionals but they were also gentlemen.<sup>162</sup> Subsequently, the Olympic Games in St. Louis, 1904, excluded anyone who had

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<sup>156</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 20 October 1883.

<sup>157</sup> *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 26 April 1884 p. 30.

<sup>158</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 13 March 1885 p. 40.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 September 1887; 25 November 1887 p. 28.

<sup>160</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 27 July 1888. The men were John Gray; H. Ashbury; B. Dovey; J. H. Strudwick; John Carter; C. Bassett; George Tracy; A. W. Steer; W. Dawson; Chas. Flood; W. H. Bangest; E. Hamthogle; S. H. Smith.

<sup>161</sup> *The Fourth Olympiad: The Official Report of The Olympic Games 1908*, Drawn up by Theodore Andrea Cooke, The British Olympic Association Appendix E. pp. 762-778.

<sup>162</sup> Coubertin, P. (1896). The Olympic Games of 1896, *The Century Magazine* 53, 31 November p. 34; Mallon, B. (1998). *The 1900 Olympic Games: Results for All Competitors in All Events, with Commentary*, London: McFarland pp. 12-13; *British Olympic Council* (1907). Minutes of IOC Meeting at The Hague 23-25 May 1907 p. 4. In 1908 yachting, skippers were amateurs but professional crews were allowed in boats over 5 tons.

accepted compensation "in any form...for rendering personal service of any kind to any athletic organisation" and the 1905 International Olympic Congress in Brussels defined as an amateur anyone who had never been "a professional or hired teacher of physical exercises". The Congress did consider, however, professors should be considered an amateur for sports they did not teach. For the Intercalated Games in 1906, an amateur was anyone who had never "received remuneration, whether exercising by himself or teaching or training others."

Not surprisingly, the 1908 definitions of amateurism proffered by English associations were almost identical on the subject of teachers and coaches. The AAA description of an amateur as one who had never "taught any athletic exercise as a means of pecuniary gain" was repeated, almost verbatim, by the National Amateur Wrestling Association, the ABA, the Amateur Gymnastic Association, and the Amateur Gymnastic Federation. The NCU reiterated that a cyclist became a professional by "personally teaching, training, or coaching any other person", while the Amateur Fencing Association, exempted school teachers giving instruction in gymnastics, fencing, or other forms of athletics, to school pupils as part of their school duties, "and receiving no extra remuneration". The ARA and the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) both found it necessary to clarify the rule. The ARA noted that no-one could be considered an amateur oarsman, sculler, or coxswain who had "ever taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises of any kind for profit" and the ASA emphasised that a swimmer became a professional by "personally teaching, training, or coaching any other person...for pecuniary gain". Also excluded was anyone "employed for money or wages in a swimming bath or elsewhere as an attendant on swimmers". In golf, amateur status was denied those who had "received any consideration for...giving lessons in the game", while the Shooting Association (Clay Birds) defined as a professional any person who had "engaged in the teaching of shooting as a means of livelihood."

Scottish amateur associations in athletics, cycling, and swimming, repeated the exclusionary mantra, as did the Irish Amateur Athletic Association, the Gaelic Athletic Association (Ireland), the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia, and the Amateur Sporting Federation of New South Wales, although Australian bodies exempted a man teaching athletic exercises at a school, "provided his engagement includes scholastic duties at the same institution".<sup>163</sup> In Europe, the Union Belge De Sports Athlétiques defined an amateur as one who had never "received payment

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<sup>163</sup> Phillips, M. G. (2001). Diminishing Contrasts and Increasing Varieties: Globalisation Theory and 'Reading' Amateurism in Australian Sport, *Sporting Traditions* 18 (1) pp. 19-20.

as professor or instructor in any kind of physical exercise” and the Danish Federation recognised athletes as amateurs providing they did not “teach for salary (or fee) any sport,” although there were exemptions. The Union Des Sociétés Françaises De Sports Athlétiques barred anyone who had been “a paid teacher or demonstrator of physical exercises,” since no man without a private income could devote himself to sport and not be a professional.<sup>164</sup>

The impression of a single, shared vision of the pernicious affect of professional coaching is somewhat illusionary, however, because it ignores nuances in the interpretations of amateurism emanating from different cultural and historical traditions. While “professional” was equated in England with a lack of moral turpitude, in America the word was applied to those who were not only paid for coaching, but also did it well. The distinction between amateur and professional became as much a question of competence as about money.<sup>165</sup> The 1876 New York Athletic Club rules, barring those who had taught athletics for a living, became the standard, although clubs circumnavigated the rules to recruit top athletes and coaches.<sup>166</sup> The Inter-collegiate Association similarly defined an amateur in 1906 as one who had never “taught, pursued, or assisted at athletic exercises for money, or for any valuable consideration.” Athletes forfeited amateur status if they, directly or indirectly, received payment “for training or coaching any other person in any athletic exercise” or “for services personally rendered in teaching any athletic exercise.”<sup>167</sup>

While the phraseology might be similar, the ways in which the amateur rules were implemented depended on the cultural context. When the University of Pennsylvania reached the 1901 final of the Grand at Henley they did so with a professional coach leading to a consequent tightening of the rules after 1902 to exclude crews coached or “controlled” by professionals. Some considered such measures hypocritical. In the 1913 debate about funding for the Olympics one correspondent observed,

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<sup>164</sup> *The Fourth Olympiad: The Official Report of The Olympic Games 1908*, Drawn up by Theodore Andrea Cooke, The British Olympic Association Appendix E. pp. 762-778; Weber, E. (1971). Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siecle France: Opium of the Classes? *The American Historical Review* 76 (1) p. 84.

<sup>165</sup> Korr, C. P. (1985). Two Cheers for the Professional: Some Anglo-American Comparisons, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 2 (3) pp. 294-295.

<sup>166</sup> Riess, S. A. (1994). From Pitch to Putt: Sport and Class in Anglo-American Sport, *Journal of Sport History* 21 (2) p. 148.

<sup>167</sup> *The Fourth Olympiad: The Official Report of The Olympic Games 1908*, Drawn up by Theodore Andrea Cooke, The British Olympic Association Appendix E. p. 774.

...people write as if to give an amateur professional assistance in training is equivalent to converting him into a professional. But what about the masters in the public schools who owe their appointments mainly to skill at games? And what about the cricket professionals who coach the school elevens? Who pays to give the boys these advantages? Surely what is sauce for the public school geese is also sauce for the Board School ganders.<sup>168</sup>

The AAA shared the ARA's concerns about professional coaches and was similarly suspicious of both the Americans and the Olympic movement, as was the Royal and Ancient.<sup>169</sup> English commentators sniped at the "mysterious "training tables", which enable athletes to train and live in luxury at the expense of the clubs",<sup>170</sup> and London organisers for the 1908 Games, ensured that marathon competitors were not allowed "to have the companionship of their trainers to the starting mark" for the first time.<sup>171</sup> These fundamental differences in approach were summarised in 1912 by Philip Noel-Baker, who noted, "The American athlete specialises in one or two events; before any race of great importance he devotes most of his time to his training; he has a coach often a professional". For the gentleman amateur these practices were somewhat unethical although other English athletes joined harrier clubs to receive specialised, professional coaching. Sam Mussabini trained the two greatest sprinters of the period, Vic D'Arcy and Willie Applegarth, at the Regent Street Polytechnic and both were members of the team that won the sprint relay in Stockholm in 1912.<sup>172</sup> Conversely, Arnold Strode-Jackson, who won the 1500 metres, was the archetypal gentleman amateur, an Oxford man who preferred golf, country walks and massage to training and "invariably had a glass of Guinness for lunch and a nice glass of Burgundy for dinner". Field events, in which specialised coaching was essential, were consistently marginalised by the AAA and the Amateur Field Events Association, founded in 1910 by athletics coach F. A. M. Webster, among others, made little impact.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> *The Times*, 22 October 1913 p. 12.

<sup>169</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 24 September 1913 p. 14. The Royal and Ancient "unanimously expressed its disapproval of golf being included in the Olympic games, and agreed if golf were included to take no part in the drawing up of the programme".

<sup>170</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 4 May 1896 p. 7.

<sup>171</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 12 November 1907 p. 14.

<sup>172</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee. Bergvall, E. (Ed.) (1913). *The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, Trans. Adams-Ray, E. Stockholm Wahlstrom and Widstrand; *The Daily Mirror*, 6 July 1914 p. 14 reported that Applegarth had improved greatly under the tuition of that "astute old runner A. A. Mussabini"; *The Observer*, 8 June 1924 p. 16. When Abrahams beat "evens" in the 100 yards it was partly because he had been wise enough to let S. A. Mussabini, who made Applegarth, Edward and Hill, take him in hand. The result was that Abrahams gained a yard on his field in the first ten.

<sup>173</sup> Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 216; Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press pp. 30-31.

Where it was necessary to coach or train others in the course of spreading the amateur ethos, such as among the working classes who attended amateur boxing clubs, then a coach could legitimately be employed, although professionals needed to be kept in their place. At the rackets and tennis clubs, markers were treated similarly to cricket professionals in that they were referred to by their surnames. In cricket, the tradition of employing professional players at the public schools meant a greater acceptance of professional coaches and, by the late nineteenth century, there was a well-established career-structure with ample coaching opportunities for retiring professionals. County clubs also developed coaching opportunities and, in 1893, when Surrey advertised for a cricket instructor, the match committee recommendation that "an amateur preferred" be included in the advert was changed by the general committee to "amateur or professional". Opportunities also existed in industrial settings and there were two professional cricket coaches at Cadburys by 1904.<sup>174</sup> The golf professional generally achieved a degree of respectability, equivalent to that of fencing professors, but, despite the formation of the Professional Golfers Association in 1901, the average club professional remained essentially a servant. At Leeds G.C. in 1912, for example, the professional was instructed to pay more attention whilst giving lessons. The biggest source of finance was probably their shop, although there were increasingly lucrative returns from tournament performances.<sup>175</sup> Unlike golf, there was no Open championship in lawn tennis, where professional championships were basically between coaches of the exclusive clubs, such as Charles Read who had become an assistant at Queen's Club in 1902, aged thirteen, and it was amateur championships that drew the crowds.<sup>176</sup>

Most late nineteenth century swimming coaches originated as professional swimmers who first established themselves as "champions" and then subsequently used this reputation to advertise themselves as professors and teachers. Champion five-mile swimmer, Professor Charles Whyte became variously the swimming

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<sup>174</sup> Money, T. (1997). *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the Nineteenth-Century Sporting Revival*, London: Duckworth; Rice, J. (1998). *Start of Play: The Curious Origins of our Favourite Sports*, London: Prion Books p. 46; Booth, K. (2002). *The Father of Modern Sport: The Life and Times of Charles W. Alcock*, Manchester: The Parrs Wood Press p. 208; Bromhead, J. (2000). George Cadbury's Contribution to Sport, *The Sports Historian* 20 (1) pp. 97-117.

<sup>175</sup> Brailsford, D. (1992). *British Sport: A Social History*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press p. 104; Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 35; Birley, D. (1996). The Primrose Path: The Sports Pages Lecture 1995, *The Sports Historian* 16 pp. 1-15; See also Holt, R. (1998). Golf and the English Suburb: Class and Gender in a London Club, c.1890-c.1960, *The Sports Historian* 18 (1) pp. 76-89 for experiences of Bob McKenzie, a club professional from 1908 to 1948.

<sup>176</sup> Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 166.



master and instructor at Harrow Schools, and the professor in residence at the King Street Baths, Camden Town. He sat on the first committee of the Professional Swimming Association in 1881, and received five prizes from the Royal Humane Society for saving life. As swimming master at Paddington Public Baths, Bayswater, he organised annual swimming entertainments over a long period, latterly advertising them as being "Under the Laws of the Amateur Swimming Association of Great Britain".<sup>177</sup> Professionals like Whyte were grudgingly accepted in their role as teachers by the ASA but they were excluded from the corridors of power.

### *Walter Brickett, A Respectable Professor*

While there was a degree of consistency across sports in the way that professional coaches were marginalised, there was also considerable leakage around the margins of amateur hegemony. As Wittgenstein observed, "No rule can determine its own application. For every rule there is an interpretation of that rule".<sup>178</sup> The lines of demarcation between professional and amateur were constantly blurred, dependent on both the sport and the individuals involved, and, as a result, every coaching life was potentially unique. Just as with professional sportsmen, who could become respectable icons of hard work and prudence, so it was with some coaches. The life of Walter Brickett, for example, an amateur swimmer and coach who initially earned his living outside of swimming, at least until the early 1900s, when he began to be referred to as professor, demonstrates how acceptable transitions could be made across this divide.<sup>179</sup>

When the British team attended the Stockholm Olympics in 1912 it was accompanied by a number of trainers, not all of them amateurs. A. Birch worked with footballers, W. Klein with wrestlers, and both J. Sykes and H. Thomson worked in cycling, while W. Cross, A. Nelson, W. Parrish, and W. G. Thomas attended to the track and field athletes. Mrs. Holmes and Mrs. Jarvis, the chaperones and trainers for the female swimmers, were accompanied by W. S. Brickett, attending his

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<sup>177</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, August 1881, included a circular from PSA detailing their officers and rules, received by SAGB Hon. Sec. on 8 August; British Library *Evan.* 1565 Notice; *Evan.* 1275 Notice; *Evan.* 2624a Programme; *Evan.* 1672 Notice; *Evan.* 985 Notice; *Evan.* 6055 Advertisement; *Evan.* 6736 Advertisement.

<sup>178</sup> Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical Investigations*, Trans Anscombe, G. E. M. Oxford: Basil Blackwell paragraphs 201-2.

<sup>179</sup> The information that follows comes from a number of sources, including written material and photographs provided by the descendents of Walter Brickett which fleshed out details gathered from census records, contemporary authors, and from newspapers and other primary sources. I would like to record my thanks for their time, interest, and cooperation.

second Games as trainer to the swimming team.<sup>180</sup>

Walter Septimus Brickett was born in 1865 in Camden to Sarah Brickett and James Brickett, a *grocer*. By 1881, Walter was following in the footsteps of brothers Charles, Alfred, Arthur, and James, as a *pianoforte maker*, which remained his primary occupation until at least 1901.<sup>181</sup> Judging by a business card presented by Walter's son Lionel, in the 1920s, which was for Alfred Taylor and Son Ltd., Pianoforte Manufacturers, the family used their craft skills working for others, rather than having their own business.<sup>182</sup>

Walter also followed his brothers into the water and onto the running track. James, one-time captain of the Elephant S.C., had dead heated for third place with Harry Parker, the then Amateur Champion, in 1872, leading to "lengthy discussion" within the SAGB.<sup>183</sup> Brother John was also a swimmer and Albert Arthur was a Highgate Harrier. Between 1883 and 1898, Walter competed regularly in amateur swimming events. He was at Lambeth Baths in 1883, finishing third in an eighty yard handicap,<sup>184</sup> and at the Welsh Harp, Hendon, in July 1885 for the one mile championship, swum under the auspices of the SAGB, where, representing Zephyr S.C. he was unplaced, after being the "first to show prominently".<sup>185</sup> Walter took part in an exhibition race at the Zephyr S.C. Annual Entertainment at the Fitzroy Baths, Tottenham Court Road, in 1888,<sup>186</sup> and in the Long Distance Amateur Championships in the Thames, from Putney Bridge to Charing Cross, in both 1888 and 1889, representing Unity S.C..<sup>187</sup> When Newman included a biographical note on Walter he recalled that he had been third in the five hundred yards Championship in 1888, and second in 1896, third in the Ulph Cup race, 1889, second for the *Sportsman* Cup in 1892, and third in the Salt Water Championship, 1891.<sup>188</sup> In 1890, he competed in the Half-Mile Amateur Championship in Hollingworth Lake, Rochdale, and in the 220 yards championship at the Kensington

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<sup>180</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee. Bergvall, E. (Ed.) (1913). *The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, Trans. Adams-Ray, E. Stockholm Wahlstrom and Widstrand p. 965.

<sup>181</sup> Census Returns 1871-1901. GRO (1865/birth/September/Pancras/1b/11). 1871 (206/60/15), 1881 (182/99/15), 1891 (117/115/34), 1901 (150/124/36).

<sup>182</sup> Alfred Taylor and Son Ltd. Pianoforte Manufacturers, Alsen Road, Holloway, London N.7 tel: North 1016.

<sup>183</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, 10 June 1872.

<sup>184</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 19 September 1883 p. 8; *The Penny Illustrated*, 22 September 1883 p. 10.

<sup>185</sup> *The Times*, 20 July 1885 p. 10.

<sup>186</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 6 October 1888, p. 14.

<sup>187</sup> *The Times*, 13 August 1888 p. 10; 2 September 1889 p. 8.

<sup>188</sup> Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmer's Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 80.

Baths, where he came fifth.<sup>189</sup> Between 5,000 and 10,000 spectators witnessed the 440 yards amateur scratch race at the "World's Water Show," at Earl's Court London on 23 September 1893 when J. H. Tyers, amateur champion of England won easily by forty yards, with Brickett, then captain of Unity S.C., second.<sup>190</sup> Despite his lack of victories, Walter continued competing and, in 1895, he was representing Dolphin S.C. when he came second again to Tyers over 1,066 yards at Yarmouth. At the Mile Amateur Swimming Championship held in the West India Docks in 1897 as part of the Jubilee gala of the Life Saving Society, Walter, York S.C., started at station seven. Swimming for York again when the Otter Club held their annual swimming competitions at the St. George's Baths in 1898, Walter recorded a rare victory in winning the 120 yards special handicap from a ten seconds start. Walter also competed in athletics winning the Mile Open Walking Handicap for Highgate Harriers, off a hundred yards start, when LAC held their first spring meeting at Stamford Bridge in 1887.<sup>191</sup> Walter later noted that, of his three hundred trophies, he treasured this Queen's Jubilee Cup the most.<sup>192</sup>

Walter established himself in many areas of swimming, including life saving, being involved in the creation of the Life Saving Society, along with leading amateurs William Henry and Archibald Sinclair, on the 3 January 1891.<sup>193</sup> Given Walter's artisan background this is slightly at odds with Love's assertion that the association was formed by "gentlemen swimmers".<sup>194</sup> These skills came in useful in 1907 when Walter rescued a drowning seaman and, "although the Sylvester method of resuscitation was ineffective" he "brought him round by the more vigorous Marshall Hall method."<sup>195</sup> He was holder of the Society's Bronze Medal for founder of the Life Saving Society, and holder of the Society's Bronze Medal for Life Saving.<sup>196</sup>

Walter became a prominent coach and, in 1907, "Prof. Walter Brickett, the well known and popular instructor," was accorded an annual entertainment at the Prince

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<sup>189</sup> *The Times*, 7 July 1890 p. 10; 7 October 1890 p. 6.

<sup>190</sup> *The Leeds Mercury*, 25 September 1893 p. 5; *Glasgow Herald*, 25 September 1893 p. 9; *The Illustrated Police News*, 30 September 1893 p. 4.

<sup>191</sup> *The Times*, 3 September 1895 p. 6; 5 October 1898 p. 9; *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 June 1897 p. 6; *The Times*, 4 April 1887 p. 6.

<sup>192</sup> Professor Brickett to retire by "Bootlegger" - *St. Pancras Chronicle*, Camden, undated.

<sup>193</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co. p. 379; Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. p. 234.

<sup>194</sup> William Henry, the long serving secretary of the lifesaving association had been an upholsterer's foreman. Love, C. (2007). "Whomsoever you see in distress': Swimming, Saving Life and the Rise of the Royal Life Saving Society, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) p. 669 cites the 1902 Royal Humane Society Annual Report figures for drowning. In 1875 there were 3,199 deaths and, twenty-five years later, in 1900, 2,652.

<sup>195</sup> *The Sportsman*, 24 July 1907.

<sup>196</sup> Newspaper Cuttings in Brickett family papers.

of Wales Road Baths in Kentish Town by the twenty-five clubs which he was teaching. No coach had "met with such success in developing his pupils, who during the last few years have carried all before them". The baths were packed, and "a capital programme produced some very fine racing". A four lengths' exhibition by Miss Lily Smith "met with a great reception", whilst six year old Miss Annie McHattie was "loudly applauded" for her three lengths' exhibition swim. Jabez Wolffe also appeared, there was a display of diving, and "Brickett's ornamental swimming was as popular as ever".<sup>197</sup>

In 1908, Walter was appointed trainer to the Olympic team.<sup>198</sup> After the Games he was presented with a unique testimonial from the ASA, signed by George W. Hearne, ASA President, and seventy members of the Committee, water polo, swimming, and diving teams, "bearing testimony to, and sincere appreciation of, the valuable and unremitting services of professor Brickett, to whom all British Olympic swimmers were greatly indebted".<sup>199</sup> A "large proportion" of the swimming clubs of London subsequently united in promoting a benefit entertainment for Walter "who recently trained Miss Lily Smith, J. Wolffe, and the English swimmers in the Olympic Games".<sup>200</sup>

Walter's appointment for Stockholm as "trainer and adviser-in-chief" was confirmed at the 1912 annual general meeting of the ASA, when the meeting also noted that special committees had been formed in each district. Preliminary trials were to be completed by 11 May, and the final trials by 25 May, while the British Olympic Association had agreed to pay all expenses of the British swimmers.<sup>201</sup> The first batch of Olympians to depart for Stockholm at the end of June included Belle White, Miss Irene Steer, J. H. Derbyshire, and P. Radmilovic, accompanied by Walter.<sup>202</sup> White won a high diving bronze medal in Stockholm and she reached the high diving finals at the Antwerp games, which Walter attended, although not in an official capacity. Belle recalled Walter as "a fatherly type of man, but he was a hard disciplinarian in training. He gave you marvellous encouragement and always tried to make you feel confident." The committee report following the Games commended Madame Jarvis and Professor Walter Brickett, "who accompanied the

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<sup>197</sup> Prof. Brickett's Annual Gala 1907 Newspaper Cutting.

<sup>198</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 1908 p. 119. Committee appointed W. Brickett "Trainer to the British Swimmers" and George W. Hearn (President) as manager.

<sup>199</sup> Professor Brickett to retire by "Bootlegger" - *St. Pancras Chronicle*, Camden, undated.

<sup>200</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 24 August 1908 p. 14.

<sup>201</sup> *The Times*, 4 March 1912 p. 15.

<sup>202</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 1 July 1912 p. 18.

team as professional trainers and attendants" for discharging their duties "in the most capable manner".<sup>203</sup>

After he became a paid trainer, thereby excluding himself from amateur events, Walter combined his athletics and swimming into multi-event challenges, which helped to establish him as a "Champion". In 1914, at the age of forty-nine he "easily succeeded" in walking a mile, running a mile, cycling a mile, rowing a mile, and swimming a mile, all within an hour, the distances being marked out by Charles Perry, the Olympic stadia groundsman. He completed his swim section in sixteen minutes twenty-five 1/5 seconds, using a powerful overarm stroke "alternated with a few bursts of the trudgeon".<sup>204</sup> In 1916, Walter covered seven miles on land and water in fifty-three minutes forty-nine seconds, and, on 15 August 1919, apparently sponsored by the *News of the World*, he walked a mile, ran a mile, ran a mile over hurdles, cycled three miles, rowed a mile, and swam a mile, all in fifty-five minutes, thirty-four 1/5 seconds.<sup>205</sup>

Walter's business card, circa 1914, advertised him as the "well-known British Olympic Trainer, appointed by the Amateur Swimming Association, and teacher of all styles of Swimming". A course of lessons cost a guinea, a single lesson was two shillings, while a course of twelve lessons concentrating on "Crawl, Over-arm & Trudgeon Stroke" was one pound, four shillings. Special terms could be negotiated for club members wanting to improve for races. Walter's credentials were reinforced by a list of his 1913 successes including H. E. Annison, hundred yards English Champion, and Dorothy Anderson, hundred yards Southern Counties Champion.<sup>206</sup> When St. Pancras S.C. advertised a Ladies Section in 1919/1920 one of the drawing cards they presented was that "Professor Walter Brickett, the famous Olympic swimming trainer and coach, has been engaged to improve those who can, and teach those who cannot, swim". A signed photograph of Brickett was included, under which was noted that he was the "Maker of Champions. Well-known Swimming Instructor and Coach". At some stage between 1912 and 1919 Walter went to Jersey to teach the crawl to members of the Jersey S.C. and he was the coach for Hoddesdon S.C. in June 1921, where he was paid seven pound ten

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<sup>203</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 1912 p. 150. Report of the Selection Committee – Stockholm Olympic Games 1912.

<sup>204</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 24 July 1914 p. 14. Fine Feat by Walter Brickett; *Physical Culture*, October 1914. What the World is Doing.

<sup>205</sup> *World Sports*, December 1970. Any Takers for 50-year-old record?

<sup>206</sup> Walter Brickett Business Card, c. 1914, Brickett family papers

shillings for a series of lessons.<sup>207</sup> Around this time, Walter also joined fellow instructors Ross Eagles, W. H. Whiting, E. Joice, F. Unwin, Mrs. Hughes, and W. W. Nicoll, in the *News-Chronicle* instructional enclosure at the Lido, Hyde Park, to give swimming lessons. Interviewed late in his career, Walter noted that girls were well suited for swimming because of their buoyancy and suppleness, their ability to stay in the water for long periods, and their stamina, which was "quite equal" to that of men. He considered seven the ideal age to learn the strokes because the crawl was "learned with comparative ease by children", although the "golden period" of a girl's swimming career was between eighteen and twenty-two. Swimmers needed to "work very hard and train daily". In Walter's experience, tall girl champions were "exceptional" and practically all champions had been girls of medium height.<sup>208</sup>

This was certainly not true of six foot three inch, fifteen stone, Clarabelle Barratt, of New York, "the giantess of women Channel swimmers", who attempted a Channel crossing in 1926, after preparing with Walter.<sup>209</sup> Walter had been involved in training channel swimmers since working with Greasley in 1904, whose final preparations included a "long walk over the cliffs with his trainer, Walter Brickett, who is confident of his success."<sup>210</sup> Walter also worked with Jabez Wolffe, who made twenty-two attempts and never succeeded, failing by yards in 1911 and by under a mile on three occasions. Wolffe acknowledged his appreciation of "Professor Walter Brickett, who has always understood me thoroughly and who has developed my powers in a truly remarkable fashion". Walter had had a "long and highly successful experience in training—pedestrians, as well as swimmers—he has had ample opportunity for observation, whereby he is invariably enabled to come to a rapid and accurate decision on any point". Wolffe was always rubbed all over with a "special preparation of Brickett's", which was allowed to thoroughly soak in and dry, and was then covered with a coating of lamb's fat. Brickett fed him every half-hour during the swim, principally with chicken sandwiches, biscuits, Oxo, chocolate, chicken broth, weak tea and cocoa.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Jersey Heritage Trust L/D/17 Jersey Swimming Club Collection L/D/17/G/3. Notes on swimming extracted from newspapers including the *Evening Post* and the *Morning News*. 07/09/1912 - 11/09/1919; Hart. W. A. *Hoddesdon Swimming Club (Affiliated to SCASA and The Royal Life Saving Society)* <http://freespace.virgin.net/hoddesdon.sc/history/hh%20full%20version.htm> p. 4 (accessed 3 June 2006).

<sup>208</sup> *London's Swimming Girls* - Newspaper cutting in Brickett family papers.

<sup>209</sup> *The Times*, 3 August 1926 p. 16; *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 August 1926 p. 7. During Miss Barratt's attempt the party on the accompanying motor-launch included Walter.

<sup>210</sup> *The Times*, 20 August 1904 p. 9.

<sup>211</sup> Wolffe, J. (1910). *The Text-Book of Swimming*, London: Ewart, Seymour and Co. pp. 58-70; <http://www.dover.gov.uk/museum/resource/swim/>(accessed 3 June 2006) - Wolffe (1877-1943) went on to coach a number of successful swimmers, including Hilda (Laddie)

In 1930, St. Pancras Leander S.C. members met for supper at *The Adelaide Restaurant*, Chalk Farm, when the proceeds of their first annual gala, held as a testimonial for Walter, were handed over to him. His son, S. Brickett, the Club captain, said "few clubs were bold enough to hold a gala in their first year of existence, let alone being able to devote the proceeds to their trainer." In presenting the cheque, the secretary, Mr. W. Smith, said that all swimmers in the district, "owed all they knew of the sport to Mr. Brickett, and it gave him very much pleasure at being able to hand to that gentleman that token of the club's appreciation of his services".<sup>212</sup>

Within two years, newspapers were announcing the "enforced retirement through ill-health of Professor Walter Brickett, the well-known swimming instructor and coach" who was at that stage still the official trainer of the St. Pancras S.C., the St. Pancras Leander, and the Amateur S.C. There were "few sportsmen more popular...and few coaches who know their work so well". He had "taught more champions to swim than any other person" and his "tiddlers" were known in every quarter of London. His success as a coach was due to "his gentle charm and patience with his young swimmers...and his perseverance and willingness to give of his best to each and every...pupil." After thirty-five years living at 101, Gaisford Street, Kentish Town, Walter moved to the seaside at Gosport, where he died, aged 67, on 27 January 1933.<sup>213</sup>

Walter's sons carried on their father's involvement in swimming. Sidney, representing St. Pancras, came second in a hundred yards handicap when Polytechnic Swimming Club held their opening gala at the Polytechnic Baths in 1923, and he won the hundred yards and 440 yards races for Lloyd's against Oxford in 1924, when both he and brother Reg played in the Lloyd's polo team which won five nil.<sup>214</sup> Sidney and Reg were founder members of the National Association of Swimming Instructors,<sup>215</sup> and Reg coached Hoddesdon S.C., as his father had before him, as well as becoming President of the Swimming Teachers Association of Great Britain.<sup>216</sup>

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Sharp, Peggy Duncan and Sunny Lowry. He also wrote *Swimming Short and Long Distance*, Foulsham c.1937.

<sup>212</sup> *St. Pancras Gazette*, 14 November 1930. Dinner to Prof. W. Brickett.

<sup>213</sup> Professor Brickett to retire by "Bootlegger" - *St. Pancras Chronicle*, CamdenNewspaper Cuttings in Brickett family papers; GRO (1933/death/March/Gosport/2b/114).

<sup>214</sup> *The Times*, 9 May 1923 p. 6; 5 June 1924 p. 6; 29 March 1926 p. 6.

<sup>215</sup> *Port Elizabeth Newspaper*, South Africa circa 1969 supplied by Peter Brickett, Grandson.

<sup>216</sup> Hart. W. A. *Hoddesdon Swimming Club (Affiliated to SCASA and The Royal Life Saving Society)* <http://freespace.virgin.net/hoddesdon.sc/history/hh%20full%20version.htm> p. 18 (accessed 3 June 2006).

Many of Walter's life experiences in the sport mirrored those of his predecessors who had been professional swimmers before they became trainers and coaches. Like them, Walter generated his own community of practice through his children, who went on to contribute to the sport, and through his athletes, like Jabez Wolffe. In that respect, he behaved much like Gramsci's vision of the local, organic intellectual, although a combination of factors specific to him generated an acceptance by the swimming establishment that was denied to some of his colleagues. Walter's social background was rooted in the artisan class and it is a measure of the potential democracy of some amateur sports organisations, in this case the ASA, that, as an amateur from this class, he could be involved in the formation of the Life Saving Society and then, as a professional, be appointed as trainer to successive British Olympic teams.

While the relationships between amateurs and professionals in swimming are explored in more detail later in this work, Walter's biography highlights the imperfect way that amateur structures were applied to coaches, instructors, teachers, and trainers, as well as emphasising the diverse nature of coaching lives. One distinguishing feature of the developing sports in Victorian Britain was the emerging struggle to establish new levels of performance, especially in the light of increasing competition, both at home and abroad. Appropriate preparation for these events often required a degree of regimentation and commitment that did not, at least on the surface, fit with the amateur ethos espoused by the professional middle classes. In rowing, Ernest Barry, among others, was excluded from coaching amateurs by ARA rules and went abroad to coach when the time came for him to give up competitive rowing. Paradoxically, though, there were also zealous amateur oarsmen who clearly recognised the need for coaching to produce elegant and effective rowing crews. Elsewhere, there were those who recognised the value of coaches either for their own development as athletes or to make money for backers and entrepreneurs. Professional coaches like Walter Brickett were integral to the sports process, and, despite structural constraints, they continued to apply their craft. They may have had little say in the progression of sports at a national level, but they could, and did, influence the progress and achievement of those they worked with. While some amateur rowing and athletics coaches might be horrified at the thought, there was, in fact, little difference between them and the professional coaches working around the country. Improved performance, either in results or style, was the objective.



## Chapter 2. Coaching Communities and "Know-How".

By the 1880s, individual sports were already being marginalised by an amateur ethos that valued team sports for character development, social interaction, and leadership training. It is no surprise therefore, that it has been the professionals associated with football and cricket, those who had connections to Oxbridge athletics, or those amateur coaches with the requisite social and educational backgrounds, such as rowing coaches, who have left a significant trace in the historical record. Weber observed that when professeurs were recruited for gymnastics instruction in France, their low salaries, and lack of status, left the *professeur de gymnastique* as the social inferior of his pupils. As a result, "their dim figures pass unrecorded".<sup>217</sup> English professional trainers experienced similar difficulties, partly because of their exclusion from amateur dominated sporting structures. As early as 1846, T. S. Egan decried professional coaching advice as "extravagance...enveloped in a proportionate degree of mystery", a view increasingly endorsed by many of those involved in emergent sports organisations.<sup>218</sup>

Late nineteenth century middle class proponents of amateur sport developed their associations and established their rules with the aim of creating an environment which reflected their own vision of the sporting world, part of which was the exclusion of professional coaches. Many individuals were members of more than one sporting body and the ethos and values of amateurism that they espoused were shared across the broad spectrum of English sport. A man wanting payment for coaching in athletics, swimming, or rowing, could expect a hostile response from officials concerned with protecting sport from pernicious practices. Amateurs from within the medical establishment could be especially virulent. The professional trainer, who had "acquired some reputation in the sport for which he trains", might be "few in number" but, unfortunately, it was to this "shallow, uneducated and often dissolute trainer that is left the solution of problems regarding the waste and repair of the human tissues and the conservation of vital energy." It was no wonder, "considering his blind fallacies and crude speculations", that the path of the professional coach was "strewn with the shattered constitutions of men who have so heedlessly trusted themselves to his skill."<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Weber, E. (1971). *Gymnastics and Sports in Fin-de-Siecle France: Opium of the Classes?* *The American Historical Review* 76 (1) pp. 75-76.

<sup>218</sup> Egan, T. S. (1846). *Principles of Rowing by an Oarsman*, London: F. C. Westley.

<sup>219</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. p. 7.

In the tradition of the victors writing history, the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) and the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) expunged earlier records and devalued both professional performances and coaching. No one would record the exploits of professional coaches unless they did so themselves and for many, whatever their degree of literacy, access to publishing mechanisms was always limited. Working-class coaches did not write their own histories, own printing presses, or edit newspaper columns.<sup>220</sup> By the time that such opportunities may have afforded themselves, many professional events had disappeared as working class spectators took to the football terraces and the controlling bodies of amateur sports applied their own sporting values through regulation. It should also be recognised that the rise of medical and scientific knowledge during this period meant that many existing training methods were increasingly criticised both by doctors, keen to reinforce their position as a credible profession, and by amateur sportsmen, whose ethos of moderation did not always sit comfortably with traditional coaching practices. Subsequently, there was little or no patronage available for coaches of the "old school" to go into print. In addition, of course, highly individualised training methods and practices were secrets to be guarded and it was not in a coach's interest to share his experience, knowledge, and understanding with those outside of his immediate community of practice. The end result of all these factors is that little trace remains of the majority of professional coaches, just as documentary records of tradesmen and artisans are sparse, compared with the biographic records left by the elite.

### *Coaching at Home and Abroad*

Despite structural constraints and philosophical strictures, coaches continued to find athletes willing to pay for their expertise, although this might involve travelling abroad, especially to America, Australia, and Germany, where a more pragmatic approach was taken to professional coaching.<sup>221</sup> A number of prominent English sculling champions emigrated to Australia in the 1850s, including Deward, Candlish, Tom Day, and James Edwards.<sup>222</sup> When Pittes won the Australian Amateur

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<sup>220</sup> Vasili, P. (1998). *The First Black Footballer: Arthur Wharton. 1865-1930 – An Absence of Memory*, London: Frank Cass; Vasili, P. (2000). *Colouring Over the White Line: The History of Black Footballers in Britain*, Edinburgh: Mainstream.

<sup>221</sup> Halladay, E. (1990). *Rowing in England: A Social History - The Amateur Debate*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, notes that MacIntyre, Tarryer, Kelley, East, Driver, Liddle, Heynes, Bubear, Brightwell, Sullivan, Cordery, Arlett, Barry, and Phelps, all coached in Germany or Austria between 1880 and 1936. Nine of them succeeded one another as coach at Berliner Ruderclub.

<sup>222</sup> Fotheringham, R. (1989). Early Sporting Diplomacy: The Case of R. A. W. Green, *Sporting Traditions* 5 (2) p. 174; *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, November 1877 XXXI (211) p 150. Tom Grant, who initially coached university rowing, was subsequently

Championship in 1886, he had been "carefully trained by Charley Smith, the ex-Thames sculler". David Godwin left in May that year for his training engagement with the Germania Ruder Verein, and Harry Clasper departed to coach Berlin, although Dusseldorf could no longer continue paying Charles Brightwell, despite two years successful collaboration. In "reply to several Continental correspondents", Brightwell and George Bubear were now available for training engagements.<sup>223</sup> Bill Haines, who went to Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as head rowing coach in 1924, was another example. Between 1890 and 1898, when he beat Bubear in a single scull contest, he stroked both two and four oared shells, winning the National Regatta for three successive years and the punting championship eight times. By 1902, he was running *The Buffalo Hotel* in Blyth and coaching James Lavery,<sup>224</sup> and after a period coaching the Royal English College, from 1905, he moved on in 1910 to run the *Star and Garter* and to coach London Rowing Club. After coaching in Norway, Germany, and Austria, Haines went to America to coach the Union Boat Club and Harvard University for five years, subsequently moving to MIT where he "created a crew spirit and a real interest in the sport".<sup>225</sup> Association football players also left to coach overseas. Although there were "very few coaches employed in England",<sup>226</sup> their expertise was certainly valued elsewhere. In London in 1908, Holland had been coached by Edgar Chadwick, and had "evidently taken their lessons to heart".<sup>227</sup> Swedish football authorities preparing for the 1912 Olympics asked the opinion of "Mr. Chas. Bunyan", formerly the professional at the Orgryte Athletic Club, Gothenburg, "respecting the merits of the players". Their original intention had been to take selected players to Stockholm a month before the competition to "undergo a thorough course of proper training under the care of Mr. Bunyan", although this never materialised.<sup>228</sup> Similarly, the Lawn Tennis Committee engaged Mr. Chas. E. Hagget, the English Lawn Tennis professional already in Stockholm, from 1 October 1911 for the covered court competitions, and afterwards, during June, for the outdoor events.<sup>229</sup> Initial plans for swimming training assumed that voluntary Swedish coaches would oversee the coaching but

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engaged by Dublin; Sjöblom, K. (1998). Rowing in the English Fashion: The Early Years of Competitive Rowing in Helsinki, 1884-1910, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15 (1) p. 81. F. E. Parlour coached Stockholm R.C. in 1884.

<sup>223</sup> *The News of The World*, 25 April 1886 pp. 5, 8; 2 May 1886 p. 5.

<sup>224</sup> In March 1911, James Lavery became an assistant club coach in Boston, Massachusetts, and in 1936, he returned to Henley Regatta with two athletes in the Diamonds.

<sup>225</sup> *The Tech*, 8 December 1924 p. 4.

<sup>226</sup> *Athletic News*, 8 December 1919.

<sup>227</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 23 October 1908 p. 14.

<sup>228</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee. Bergvall, E. (Ed.) (1913). *The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, Trans. Adams-Ray, E. Stockholm Wahlstrom and Widstrand pp. 292-293.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

the Olympic Committee insisted that "a foreign trainer should be engaged for some length of time" and advertisements were placed in "English athletic journals". The Swimming Committee eventually appointed Charles Hurley, of Leicester, who remained in charge from 1910 to 1911, during the summer of which elite swimmers were taken to Stockholm, "to receive the benefit of Mr. Hurley's instruction".<sup>230</sup>

The Rowing Committee felt that "a prominent English expert should be engaged as trainer and instructor", and, on the recommendation of London R.C., they appointed Mr. J. Farrel, who had been coaching in England and Germany, and who was considered "a very competent man indeed". Farrel arrived in June 1911 and concluded that a composite crew should be selected from Malmo, Halsingborg, and Gothenburg, but Gothenburg insisted on having their own eight. Reserves were drafted in and Farrel kept the crew "under strict training" during July and August. Throughout the winter, the oarsmen undertook "passive training", gymnastics and massage, and Farrel returned in April 1912. "Noticeable progress" had been made by the time they arrived in Stockholm on the 28 May. The Gothenburg Rowing Club crew, coached by Sven Hellstrom, began training in March 1912, but failed to impress Rowing Committee members in May. While they "seemed to be at the height of training...much remained to be acquired in style."<sup>231</sup>

At home, coaching continued in a range of sports, delivered by individuals from diverse backgrounds, and with different objectives, although the vision of who was an acceptable coach was changing in university sports like rowing. Matthew Taylor coached Royal Chester in 1854 before moving to the Manchester Nemesis Club in 1855 and then on to Oxford University before coaching at Eton College, while professional world champion Joseph H. Sadler coached at Jesus College, Cambridge.<sup>232</sup> The coaches who followed Taylor at Eton exemplify the change in attitude to professional coaching. Edmond Warre had rowed in the 1857 and 1858 Boat Races and was a master and rowing coach at Eton, subsequently becoming headmaster. Schoolmaster R. S. de Havilland coached the Eton eight from 1893 to 1914, during which time they won the Ladies' Plate at Henley twelve times. There were seven Old Etonians in the eight who won the 1908 Olympic title, and six in the

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., pp. 296-298. Gothenburg lost to Australia in the first round while the combined team were beaten in the second round by GB (New College) who lost the final to GB (Leander).

<sup>232</sup> Wigglesworth, N. D. (1986). A History of Rowing in the North-West of England, *British Journal of Sports History* 3 (2) pp. 145-157; *The Times*, 21 April 1868 p. 12. Like many professional coaches, Sadler worked with both amateurs and professionals. He coached John Pedgrift, for example, when Pedgrift rowed Mark Addy of Manchester on the Thames for £100 in April 1868.

1912 champion eight.<sup>233</sup> The tradition of dons coaching university crews, the ascendancy of the Amateur Rowing Association (ARA), and the exclusion of professionals, resulted in elite crews relying on the amateur coaches involved with Oxbridge, such as Walter Fletcher, ex-President of the Oxford University Boat Club who coached Boat Race crews for nine years.<sup>234</sup> In 1906, Fletcher handed over the coaching to Mr. Harcourt Gold, who subsequently coached the Leander crew that won at the 1908 Olympics and the eight that won in Stockholm in 1912. As a coach, he "had no superior after leaving Oxford". He was the consummate amateur coach and when he travelled to America to help prepare Yale for their 1913 match with Harvard, he refused to accept expenses.<sup>235</sup>

Amateurs these coaches may have been but their approach was never anything less than fully committed. Cambridge blue Steve Fairbairn (1862-1938) returned to Jesus College in 1904, after which he virtually devoted himself full-time to coaching and writing extensively on the sport. Rowing for Fairbairn was a strict discipline that demanded hard work and fitness, reflected in his central creed that mileage made champions, and his methodology proved very successful, although the unorthodox style he advocated was condemned by traditionalists.<sup>236</sup>

Some home-based opportunities continued to present themselves for professional coaches even after the formation of amateur governing bodies. In 1880, Stephen Renforth was engaged to coach Stratford R.C., although problems arose when he was found to be coaching Stratford and Worcester simultaneously, while Jack Charney, the Middlesborough professional, was employed in 1893 to coach Kingston

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<sup>233</sup> Dodd, C. (1992). *The Story of World Rowing*, London: Stanley Paul and Co. p. 158. Of the 713 blues awarded between 1829 and 1929, 281 came from Eton, just over 40%. Eton resisted slides for some time, partly because slides were dirty, noisy and produced a "deprecatory spectacle" of eight pairs of knees rising simultaneously into the air.

<sup>234</sup> Christ Church Boat Club. *Captain's Private Log Book 1860-1909*. Christ Church Boat Club Society; *The Daily Illustrated Mirror*, 12 February 1904 p. 14; *The Daily Mirror*, 22 February 1904 p. 15. In 1904 Fletcher was coaching Oxford while Cambridge worked at Ely with their coach, Mr. Escombe.

<sup>235</sup> *The Times*, 24 February 1906 p. 13; 19 February 1907 p. 11; 22 February 1907 p. 8; *New York Times*, 11 May 1913 p. S4; *The Daily Mirror*, 1 December 1920 p. 18; *The Times*, 5 April 1924 p. 13; 29 July 1952 p. 8; 8 May 1981 p. 19. Harcourt Gold was eventually knighted for his services to rowing in 1949; R. C. Lehmann had visited America in 1897 to coach Harvard. See *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 March 1913 p. 6; Halladay, E. (1990). *Rowing in England: A Social History - The Amateur Debate*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. Lehmann just missed his blue at Cambridge but became a renowned coach. He had independent means, opposed the Boer War and was a radical Liberal MP from 1906 to 1910. He was ARA secretary from 1893 to 1901 as well as being a Steward at Henley.

<sup>236</sup> Mangan, J. A. (1984). 'Oars and the Man': Pleasure and Purpose in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, *British Journal of Sport History* 1 (3) p. 265; Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 111; Dodd, C. (1992). *The Story of World Rowing*, London: Stanley Paul and Co. pp. 160-163.

on Hull R.C. Many coaches applied their generic coaching knowledge to a range of sports and, even as athletics was being increasingly regulated, professional coach Harry Andrews, trainer to South London Harriers, continued to coach athletes and work with swimmers and cyclists.<sup>237</sup> Harry Hutchens, the professional sprinter, also worked with cyclists, becoming "Official Trainer" to Catford Cycling Club, while William Snook (1861-1916), suspended by the AAA in 1887, subsequently trained cyclists in France, and was trainer to Racing Club de France by 1900.<sup>238</sup> In 1896, when Arthur Linton won the Bordeaux-Paris cycling race, he was coached by "Choppy" Warburton. Born James Edward, in Haslingden on 13 November 1845, Warburton was already an accomplished runner when he became landlord of the *Fisher's Arms* in Blackburn in 1877, where he trained on Cob Wall cricket ground and in the disused weaving shed of Daisy Street Mill. He was comfortable racing two miles or twenty and, after turning professional in 1880, he had some notable victories in America before becoming well known in France as a cycling trainer. Jimmy Michael improved so much under Warburton's regime that he was "head and shoulders above any other rider at from one to six hours".<sup>239</sup> In 1893, Warburton was the official trainer to Manchester Athletic Club, where "not a few of the local racing men attributed their success to his careful though severe mode of preparation", and he was widely accepted as an authority on training.<sup>240</sup> Although he trained three World Champions, the National Cycling Union (NCU) eventually excluded him from coaching and, following a period of personal and financial difficulties, he died of a heart attack in 1897.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson; Harry coached Alfred Shrubbs, among others, and was on the Olympic staff in 1924. Warren Roe and Peter Lovesey see no connection between this Andrews and a previous Harry Andrews (1831/1833-1885) who was a leading pedestrian, trainer, and groundsman, but census returns for 1871 and 1881, together with marriage and death certificates, suggest that Harry may actually have been "Old" Harry's son. Census returns 1871-1901. Harry and Old Harry 1871 (70/73/42), 1881 (837/45/34). Harry Andrews, Eliza Andrews and William Andrews 1891 (444/98/1). Eliza Andrews 1901 (1188/78/37). William Andrews (son) Billiard Marker 1901 (1188/76/33). "Old Harry", Manager of Recreation Ground, Surbiton. GRO (1885/death/March/Kingston/2a/216). Death from Brights Disease.

<sup>238</sup> Southcott, E. J. (Ed.) (1939). *The First Fifty Years of the Catford Cycling Club*, London: C. T. Foulis and Co; Lovesey, P. (2007). *E-mail communication*, 9 September.

<sup>239</sup> *The Manchester Guardian* 12 August 1895 p. 8; 17 February 1896 p. 6. Warburton observed that while Michael could sprint a paced mile, he was not a true sprinter; Census Returns 1861-1871. 1861 (3060/82/32), 1871 (4140/21/2). GRO (1845/birth/December/Haslingden/21/459) (1874/marriage/December/Haslingden/8e/193) (1897/death/December/Edmonton/3a/231).

<sup>240</sup> *The Manchester Guardian* 10 April 1893 p. 6; *Cycling*, 25 December 1897 p. 37.

<sup>241</sup> Mortimer, G. (2004). *Stronger, Higher, Faster*, *BBC History* pp. 19-20; Watson, R. O. (2006). 'Choppy' Warburton: *Long Distance Runner and Trainer of Cycling Champions. Hero or Villain?* E Wileybooks pp. 7, 26-27, 30. His admn (administration) showed a sum of £146 19s 3d at his death.

Using experiential knowledge developed through working with pedestrians in the 1880s, Scipio Augustus Mussabini (1867-1927) coached Polytechnic Cycling Club's professional Bert Harris in the early 1890s, and the Dunlop pacing team, based at Herne Hill, in 1894. He subsequently trained amateur athletes such as Reggie Walker of South Africa, the 1908 Olympic hundred metres champion, causing some angst among those who were keen to exclude professional coaches, and he coached runners and cyclists at the Herne Hill track on a fee-paying basis. In 1913, he was employed as senior coach on two evenings a week by Polytechnic Harriers, coaching around fifty athletes at each session over all distances. Harrier clubs, where distance running was popular, compromised with amateur ideals by engaging professional trainers but distance running had never appealed to Oxbridge men, partly because of its association with professionalism and partly because it required extensive training and coaching. In the four-mile race between nine gentlemen of the Amateur Athletic Club (AAC) in 1866, "scarcely one of the gentlemen but the winner seemed in good training for such a terrible contest", while in the Cambridge versus London Athletic Club in 1892 not a single collegian managed to stay the distance in the three miles race.<sup>242</sup>

In *The Complete Athletic Trainer* (1913), Mussabini, whose athletes won five gold, two silver, and four bronze medals at Olympic Games from 1908 to 1924, described techniques and methods of training, using both amateur and professional examples. While he may have been influenced by the work of Pettigrew, Muybridge, and Marey, Mussabini drew mainly on his own experience to present analyses of stride length and arm swing, and of the phases of the sprint race and, in the 1920s, he gave lectures on athletic movement, using his own film records. In 1920 and 1924, he organised a week's pre-Olympic preparation in Brighton for Polytechnic athletes and he coached Vera Palmer-Searle to world records in 1923 and 1924. In a fashion somewhat reminiscent of Walter Brickett, Mussabini achieved a degree of respectability within the amateur establishment, becoming a member of the 1923 British Olympic Commission on preparations for the 1924 Games.<sup>243</sup>

Professional coaches utilised their transferable skills in football, where trainers, many of them with pedestrian or boxing experience, were employed to maintain

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<sup>242</sup> *The Times*, 24 March 1866 p. 12; *The Manchester Guardian*, 25 April 1892 p. 7.

<sup>243</sup> Terry, D. (2000). An Athletic Coach Ahead of his Time, *British Society of Sports History Newsletter* 11 Spring pp. 34-38; Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, Manchester: Manchester University Press pp. 226-227; Huggins, M. and Mangan, J. A. (Eds.) (2004). *Disreputable Pleasures: Less Virtuous Victorians at Play*, London: Cass p. 193; Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co.

discipline and to prepare players. During the 1880s, Preston North End hired Jack Concannon, a distance runner from Widnes who applied traditional methods to player preparation. Aston Villa recruited Joe Grierson, noted for specialist goalkeeping and weight-training routines, from Middlesbrough Ironopolis as trainer in 1893, Tottenham trainer Sam Mountford had been a professional athlete, winning Sheffield sprint handicaps, and Manchester trainer Jimmy Broad had originally been a boxing coach.<sup>244</sup> Fred Bacon, an amateur and professional runner, born in 1870, became trainer to Manchester United while Peter Cannon (1857-1946), a three and four miles record holder in 1888, trained William Cummings and was later trainer and groundsman to Hibernian, where son Tommy succeeded him. Jimmy Duckworth, trained Alfred Downer, professional sprinter, and Hearts F.C., while George McCrae, born in 1893, and a distance champion at Powderhall between 1915 and 1918, also became trainer to Hearts.<sup>245</sup>

Professional pedestrians also trained boxers. Robert Fuller (1814-71), trained several pugilists, including Tom Sayers, and John Howard (1824-75), the professional long jumper, trained both pedestrians and pugilists. James Smith (1838-1905), the long distance walking champion between 1868 and 1879, went to America and trained Jem Mace, while Edward Mills (1841-1894), professional record holder at one mile in 1864, trained Tom King for his fight with Heenan in 1863.<sup>246</sup>

The distinctions between amateur and professional boxing became more pronounced during the latter stages of the century and the old professors hired by the gentlemen's clubs of the 1880s were replaced by amateur coaches or men like W. Childs, the 1908-9 amateur middleweight champion who became coach at Cambridge University.<sup>247</sup> At local levels in London, however, boxing still relied on professional trainers such as George Swanney, Bill Lee, and Bill Natty, and the pubs

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<sup>244</sup> Johnes, M. (2003). *Football Managers in South Wales between the Wars*, *Soccer History* 4 p. 13; Lanfranchi, P. (2002). 'Mister Garbutt: The First European Manager', *The Sports Historian*, 22 pp. 44-59; Harding, J. (1985). *Football Wizard: The Story of Billy Meredith*, Derby: Breedon Books pp. 35, 70; Curry, G. (2004). *Playing for Money: James J. Lang and Emergent Soccer Professionalism in Sheffield*, *Soccer and Society* 5 (3) pp. 336-355; Carter, N. (2001). *"Meet the New Boss; Same as the Old Boss": A Social History of the Football Manager, 1880-c.1966*, University of Warwick, PhD Thesis; Dobbs, B. (1973). *Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914*, London: Pelham Books p. 51. A further crossover occurred with players. Football League professionals James Gowan, Aston Villa, in the 1890s and Tom Eatock, Bolton Wanderers, in 1920 both won the Edinburgh Powderhall Sprint.

<sup>245</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 2 December 1920 p. 14. Fulham appointed Sharp, the old Scottish back, as coach and A. C. Kinnear as trainer. Kinnear was well known in athletics, having trained A. R. Downer and T. F. Keene, and he had also been in charge of the Sheffield Wednesday, Grimsby, Bradford and Coventry City teams.

<sup>246</sup> Lovesey, P. (2007). *E-mail communication*, 9 September.

<sup>247</sup> Birley, D. (1995). *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society, 1887-1910*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 213.



they frequented. Urban inns and alehouses were traditionally specialised in terms of their clientele, and, while craftsmen often met at their own "houses of call", which also operated as informal labour exchanges and nodes of working-class organisation, aficionados of sports frequented inns which often provided a conduit for the transfer of coaching knowledge.<sup>248</sup> In the 1840s, the leading sporting pubs in London were well known. Tom Spring instructed a sparring club at *The Castle Tavern*, Holborn, as did Peter Crawley at *The Queen's Head and French Horn*, Smithfield, Jem Burn, at *The Queen's Head*, Haymarket, Owen Swift at *The Horse-Shoe Tavern*, Haymarket, and Alec Reid at *The Coach and Horses*, Soho. Young Dutch Sam gave lessons at *The Black Lion*, Drury Lane, which was "patronized by the friends of boxing and athletic sports in general" while Frank Redmond, at *The Swiss Cottage*, Regent's Park, who stood "high in repute" as a dog and pigeon fancier, entertained all the "celebrated pedestrians".<sup>249</sup> Outside of London, "peds" owned and frequented specific pubs. In an 1855 advertisement, pedestrian trainer James Greaves informed his friends and pedestrians that he had taken over the *Ring of Bells*, Bottom of Pea Croft, Sheffield, where anyone attending foot races in the Sheffield area would "meet with every accommodation".<sup>250</sup> The professional mile record of four minutes 17.4 seconds, set in a dead-heat at Manchester in August 1865, was established by William 'Crowcatcher' Lang, host of the *Black Horse* in Oldham Road, Manchester, and William 'The Welshman' Richards, landlord of the *Navigation Inn* in nearby Anscotts Road.<sup>251</sup>

Among the aquatic fraternity *The Feathers* in Wandsworth was a popular training venue for scullers and swimmers. When W. Elliott, the ex-champion sculler, "busied himself in making slanderous statements" in 1880 about the conduct of *The Feathers* as a training house J. H. Clasper published letters of endorsement from a number of professionals, including swimmer Willie Beckwith.<sup>252</sup> Kilsby trained there

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<sup>248</sup> Golby, J. M. and Purdue, A. W. (1999). *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750-1900*, London: Batsford Revised 1999 Sutton Publishing p. 40; Lile, E. (2000). Professional Pedestrianism in South Wales during the Nineteenth Century, *The Sports Historian* 20 (2) pp. 94-105; Henricks, T. S. (1991). *Disputed Pleasures: Sport and Society in Preindustrial England*, Westport, Ct.: Greenwood; Green, D. R. (1998). Lines of Conflict: Labour Disputes in London, 1790-1870, *International Review of Social History* 43 pp. 203-233.

<sup>249</sup> Dowling, F. L. (1841). *Fistiana or, The Oracle of the Ring*, London: Wm. Clemen, Jun. Bell's Life in London Editor. Went to over twenty editions pp. 271-272. *The Grapes* in Clerkenwell (Jack Tisdale), *The Rose and Crown*, Norwood (Ned Neal), *The Ship*, Croydon (Jack Martin), *The Plough*, Smithfield, (Cy Davis), and *The Royal Oak*, Seven Dials (Daniel Dismore) were all frequented by "fistic heroes".

<sup>250</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 18 March 1855 p. 6.

<sup>251</sup> Hadgraft, R. (2006). *Beer and Brine: The Making of Walter George, Athletics' First Superstar*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books pp. 38-39.

<sup>252</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 23 October 1880 p. 3.

under Horace Cole, and Harry Salter, in 1864,<sup>253</sup> and Francis Emmett of Jarrow finished his training in 1878 and 1879 at *The Feathers* under Clasper's supervision, while William Taylor, Sheffield handicap winner in July 1877, handled his land training. Bebbington was trained there by Clasper for his 1879 match with Speight, as was Charles Smith for his 1881 race with Perkins. Emmett was not unusual in having a land trainer and a rowing specialist as his support team. In 1878, Hawdon prepared under James Percy, with Stewart working on his rowing, while Lumsden, whose rowing was completed with Wrightson Forster, had E. McGregor in general charge of his physical preparation. He was a bit on the light side when he went into work, but McGregor "handled him judiciously, and by the day of the race it is expected he will scale about eleven stone".<sup>254</sup>

Boxing trainer Bill Natty's venue in 1892 was the *Hop and Malt Exchange* gymnasium. Besides amateur and professional boxers, Natty trained the South London Harriers and the Catford Cycling Club, the members of Guy's Hospital, and Volunteer Battalions, including the London Rifle Brigade and the London Scottish Rifles. Natty had a long career as trainer, promoter, and entrepreneur, staging an annual "Assault at Arms", involving boxing, wrestling and singlestick, dumb-bells, vaulting horse, drill, and military bands, and publishing *Bill Natty, The Complete Second*, in 1910. The expansion of boxing relied on this intersection between coaches, facilities, and publicity, and a number of boxing professors gradually evolved into physical educationalists, often establishing generic physical training schools. One novice described attending the Mountford School of Arms near Kennington Oval, run by an "old 'knuckler' named 'Barney' Shepherd", and a later competition at Professor Waite's School of Arms in Soho. In February 1904, Joe Carroll trained Joe Acton for his contest with Lauritz Nielsen, who prepared at Rowland Spencer's School of Health and Strength, under Tom Green, "the experienced wrestler."<sup>255</sup>

In upper class racquet sports, markers played professionally, coached, and attended club members. In real tennis, James Harradine, an excellent "coach" was

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<sup>253</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, June 1864 VIII (52) p. 150; July 1864 VIII (53) p. 172.

<sup>254</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 2 November 1878 p. 8. Emmett and Spencer for £200, Hawdon and Lumsden for £200; 15 February 1879 p. 8. Wallace Ross and Emmett; 5 March 1881 p. 3. Perkins and Smith for £80.

<sup>255</sup> Shipley, S. (1983). Tom Causer of Bermondsey: A Boxer Hero of the 1890s, *History Workshop Journal* 15 pp. 32, 50-52; *The News of the World*, 24 October 1886; Todd, J. (2003). The Strength Builders: A History of Barbells, Dumbbells and Indian Clubs, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20 (1) p. 74; *The Daily Illustrated Mirror*, 8 February 1904 p. 11.

marker in the Cambridge courts at the end of the nineteenth century and at Clifton school a professional racquets player was engaged to improve "a very popular game". The first professional champion in squash, Charles Read, was also a racquets and lawn tennis professional while the first full-time squash professional appeared in 1912.<sup>256</sup> Census returns suggest that real tennis markers often had long careers. Henry Williamson was a *marker* at an Oxford racquet court at fifteen years old in 1861, a *racquets courts clerk* in 1871, *manager of a racquets court* in 1881, and a *racquet maker* in 1891. Edward Hunt was a *tennis marker* in Oxford in 1851, aged twenty-nine, and again in 1861 and 1881. At the time of the 1871 census, he was at a professional tennis engagement in America. Thomas Apthorpe, born 1859, started his working life as an errand boy but had become a *racquet professional* in Aldershot by 1881, aged twenty-four, remaining as such until after the 1901 census. Skilled coaches from racquets and tennis also tended to create family legacies. Walter Henry Bunting had played cricket for Middlesex in 1877 but was a *racquet instructor* by 1881 and remained in this occupation well past 1901. In the 1901 census, son Walter G., aged twenty-two, was also a *racquet instructor*. William Holden, a *tennis marker* by the age of thirteen in 1861, lived at the Princes Club House in Chelsea until his death. He was still a *tennis marker* in 1871 and a *tennis professional* in 1881 and 1891, by which time son Harry, aged eighteen, was a *tennis bat stringer*. After William's death, Harry continued as a *lawn tennis bat maker* in 1901, accompanied by brother Charles, aged twenty.<sup>257</sup>

Although census returns might be expected to assist in identifying and tracking coaches over time, there are some inherent difficulties, not least the transitory nature of professional involvement in sport. Sport was not unique in this respect. Mitch has shown that approximately thirty-five percent of men eventually had an occupational status different from their fathers, and about thirty percent changed

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<sup>256</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Tennis* by J. M. Heathcote pp. 3-123, *Lawn Tennis* by C. G. Heathcote pp. 127-337, *Rackets* by E. O. P. Ouverie pp. 353-407, *Fives* by A. C. Ainger pp. 411-435; Money, T. (1997). *Manly and Muscular Diversions: Public Schools and the Nineteenth-Century Sporting Revival*, London: Duckworth p. 74; Birley, D. (1995). *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society, 1910-45*, Manchester: Manchester University Press p. 136.

<sup>257</sup> Census Returns 1851-1901. Williamson 1861 (891/54/10), 1871 (1439/83/1), 1881 (1498/51/28), 1891 (1164/159/36); Hunt 1851 (1728/98/46), 1861 (893/121/32), 1881 (1502/110/28); Apthorpe 1871 (1582/103/42), 1881 (782/31/56), 1891 (563/157/69), 1901 (611/61/23); Walter Henry Bunting 1881 (779/35/33), 1891 (561/17/2). Walter Henry Bunting and Walter G. Bunting 1901 (606/77/3); William Holden 1861 (36/76/6), 1871 (90/24/39), 1881 (83/53/20), 1891 (60/25/45). Harry and Charles Holden 1901 (75/52/11).

occupational status over their careers.<sup>258</sup> Professional scullers, who taught rowing, built boats, and raced and coached for cash, rarely offered professional rowing as their primary occupation to enumerators. Professional oarsman, Joseph Sadler, the son of a *chimney sweep* and a *chimney sweep* himself in 1851, aged eleven, never subsequently referred to himself as anything other than a *labourer*. Londoner Thomas Wilkinson, born in 1854, the son of a *sawyer*, was confident enough to call himself a *rower* in 1881, although subsequent census returns showed him as a *wood chopper* in 1891 and a *firewood cutter "own account"* by 1901. His more renowned colleagues, like George Bubear, were similarly reticent. Having been born the son of an *agricultural labourer* in Devon in 1855, he left his job as a *house servant* after 1871 to travel to London where he was a *general labourer* in 1881 and he was working as a *railway labourer* in 1891. By 1901, living in Putney, his reputation was such that he could finally describe himself as a *professional sculler*. David Godwin, born in Middlesex in 1848, came from a family of *lightermen* and gave this as his occupation in Hammersmith until 1891, despite figuring prominently in reports on professional rowing. In the tradition of professional sportsmen, he was running *The Ship*, Waterside, Wandsworth, by 1901 and giving his occupation as *licensed victualler*. He died in Wandsworth in 1909. Champion Henry Kelley (Kelly) was born in Fulham to the family of a *waterman* and he was a *lighterman's apprentice* by 1851. In 1861, aged twenty-nine, he was a *victualler* in Putney, Wandsworth, and then shown as a *waterman* again in 1871. By 1881, he was at the *Eight Bells Tavern*, Windsor Street, Putney, and giving his occupation as *champion oarsman (waterman)* and he was running the *Lord Nelson*, Trafalgar Street, Newcastle on Tyne, as a *licensed victualler (employer)* ten years later. By 1901, aged sixty-nine and still in Newcastle, Kelley had returned to being a *waterman and barge worker*.<sup>259</sup>

In 1871, Thomas Morris, aged just twenty-one, confidently gave *professional swimmer* as his occupation. The Brompton born champion was an *athletic*

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<sup>258</sup> Mitch, D. (2005). Literacy and Occupational Mobility in Rural versus Urban Victorian England: Evidence from the Linked Marriage Register and Census Records for Birmingham and Norfolk, 1851 and 1881, *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 38 (1) pp. 26-38.

<sup>259</sup> Census Returns 1851-1901. Sadler 1851 (1579/45/13), 1861 (374/87/23), 1871 (866/63/2), 1881 (842/41/33); Wilkinson 1861 (481/55/11), 1881 (498/114/19), 1891 (1348/116/28), 1901 (1613/74/15); Bubear 1861 (1475/59/3), 1871 (2164/4/10), 1881 (2154/47/15), 1891 (924/132/28), 1901 (490/47/11); Godwin 1851 (1470/230/49), 1861 (25/11/15), 1871 (57/69/57), 1881 (640/88/37), 1891 (430/98/24), 1901 (483/57/52). GRO (1909/death/December/Wandsworth/1d/377); Kelley 1851 (1471/58/5), 1861 (374/94/8), 1871 (716/10/14), 1881 (662/19/31), 1891 (4209/112/54), 1901 (4785/95/11).

*instructor* in 1881 and a *teacher of swimming* in Kensington in 1891.<sup>260</sup> Similarly, Northern professional swimmer Evan Thomas Jones was a *swimming master*, aged twenty, in 1871 and shown as a *professional swimmer* in Leeds in both 1881 and 1891. He was at one stage the swimming coach at Bridgeman Street Baths, Bolton, before his death in 1904.<sup>261</sup> For many others the limited rewards from their involvement in swimming were never enough for them to declare this as their occupation. Samuel Hou(w)nslow was known as a teacher of swimming in mid-century who "could stop in the water five or six hours in a day teaching". On 30 August 1840, he won the National Swimming Society (NSS) medal in the Thames at Oxford and, in 1842, he was involved in a race "between the champions of the N.S.S. Messrs Kenworthy of London and Hounslow, of Oxford for the years 1839 and 1840". In September 1844, the Champion of England, seventeen year old G. Pewters, beat Hounslow, then about thirty-eight, for £50. Despite this level of involvement with swimming, census returns for Oxford from 1841 show Samuel as a *shoemaker* or as a *bootmaker* until his death, aged eighty-two, in 1888.<sup>262</sup>

Pedestrians had similar issues. William Juby, born in Leeds in 1854, was a *paper hanging maker* in 1871 but was earning enough from his running in 1881 to describe himself as a *pedestrian*. By 1891, he was host of the *Nags Head Inn* in Pontefract. Thomas Deighton, son of a *licensed Victualler* in Sheffield, was a *cast iron moulder* in 1871 but a *pedestrian*, aged thirty-three, in Matlock by the time of the next census. In 1891, he was at the *Prince of Wales Inn* in Beeston, Nottinghamshire, and *living on his own means*, but by 1901, he was back in Sheffield, where the fifty-one year old was giving his occupation as a *moulders*

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<sup>260</sup> Census Records 1871-1901. Morris 1871 (50/69/34), 1881 (2502/20/36), 1891 (30/26/3); Watson, R. (1899). *Comparative Generations*, In Newman, C. *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmer's Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 25; *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 January 1900 p. 10. Tom Morris, born in London in 1849, was the first amateur champion of England, 21 August 1869, and captain of the National, Serpentine, and West London Clubs. Won the German Gymnastic Cup, twice beating Harry Parker and defeated in turn by Parker. Turned professional on 9 July 1870 and took part in races round the West Coast against E. T. Jones, J. B. Johnson, and J. Perry. He won 100 prizes before becoming swimming master at Clifton College, Bristol. Presented with watch, chain, and purse of sovereigns on leaving, 19 February 1876. Remained in Bristol for many years and pursued a chequered but successful life until misfortune befell him. Held several important appointments in Bristol, and some of the best swimmers of the city "owed their success to his instruction; he was the father of swimming in the west".

<sup>261</sup> Census Records 1851-1901. Jones 1871 (4521/81/8), 1881 (4517/38/4), 1891 (3699/76/17). GRO (1904/death/March/Leeds/9b/379). Jones was holder of the first recognised swimming world record of 68.05 seconds for one hundred yards in 1878.

<sup>262</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. pp. 251-252, 268, 351-352; Census returns 1841-1881. Hounslow 1841 (891/16/12/18), 1851 (1728/14/21), 1861 (895/57/4), 1871 (1439/87/9), 1881 (1503/62/6). GRO (1888/death/June/Oxford/3a/441).

*labourer*.<sup>263</sup> Athletes like David Isaacs, born in London around 1846, who described himself as a *professional pedestrian* in Fulham in 1881, a *trainer of athletes* in Wandsworth in 1891, and a *professional runner*, aged fifty-six, in 1901, were an exception.<sup>264</sup>

Important differences always existed between those who had the financial means to uphold the amateur ethic and those who used sport as a source of income. The acquisition of social capital may have been sufficient for the affluent amateur but lower class athletes could not afford to support themselves while preparing for competition. They needed to convert physical capital into cash and only when they could be assured of financial gain, did the sacrifice of alternative income sources become a viable option.<sup>265</sup> It was one of the reasons why training and employing a professional coach, both of which would enhance possibilities of success, were so much an integral part of the professional athlete's life. Similarly, professional coaches could only commit themselves fully to the role of "professor" or "trainer" when they could be assured of sufficient financial returns or stability of employment. This is constantly reinforced by census data, particularly that related to working class professional sports like pedestrianism.

Individuals confident enough to distinguish themselves as pedestrian trainers in 1881 rarely, if ever, maintained that as their primary occupation in other censuses, although they often pursued occupations that retained close connections to pedestrianism. *Running trainer* Thomas Small, a forty-year-old Londoner, was a *cricket groundsman* in Islington in 1891 and a *groundsman at Tufnell Park* in 1901. This illustrates the problems faced when interpreting census material since Thomas elected to describe himself in terms other than trainer despite the fact he was probably still coaching. In adverts for Tufnell Park in 1872 the proprietor announced to "gentlemen amateurs only" that the running path had been widened, and now had a straight run of 300 yards, there was a good dressing room, with shower bath attached, and hot and cold baths were available in the hotel. The

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<sup>263</sup> Census Returns 1861–1901. Jubby 1871 (4546/48/12), 1881 (4664/22/41), 1891 (3760/76/8); Deighton 1861 (3458/30/55), 1871 (4657/52/53), 1881 (3450/103/10), 1891 (267/82/20), 1901 (4368/79/11).

<sup>264</sup> Census Returns 1881 and 1901; Isaacs 1881 (66/74/6), 1891 (447/108/4), 1901 (438/71/4). Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 245-246 described David Isaacs as the greatest ever student of professional foot-racing but, having been educated in a school which had "secrecy as its chief subject", Isaacs kept to himself the "dictionary of hard facts" he had gleaned in a half-century's involvement with pedestrianism.

<sup>265</sup> Mewett, P. G. (2002). Discourses of Deception: Cheating in Professional Running, *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 13 (3) pp. 292-308.

"celebrated pedestrian Thomas Small of Hornsey is trainer and manager of the grounds".<sup>266</sup> Thomas Callagan (Callaghan/Calligan) was a *table blade forger* in 1851 and a *tobacconist* in 1861. By 1881, he was at the *Rose and Crown Inn*, Pontefract, giving his occupation as *pedestrian trainer*. Alexander Clark, living in Tower Hamlets, noted his occupation as *pedestrian and trainer* in 1881 but the 1891 census recorded the then forty year old as a *bookmaker*. Similarly, Joseph Todd, born in 1843, was a *labourer* in Durham during the 1861 and 1871 censuses but a *pedestrian trainer* by 1881. Still living at Framwellgate, he was a *clerk* in 1891 and a *commercial clerk (bookmakers)* in 1901. George McCanlis, thirty-three year old *professor of athletics* in Cheltenham in 1881 was a *brewers traveller and licensed victualler*, at *The Old Friend* in Gravesend High Street in 1891, and a *brewers traveller* in 1901.<sup>267</sup>

Fencing and gymnastics coaches could be equally insecure. William R. Perry was thirty-four years old and a *fencing master-teacher* in West Ham in 1881, and a *school gymnastics instructor* in Walthamstow in 1891 but, by 1901, William was an *underground convenience attendant* in Bethnal Green. Nineteen-year-old Henry Miller was a *labourer* in Runcorn in 1871 but had graduated to be a *professor of gymnastics* in 1881. By 1891, he was a *ventriloquist and juggler* and, ten years later, the forty-nine year old was a *tobacconist*. In swimming, there were similar profiles. Twenty-six year old John Bates was a *professor of swimming* in Birmingham in 1881, although wife Eliza was a *french polisher*. In the 1891 census John was obviously earning more from his role as a *furniture dealer*, although, in 1901, he had returned to being a *teacher of swimming*, "on his account", which was also the occupation of his daughter Mary.<sup>268</sup>

Even in contemporary sport, it is not unusual to find individuals dropping out of coaching in large numbers and at varying experiential stages. While this causes anxiety among coaching authorities, who see coach retention as an "issue",<sup>269</sup> this is no more than part of an historical trend. As opportunity costs outweighed

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<sup>266</sup> Census Returns 1881-1901. Small 1881 (278/54/7), 1891, (143/44/11), 1901 (161/8/7). *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 March 1872 p. 8; 16 March 1872 p. 5.

<sup>267</sup> Census Returns 1851-1901. Callagan 1851 (2338/174/45), 1861 (3476/35/22), 1881 (4589/126/3); Clark 1881 (498/52/27), 1891 (268/100/11); Todd 1861 (3737/82/32), 1871 (4963/91/27), 1881 (4955/100/16), 1891 (4099/110/14), 1901 (4679/137/14); McCanlis 1881 (2576/78/17), 1891 (646/86/3), 1901 (714/15/22).

<sup>268</sup> Census Returns 1871-1901. Perry 1881 (1727/13/23), 1891 (1347/107/20), 1901 (291/24/40); Miller 1871 (3690/118/29), 1881 (3514/61/31), 1891 (2833/101/7), 1901 (3335/5/1); John, Eliza and Mary Bates 1881 (3011/27/4), 1891 (2401/50/6), 1901 (2842/7/6).

<sup>269</sup> SportscoachUK. (2004). *Sports Coaching in the UK: Final Report*, SportscoachUK.

coaching returns for Victorian participants, individuals moved on. For volunteer coaches this may have related to diminishing returns in social capital, while for professional coaches it could be over concerns about employment and financial security. In Perkin's view, a sense of the security of employment was a significant determinant of class identity,<sup>270</sup> and, in contrast to some of those already considered, there were other late Victorian coaches who maintained their association with sport throughout their working lives, often in conjunction with members of their family or through their social networks. In these cases, at least, the implication is that their social class may have been concomitant with that of skilled working class neighbours.

### *Coaching as Craft*

From earliest times, the craft or skilled trade had been the basic unit of the labour process. In each craft, the worker was presumed to be the master of a body of traditional knowledge, with no distinction being made between "knowledge" and "skill". Although a son invariably inherited a business, thus protecting the continuity and the secrets of the craft, the master-apprentice relationship at the heart of craft training often engaged individuals from outside the family. The tacit nature of craft transmission involved the master modelling and the apprentice continually observing, a process described as "stealing with the eyes".<sup>271</sup> It has been argued that this inhibited innovation, since the apprentice was taught only to copy, and led to a slow rate of change in craft practices, but craftsmen have also been constantly stimulated to experiment by the imposition of external forces, such as potential competitors, commercialisation, and superior technologies.<sup>272</sup>

Realistically, nineteenth century professional coaching can be considered as a trade or a craft. Indeed, this may still be the nature of coaching two thousand years after Pindar referred to trainers as the tekton (carpenter or builder) of the athlete.<sup>273</sup> In a "coaching as craft" scenario, expertise is transmitted, orally or by

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<sup>270</sup> Perkin, H. (1989). *The Rise of the Professional Society: England since 1880*, London: Routledge pp. 97, 457.

<sup>271</sup> Gamble, J. (2001). Modelling the Invisible: The Pedagogy of Craft Apprenticeship, *Studies in Continuing Education* 23 (2) pp. 190-196.

<sup>272</sup> Thrupp, S. L. (1963). "The guilds", In Postan, M. M., Rich, E. E. and Miller, E. (Eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 230-80; Wolek, F. W. (1999). The Managerial Principles behind Guild Craftsmanship, *Journal of Management History* 5 (7) p. 411; Clegg, A. (1977). Craftsmen and the Rise of Capitalism, *History Workshop* 4 p. 244; Mussabini certainly remained innovative. US Patent Office No. 626518 application 21 March 1923 made by Mussabini to patent a running shoe was approved on 26 May 1925, patent number 1539762. Available at [www.freepatentsonline.com](http://www.freepatentsonline.com)

<sup>273</sup> Harris, H. A. (1964). *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 179; Hawhee, D. (2001). Emergent Flesh, *Phusiopoiesis* and Ancient Arts of Training, *Journal of*



practical demonstration, to those who are to continue the craft. Oral memory is especially important in the passing on of traditional skills and customs since tradition is not self-perpetuating and each new generation has to be indoctrinated into patterns of social behaviour.<sup>274</sup> The main agent of knowledge transfer might be the kinship group but the passing on of coaching knowledge through coach-athlete relationships also replicated traditional craft structures. Mussabini drew up training and racing schedules for the double Olympic champion Albert Hill, who broke the British mile record in 1920. When Mussabini retired, Hill took over his coaching role and used his methods with Sydney Wooderson, who subsequently reduced the record to four minutes 4.2 seconds. In 1918, Oxford appointed Alfred Shrubbs, once the holder of every world record over imperial distances from two miles to ten miles, as their first professional coach. Shrubbs's experiences, garnered from his time with coach Harry Andrews, underpinned the training and lifestyle advice included in both his 1908 *Running and Cross-Country Running* and his 1909 *Long-Distance Running* and Shrubbs used this knowledge in his coaching at Oxford, where he worked with several Olympians until his contract was terminated in 1927.<sup>275</sup>

Bourdieu's concept of habitus helps explain how learning occurs at an embodied and unnoticed level through daily engagement with others within social and cultural contexts such as sport.<sup>276</sup> Effective coaching is a skill to be learnt and Sage refers to the notion of "organisational socialisation", where aspiring coaches, in addition to learning technical aspects of the job, are inculcated with shared understandings regarding the coaching role. In fact, individuals usually enter coaching already socialised into ways of acting and provided with comprehensive "maps of meaning" from previous experiences as athletes. As a result, many expert coaches have been strongly influenced by their own coaches, who not only taught them technical, tactical, and physical skills, but also "shared philosophies, beliefs and values about coaching and dealing with people".<sup>277</sup> This leads, inevitably, to expert coaches

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*Sport and Social Issues* 25 (2) pp. 144-145. The Greeks also referred to trainers as craftsmen (*technêsi*).

<sup>274</sup> Grassby, R. (1997). *The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England, Past and Present* 157 pp. 37-63.

<sup>275</sup> Hadgraft R. (2004). *The Little Wonder: The Untold Story of Alfred Shrubbs, World Champion Runner*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books pp. 255-283.

<sup>276</sup> Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge: Polity.

<sup>277</sup> Sage, G. (1989). *Becoming a High School Coach: From Playing Sport to Coaching*, *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 60 (1) pp. 81-92; Sparkes, A. C. (1993). *Challenging Technical Rationality in Physical Education Teacher Education: The Potential of the Life History Approach*, *Physical Education Review* 16 (2) p. 111; Bloom, G. A., Durand-

prioritising experience and networks over theory and formal education. Athletics coach Percy Cerutti considered that, "The teachings of the coach must always be suspect when he attempts to develop techniques based upon theories worked out intellectually. Unless he gets the idea from personal experience, and feeling first, he is most likely to be wrong in principle."<sup>278</sup>

In 1973, John Bloomfield argued that international level coaching was "no longer a matter of techniques which are passed down from the coach to the player, who in turn becomes a coach." While this "apprentice-type education" had worked well in the past, so much science was involved in elite performance that "a more formal education is now needed in human physical performance."<sup>279</sup> However, recent studies suggest that communities of practice which prioritise experience over explicit knowledge have retained their potency. When soccer players graduate into coaching roles, their own methods remain heavily influenced by their playing experiences, irrespective of their levels of formal qualification, while, in a study of elite swimming coaches, the more qualified did not produce the better swimmers. Generally, expert coaches still learn through sharing with other coaches, making their own mistakes, and drawing on early coaching experiences.<sup>280</sup> This reliance on personal experiences and on the support of a close community is clearly discernable in those nineteenth and early twentieth century coaching families who displayed considerable persistence in their association with sport.

The nature of family involvement and longevity in coaching practice appears to have been influenced by the type of sporting activity. For sports where finesse and skill were considered paramount, such as rowing, tennis and racquets, and fencing, family involvement tended to be sustained over generations, in contrast to sports like pedestrianism and pugilism, which depended more on "wind" than "science". Swimming, which required skill but lacked social cachet, reinforces this argument since there are many examples of swimming families where expertise was handed

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Bush, N., Schinke, R. J. and Salmella, J. H. (1998). The Importance of Mentoring in the Development of Coaches and Athletes, *International Journal of Sport Psychology* 29 p. 273.

<sup>278</sup> Cerutti, P. W. (1960). *Athletics: How to Become a Champion: A Discursive Textbook*, Australia: Hutchinson Group Pty Seventh Impression September 1968 p. 16.

<sup>279</sup> Bloomfield, J. (1973). The Role, Scope and Development of Recreation in Australia, In Woodman, L. (1989). The Development of Coach Education in Australia, *Sporting Traditions* 5 (2) p. 206.

<sup>280</sup> Potrac, P., Jones, R. and Cushion, C. (2007). Understanding Power and the Coach's Role in Professional English Soccer: A Preliminary Investigation of Coach Behaviour, *Soccer and Society* 8 (1) pp. 33-49; Stewart, A. M. and Hopkins, W. G. (2000). Seasonal Training and Performance of Competitive Swimmers, *Journal of Sports Sciences* 18 pp. 880-881; Vallée, C. N. and Bloom, G. A. (2005). Building a Successful University Program: Key and Common Elements of Expert Coaches, *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology* 17 p. 185.

down through the generations. John Howarth was twenty in 1861 when he was serving on HMS Liffey in Malta harbour. Ten years later, he was *superintendent of baths* at the Victoria Baths in Ormskirk and he was still the *baths manager* in 1881 when wife Agnes was the *matron* and daughter Frances was a *swimming teacher*. The 1891 census lists John as the *baths manager*, Agnes as *superintendent at the baths* and both Frances, now aged twenty-six, and nineteen-year-old Edith as *teachers of swimming*. Although Harvey Dunn, born in Middlesex in 1843, was shown as a *gas fitter* in the 1871 census, his return for the 1881 census, when he had moved to Brighton, showed *gas fitter engineer/swimming instructor*. Presumably, he began to make a living from swimming alone since the next two returns showed him as *swimming master (school)* and *swimming instructor (school)*. By 1901, his son Vincent, aged twenty-six, was also a *swimming instructor*. Henry Pearce (Peirce) was twenty in 1881 and a *swimming instructor* living in Chelsea. Ten years later, he was a *professor of swimming and illusions* living in Hampstead but, by 1901, he had become *superintendent at the St. James Baths in Westminster*, where his wife Minnie was the *matron*.<sup>281</sup>

There were other instances of family longevity in skill-related sports. *Golf professional* James Paxton was sixty-seven in 1891, and his son Peter was listed as a *golf professional* in 1881, 1891, and 1901. Peter's brother James and his nephew, also James, were living with him in 1891 and listing their occupations as *club markers*. Professional oarsman James Messenger started life as an apprentice printer in 1841 but was employing about thirty men at Teddington by 1871, when he was describing himself as a *waterman and boat builder*. Sons William, James, and Charles were *boat builders*, as were Walter and Herbert by 1881, by which time James senior was a *bargemaster* as was eldest son William, *boat builder and queens waterman*. James senior was the *kings bargemaster* in 1901 by which time his grandsons were involved in the family business.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Census Returns 1861–1901. John Howarth 1861 (4440/252/18), 1871 (3874/119/37). John, Agnes, Frances and Edith A. Howarth 1881 (3750/55/40), 1891 (3036/133/37); Harvey Dunn 1871 (155/15/24), 1881 (1093/47/17), 1891 (815/60/11). Harvey and Vincent Dunn 1901 (937/137/41). Henry Pearce 1881 (82/57/8), 1891 (112/78/67). Henry and Minnie Pearce 1901 (97/137/6).

<sup>282</sup> Census Returns 1851–1901. James and Peter Paxton 1881 (2920/117/20). James, Peter, James and James 1891 (771/41/13). James and Peter 1901 (654/87/35); James Messenger 1851 (1604/360/5), 1861 (458/144/7). James, William, Charles and James A. 1871 (866/35/8). James, Walter and Herbert Messenger 1881 (842/9/12). James Messenger 1891 (617/81/10), 1901 (673/95/30). James A. Messenger 1881 (835/116/47), 1891 (615/90/36), 1901 (1173/85/28). Walter Messenger 1891 (1157/72/39), 1901 (1369/92/3). William Messenger 1881 (842/8/9), 1891 (617/89/25). GRO (1899/death/December/Kingston/2a/260).

Some fencing masters involved their families. William McTurk, a *soldier* in the 1841 census, was shown as a *fencing master* in Paddington, aged thirty-one, in 1851 and as an *assistant fencing master* in Chelsea in 1861, probably at Henry Angelo's School of Arms.<sup>283</sup> In both 1871 and 1881 he was described as a *professor of fencing*, as were sons William, born 1851, and David, born 1852. William senior died in 1888, aged seventy, but son William remained working as a *professor of fencing* in 1891 and David was a *fencing master* in both 1891 and 1901. Other fencing masters chose to combine their martial skills with physical education and gymnastics. In 1861, John W. Henderson had been an army officer but, by 1871, he was a *fencing master* in Lewisham where he described himself as a *professor of physical education* in 1881. He was a school *fencing master* by 1891 while son Frederick, aged twenty-four, had taken over his mantle as a *professor of physical education (school)*. The middle class aspirations of the family are suggested by sons Walter, studying for the church, and Hubert, in the army reserve. In 1901, Frederick was still in Lewisham and remained a *professor of physical education*.<sup>284</sup> James Chiosso, who was not "one of the race of quacks now unfortunately so numerous", wrote of the benefits of gymnastics in *The Analyst* in 1837 while expressing some concern over the quality of instructors.<sup>285</sup> James, born in Turin, was a fifty-six year old *professor of gymnastics* in St. Pancras by 1851 when son Antonio M., born in 1829, was earning his living as a *teacher of gymnastics and fencing*. In 1861, the now seventy-two year old "Captain" James Chiosso was a *fencing master*, living with forty-four year old wife Harriet, in Marylebone while Antonio, *professor of physical education*, was still living in St. Pancras with wife Martha and sons James T., born 1852, and Percy, born 1854. By 1871, the Captain had died but widow Harriett was earning her living as a *teacher of calisthenics (sic)* in Kensington. Antonio had divorced and remarried by the 1881 census when the fifty-two year old *Professor* was living in Kensington with his twenty-five year old wife, Charlotte. Percy was a twenty-six year old *professor of physical education* as was older brother James, who was living in Marylebone. Percy was still a *professor of physical education* in 1891, when father Antonio, who died in 1893, was shown

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<sup>283</sup> Green, W. G. III, (2007). Maitre d'Armes (Academie d'Armes Internationale) The Fencing Master Project: An International Historical Record of Professionals at Arms <http://www.sallegreen.com/mastersM.html> (accessed 3 June 2007).

<sup>284</sup> Census Returns 1841-1901. William McTurk 1841 (738/19/42/15), 1851 (1467/600/77), 1861 (31/87/4). William, David and William McTurk 1871 (53/55/46), 1881 (45/98/25). GRO (1888/death/March/Kensington/1a/139). David McTurk 1891 (58/48/11), 1901 (71/55/20). William McTurk jun 1891 (5/87/49); John W. Henderson 1861 Scotland census parish/Hamilton/ED9/line 3, 1871 (764/59/9), 1881 (730/68/56). John W., Frederick, Walter and Hubert Henderson 1891 (517/168/48). Frederick Henderson 1901 (545/165/50).

<sup>285</sup> Chiosso, J. (1837). Remarkable Cures Effected By Gymnastics, *The Analyst* VI (XIX) pp. 89-91.

as a *physical instructor* and he and Charlotte had been joined by son Antonio, born in 1880. In 1901, Charlotte was running the family establishment at Westbourne Grove, Paddington, as an employer and *calisthenics and gymnastics teacher*, with Antonio, *fencing and gymnastics teacher*, among her employees. Antonio went on to fence for England and manage the "Captain Chiosso Gym".<sup>286</sup>

Similar dynasties appear in real tennis and racquets, which had much to do with the skill levels involved and the social networks that professionals established. By 1851, Joseph Lambert, born 1811, was a *tennis marker* in Hatfield and ten years later son George, was in Oxford as a *tennis marker* with Thomas Sabin. Joseph had retired by 1881 when son Charles, now aged thirty, was working as a *tennis marker* in Hatfield. George, now thirty-eight, was based at Lords Cricket ground, Marylebone, and was a *tennis professor*. By 1891, Joseph had returned to work as a *tennis marker* at Hatfield, along with son Charles and grandson Alfred, twenty-year-old son of George, who was now a *tennis court keeper and player* in Cambridge, accompanied by another son, Henry a fifteen-year-old *tennis marker*. The 1901 census records the ninety-year-old Joseph, who died in 1903, as a *retired tennis player* and Charles, who died in 1915, as a *professional tennis player*. George, now fifty-nine, was a *retired tennis player* living in Lower Holloway, with son Henry, a *tennis player*. Older brother Alfred was *clerk to a cricket club*.<sup>287</sup>

The Tompkins family name was renowned in the tennis world. Edmund "Peter" Tompkins, was a *tennis marker* in Brighton in 1841 and had graduated to a *professor of tennis* by 1851 when twenty-four year old son, also Edmund, was working in Lambeth as the *keeper of a tennis court*, accompanied by brother John, at fourteen a *tennis marker*. Another brother, Alfred, was a *professor of tennis* in both this and the next census. Alfred was the proprietor of the Brighton court in 1871, accompanied by John, *professor of tennis*, whose sixteen-year-old son, John Alfred, was *learning tennis*. Edmund, aged forty-four, was still a *professor of tennis* in Oxford, where he was a *tennis court proprietor* in 1881, while John was a *teacher*

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<sup>286</sup> Census Returns 1851-1901. James and Antonio M. Chiosso 1851 (1494/539/54), 1861 (75/52/55). Harriet 1871 (36/81/63). Antonio M. 1866 Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Case 296, 1871 (46/74/16), 1881 (29/33/9), 1891 (21/132/55). GRO (1893/death/June/Kensington/1a/84). James Chiosso 1881 (137/38/21). Percy Chiosso 1881 (204/50/10), as Percy Rudd 1891 (140/142/31). Charlotte and Antonio Chiosso 1901 (11/18/7).

<sup>287</sup> Census Returns 1851-1901. Joseph Lambert 1851 (1712/151/66), 1861 (825/82/6). Joseph and Charles Lambert 1871 (1374/92/33). Joseph Lambert 1881 (1426/81/18). Joseph and Alfred Lambert 1891 (1112/72/7). Joseph and Charles 1901 (1307/144/12). GRO (1903/death/June/Hatfield/3a/330). George Lambert 1861 (891/77/3), 1881 (165/28/18). George and Henry Lambert 1891 (1283/4/1). George, Henry and Alfred Lambert 1901 (171/13/17). Charles Lambert 1881 (1426/63/23), 1891 (1112/73/9). GRO (1915/death/December/Hatfield/3a/483).

of tennis and Alfred and John Alfred, were both tennis players. By 1891, there were signs that real tennis, probably under pressure from lawn tennis, provided fewer career opportunities. Edmund was *living on his own means* at both this and the 1901 census while John senior was a *publican* and John Alfred was now a *general labourer*. Alfred was a *tennis ball maker and racquet stringer* in 1891 and a *tennis ball maker* in 1901.<sup>288</sup>

In general, professional coaches remained an integral part of a sporting tradition that, not through any deliberate design on their part, sat outside of the boundaries created by the middle classes who regulated sport. Professional coaching cultures, acting through tightly connected communities of practice, grew out of a form of cottage industry led by local experts, whose knowledge was transmitted orally or through demonstrated practice, and whose methods were perpetuated, in turn, by their close confidants. Although Sinclair concluded in 1807 that coaches had created new knowledge, he had had trouble in extracting this information from them. Training lore was prized information and those who knew most about it tended to keep their knowledge to themselves or pass it on orally to close associates. For many trainers, "their training methods were their livelihood, with the details often kept within a family". These men were not scientists, except in the sense that they employed systematic methods in their work, and they utilised their own experience without having to legitimise practice with a theoretical underpinning. Their methods had been derived from observation, experience, and word-of-mouth and, as a result, an air of mystique surrounded training.<sup>289</sup> Coaching was never a sociable club in the way that amateur sport was envisaged since sharing knowledge effectively deskilled the practitioner. Contemporary authors have described "regimes of appropriation" which recognise that financial

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<sup>288</sup> Census records 1841–1901. Edmund Peter and Edmund Tompkins 1841 (1122/6/34/16). Edmund Peter Tompkins 1851 (1646/348/40). Edmund and John Tompkins 1851 (1570/12/16). Edmund Tompkins 1871 (1443/8/10), 1881 (1505/102/12), 1891 (981/4/1), 1901 (1134/5/1). John Tompkins and John Alfred Tompkins 1871 (1087/75/13). John Tompkins 1881 (1099/114/5), 1891 (831/81/3). John Alfred Tompkins 1881 (3952/65/9), 1891 (802/99/36). In 1881, John Alfred was living in Manchester with wife Alice M. also shown as a *tennis player*. Alfred Tompkins 1851 (1646/24/40), 1861 (457/21/33), 1871 (1085/88/19), 1881 (1085/110/13), 1891 (808/132/12), 1901 (928/61/11).

<sup>289</sup> Radford, P. F. (1998). *The Good, The Bad and The Ugly, Sociology of Sport Online*, <http://physed.otago.ac.nz/sosol/v1i1/pfr.htm> (accessed 3 June 2007); Radford, P. (2001). *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London: Headline; Radford, P. F. (1986/87). From Oral Tradition to Printed Record: British Sports Science in Transition, 1805-1807, *Stadion* 12/13 pp. 295-304. Radford notes that Sinclair's *Code of Health* was circulating in Britain, Europe, and America and had been translated into French, German, and Italian within five years of the 1807 publication (p. 295); Radford, P. (1985). The Art and Science of Training and Coaching Athletes in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Britain, In Mangan, J. A. (Ed.) *Proceedings of the 1985 HISPA Congress, Glasgow*, pp. 80–83.

incentives prevent those who have competitive knowledge from sharing it with outsiders. Many groups may simply not want to share, or they may want to hide what they know.<sup>290</sup> The very nature of Victorian coaching communities, being small, non-regulated, and self-contained, could lead to traditionalism and certainly led to criticism, especially from medical men, for perpetuating "fads" and secret training methods, but they also gave considerable scope for innovation and for the use of deductive and intuitive elements in applying and evaluating training.<sup>291</sup>

While the passing on of coaching expertise through communities of practice was clearly important in ensuring longevity of coaching involvement it was by no means the only deciding factor in all late nineteenth century coaching lives. For coaches there was an increasing range of other sources, including medical science, physical educators, animal trainers, and circus performers, on which to draw for ideas. As international competition increased many of them travelled with their athletes, gathering, distilling, and synthesising information as they went, while, at home, there was an increasing volume of literature, general, sports related, and scientific.

### *Literacy*

According to Hobsbawm, traditions are invented, constructed, and institutionalised. Certain norms and values are associated with these traditions by means of repetition and a consensus emerges in interpretations of the past.<sup>292</sup> The portrait of nineteenth century professional coaches, drawn initially by amateur commentators, as illiterate, incompetent individuals emanating, if not from the lumpen proletariat, at least from the lower working class, seems to have established itself as just such a tradition. This is not always overt but results in Mussabini, for example, a man who, at least until 1901, described his occupation as *clerk* and who acquired a reputation as an author of billiards literature, being described as "eccentric", or as "colourful".<sup>293</sup> Others are more direct. Batchelor

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<sup>290</sup> Teece, D. J. (1986). Profiting from Technological Innovation: Implications for Integration, Collaboration, Licensing, and Public Policy, *Research Policy* 15 pp. 285-305; Duguid, P. (2005). "The Art of Knowing": Social and Tacit Dimensions of Knowledge and the Limits of the Community of Practice, *The Information Society* 21 pp. 109-118.

<sup>291</sup> Day, D. (2006). Sport Psychology: Another Cuckoo in the Coaching Nest. *Practices and Representations of Health: Historical Perspectives* Society for the Social History of Medicine Annual Conference 28-30 June University of Warwick.

<sup>292</sup> Hobsbawm, E. (1985). *Introduction: Inventing Traditions*, In Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (Eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press p.1.

<sup>293</sup> S. A. Mussabini GRO (1867/birth/June/Lewisham/1d/642), (1885/marriage/September/Brighton/2b/355). Census Returns 1881-1901. 1881 (333/21/2), 1891 (809/73/25), 1901 (430/56/48); Crawford, S. A. G. M. (1982). "The Photographed Athlete: Eadweard Muybridge to Chariots of Fire" Paper was prepared for use in discussion sessions at the International Olympic Academy Conference held at Olympia, Greece from 11-24 July *Olympic Review* 194

remarked about Jackson, who was able to write his name with an eighty-four pound weight attached to his little finger, that it was "remarkable" that a boxing champion could write his name at all, while Lovesey presents his pedestrian trainer, Sam Monck, as "an illiterate man".<sup>294</sup> Mewett wrote that early nineteenth century trainers and their "victims" were drawn from the lower classes and he goes on to denigrate working class professional coaches whose training formulas had been learnt through apprenticeship and observation and whose class background, "illiteracy", and propensity for secrecy, militated against the formal recording of coaching practices. These men acquired their skills by "regurgitating" their own experiences, by observation of the effects of changes in training practices, and by the learning of new or different techniques from others. "They did not, could not, learn from books".<sup>295</sup>

Mewett appears to have accepted uncritically the opinion of those such as Victorian doctor Hoole, for whom a coach's reputation was not based on the,

...development of his intellect (for in education and general knowledge he is far inferior to the ordinary mechanic), but to the possession of powerful thews and sinews; and the little experience he has gained while practising his calling he ekes out with the legendary lore which has descended by word of mouth from previous generations of trainers. I should be sorry to affirm that this class has not furnished men steady, observant and capable of forming clear and sound conclusions; but, from the very nature of their occupation and origin, it is impossible for them to record their knowledge save by spoken language, and observations so communicated are particularly liable to be misunderstood and misapplied.<sup>296</sup>

However, medical men were hardly neutral in their opinions and the ascription of illiteracy and incompetence to professional coaches because they were working class ignores the artisanal nature of the activity and the concomitant values and practices associated with that status. Although there were differences of degree concealed within the term, "artisan", the artisan's position often survived because a craft, such as professional coaching, remained highly skilled and specialised.<sup>297</sup>

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p. 838; Bryant, J. (2005). *3:59.4: The Quest to Break the 4 Minute Mile* London: Arrow Books p. 227.

<sup>294</sup> Batchelor, D. (1948). *British Boxing*, London: Collins pp. 10-11; Lovesey, P. (1970). *Wobble to Death*, Panther Crime: Macmillan and Co. Panther edition published 1971 p. 184.

<sup>295</sup> Mewett, P. (1995). "Nothing Is Better for Dinner than a Pint of Good Dry Champagne": The 'Gentleman' Amateur and Sports Training in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, In *Proceedings of the Second Australian and New Zealand Leisure Studies Association Conference*, Simpson, C. and Gidlow, R. (Eds.) Canterbury: ANZALS pp. 207-211.

<sup>296</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. p. 7.

<sup>297</sup> Thompson, E. P. (1980). *The Making of the English Working Class*, London: Gollancz pp. 259-262.



While the independent artisan, enfranchised in 1867, might still spend his leisure socialising in the pub rather than in the home during the late nineteenth century, excessive drinking and abdication of domestic responsibilities were becoming less tolerated. Maintenance of a household at a level of comfort appropriate to one's social status relied on an income from regular, dignified work, and Vincent's study of nineteenth century working-class autobiographies indicates a construction of identity among sections of the working class which imitated aspects of bourgeois moral manliness such as self-restraint and self-improvement.<sup>298</sup>

The writers of these autobiographies were not the only literate members of their class. The system for the civil registration of births, marriages and deaths was created in England and Wales by the 1836 Births and Deaths Registration, and Marriages, Acts and there appears to be a rough correlation between the proportions in a locality of those basically literate, as measured by marriage signatures, and the proportions previously at school there. English adult literacy rates were above fifty per cent in 1755, and rose to about sixty per cent in 1840.<sup>299</sup>

The co-operative community movements of the 1820s pursued educational objectives, organised schools, issued publications, and held discussion groups and adult classes. The mechanics' institute movement, together with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), focussed on teaching artisans the scientific principles underlying their trades, and on imparting useful information. The *Penny Cyclopaedia* published from 1833 onwards, while the Library of Useful Knowledge offered intellectually challenging non-fiction, alongside a more populist Library of Entertaining Knowledge. *The Penny Magazine* claimed to sell 200,000 copies an issue in 1832, a figure which should be doubled or trebled to estimate the number who actually read it. Owenite halls of science and Chartist halls became available to many workingmen in the late thirties, although others continued to rely on small, informal, mutual improvement and reading societies. The Public Libraries Acts of 1850 and 1855 allowed local authorities to subsidise public libraries, and, although only thirty-five had opened by 1869, those that were opened were patronised by workingmen, especially where, as in Warrington, they

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<sup>298</sup> Francis, M. (2002). The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity, *The Historical Journal* 45 (3) p. 642; Tosh, J. (1994). What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain, *History Workshop Journal* 38 pp. 183-190; Vincent, D. (1981). *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-century Working-class Autobiography*, London: Methuen.

<sup>299</sup> Seventy-seventh annual report of the Registrar General (1914), BPP 1916 V (Cd.8206). xiv; Schofield, R. S. (1973). Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750-1850, *Explorations in Economic History* X pp. 437-51.

opened in the evenings. A reduction, and eventual abolition, of newspaper tax enabled the *News of the World* to appear in 1843 as a Sunday paper, and the *Daily Telegraph* in 1855, both costing one penny. Between 1868 and 1880, the number of towns with at least one daily paper rose to forty-seven, and the number of local weekly papers increased to an estimated 2,072 in 1900, by which time newspaper circulations were counted in millions. The increasing availability of libraries and successive education acts, which saw a rise in numbers at inspected day schools from 2,751,000 in 1880 to 4,666,000 in 1900, all reinforce the impression that illiteracy was the exception rather than the rule. At the end of the century, the Registrar General gave a national literacy rate of approximately ninety-seven per cent for both males and females.<sup>300</sup>

Arguments that trainers were inevitably illiterate do not stand up to scrutiny. In 1852, champion sculler Robert Coombes contributed written notes on rowing and training to a Cambridge publication. Some of his hints were "what I have never seen in print yet, and I think they may benefit those who know little about rowing, and, may be, some who fancy they know a good deal."<sup>301</sup> Professional distance runner John Levett, born in 1826, wrote a series of articles on training for the *Illustrated Sporting News* in the 1860s.<sup>302</sup> Fictional pedestrian trainer Perry relied on his written training records to assess his athlete's state of fitness in Wilkie Collins's *Man and Wife*. When Geoffrey fell asleep after a training run Perry took his pulse and then consulted his diary of the preceding year.

The entries relating to the last occasion on which he had prepared Geoffrey for a foot-race, included the fullest details. He turned to the report of the first trial, at three hundred yards, full speed. The time was, by rather more than a second, not so good as the time on this occasion. But the result, afterwards, was utterly different. There it was, in Perry's own words:—'Pulse good. Man in high spirits. Ready, if I would have let him, to run it over again.'

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<sup>300</sup> Marsden, B. (2004). 'The progeny of these two "Fellows"': Robert Willis, William Whewell and the Sciences of Mechanism, Mechanics and Machinery in Early Victorian Britain, *British Journal History of Science* 37 (4) p. 404; Gregg, P. (1957). *A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1955*, London: George G. Harrap and Co. pp. 260-263; Lawson, J. and Silver, H. (1973). *A Social History of Education in England*, Methuen and Co. pp. 259-262, 279, 323-326; Tate, S. (2005). James Catton, 'Tityrus' of *The Athletic News* (1860 to 1936): A Biographical Study, *Sport in History* 25 (1) pp. 99-100; Lorimer, D. A. (1990). Nature, Racism, and Late Victorian Science, *Canadian Journal of History* 25 (3) pp. 369-386.

<sup>301</sup> Member of C.U.B.C. (1852). *Aquatic Notes, or Sketches of the Rise and progress of Rowing at Cambridge, With a Letter Containing hints on Rowing and Training by Robert Coombes, Champion Sculler*, Cambridge: J. Deighton; London: G. Bell pp. 101-107. Possibly J. F. Bateman; Burnell, R. D. (1954). *The Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race, 1829-1953*, London: Oxford University Press pp. 240-242. Index of coaches notes that Coombes coached Oxford in 1840 and Cambridge in 1846.

<sup>302</sup> Lovesey, P. (2007). *E-mail correspondence* 9 September.

Perry immediately wrote to his London agent to hedge his bets and continued to consult his professional diary and his written training plan during the remaining training period.<sup>303</sup>

### *Tacit Knowledge*

Literate coaches had access, through newspapers, sporting journals, and magazines, to a range of supplementary information on training methods, exercise, health, and the psychological characteristics of elite athletes.<sup>304</sup> The *Spalding Library* series, established in 1885, provided current information on training methods and techniques, and included contributions from physical educators, athletes, and coaches.<sup>305</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, more coaches began to produce their own literature, although it was experiential rather than theoretical knowledge that remained at the heart of coaching practice. When Harry Andrews published his training manual in 1903, he acknowledged that he did not "pose as an educated man" and that the information presented was the result of practical experience. If his ideas ran counter to emerging theory it was because he had presented tried and tested methods, which had proved successful. The book had been dictated but he had "taken care to see that my exact meaning has been preserved".<sup>306</sup> While coaching works discussed explicit knowledge, such as training, psychology, ergogenic aids, diet, and the need for discipline and commitment, there was little attempt to deal with the more implicit aspect of their work, the practice of coaching itself, probably because of an assumption that such knowledge could only be achieved practically through experience, observation, and trial and error. The processes coaches engage in are highly dependent on a combination of experience and knowledge, and practitioners have been found to possess a largely implicit form of knowledge, closely connected to past experiences, which shares similar characteristics with craft knowledge, and which is often described as "know-how".<sup>307</sup> In 1963, Gyula Grosics, the Hungarian goal-keeper noted, "I am often

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<sup>303</sup> Collins, W. (1870). *Man and Wife*, Page, N (Ed.) Oxford University Press 1995 pp. 343-345, 363.

<sup>304</sup> King, D. B., Raymond, B. L. and Simon-Thomas, J. A. (1995). History of Sport Psychology in Cultural Magazines of the Victorian Era, *The Sport Psychologist* 9 p. 376.

<sup>305</sup> Park, R. J. (1992). Athletes and Their Training in Britain and America, 1800-1914, In Berryman, J. W. and Park, R. J. (Eds.) (1992). *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine* Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1992 p. 72.

<sup>306</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson Preface.

<sup>307</sup> Smith, M. and Cushion, C. J. (2006). An Investigation of the In-game Behaviours of Professional, Top-level Youth Soccer Coaches, *Journal of Sports Sciences* 24 (4) p. 363; Jones, R. L., Armour, A. K. M. and Potrac, P. (2003). Constructing Expert Knowledge: A Case Study of a Top-level Professional Soccer Coach, *Sport, Education and Society* 8 (2) pp. 220-224; Wolek, F. W. (1999). The Managerial Principles Behind Guild Craftsmanship, *Journal of Management History* 5 (7) p. 410.

confused these days when engaged on the basic training of young goal-keepers because I can no longer remember which of the training methods are due to my coaches and which are the upshots of my own experience."<sup>308</sup>

Many renowned coaches who have achieved consistently successful results have been unable to explain their use of a particular method. These individuals, who so often appear to do the right thing at the right time, have normally been highly intuitive, and intuition, an immediate insight made in the absence of a conscious reasoning process, appears to be an important factor contributing to their success. Intuition is part of the innovative process and plays an important role in the creation of new ideas, concepts, and methods.<sup>309</sup> Tacit knowledge, the foundation for intuitive coaching behaviour, denotes all those skills that the individual cannot fully articulate, represent, or codify, which are acquired through socialisation within coaching communities and transmitted through oral culture, trial-and-error, or practical examples.<sup>310</sup> Examples of this abound in coaching texts. Andrews recalled approvingly a "celebrated old trainer" who had used three tests of a man's fitness, "his watch, his weighing-machine, and his looking-glass". If the glass showed any "dullness (*sic*), or dead-codfish look, it is certain he is out of condition, stale, or overdone".<sup>311</sup> Andrews also noted that every "first-rate trainer" would have a range of experiential methods with which to assess the potential of a novice, although some men, "whilst in other ways no better trainers than the rest" were especially gifted in this respect.<sup>312</sup>

While professional coaches and their athletes were inevitably motivated to experiment by the potential financial rewards, the major driving force for innovation has always been a desire among coaches and athletes to achieve sporting success. Professional cricketers developed the art of bowling, resulting in the legalisation of the over-arm technique in 1864, made significant advancements in batting, such as the forward and back play required to counter the new style of delivery, and,

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<sup>308</sup> Grosics, G. (1963). Gyula Grosics: The Great Hungarian, Looks at Goal-keeping the Continental Way, In Ross, G. (Ed.) (1963). *The Gillette Book of Cricket and Football*, London: Frederick Muller by arrangement with the Gillette Safety Razor Co. p. 123.

<sup>309</sup> Colwin, C. M. (1992). *Swimming into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Champaign, Ill: Human Kinetics pp. 213-214; Martin, P. (1953). The Psychology of Human Effort, *Bulletin du Comité International Olympique* 37 p. 31.

<sup>310</sup> Delamont, S. and Atkinson, P. (2001). Doctoring Uncertainty: Mastering Craft Knowledge, *Social Studies of Science* 31 (1) p. 101; Styhre, A. (2004). Rethinking Knowledge: A Bergsonian Critique of the Notion of Tacit Knowledge, *British Journal of Management* 15 pp. 177-188; see also Collins, H. M. (2001). Tacit Knowledge, Trust, and the Q of Sapphire, *Social Studies of Science* 31 (1) pp. 71-85.

<sup>311</sup> Andrews, H. (1903) *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 54.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

through innovations such as cork pads and cane-handle bats, improved cricketing equipment.<sup>313</sup> Developments in rowing equipment progressed from Matthew Taylor's new boat design in 1856 to Edward Hanlan's use of the swivel rowlocks, broad blade sculls, and the long slide in the 1880s. The development of the slide suggests how communities may have operated in generating craft knowledge. In November 1869, Walter Brown the American champion, who had been experimenting with sliding seats since 1861, raced William Sadler on the Tyne. Brown's training base was the *Ord Arms Inn* at Scotswood where a Tyne four including James Taylor, Matthew's brother, was also training and it is probable that discussion and observation would have taken place on the subject of sliding. Sliding was then further developed and became general practice amongst professionals, although scullers such as J. H. Clasper, Chambers, and Renforth, normally only used slides for spurts. Possibly as a result of having seen a USA crew use sliding seats in Saratoga, Tom Winship coached a John O' Gaunt crew to slide over the whole course at Henley in 1870. Although the crew finished tired and sore, Winship had perfected the equipment by November 1871.<sup>314</sup>

### *Structural Influences*

As the nature of British society changed during the course of the nineteenth century, localised coaching communities came under threat, especially when amateur administrators used structural definitions to exclude professional coaches. The amateur ethos that permeated the regulatory frameworks established during the late Victorian period had two effects on the perceptions of coaching for middle and upper class sportsmen. Firstly, coaches were not considered essential to performance in many individual activities, where visible effort was to be maintained at a minimum, and, secondly, where coaches were necessary, such as in rowing, they were to be drawn from amateurs who belonged to a similar class. Acceptable coaches such as Fairbairn were products of the same schools and universities as their athletes and, as a result, they shared common beliefs and aspirations.

In sports such as athletics the systematic purging of professionals marginalised many outstanding athletes and their coaches leaving them without a collective focus within which to share opinions, develop techniques, co-operate on methods of

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<sup>313</sup> Light, R. (2005). 'Ten Drunks and a Parson?': The Victorian Professional Cricketer Reconsidered, *Sport in History* 25 (1) pp. 69-70.

<sup>314</sup> Brown, A. (1980). Edward Hanlan, The World Sculling Champion Visits Australia, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XI (2) p. 44; Woodgate, W. B. (1888) *Boating*, London: Longmans Green and Co.; Ripley, S. (2005). The Golden Age of Australian Professional Sculling or Skullduggery? *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (5) p. 875; see also *The Field*, 15 January 1910; 26 February 1910; 23 April 1910.

training, and establish universal working practices based on experiential knowledge. Coaches only realise their ambitions through the success of their athletes so coaching reputations depend on what athletes learn, and how their increased capability translates into improved athletic performance. Although coaches can never gain absolute predictive control, they are inclined to tightly manage the coaching process and the coaching environment.<sup>315</sup> Under a system of amateur, rather than professional, coaching it became more difficult for coaches to exercise discipline, especially when working with the gentleman amateur for whom sport was a hobby to be indulged in with grace and style and independent of controlling influences. Even when he, or his representative, was losing internationally and the connection had been clearly made between coaching, training, and ultimate performance, it was to the values inherent in the amateur ethos, and advisors rather than coaches, that he turned, at least superficially.

These restrictions were lasting in their effects on the positions of coaches and, ultimately, on the sports themselves, since they prevented many athletes, amateurs and professionals, from accessing a corpus of knowledge established by generations of coaches. Coaches and athletes wishing to move their sport forward could only do so either within the boundaries delineated by the amateur governors of sport, or within their own limited sphere of professional activity. What mattered for professional oarsmen and their coaches was the result and this influenced their development of equipment and technique. For amateur grandees of the sport, style was the guideline not effectiveness, hence their opposition to sliding seats and shorter boats. In this resistance lay the seeds of inferior international performance, not only through a failure to use technology but also through a failure to engage in constructive dialogue with the many professional coaches who continued to be engaged both at home and abroad. Although systematic in their approach, these coaches were artists and craftsmen, rather than scientists, employing a myriad of craft methodologies, each appropriate to a stage in the coaching process or to the specific individual being trained. Coaching practice was confined only by societal or institutional norms and coaches had the freedom to be as imaginative as they wished. They were able to develop their own philosophies and approaches, and to pass on through their athletes, published material, correspondence, and collusion with other coaches, their own distinctive, sometimes revolutionary, ideas on coaching, training, philosophy and the structure of sport. Amateur officials may have ostracised but they appear not to have eradicated professional coaching.

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<sup>315</sup> Jones, R. L. and Wallace, M. (2005). Another Bad Day at the Training Ground: Coping With Ambiguity in the Coaching Context, *Sport, Education and Society* 10 (1) pp. 119-134.

### Chapter 3. Coaching Methods (I) "Science", "Pluck", and "Wind".

The professionalisation of science created an institutional framework for the spread of scientific ideas in the nineteenth century. Driven partly by the emerging professional societies, a reductionist approach to the body increasingly employed machine models to integrate anatomy, mechanics, physiology, and psychology, into a rational structure for the study of human performance. These models were particularly appropriate in industrialising societies where the drive to increase industrial efficiency encouraged a systems approach, emphasising standardisation and specialisation.<sup>316</sup> In 1832, Charles Babbage described a paradigm that defined human productivity and the scientific organisation of human work in factories as fundamental to industrial success, beginning a trend that ultimately led to Frederick Winslow Taylor's influential *Scientific Management* in 1902. The development of coaching, particularly in America, had strong connections to the perception of the body as machine, and to the principles of industrial efficiency and scientific management articulated by Taylor.<sup>317</sup> By contrast, English coaches maintained a predominantly traditional approach to performance preparation, although the later decades of the nineteenth century witnessed some challenges to elements of this process, primarily by gentleman amateurs and medical men. In both countries, coaches continued to employ familiar practices that had little connection to emerging life sciences.

#### "Science" and Sport

Victorians often referred to their sporting activities as "scientific", implying either a systematic process of preparation when referring to training methods, or the employment of skill and finesse in sports such as prizefighting, where manuals from the late eighteenth century emphasised the need to acquire the skills of "scientific"

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<sup>316</sup> Lorimer, D. A. (1990). Nature, Racism, and Late Victorian Science, *Canadian Journal of History*, 25 (3) pp. 369-386; Gleyse, J., Pigeassou, C., Marcellini, A., De LeSeLeuc E., and Bui-Xuan G. (2002). Physical Education as a Subject in France (School Curriculum, Policies and Discourse): The Body and the Metaphors of the Engine—Elements Used in the Analysis of a Power and Control System during the Second Industrial Revolution, *Sport, Education and Society* 7 (1) pp. 5-23; Rabinbach, A. (1990). *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity*, New York: Basic Books p. 52; Vertinsky, P. (1991). Old Age, Gender and Physical Activity: The Biomedicalization of Aging, *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1) pp. 69-76.

<sup>317</sup> De Fremenville, C. (1925). How Taylor Introduced the Scientific Method into Management of the Shop, *Critical Essays on Scientific Management*, Taylor Society Bulletin, New York, X (February) II p. 32, In Betts, J. R. (1953). The Technological Revolution and the Rise of Sport, 1850-1900, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 40 (2) pp. 251-252. Taylor apparently learned from sport "the value of the minute analysis of motions, the importance of methodical selection and training, the worth of time study and of standards based on rigorously exact observation."

boxing. Training advice distinguished between developing technique, "science", and "wind", physical fitness, while authors also referred to "bottom". Strength, art, courage, activity, a quick eye, wind, and "the power of bearing blows, or what is generally called bottom", were the constituents of a complete boxer.<sup>318</sup> Ironically, pugilism declined partly because improved training methods and hitting techniques meant that it remained focussed on exhaustion and surrender while other sports, such as lawn tennis, where players appreciated the "scientific character" of the game, appealed more to the middle classes by emphasising technical ability and finesse.<sup>319</sup>

In 1913, Olympian S. S. Abrahams reflected that, in order to remain competitive internationally, British athletics would need to employ the "same scientific application as is given to rowing and cricket".<sup>320</sup> When the gentlemen of Preston formed a rowing club for the "purpose of encouraging scientific rowing", they joined a community that regarded the sport as the epitome of scientific endeavour, especially in the context of college eights, although some professional scullers were accorded similar accolades. Edward Hanlan, who changed rowing from a predominantly arm movement to a whole body activity, was known as the "Scientific Sculler", and he travelled widely, demonstrating his techniques.<sup>321</sup>

For others, cricket was the ultimate scientific sport and the game was continuously referred to as such. In 1864, for example, the University match was won for Oxford by Mr. Mitchell's "brilliant, scientific cricket".<sup>322</sup> The leading Victorian cricket scientists were, in practice, the groundsmen. Without any formal training, Percy Pearce utilised his empirical study of soils, grasses, and marls, to produce a surface at Lords from 1874 that became the envy of other counties. Pearce wrote articles on pitch preparation and laid down several cricket grounds, while pupil Jesse Hide

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<sup>318</sup> Fewtrell, T. (1790). *Boxing Reviewed; or, the Science of Manual Defence*, London: Scatherd and Whitaker pp. 17, 20.

<sup>319</sup> Roberts, R. (1977). Eighteenth Century Boxing, *Journal of Sport History* 4 (3) p. 257; Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Lawn Tennis* by C. G. Heathcote p. 294; *Cornhill Magazine*, January 1867 XV Training p. 98 observed that the method in which the pupil "applies his muscular force, in other words, the style, is of the utmost importance, and must be corrected and imparted by the trainer according to the principles both of physiology and of mechanics".

<sup>320</sup> Abrahams, S. S. (1913). Introduction, In Hjertberg, E. W. (1913). *Athletics in Theory and Practice*, London: Hutchinson and Co. pp. v-viii.

<sup>321</sup> Wigglesworth, N. (1986). A History of Rowing in the North-west of England, *British Journal of Sports History* 3 (2) p. 153; Brown, A. (1980). Edward Hanlan, The World Sculling Champion Visits Australia, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XI (2) p. 44.

<sup>322</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, July 1864 VIII (53) p. 207.



exported his techniques to Australia.<sup>323</sup> Coaches developed their knowledge, skills, and techniques in a similar manner, through trial and error experimentation, allied to observation and experience. Although Mussabini, among others, may have utilised aspects of the work of Muybridge and Marey,<sup>324</sup> professional coaches generally analysed technique intuitively by drawing on their craft knowledge. E. Johnson, for example, a tennis marker at Lords, had "the wit" to see the importance of the simultaneous movements of legs and arms in forward play in cricket, subsequently transposing these ideas onto the tennis court, by advocating that players met the ball "not merely with wrist and arm, but with body weight applied by advancing the leg."<sup>325</sup>

Athletes and coaches have always developed systematic practices or techniques to improve performance and when Ellery Harding Clark suggested that "specialized and systematized" training had radically changed the nature of American athletics, he was emphasising the increasingly industrialised nature of training.<sup>326</sup> A growing scientific knowledge base never superseded customary practices and coaches continued to depend on experience and specialised knowledge gathered through observations. Training techniques were explained according to individualistic interpretations of physiology and "scientific training" generally referred to programmes that relied heavily upon the accumulated wisdom of successful individuals.<sup>327</sup> In 1908, John J. Mack, the Yale football trainer, puzzling over whether training college footballers was an art or a science, concluded, "if there

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<sup>323</sup> Light, R. (2005). 'Ten Drunks and a Parson?': The Victorian Professional Cricketer Reconsidered, *Sport in History* 25 (1) pp. 69-70; Dobbs, B. (1973). *Edwardians at Play: Sport 1890-1914*, London: Pelham Books pp. 130-131; Sandiford, K. A. P. (1984). Victorian Cricket Technique and Industrial Technology, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 1 (3) pp. 273-276, 279.

<sup>324</sup> Clarys, J. P. and Alewaeters, K. (2003). Science and Sports: A Brief History of Muscle, Motion and Ad Hoc Organizations, *Journal of Sports Sciences* 21 p. 670. Eadweard Muybridge photographed athletic performances, presenting the results in Muybridge, E. (1887). *Animal Locomotion: An Electro-Photographic Investigation of Consecutive Phases of Animal Movement, 1872-1888*, Philadelphia. Deeper analysis was enabled by "chronophotography", invented by Etienne-Jules Marey (1830-1904) who used this technique at the 1900 Olympic Games. Braune and Fischer (1889), Anschutz (1893), Marinescu (1898), and Kohlrausch (1891) further underpinned sport biomechanics.

<sup>325</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Tennis* by J. M. Heathcote pp. 3-123.

<sup>326</sup> Clark, E. H. (1911). *Reminiscences of an Athlete: Twenty Years in Track and Field*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. pp. 17-21, 52; Woodgate, W. B. (1891). *Boating*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. pp. 153-156 said, "Training is a thorough science" which was "much better understood" by 1891.

<sup>327</sup> Lee, R. J. (1873). *Exercise and Training: Their Effects upon Health*, London: Smith, Elder and Co.; *Cornhill Magazine* 1864 IX (50) pp. 220-229 observed "Training has no principles, only traditions".

was a word that meant about half of each, I think that would be the proper one to use."<sup>328</sup>

Throughout this period, some coaches may have accessed research findings, and athletes and scientists may have occasionally collaborated, but training theories continued to rely upon little that was "scientifically" exact. Even when athletic training became a matter of scientific interest, investigators were engrossed in explaining outstanding performances, rather than exploring ways of improving athletes.<sup>329</sup> Scientists studied, for example, the "astonishing feats" accomplished in cycling by determining experimentally the amount of energy expended.<sup>330</sup> The growth of the Olympics stimulated scientific involvement, although English ambivalence towards the Games was reflected in a reluctance to adopt approaches regarded as essentially American and German in nature. In 1927, British physiologist A. V. Hill ruefully observed that while Americans treated athletics scientifically many Englishmen would be appalled by such an approach.<sup>331</sup>

### *Will and "Pluck"*

A great many people have the idea that the psychologist is a sort of magician who...is merely waiting until he can jump into an athletic field, tell the old-time successful coach that he is all wrong and begin...to expound his own magical and fanciful theories as to proper methods of coaching, the way to conquer overconfidence, the best forms of strategy and so on. This...is...far from the truth.<sup>332</sup>

The elevation of science to a high status activity prompted practitioners in many disciplines to claim the title of "science". Psychology engaged in systematic fact gathering from the end of the nineteenth century and psychological tests began to be used to predict performance in industry, education, and sport.<sup>333</sup> At the fifth Olympic Congress in Lausanne in May 1913, delegates discussed the psychological characteristics of exercises, classification of sports, the formation and training of a team, and the development of "the will, of courage and of self-confidence". Paul

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<sup>328</sup> Mack, J. J. (1908). How Yale Deals with Beef and Brains, *Baseball Magazine* 2 (2) pp. 15-16.

<sup>329</sup> Mignon, P. (2003). The Tour de France and the Doping Issue, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20 (2) pp. 231-232.

<sup>330</sup> Stoney, G. J. and Stoney, G. G. (1883). On the Energy Expended in Propelling a Bicycle, *Outing* II (4) July pp. 269-278.

<sup>331</sup> Hill, A. V. (1927). *Muscular Movement in Man: The Factors Governing Speed and Recovery from Fatigue*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. p. 2.

<sup>332</sup> Griffith, C. (1925). Psychology and its Relation to Athletic Competition, *American Physical Education Review* 30 pp. 193-194.

<sup>333</sup> Fuchs, A. H. (1998). Psychology and "The Babe", *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 34 (2) p. 155.

Rousseau adopted a practice-orientated approach in using his own experiences, and those of other athletes, to argue that high-performance sportsmen employed "autosuggestion" to overcome fatigue and handle emotions.<sup>334</sup>

In common with Rousseau, craftsmen coaches had long recognised that "mind" was as important as "body" for successful performance. In 1903, rackets players were advised to remember that opponents had a mind as well as a body and that "With many amateurs a collapse of the latter follows a blow to the former," while Yale football trainers drilled into players the importance of "brain work", emphasising that "Wit will win."<sup>335</sup> Experiential learning enabled coaches to devise strategies for issues such as competition and race preparation, individual differences between athletes, and the affect of nerves on performance. Some men may have supplemented their tacit understanding with explicit knowledge from publications such as *Hardwicke's Science Gossip*, *Science Monthly*, *Popular Science Monthly*, *English Mechanic and World of Science*, or *Spalding's Athletic Library*, in which contributors described profiles of elite athletes, aspects of training, and the psychological components of competition.<sup>336</sup>

The notion of "will", a recurrent theme in sporting discourse, had a tenacity that is reflected in its continued use, in its modern guises of "determination", "commitment", or "dedication". Warman emphasised, "there is no muscular action without will power",<sup>337</sup> while Ford claimed that "nerve power" was more important than physical attributes and that success lay "more in the will than in the muscles, more in the grit than in the bones".<sup>338</sup> In sports, "not only are muscles and sinews strengthened and hardened, but the temper and the will are trained as well."<sup>339</sup> This developmental potential was enhanced if sport was associated with key values of amateurism. The qualifications of a cricketer were considered to be "physical,

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<sup>334</sup> *Revue Olympique*. (1912). Congrès de psychologie et de physiologie sportives, (Congress of sport psychology and physiology) Lausanne 1913, April 76 pp. 51, 54-55; Müller, N. (1994). Twelve Congresses for a Century of Olympism, *Olympic Review* 321 pp. 321, 333-337.

<sup>335</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Rackets* by E. O. P. Ouverie pp. 401-402; Mack, J. J. (1908). How Yale deals with Beef and Brains, *Baseball Magazine* 2 (2) pp. 15-16.

<sup>336</sup> Richards, E. L. (1884). College Athletics: Advantages, *Popular Science Monthly* 24 pp. 446-453; Richards, E. L. (1884). College Athletics: Evils and their Remedies, *Popular Science Monthly* 24 pp. 587-597; Warman, E. B. (1911). *Physical Training Simplified: The Whole Man Considered - Brain and Body*, Spalding's Athletic Library XVI (49) London: The British Sports Publishing Co. p. 51.

<sup>337</sup> Warman, E. B. (1910). *Scientific Physical Training: The Care of the Body*, Spalding's Athletic Library XVI (48) London: The British Sports Publishing Co. p. 7.

<sup>338</sup> Ford, M. W. (1897). Specialization in Athletics, *Outing* XXX (6) September pp. 575-577.

<sup>339</sup> Collier, P. (1898). Sport's Place in the Nation's Well-being, *Outing* XXXII (4) July p. 383.

intellectual, and moral; bold in action, quick in perception, and serene in difficulties", attributes developed in the public schools where "a boy's body is disciplined as well as his mind."<sup>340</sup>

The tendency of histories of Victorian sport to reduce "character" to the exercise of "pluck" has been criticised,<sup>341</sup> but it is nevertheless true that coaches and athletes made this connection. The mere act of entering the boxing ring demonstrated courage and the pluck shown by a man facing a stronger fighter, was "the quality above all others on which rests the reputation of the Briton". There must be "no element of funk".<sup>342</sup> Childs observed that even a man whose "heart, lungs, throat or cords are organically defective" may excel if he possessed that "greatest of all qualifications of a racing man—pluck", although Walsh had warned that there were numerous examples of "ruined health from the excessive drafts which have been made upon this valuable quality."<sup>343</sup> Once a man lost his nerve, it would never return,<sup>344</sup> although pre-competition nerves did not necessarily imply a lack of "pluck". Mussabini noted, "'Nerves' will always get hold of the athlete, no matter how fit he may be", but this was to be expected, while Andrews emphasised that just because an athlete was "excessively nervous" he was not necessarily "chicken-hearted". However, to "funk...just before the race, is somewhat against a competitor" and the coach should alleviate this by talking to him about anything except the competition.<sup>345</sup> Woodgate proposed a small dose of strong tea and brandy in equal proportions for crews who were nervous before a race, to steady them and prevent the feeling of "sinking in the stomach".<sup>346</sup> Some individuals were less understanding, observing that, "Most of us resent the charge of nervousness before facing the starter...British phlegm may be proof against the sensation".<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, July 1864 VIII (53) p. 172; August 1864 VIII (54) p. 225.

<sup>341</sup> Roberts, N. (2004). Character in the Mind: Citizenship, Education and Psychology in Britain, 1880-1914, *History of Education* 33 (2) pp. 191-197; See Park, R. J. (2007). Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24 (12) pp. 1543-1569.

<sup>342</sup> Newton, A. J. (1910). *Boxing, with a Section on Single-stick*, London: C. Arthur Pearson.

<sup>343</sup> Childs, K. (1888). Training for Cycle Competitions, *Outing* XII (4) July p. 347; Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. p. 444.

<sup>344</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, February 1899 LXXI (468) p. 80.

<sup>345</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1924). *Track and Field Athletics*, London: W. Foulsham and Co. p. 93; Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 85-88.

<sup>346</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1890). Rowing and Sculling, In Bell, E. (1890). *Handbook of Athletic Sports Volume II Rowing and Sculling - Sailing - Swimming*, London: George Bell and Sons p. 137. Revision of work previously published as *Oars and Sculls*.

<sup>347</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, September 1900 LXXIV (487) p. 208.

One writer recorded situations where mind, emotions, and sport were intertwined, such as when a crew knew it had a race won, at which stage the oarsman became almost a spectator, as "the rhythm of the swinging bodies and the weight thrown on the level oars become only a sub-conscious accompaniment". Competing in track races engendered a range of emotions. Waiting for the gun could be "aggressively disagreeable" but, like oarsmen, runners also encountered emotional returns from peak performance, particularly in the quarter-mile where "the sum of athletic elation" could be experienced. To be "last in the first rush, to begin to gain, to swing round the last corner, to feel the muscles strong beneath you, to get a sort of inspiration of speed up the last straight, to know that you will reach the winning post first, combine to form a crowded minute of glorious life." The reality of course was sometimes different since this pleasure was constantly threatened, especially when the runner could sense his pursuers "with a sort of nightmare intensity".<sup>348</sup>

The implication for the coach of this connection between mind and body was that training needed to incorporate aspects of psychological preparation. Training itself could become tedious and coaches employed specific techniques to alleviate this. Pugilist Tom Spring thought it important to have a "very cheerful trainer" and noted that stress appeared as the fight day approached, when he could see his trainer, "was fidgety...it was a terrible time of trial and temper and patience".<sup>349</sup> Walsh emphasised that the athlete's mind should be kept occupied throughout all phases of training but recognised that this was often neglected, despite the fact that exercise without amusement was "mere drudgery." During training, the coach should "draw out the powers of his pupil by walking against him, taking care not to dishearten him", partly by allowing him to win. The athlete should be encouraged, "by inspiring confidence in his powers on all occasions" since many races had been lost by anxiety before the event. This was the biggest problem with men in training, many of whom would lie awake at nights "from a nervousness as to the result".<sup>350</sup>

Mussabini recommended that the coach persuade the athlete that he is doing well, by using a white lie where necessary, and each man must be encouraged to view race day as a red-letter day, which "in after life he will be able to look back upon

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<sup>348</sup> Happy Athlete. (1901). *Saturday Review*, 91 March p. 398.

<sup>349</sup> Hurley, J. (2002). *Tom Spring: Bare-Knuckle Champion of All England*, Stroud: Tempus p. 203.

<sup>350</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 444-447, 449-450.

with real satisfaction, having enrolled his name in a niche of fame". Each runner should stick to his own time schedules and ignore both other competitors and the "fairy tales always put about concerning the powers of certain entries or the wonderful trials they have performed". If the athlete was blessed with "great self-confidence" this would prove "a great asset during the struggle".<sup>351</sup>

### "Wind"

A tradition existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century of developing athletes through training, predicated on the premise that rational regimes could improve performance beyond naturally endowed capabilities, and these programmes became more widespread as sport became increasingly rationalised. This expansion was further stimulated by a predilection for gambling, since minimising risk involved employing systematic preparation. Gentry placed their athletes with a trainer, who, recognising that backers made heavy investments in training costs and wagers, ensured that athletes were well prepared. Barclay's successful thousand miles challenge in 1809 focussed attention on training methods and, by mid-century, it was recognised that pugilists were "brought into a condition capable of the greatest physical exertion and endurance" by their training regimes.<sup>352</sup>

Mewett argues that late eighteenth century coaches drew, almost exclusively, from animal training procedures, pointing out, for example, that when Barclay went into training, he did so with Jacky Smith, a professional coach and tenant farmer, whose father bred racehorses.<sup>353</sup> It should be remembered though that Smith had also been a successful pedestrian and he undoubtedly drew on his own experiences, together with the oral traditions surrounding pedestrian training, to devise his training regimes. According to Radford, Smith understood how to develop strength and aerobic endurance, what diet, fluid and chemicals to administer, how to monitor performance, and how to employ cross-training and peaking techniques.<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 98-112; See also Faries, R. (1897). On Training in General, *Outing* XXX (2) May pp. 177-179, who was giving advice, from his book *Practical Training for Contests, for Health and for Pleasure*, that would be familiar to contemporary coaches.

<sup>352</sup> *The Lancet*, 5 May 1860 pp. 448-449. The Physiology and Uses of the Prize-Ring.

<sup>353</sup> Mewett, P. G. (2002). From Horses to Humans: Species Crossovers in the Origin of Modern Sports Training, *Sport History Review* 33 pp. 95-120; *Cornhill Magazine*, January 1867 XV pp. 92-94 suggested that "It is probable that many of the rules of the professional trainer are derived from the training of the racehorse. Those which relate to sweating, medicine, limitation of drink, and the like, are almost identical with the maxims which are still rigidly enforced in the Stable, though in their application to bipeds they have of late undergone much modification".

<sup>354</sup> Radford, P. (2001). *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London: Headline pp. 87-89. In 1807, a Charles Graham had gone to Smith to train for a wager, but could not tolerate the intensity of the programme and gave up.

Mewett also discounts the writings of the Ancients as influencing training practices, an argument which relies, at least in part, on plebeian coaches, normally former athletes, being unable to access relevant literature. However, in an age when doctors, scientists, and physical educators, among others, were developing ideas rooted in a classical understanding, it is reasonable to assume that knowledge transfer occurred just as it had within preceding generations. The close relationship that existed between some coaches and sporting patrons, many of whom were familiar with the classics and proud of their scientific understanding, suggests that gentlemen's knowledge could have easily permeated their servant classes. In ignoring the existence of these strong oral traditions, and in making unsubstantiated assumptions about literacy levels and lifestyles, Mewett exaggerates his claims. In fact, the connections between animal and human training methods that he describes are actually predicated on the application of Greek humoral theory.<sup>355</sup> Park points out that nineteenth century training methods inevitably relied on classical sources since the "non-naturals" (air; exercise; sleep and wakefulness; food; excretion and retention; and the passions of the soul), classical therapeutics, and traditional theories of hygiene, continued to influence medical thought. The Galenic belief that "animal spirits" could be easily "wasted", for example, persisted until the late 1800s.<sup>356</sup>

Other differences between human trainers and animal trainers lay in the ability of human athletes, whatever their class, to integrate their own knowledge and experience into their training, if only to a minor degree, and in the degree of self-determination their trainers enjoyed. The employment ties between training grooms and their masters restricted their freedom to amend equine training methods but many coaches were more independent and could afford to experiment, although the demands of patrons still imposed certain constraints. Dowling noted that a trainer should be intelligent and firm in his manner, flexible in his opinions about the use of "medicines", open to instruction, and "willingly obedient to the rules laid down for his guidance". It was essential that he was "faithful" and backers must investigate this thoroughly since the trainer could be tempted by "some unknown agent to swerve from his duty". Once engaged, it might be necessary to closely monitor a trainer's movements. For his part, the trainer had to be vigilant night and day, must never "quit his man", and he should lead by

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<sup>355</sup> Sinclair, J. (1807). *The Code of Health and Longevity; or, a Concise View of the Principles Calculated for the Preservation of Health and the Attainment of Long Life*, Edinburgh: Arch. Constable and Co. especially pp. 39-150 and appendix devoted to training practices.

<sup>356</sup> Park, R. J. (1994). A Decade of the Body: Researching and Writing about the History of Health, Fitness, Exercise and Sport, 1983-1993, *Journal of Sport History* 21 (1) p. 70.

example by being abstemious. He must report progress truthfully to the backers, his employers, for "if he be found falsifying even in trivial matters, he will not be trusted when he tells truths of importance". During the early stages of training, he needed to discover if his man was lacking confidence and must "remove this obstacle...by inspiring contrary notions".<sup>357</sup>

### *Traditional Training*

In the early nineteenth century, some oral training traditions and contemporary coaching practices were recorded in *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, which concluded that there was no universal rule for bringing "either man or horse to the utmost he is capable of doing."<sup>358</sup> Sinclair's subsequent *Code of Health and Longevity* in 1807 drew upon ancients like Galen, as well as contemporary doctors and leading trainers such as Thomas Parkyns, John Hall, and John Jackson. Sinclair was complimentary about their influence, referring to,

...the almost incredible perfection, to which those whose profession it is to train men to athletic exercises, have brought to their respective arts. By certain processes they improve the breath, the strength, and the courage of those they take in hand, so as to enable them to run thirty, or walk a hundred miles, in a given space of time; to excel in wrestling; or to challenge a professed boxer.<sup>359</sup>

In his 1813 publication, *Pedestrianism*, Walter Thom drew attention to the importance of strengthening the "capacities," referring extensively to Dr. Churchill's *Genuine Guide to Health*, Dr. Willich's 1799 *Lectures on Diet and Regimen*, to classical authors, and to Sinclair.<sup>360</sup> Dr. Thomas John Graham, publishing anonymously in 1827, thought the art of training had "arrived to such great perfection in this country, as to throw new lights on the physical changes which the body is capable of receiving".<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> Dowling, F. L. (1841). *Fistiana or, The Oracle of the Ring*, London: Wm. Clemen, Jun. Bell's Life in London Editor pp. 91-92. Went to over twenty editions.

<sup>358</sup> Sinclair, J. (1806). *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader.

<sup>359</sup> Sinclair, J. (1807). *The Code of Health and Longevity; or, a Concise View of the Principles Calculated for the Preservation of Health and the Attainment of Long Life*. Edinburgh: Arch. Constable and Co. Volume II pp. 87-88.

<sup>360</sup> Thom, W. (1813). *Pedestrianism, or an Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians during the Last and Present Century: With a Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches, and an Essay on Training*, Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Co.

<sup>361</sup> A Physician. (1827). *Sure Methods of Improving Health, and Prolonging Life; Or a Treatise on the Art of Living Long and Comfortably, by Regulating Diet and Regimen 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: The Author pp. 325-326. The author was Dr. Thomas John Graham.



Because existing practices relied heavily upon oral traditions, these texts offer rare insights into the routines of purging, sweating, diet, rest, and exercise, which were the key elements of systematic athletic training. Before serious training began, the coach familiarised himself with the constitution, personality, and habits, of the athlete so that he could assess how best to organise the training elements. Coaches subsequently monitored progress by analysing training components separately and in combination. There was no problem if a man improved in wind and strength, while keeping contented, but if mistakes were being made "through the unskillfulness or mismanagement of the trainer" they must be remedied immediately. Each coach should be guided by his own judgment, and no rigid training rules could be established. The same applied to fixing a precise period for the training process, which, depending on the individual, would normally be between two to three months. Having acknowledged this need for flexibility, there were some basic training rules that would invariably be effective if the athlete strictly adhered to them, and if the trainer enforced them.<sup>362</sup>

The aim of early nineteenth century training was to develop "wind" through diet and exercise. Purging, vomiting, and bleeding, were the standard means of cleansing the body of gross humours at the start of training and three purgatives, such as Glauber's salt, might be spaced four days apart, although emetics were applied whenever the stomach seemed "foul". Regular exercise began after purging, gradually increasing in intensity, and three or four weeks into training, a regime of weekly "sweats", designed to reduce fat, was initiated and continued until just before competition. Following a hard four mile run in flannels, the man was given a pint of hot sweating liquor, such as caraway seed, coriander, root liquorice, and sugar candy, boiled together with two bottles of cider until the preparation reduced to half its original volume. After being wrapped up in bed for thirty minutes, his skin was rubbed dry with coarse towelling to promote the action of the pores. Sweating removed wastes and enhanced the working of the skin, which needed to perspire properly, otherwise the lungs would have to perform the excretory function, to the detriment of wind. The constipation often experienced during training was attributed to the efficient removal of wastes through

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<sup>362</sup> Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 London pp. 97-98; Walker, D. (1836). *British Manly Exercises*, Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle pp. 283-284; *The Penny Illustrated* 27 May 1876 p. 10. Coaches needed to be able to keep up with athletes in training. When Peter Crossland attempted sixty miles in twelve hours at the Newhall grounds, Sheffield and had to retire, G. Parry, his trainer, for the gratification of the public, gave an exhibition, walking particularly fast for twelve miles. Later in the afternoon Parry again walked several miles in good time.

perspiration. Judging sweating was a skill because too much, too late, weakened the athlete, while not enough, done too soon, left him overweight and breathless.<sup>363</sup>

This basic training regime was employed in rowing, pugilism, and pedestrianism, forming the foundation of Barclay's programme, regarded at the time as the "most effectual process for training" and one that was "sanctioned by professionals" and had "met with the unqualified approbation of amateurs".<sup>364</sup> In 1809, the Captain "was in training by Mr. Smith, the old sportsman, and his son",<sup>365</sup> arriving at their farm eight weeks before his challenge when, after eight ounces of blood had been taken from his arm, his system was purged with ipecacuanah and emetic tartar, in a ratio of ten to one. The rhythm of training was established in the first week with Barclay being woken at four and placed in a hammock before running started at six, concentrating on rhythm rather than speed. He wore two pairs of breeches, two waistcoats and a greatcoat, designed to make him sweat, and, following a massage, he was sweated again for half an hour in a bed, preheated with a bedpan, covered with blankets and "a feather bed". After a tankard of strong malt liquor, Barclay then had an hour of relaxed walking in warm dry clothing and a greatcoat. In the afternoons, running was supplemented with labouring around the farm. Smith also worked on Barclay's walking style, bending the body forward to throw weight onto the knees. By keeping his step short, and raising his feet only a few inches from the ground he avoided putting too much stress on the ankle-joints.<sup>366</sup>

By the time of the Cribb-Molyneaux return fight, in 1811, Barclay had turned to training, and he took Cribb to the Highlands where his training regime, based substantially on his own experiences, reduced Cribb's weight by over two-and-a-half stone, improved his wind and strength, and led to a comparatively easy victory on 28 September 1811. Egan later credited Barclay with being an intuitive trainer whose knowledge of the capabilities of the human frame was complete, and whose research and experimentation with respect to training factors, would have

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<sup>363</sup> Sinclair, J. (1807). *The Code of Health and Longevity; or, a Concise View of the Principles Calculated for the Preservation of Health and the Attainment of Long Life*, Edinburgh: Arch. Constable and Co. Volume II pp. 93-94; Thom, W. (1813). *Pedestrianism, or an Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians during the Last and Present Century: With a Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches, and an Essay on Training*, Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Co. pp. 230-231; Walker, D. (1836). *British Manly Exercises*, Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle pp. 282-283.

<sup>364</sup> Walker, D. (1836). *British Manly Exercises*, Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle pp. 280-281.

<sup>365</sup> Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 London pp. 9-22. Captain Barclay.

<sup>366</sup> A Physician. (1827). *Sure Methods of Improving Health, and Prolonging Life; Or a Treatise on the Art of Living Long and Comfortably, By Regulating Diet and Regimen 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: The Author p. 219. The author was Dr. Thomas John Graham.

"reflected credit on any anatomist". His approach was "completely *scientific*, and his planning so detailed, that his judgment was almost invariably correct".<sup>367</sup>

By the 1820s, it was recognised that a trained pugilist could defeat an untrained person and that a trained pedestrian could achieve unprecedented feats of endurance and speed. Systematic training programmes took contestants from their daily routines and put them under the control of professional coaches for up to two months. Regularity of training was essential since both the mind and the body must be disciplined. Coaches maintained a close surveillance by living with their athletes when they were "in training", supervising diet, exercise, and recreation.<sup>368</sup> Their success as a coach was open to public scrutiny, not only in terms of the outcome, but also in a contestant's physical appearance. "The ceremony of peeling", the stripping-off on entering the ring, was often the first clue for spectators about the condition of prizefighters. When Spring defeated Langan in 1824 his appearance "excited general admiration".

It combined elasticity, firmness and elegance. His fine person glowed with health, and his brow with manliness, modesty and resolution. He was in the finest condition, and justified his own and his backers' confidence. Langan stood firmly on his ground, cheerful and hearty, but without the elegance that distinguished Spring. He was reduced below his fighting weight, and showed indifferent condition.<sup>369</sup>

In February 1827, spectators at the Dick Curtis and Barney Aaron fight noted that Curtis was as "fine as a race-horse" and a "perfect model of symmetry", although Aaron's frame showed more muscular strength.<sup>370</sup> When professional sculler Robert Chambers stripped off for his match against Thomas White in 1860, his condition was "admirable", showing every muscle in his "Herculean back and shoulders".<sup>371</sup> The key criteria of whether a man had been properly trained included the state of the skin, which should be smooth, elastic and well coloured, or transparent. The loins, the ribs, and the pit of the stomach, should be paler than at the commencement of training, and "if with a tint of red, the more vigour will be found

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<sup>367</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, October 1860 II (8) p. 28 Tom Cribb's Training; Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 London pp. 9-22, 103-105.

<sup>368</sup> Thom, W. (1813). *Pedestrianism, or an Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians during the Last and Present Century: With a Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches, and an Essay on Training*, Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Co. pp. 228, 231.

<sup>369</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 13 June 1824 p. 190.

<sup>370</sup> *The Sporting Magazine*, April 1827 XIX N.S. (CXV) pp. 397-398

<sup>371</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, October 1860 II (8) p. 38.

in his system".<sup>372</sup> The flesh should be firm, and the athlete should feel light and full of spirits. During training, condition could be assessed by whether the sweats stopped reducing weight and by the athlete's time for a mile at top speed, a good result confirming either that his condition was perfect, or that he had "derived all the advantages which can possibly result from the training process".<sup>373</sup>

### *Amateur Attitudes*

New attitudes to training evolved from the 1850s, but emergent training theories took many years to supplant accepted practices. Professional coaches continued to follow time-honoured training principles, although some were already beginning to moderate aspects of the work. Oarsman Harry Clasper, an acknowledged training authority in the 1840s and 1850s, employed a predominantly traditional programme of exercise and diet. The sculler rose between six and seven, walked four or five miles, then breakfasted on a mutton chop, or eggs, and a cup of tea. After a rest, he completed a row on the river. Broiled beef or mutton, ale or wine, and a light farinaceous or egg pudding with currants formed the midday meal. A hard row followed another rest, then tea, with sparsely buttered toast and an egg, but no supper. Clasper differed from his predecessors, however, in his reluctance to engage in sweating regimes, unless absolutely necessary, and in omitting "physicking" from his training advice.<sup>374</sup>

Amateur sportsmen also began to question whether practices such as purging sat comfortably alongside their emerging vision of amateur sport, with its ethos of moderation, and it was this dilemma, rather than scientific discoveries, that stimulated debates about training methods. In 1864, one author argued that training rules still relied heavily on traditions based upon "no intelligible principles,"<sup>375</sup> but, by 1870, such "irrational" athletic training was apparently being replaced by methods based upon "knowledge of the human frame and hygienic laws."<sup>376</sup> Over the second half of the century, amateur athletes and rowers amended traditional training practices on the premise that "the habits of life and mode of living" of gentlemen amateurs meant that their training requirements were dissimilar to those of watermen, many of whom gave up their daily occupations and

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<sup>372</sup> Dowling, F. L. (1841). *Fistiana or, The Oracle of the Ring*, London: Wm. Clemen, Jun. Bell's Life in London Editor p. 93. Went to over twenty editions.

<sup>373</sup> Walker, D. (1836). *British Manly Exercises*, Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle pp. 284-285.

<sup>374</sup> Clasper, D. (1990). *Harry Clasper: Hero of the North*, Gateshead: Gateshead Books pp. 26-29. Farinaceous puddings consisted predominantly of cereals.

<sup>375</sup> *Cornhill Magazine*, 1864 IX (50) pp. 219-231.

<sup>376</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sport and Pastimes*, 1870 18 pp. 197-204.

devoted themselves entirely to a strict course of training when preparing for important matches.<sup>377</sup>

Authors like John Henry Walsh ("Stonehenge") included relevant information about training regimens in their sporting manuals from the late 1850s. Walsh, a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, distinguished between preparatory systems based on both physical condition and social class, since the human condition varied according to the "rank in life, habits, and natural constitution of the individual." Whatever his social class, the man in training should give up smoking and reduce alcohol, but purgatives needed to be used judiciously. If the liver was operating properly, recognised by the yellow or brown colour of the faeces, a simple black draught of half an ounce of "sweet essence of senna, with a small teaspoonful of salts dissolved in an ounce of warm water", or one or two compound rhubarb pills, might be taken at night. If the motions were clay coloured, five grains of "blue pill" should be taken, followed by a senna draught in the morning. If the bowels acted more than once a day, a wineglass of "decoction of bark, with a teaspoonful of the compound tincture of bark" should be taken two or three times daily. If very loose, laudanum may be used and if very watery, with griping pains, drops of diluted sulphuric acid may be added, which would check diarrhoea, give "tone" to the stomach, and help produce an appetite.<sup>378</sup>

Before starting strict training, the athlete should take a dose of aperient medicine, to clear "all undigested food", and sweating should be used first thing in the morning. Natural sweating involved wearing extra clothing over parts "loaded with fat", for a brisk walk, or slow run of a few miles, to initiate perspiration, which was then maintained under cover of horse-rugs or a feather bed, or by lying in front of a fire. After an hour, clothes were stripped off and limbs sponged with hot salt water before drying with a coarse towel, and rubbing with Dinneford's gloves. Artificial sweating followed the system of hydropath Preistnitz, and involved the naked

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<sup>377</sup> Salacia (1861). *The Boat; And How to Manage it: A Treatise on the Management of Rowing and Sailing Boats*, London: Baily Brothers Cornhill pp. 14-20.

<sup>378</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 444-447; Sinclair, J. (1806). *Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader pp. 105-106. The blue-pill was made up of the same "principle of strength" everywhere but the best was to be found in Apothecaries' Hall, where a machine performed the mixing. A blue-pill the size of a pea contained over one and a half grains of Emetic tartar and produced one stool; a larger pill would give two or more stools. A small blue-pill, taken at night, and half an ounce of salts, in the morning would produce a thorough cleansing. Blue-pill and all other preparations of mercury were apt to adhere to the system, and ought to be worked off the morning after they are taken by a warm infusion of senna.

athlete being wrapped in a damp sheet, rolled within a thick blanket, and then placed beneath a feather bed, after which he perspired profusely. Water was withheld because it caused "too great an action on the kidneys, thereby weakening the frame." After sixty to ninety minutes, everything was removed and cold water poured over the body, which was then rubbed dry. Either process could be repeated two or three times a week, and, in Walsh's view, both were superior to using sweating liquors, although natural sweating was inappropriate for pedestrians, since substantial clothing shortened the stride length. The choice, therefore, was between the hydropathic method and an overnight sweat using Dover's powder or half-a-pint of whey made with white wine, and with antimonial wine and sweet spirits of nitre added. This was "a strong sweater" but it upset the stomach and exposed the skin to chills.<sup>379</sup>

For pedestrians in training, a light run for thirty minutes prepared the stomach for breakfast. For an hour after breakfast, the pedestrian amused himself with games but at eleven, he was ready in his flannels. For walkers, after the first week, during which walking was gradually increased from an hour-and-a-half up to three-and-a-half hours, this first walk was maintained without stopping. After dinner, and one or two hours rest on a hard mattress or horsehair sofa, the same distance was repeated. Training distances depended on the race being prepared for, with short races requiring two or three hours walking and running exercise daily. Speed for a hundred or two hundred yards was lost if the work lasted too long, and a man might "get his hands down", a fatal habit for sprinters, who should be made to run two or three times over the race distance daily, either against the coach, giving him a few yards start, or against the clock with the coach keeping the result to himself. For speed over ten or fifteen miles, training should be at a slower pace with occasional five mile "sprints". Long competition distances should be attempted once or twice every day, depending on the length, at a fast pace, and in competition with the trainer. At least five or six hours a day must be spent walking and running, changing from one to the other as a relief during the early part of training. Eventually the athlete should go a little beyond the racing distance every day, unless that distance was at his upper limit, when he should do just as much as his coach thinks he could perform without overtraining. If the appetite remained good

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<sup>379</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 450-451.

and sleep was sound, "without dreaming or starting", the coach need not worry that his man was doing too much.<sup>380</sup>

When professional Charles Westhall ("Hall") compared the "old method" of physicking and sweating with "new rules of training" in 1863, he agreed that coaches should adjust the intensity and the duration of the exercise according to the competition distance. Six to eight weeks were needed to get a man into condition, and Westhall advised starting with gentle purgatives to clear the stomach, bowels, and tissues from "extraneous matter" before beginning a programme which involved the athlete rising at six, bathing or showering, then walking at a slow pace for an hour before breakfast. Dumbbell work, rope skipping, the trapeze, and the vaulting bar, could be utilised in bad weather. Following a rest after breakfast to allow digestion, exercise was undertaken to reduce fat, initially a brisk walk and a run home, with the pace and distance increasing as training progressed. The athlete rested for an hour after lunch then "strolled about" for another hour or two before practicing his distance against the watch. At this stage, the advice of the coach, "the only person capable of knowing how far towards success the trained man has progressed" was crucial. If the athlete was below par, he would be stopped and his energies saved for another day. Westhall's training recommendations for pugilists were substantially similar although fighters would strengthen their arms, loins, and shoulders by hitting a straw-filled sack, rope skipping, and the use of dumbbells.<sup>381</sup>

While acknowledging that purgatives were increasingly being administered only at the onset of training, Archibald Maclaren described them in 1866 as "poisons", which were often over prescribed, especially for pugilists. For Maclaren, it was purging, vomiting, forced sweatings, restricted liquid, and eating semi-raw meat that led to "training off" or "falling to pieces" rather than excessive exercise. Exercising while wearing layers of heavy clothing might reduce weight through perspiration, but it did not affect fatty tissue. Because change in the tissues was dependent upon changes in respiration and circulation, and increased "demands upon the upstored fuel of the body", running longer distances wearing light clothing

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<sup>380</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 449-450.

<sup>381</sup> Hall, C. (1863). *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, and Boxing, Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers 7<sup>th</sup> edition*, London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, pp. 21-43, 48-51. Westhall (1823-1868), holder of many walking records, and the professional mile record in 1852, trained Charles Guy Pym (1841-1918), the gentleman-amateur who set a 440 record in 1863.

was more effective than running two miles in flannels. By 1874, he was confident that both "physicking" and "forced perspiration" were on the decline.<sup>382</sup>

The most critical element of training for Maclaren was exercise, which should begin slowly and be developed over a longer period than the typical three weeks race preparation of amateurs. Since oarsmen needed both muscular and respiratory power, they should have three hours of rowing a day, as well as running to strengthen the legs. Walsh predated Maclaren in arguing for at least three hours daily training for crews who should be kept together, day and night if possible, making sure they are never "free from *surveillance*". The men should rise at eight, to be sponged down with cold water or to take a plunge into the river, after which they should be well rubbed with a coarse towel, and take "a gentle run, or smart walk" before breakfast at nine. Two hours practice would be taken around eleven thirty and then everyone should take a run, varying in speed and distance according to the coach's instructions. Dinner was between two and two thirty, after being rubbed dry and clothing changed, followed by a gentle stroll or a read until five or six when there was another hour's rowing. Supper was at eight, with bed at nine or ten.<sup>383</sup>

Woodgate, writing for amateur coaches, emphasised that endurance should be developed primarily by running, while rowing practice concentrated on technique. Many of his guidelines indicate a degree of flexibility in his application of traditional methods. In hot weather it was better for the crew to do their rowing practice in the evening while a cup of strong beef tea should be allowed at night, even though university coaches and former oarsmen still believed that liquid hampered "wind". Age, physical condition at the commencement of training, the length of race, and the time available to the athlete were important considerations. While skill might enable a crew to win a short race, the development of musculature through training was essential for longer races. Woodgate provided specific information about the pace of rowing, suggesting lighter work on "bye" days, and, in 1888, he compared earlier methods of training prizefighters and watermen with contemporary amateur

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<sup>382</sup> Maclaren, A. (1865). *A System of Physical Education, Theoretical and Practical*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press; Maclaren, A. (1866). *Training in Theory and Practice*, London: Macmillan and Co. pp. 132-140, 149-52; Maclaren, A. (1874). *Training in Theory and Practice 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: Macmillan and Co. pp. iii-iv; Maclaren, A. (1873). *University Oars, Nature*, 27 March pp. 397-99; 3 April pp. 418-21; 17 April pp. 458-60; Wilkinson, H. F. (1868). *Modern Athletics*, London: Warne pp. 71-79 suggested "caking it", "Working fat into muscle" through long and steady exercise, as an alternative to sweating.

<sup>383</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. p. 483.



practices. While the older system may have been appropriate "for men of mature years, who had probably been leading a life of self-indulgence," it was quite inappropriate for young gentlemen.<sup>384</sup>

The most prominent critics of traditional training practices in the late nineteenth century were members of the medical profession. Classical texts had generally referred to medicine as a *techne*, a craft, an identity which medicine maintained into the early modern period, when it was generally disparaged as a profession whose principles were frangible and whose claims were exaggerated. By the early nineteenth century, however, medical science had made some progress and, in 1815, the Society of Apothecaries was granted the authority to license practitioners. The profession grew rapidly, producing over eight thousand university-trained doctors and building seventy new hospitals by 1860, and the Medical Act of 1858 created a General Medical Council, which provided for the training and registration of all practitioners.<sup>385</sup>

Despite structural incorporation, however, the position of medical professionals remained somewhat insecure. The Common Law right to practise medicine still allows anyone to offer medical advice, provided they do not claim to be registered or attempt to treat diseases proscribed by law, and, throughout the Victorian period, a range of regular and irregular medical practitioners made parallel claims about their own expertise. In addition, there were residual concerns about institutional medicine, which consistently failed to deal with outbreaks of diseases like cholera, and a continuing opposition to dissection, which the 1832 Anatomy Act never fully alleviated. In the 1860s, these undercurrents were a continuing source of anxiety for doctors, keen to establish their status as professional gentleman, and medical professionals became vociferous on a number of issues in an attempt to extend and consolidate their influence. The increasing professionalisation and institutionalisation of medicine resulted in the growth of medical specialisms and medical incursions into all aspects of social life.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1875). *Oars and Sculls, and How to Use Them*, London: George Bell and Sons pp. 1-2, 124-40; Woodgate, W. B. (1892). *Rowing and Sculling*, London: George Bell and Sons; Woodgate, W. B. (1888). *Boating*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. pp. 153-72. His "bye" days anticipated modern interval training methods.

<sup>385</sup> Pender, S. (2006). Examples and Experience: On the Uncertainty of Medicine, *British Journal of the History of Science* 39 (1) pp. 1-4; Holt, R. (1992). *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, Oxford: Clarendon p. 87.

<sup>386</sup> Mrozek, D. J. (1987). The Scientific Quest for Physical Culture and the Persistent Appeal of Quackery, *Journal of Sport History* 14 (1) p. 76; Morus, I. R. (2006). Bodily Disciplines and Disciplined Bodies: Instruments, Skills and Victorian Electrotherapeutics, *Social History of Medicine* 19 (2) pp. 241-259; Waddington, K. (2002). Mayhem and Medical Students:

Inevitably, doctors turned their attention to sport and exercise. Although Michael Foster contributed to the study of heartbeat between 1870 and 1903, and French doctor Philippe Tissie tested endurance athletes at the turn of the century, it was in Germany that sports medicine and sports science emerged as identifiable fields.<sup>387</sup> Between 1886 and 1890, George Kolb experimented on crews in training at different German rowing clubs and an English translation of his work, which appeared in 1893, contained measurements of pulse rates, fatigue, respiration, energy consumption, and weight loss in training. It is relevant to recall here that the long relationship between English professional coaches and German rowing clubs almost certainly brought some of them into contact with his work, although Kolb observed that athletes were not interested in the discoveries of physiologists who, they believed, treated them as if they were laboratory subjects.<sup>388</sup>

The term "scientific training" continued to refer to systematic training programmes rather than procedures based on experimental science. Dr. Robert Lee noted "the barrenness of medical literature" with regard to athletic training when he attempted to collate relevant material in 1873. He concluded that physiologists had neglected training as a scientific problem and that the paucity of studies into the effects of training on the muscular, cardiac, and respiratory systems, along with investigations into training diet, meant that general laws of training could not yet be formulated.<sup>389</sup> Fifteen years later, Dr. Henry Hoole, had similar concerns. Material regarding athletic training was "scattered broadcast" in scientific journals, paragraphs in medical and surgical text-books, contributions to medical papers and to works on public health, hints in lectures on sanitation, statistical records, and experiences of old athletes communicated to sporting magazines. A few "teachers of the Art" had attempted to assemble relevant information but their lack of scientific accuracy and their ignorance of "the elementary facts of physiology and

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Image, Conduct, and Control in the Victorian and Edwardian London Teaching Hospital, *Social History of Medicine* 15 (1) pp. 49-50; Vertinsky, P. (1991). Old Age, Gender and Physical Activity: The Biomedicalization of Aging, *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1) pp. 67-75.

<sup>387</sup> Beyer, H. G. (1912). The International Hygiene Exhibition at Dresden, *Popular Science Monthly* 80 pp. 105-128. In 1913 *The Lancet* reported that "a committee had been appointed to collect information and to inquire into the question of athletics with a view to putting games on a scientific basis" but it was decades before any such effort occurred in Britain.

<sup>388</sup> For a thorough coverage of the development of sports sciences, see Hoberman, J. (1992). The Early Development of Sports Medicine in Germany, In Berryman, J. W. and Park, R. J. (Eds.) (1992). *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press pp. 233-282; Hoberman, J. (1992). *Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport*, New York: The Free Press; Park, R. J. (1997). High-Protein Diets, "Damaged Hearts," and Rowing Men: Antecedents of Modern Sports Medicine and Exercise Science, 1867-1928, In Holloszy, J. O. (Ed.) (1997). *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews*, 25 Baltimore, MD. London: Williams and Wilkins pp. 137-169.

<sup>389</sup> Lee, R. J. (1873). *Exercise and Training: Their Effects Upon Health*, London: Smith, Elder and Co.

anatomy were insurmountable barriers". Almost without exception, their contributions "were meagre, valueless and misleading."<sup>390</sup> Medical man, H. Cortis, was similarly scathing about professional trainers and argued that their ignorance caused physical breakdowns among athletes.<sup>391</sup> Henry Fazakerley Wilkinson, writing for amateurs, rather than for professionals, "who go through a much stricter and different system", advised sportsmen to avoid professional coaches who invariably followed "a stereotyped code of rules" which ignored individual differences. Constitutions varied according to class, and the system employed by professionals was more appropriate to handling debauched working men. A gentleman had superior blood in his system, because of his better diet, and thus had a better foundation for initiating training.<sup>392</sup>

Reflecting both the views of medical men and those of gentlemen amateur sportsmen, Hoole suggested that training principles differed only slightly from those of "judicious living", although a coach would pay more attention to issues which created responses in the circulatory and respiratory systems or encouraged increased growth and power of the muscles. The physical development and social surroundings of the individual were important, the major influences on the athletic constitution being diet, exercise, rest, baths, clothing, and climate.<sup>393</sup>

Hoole discounted the traditional notion of "internal fat" and condemned the associated practices of purging, low diet, and avoidance of certain foods. The proper remedy was a better regulation of exercise through a monitoring of respiration rates per minute by the coach. Exercise schedules and formats should be varied, in order to relieve monotony and to produce all round muscular development. Daily workloads should be gradually increased to allow the circulatory and respiratory systems to "regulate their action to the greater work of the muscles" and, as training loads became more severe, all dietary constituents should be increased. Coaches must never over-fatigue athletes and two days before competition most exercises should cease, with the athlete being allowed an additional hour or two of sleep. Ideally, Hoole's athlete would rise at six in the summer, have a cold bath, gently exercise for half an hour, and then breakfast at seven. Severe exercise from eight-thirty until eleven would be followed by a tepid

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<sup>390</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. Preface.

<sup>391</sup> Cortis, H. (1887). *Principles of Training for Amateur Athletes; Its Advantages and Evils, with Special Regard to Bicyclists 4<sup>th</sup> edition*, London: Iliffe and Son p. 6.

<sup>392</sup> Wilkinson, H. F. (1868). *Modern Athletics*, London: Warne pp. 71-79.

<sup>393</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. p. 1.

shower or warm bath, and lunch at twelve. After dinner, moderate exercise from six to eight, a light supper at eight-thirty and bed at ten-thirty. Hoole's regime allowed for seven-and-a-half hours sleep in summer, with five hours exercise, and eight-and-a-half hours sleep in winter, with five-and-a-half hour's exercise. The rest of the day throughout the year was spent "at leisure".<sup>394</sup>

### *Continuity and Variety*

By the end of the century, manuals were developing some quite complex training ideas. In 1902, Walter George advocated short runs for speed, longer runs for stamina and the necessity for regular recorded time trials, while E. C. Bredin discussed year round conditioning, stop watch precision, and daily Interval training.<sup>395</sup> George had been experimenting with mixed-pace, go-as-you-please running, a form of training later introduced by coaches as fartlek, since the late 1870s. He also worked on planting his feet perfectly straight on the track, leaning his body and head slightly forward and training himself to carry his arms and hands low. He developed a style of running which saw his arms swing down either side of his thighs, with the backs of his hands facing forward to create a sort of 'paddling' motion.<sup>396</sup> In America, John Boyle O'Reilly's *Athletics and Manly Sport* (1890) drew upon Westhall, Woodgate, and Maclaren, while Walter Camp's *American Football* (1891) combined aspects of Oxford and Cambridge training with material from Clasper, Westhall, Maclaren, and Walsh, into what Camp described as his "CommonSense System." Dr. Paul Withington maintained that, by 1914, there were skilled men "scattered all over the country" who could be called upon to give an "expert's view", and, in his *Book of Athletics* he assembled information on training and techniques from over twenty coaches.<sup>397</sup>

This "expert's view" often combined the traditional with the new. Naughton (1902) observed that pugilists now utilised pulleys and wrist machines, stationary rowing

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<sup>394</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 82-84, 89-91, 112.

<sup>395</sup> George, W. (1902). *Athletics and Kindred Sport*, London: Southwood, Smith and Co.; Bredin, E. C. (1902). *Running and Training*, Northampton: The Author; Craven (Ed.) (1855). *Walker's Manly Exercises 9<sup>th</sup> Edition*, Revised by 'Craven' London: Bohn. Craven discussed preparing for sprint races by using repetition training on a 100 yards track.

<sup>396</sup> Hadgraft, R. (2006). *Beer and Brine: The Making of Walter George, Athletics' First Superstar*, Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books p. 29.

<sup>397</sup> O'Reilly, J. B. (1890). *Athletics and Manly Sports*, Boston: Pilot Publishing Co. pp. 82-99, 101-18; Camp, W. (1892). *American Football*, New York: Harper and Brothers pp. 133-64; Withington, P. (Ed.) (1914). *The Book of Athletics*, Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Co; Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 84-97 employed periodisation and peaking and argued for training founded on scientific principles, although it was only by "long experience that the correct system of training has become known".

machines, bicycles, skipping ropes, the medicine ball, and "shadow fighting", as well as running and sparring, in their conditioning programmes. However, training continued to begin with a physic and boxers were still being advised to chew gum or gargle rather than drink.<sup>398</sup> Amateur coach Woodgate was not against an aperient dose as a good prelude to commencing training, if "the habit of body has been sedentary up to this date". However, hard work should not start until the effect of the dose had passed off.<sup>399</sup> In 1903, Harry Andrews wrote that a "healthy man should not medicine more than twice a year". His aperient was made from senna leaves, liquorice, and ginger in a half-pint of boiling water, allowed to stand overnight, when salts were stirred in until thoroughly dissolved. A wineglassful taken in the morning would "give about four free openings, commencing about two hours after taking it".<sup>400</sup> Oxbridge athlete Bevil Rudd recalled that old textbooks described how a course of training should be "preceded by the taking of emetics and purgatives to dislodge the 'obnoxious crudities' in the body". The scheme was "violent and disagreeable" but he confessed, "Chronic gastritis reminds me that I too used to have a pitiful faith in the restorative powers of strong aperients."<sup>401</sup>

In the 1880s, Neil Matterson, Sydney hotelier and professional sculler, coached Australian world champion oarsman, Henry Searle, whose training programme contained both individualised and traditional components. Rising by six thirty, Searle used dumbbells for ten minutes, and then took an egg and sherry, and a biscuit, before a two-mile run. Breakfast at eight consisted of a well-done steak, or chop, eggs, toast, and tea. After a rest, he walked for six miles and around eleven went for a five or six mile row. Dinner at one, consisted of roast meat, fowl, plenty of cabbage or cauliflower, but no potatoes, followed by custards and jelly, but no pastry, and plenty of fruit. After an hour's rest, he took a four-mile walk and a three or four mile row, adjusted according to his weight. If he were a little too heavy, he would do some extra work. Tea at six, of steak or stewed fowl, grilled pigeon, or boiled turkey, was followed by another six or seven mile walk, a few minutes with the dumbbells, and then bed at ten. Three days before the race

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<sup>398</sup> Naughton, W. W. (1902). *Kings of the Queensberry Realm: An Account of Every Heavy-Weight Championship Contest held in America under the Queensberry Rules*, Chicago: The Continental Publishing Co. pp. 10-33.

<sup>399</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1890). Rowing and Sculling, In Bell, E. (1890). *Handbook of Athletic Sports Volume II Rowing and Sculling - Sailing - Swimming*, London: George Bell and Sons. Revision, of work previously published as *Oars and Sculls* pp. 126-127.

<sup>400</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 29.

<sup>401</sup> Rudd, B. G. D. (1938). Original introductory chapter, In Meyer, H. A. (Ed.) (1955). *Athletics*, London: J. M. Dent and Sons pp. 353-362.

Searle left out custards and fruit and on race day he had a chicken, toast, and enough tea to quench his thirst, about four hours before the start.<sup>402</sup>

Some professional athletes, like Canadian Tom Longboat, who prepared for races by a systematic programme of walking and running, developed highly individual approaches to training. During December 1908, prior to his "World Professional Marathon Championship" match with Alfred Shrubbs, his daily routine involved rising at seven and taking a raw egg with sherry. Breakfast at seven-thirty of porridge, eggs, toast and tea was followed by a ten mile walk from eight to ten-thirty after which he relaxed until he had a dinner of soup, roast beef or steak, spinach and other vegetables, pudding and tea. Active sport, such as handball or bowls, between two-thirty and three-thirty was followed by relaxation until a supper of steak, potatoes, more spinach, toast, preserves, and maybe a bottle of ale at six. Then, from seven until ten another training walk of about eight to ten miles. Longboat favoured cycles of hard exertion followed by days of easy activity and rest, which attracted criticism, because of an expectation that runners should train hard every day.<sup>403</sup> His system was considered not to include enough running, although Shrubbs, following his defeat by Longboat, agreed that walking was the major component of training for a "long journey". He recommended a sixteen-mile walk three or four times a week, at a "four-and-a-half-miles-an-hour pace". On the other days, the athlete should go eight miles only at about five miles an hour, avoiding any kind of sprinting. Shrubbs never ran unless he felt like it and thought that athletes who trained when they were not feeling well did themselves more harm than good. His *Long Distance Running and Training* suggests he never ran more than forty miles a week.<sup>404</sup>

Boxing routines remained resolutely traditional, although even these could show some variety. When Bombardier Wells trained for his second fight with Georges Carpentier he rose at eight, had breakfast at eight-thirty, no coffee and pastry but plenty of milk and fruit, and then he walked from ten to eleven-thirty, following this with an ice cold bath and massage. Lunch "eating sparingly of meat" was taken at twelve forty-five, while training from two-thirty consisted of fifteen minutes breathing exercise, ten minutes skipping, ten minutes at the punching bag and

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<sup>402</sup> Phillips, M. (2000). *From Sidelines to Centre Field: A History of Sports Coaching in Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press p. 3.

<sup>403</sup> Kidd, B. (1983). In Defence of Tom Longboat, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XIV (1) pp. 36-39.

<sup>404</sup> Shrubbs, A. (1909). *Long Distance Running and Training*, Toronto: Imperial News pp. 65-66.

sixty minutes sparring with other boxers.<sup>405</sup> Skipping remained a "very fine wind exercise", particularly for cyclists, although it was equally good as a lung exercise for any branch of sport. Up to a thousand skips without stopping and at a good pace would "puff any but the soundest of wind and limb".<sup>406</sup> Andrews also approved of skipping, digging, and ball-punching, which could provide the variety required in training programmes.<sup>407</sup>

While professional athletes like Wells, Longboat, Shrubbs, and Searle, clearly participated in intensive and systematic training regimes that were, at least partly, traditional in nature, this was not necessarily true of those for whom sport had a different meaning. In lawn tennis it was not normal practice "to submit to strict training" and players relied on playing themselves into fitness once the season had started. Although skill, judgment, and endurance, could be developed through training, "moral qualities must still be admitted to have a determining influence upon the issue."<sup>408</sup> In rackets, training could be "cursorily dismissed". Two or three hard games a week would be sufficient to get an amateur into condition, and, while a "wind-giving regimen" might alleviate difficulties later in a match, amateur matches were played by those "who do not relinquish their ordinary habits of life for the purpose". A more pressing concern was the perception that many amateurs "failed to show their best form in matches from over-play and consequent staleness".<sup>409</sup>

### *Staleness*

Throughout the nineteenth century, medical men concerned themselves with the issues of staleness arising from training regimes. In the 1830s Dr. T. Hodgkin observed that if muscles were pushed beyond their proper limits, the muscles, tendons, and their sheaths, become permanently injured, while too great a degree

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<sup>405</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 8 December 1913 p. 4.

<sup>406</sup> Newton, A. J. (1910). *Boxing, with a Section on Single-stick*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 86. Professor Andrew J. Newton, lightweight boxing champion 1888-1890, boxing and physical culture expert, inventor of the perfect punching ball and patentee of the revolving medicine sack and ground punching ball. Twelve years boxing instructor to Perry Hill Gymnasium, Barnsbury B.C., Richmond Gymnasium, Guy's Hospital, Belsize B.C., Isledon B.C., West London B.C., 17th Middlesex R.V., Ealing Gymnasium, and late captain of the Whittington B.C. Newton's School of Arms and Physical Culture est. 1891, King's Cross.

<sup>407</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 95-100.

<sup>408</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Lawn Tennis* by C. G. Heathcote p. 232.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*, *Rackets* by E. O. P. Ouverle pp. 400-401.

of rest caused muscles to waste.<sup>410</sup> The potential strain resulting from traditional training methods was highlighted in 1852 by Dr. Andrew Combe, who concluded that this practice of "overcharging nature" was not sound physiology and that it would be better if trainers allowed less food, thus rendering phisic and bleeding unnecessary. Exercise should always be proportioned to the strength and constitution, and not carried beyond the point, "easily discoverable by experience", at which waste begins to exceed nutrition, and exhaustion takes the place of strength.<sup>411</sup> Another medical practitioner, I. B. Yeo, writing in 1890, observed that if training were carried too far, the athlete was weakened instead of strengthened, and was said to be "over-trained". If training was not carried far enough, and the subject remains encumbered with useless fat or other unnecessary material, he was "under-trained". The competent and experienced trainer endeavoured to hit, "the exact and precise balance between the two conditions".<sup>412</sup>

In 1851, oarsman Hill Mussenden Leathes was critical of a training system that had its roots in the practices of watermen who were "apt to drive their amateur pupils over the course too sharply at the commencement of the training". As a result, some men vomited "to a great degree", after coming off the course, which was not appropriate since the object was to simultaneously reduce a man's weight and strengthen him. No man should reach maximum speed in the first three or four days of training, except in very short and occasional spurts, his change of diet should be gradual, he should be careful and abstemious for a week before he enters training, and the period of actual training should never exceed six weeks. In some cases, elite athletes had undergone thirteen or fourteen weeks of training, potentially leading to a decline of health.<sup>413</sup> In the 1860s, Westhall and others were occupied by "training off" which could be recognised by "flaccid and sunken" muscles, patches of red around the body, and a continual and unquenchable thirst. When this occurred, the pedestrian must be rested and allowed variation in his diet rather than given another traditional dosing with purgative or emetics.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>410</sup> Hodgkin, T. (M. D.) (1835). *Lectures on the Means of Promoting and Preserving Health, Delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, Spitalfields*, London: J. and A. Arch, Cornhill pp. 219-226.

<sup>411</sup> Combe, A. (M. D.) (1852). *The Principles of Physiology Applied to the Preservation of Health 14<sup>th</sup> Edition*, J. Coxe M. D. (Ed.) Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart Preface from 1838 pp. 107, 117-121, 123.

<sup>412</sup> Yeo, I. B. (M. D.) (1890). *Food in Health and Disease*, Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Co. pp. 330-331.

<sup>413</sup> Leathes, H. M. (1851). *Aquatics, as Applied Chiefly to the Amateur Sculler. By a Rower of Thirty Matches*, London: Whittaker and Co. pp. 23-24.

<sup>414</sup> Hall, C. (1863). *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, and Boxing, Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers 7<sup>th</sup> Edition*, London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler pp. 32-34; Cortis, H. (1887). *Principles of Training for*



Commenting on the appearance of some oarsmen in 1864 *Baily's* described Ryan as "overtrained and stale", a London crew looked as if "a month's debauchery would almost do them good, being decidedly overdone by training ever since May", and Cecil was "decidedly weak from overtraining, a fault, for which so many Londoners seem to have a penchant".<sup>415</sup>

Anyone who trained with "moderation and skill, avoiding the foolish physicing, limited dietary, and forced sweating prescribed in old times", need have no fear of constitutional injury.<sup>416</sup> This growing emphasis on moderation reflected an evolving amateur attitude which saw "staleness" as the physical manifestation of an obsession with sport, clearly displayed by American rowing crews, whose lifestyle was strictly controlled by professional coaches. Such seriousness was thoughtless because it could lead to overtraining and a system "that leads to overtraining is not calculated to enable those who are subjected to it to last long."<sup>417</sup> Sounding a warning to amateurs who devoted "their bodies and minds to their chosen game as exclusively as the men who make their living by it", a 1910 *Times* editorial suggested that the usefulness of games for character training would "be lessened if they are reduced too much to routine...by excessive coaching." Eustace H. Miles described the point at which the athlete ceased to improve as the point at which they became "stale". Causes ranged from the type of food being consumed, over-exertion, "nervous irritability," or disease. Tennis players in general were advised to avoid playing too much since that would lead to "a certain staleness which is quite fatal to all dash and brilliancy."<sup>418</sup>

While Bredin considered that men were beaten more often because they were under rather than over trained,<sup>419</sup> others believed that an undertrained man was better than one overtrained since the former would "certainly have his snap for a

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*Amateur Athletes; Its Advantages and Evils, with Special Regard to Bicyclists 4<sup>th</sup> Edition*, London: Iliffe p. 23. The quantity of exercise under common sense training was considerably less than the mileage advocated by Sinclair and Thom. Gentleman athletes geared track training to competition distance and were very concerned about the dangers of 'overtraining.'

<sup>415</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, August 1864 VIII (54) pp. 259-260.

<sup>416</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 June 1870 p. 6. Letter Joseph Corbett.

<sup>417</sup> *Athletic News*, 23 September 1901; *Cornhill Magazine* 1864 IX (50) pp. 220-229 had argued that, "In exercise, as in diet, the grand rule is Moderation. Avoid fatigue; as you would cease eating when appetite abates, cease muscular activity when the impulse to continue it abates".

<sup>418</sup> *The Times*, 29 December 1910 p. 7; Schmidt, F. A. (M. D.) and Miles, E. H. (1905). *The Training of the Body for Games, Athletics, Gymnastics, and other Forms of Exercise and for Health, Growth, and Development 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. First Edition 1901 p. 290; Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Lawn Tennis* by C. G. Heathcote pp. 127-337.

<sup>419</sup> Bredin, E. C. (1902). *Running and Training*, Northampton: The Author.

time, while the latter will be dead from the start."<sup>420</sup> Shrubbs thought it was better to go into a race half-trained rather than overtrained because at least the athlete would retain "fire and vigor".<sup>421</sup> Either way, the challenge for the coach was to have his athlete ready just before the day of the race, "not too late because obviously that would give him less than his fair chance: and not too early, for then comes in the still more grievous danger...of becoming "stale" and "training off."<sup>422</sup> Woodgate recognised that some oarsmen became systematically stale in long periods of training and concluded that they may have more muscle than digestive power. It was possible pepsine may, in such cases, restore the system although the effectiveness of this would have to be left to the judgment of future trainers.<sup>423</sup> For Andrews, the Sunday rest day was "a fine preventative of over-training, and consequent staleness". The keynote of training was "moderation—particularly in its early stages".<sup>424</sup> It was also generally accepted that when a man gained weight in training he was not being overtrained.<sup>425</sup>

### *Massage*

Integral to the training process was massage, which was referred to either directly or in passing, by almost everyone who commented on athletic training. Walsh, for example, noted that in the early days of practice and during the race itself "great distress sometimes occurs" and there is blueness of the face "from congestion" accompanied by laboured breathing. The best remedy was "a glass of warm brandy and water, and plenty of hard friction on the feet, legs, and thighs."<sup>426</sup>

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, massage ranged from the traditional basic "rubbers" of athletes, to complex recuperative massage used to aid recovery from fracture. Massage and the related field of medical gymnastics had a professional organisation, the Society of Trained Masseuses, from 1894, incorporated in 1900, when membership numbered around two hundred, although when Andrews wrote *Massage and Training* he did so from a "practical" perspective. He argued that other aspects of training were "of inferior importance to massage"

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<sup>420</sup> Lathrop, J. G. (1894). Training for Football, *Outing* XXV (1) October p. 88.

<sup>421</sup> Shrubbs, A. (1909). *Long Distance Running and Training*, Toronto: Imperial News p. 53.

<sup>422</sup> *Saturday Review*, November 1884 58 pp. 557-559. Physical Training.

<sup>423</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1890). Rowing and Sculling, In Bell, E. (1890). *Handbook of Athletic Sports Volume II Rowing and Sculling – Sailing – Swimming*, London: George Bell and Sons p. 136. Revision, of work previously published as *Oars and Sculls*.

<sup>424</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 83-84.

<sup>425</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 4 April 1912 p. 6.

<sup>426</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. p. 453.

which could "loosen the muscles and counteract any tendency to stiffness or a muscle-bound condition." Embrocations were beneficial and Andrews made his own concoctions with secret recipes, preferring oil embrocations in winter and spirits, or liniment, in warm weather. Rubbing gloves were generally coarse, occasionally covered with horsehair, and Andrews noted that many athletes and trainers believed "that the whole art of massage consists in a good, hard rub down, the harder the better." He conceded that the extra friction from rubbing with a rough glove could stimulate circulation and create a warm glow, but these gloves could also injure the skin.<sup>427</sup>

Andrews declared, "When I have "been over" a man after he has had a spin, I give him from twenty minutes to half-an-hour's massage, for I find that to thoroughly get at every muscle from head to foot requires to do it comfortably just about half-an-hour." Massage would be given only after a cool-down period of a few minutes, and the risk of chill avoided by wiping down the athlete with a towel and covering him with a blanket. Pre-event massage given twenty to thirty minutes before a contest should be limited to five to ten minutes to "loosen and brisk up the muscles" without having a soothing effect or inducing a slack condition. At the commencement of training "there is nothing like it for removing every ounce of bad flesh, and encouraging muscle development of a right sort."<sup>428</sup>

Andrews considered professional massage infinitely superior to self-massage because an athlete could relax thoroughly, and all muscle groups could be attended to. He observed that no boxer, cyclist, runner, jumper, or rower would ever dispense with "the services of a masseur". A good masseur and trainer would always be able to adapt his methods "to the constitutions and temperaments of the men he has in hand." The boxer would get special attention to arms, shoulders, "hitting muscles," chest and abdomen, while cyclists needed "very special massage about their knees and calves." Andrews concluded that, "no matter what form of athletics a man may go in for, he should be massaged all over, from his fingertips to his toes". He also subscribed to a common belief about some benefits of massage accruing from "the transmission of vigour from one frame to another,"

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<sup>427</sup> Andrews, H. (1910). *Massage and Training*, London: Health and Strength.

<sup>428</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 21.

and believed in an age limit of forty for masseurs since men beyond that age began to attract rather than radiate vitality.<sup>429</sup>

### *Coaching Credibility*

Training an athlete for a competition is invariably an intricately balanced mixture of art, science, and experience, and many coaches have achieved consistently successful results without the use of a scientific approach. Frequently, they have been unable to explain their use of a particular method, no matter how successful it might have been. Leading coaches have always been highly intuitive, and, because their methods were successful, they felt no obligation to provide additional justification. The problem for many amateur sportsmen at the end of the nineteenth century was that much of this experiential knowledge jarred with their own vision for sport. The Earl of Albermarle and G. Lacy Hillier observed that "most of the training lore that has come down to us is...the outcome of much hard and sharp experience, largely diluted with ignorance and absurdity." When athletes had been predominantly from "the lowest class", it had been necessary for backers to use harsh methods. Initially, young gentlemen had turned to "rules and regulations laid down orally by these athletic fossils", but now cyclists followed practices dictated by modern concepts of moderation, slow preparation, and due consideration to their individual needs.<sup>430</sup> They were supported by correspondents to *The Manchester Guardian* who pointed out that, of the many kinds of athletic training available, the worst kind possible, from the point of view of the permanent preservation of health, had previously been in vogue. There had been a change for the better in almost all sports, although "something still remains to be done if perfection is to be reached". Generally, though, there was no reason why men should not keep themselves in near "first-class" condition. They only needed "what Sir Andrew Clark called "physical righteousness", a reasonable care of diet and sleep, fresh air and about half an hour's exercise a day".<sup>431</sup>

Credibility, however, is always accorded coaches based on their levels of experience and the successes of their athletes, which leads to their opinions being valued and their systems being copied. Although nineteenth century commentators, especially from the medical community, criticised coaches for failing to employ emergent

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<sup>429</sup> Andrews, H. (1910). *Massage and Training*, London: Health and Strength; Benjamin, P. J. (2006). *Harry Andrews, Trainer and Masseur*, available at [www.amtamassage.org/journal/](http://www.amtamassage.org/journal/) (accessed 20 May 2006).

<sup>430</sup> Albermarle and Hillier, G. L. (1896). *Cycling*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. pp. 172-81.

<sup>431</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 October 1895 p. 7; 26 March 1900 p. 7.

medical or scientific knowledge and for their tendency to stick to traditional systems, they ignored the realities of rational sport. Diets, exercise routines, training schedules, and coaching methods, are always judged on their efficacy in producing performance and successful coaches had their training practices confirmed. In addition, aspiring athletes, particularly professionals, had short competitive careers and were inevitably wary of abandoning accepted training practices in favour of experimental programmes, no matter how "scientific". Similar issues face every generation of coaches and athletes.

#### **Chapter 4. Coaching Methods (II) Steaks, Stout, and Strychnine.**

Diet was at the core of nineteenth century training theory and the nutritional practices employed by coaches in the second half of the century were in many respects contiguous with those of their predecessors, despite the increasing sophistication of biochemistry which had generated a "chemical machine" model of the human body, the operating needs of which were quite simple. Adequate protein was required for maintenance of the tissues but was no longer regarded as essential for movement after Fick and Wislicenus identified fats and carbohydrates as providing the staple fuels for muscles in 1866. The large quantities of protein that continued to be consumed by athletes were rationalised by an assumption that this was a response to the body's need to repair muscle worn down by exercise. Sandow, the strongman, ate nearly two hundred and fifty grams of protein daily, and one English prizefighter approached two hundred and eighty grams from a pound of mutton eaten three times a day.<sup>432</sup>

##### *Steaks*

For early nineteenth century coaches a man "in training" required a specialist diet, to replenish the body and to reduce fat while building muscle, and the best bodybuilding foods were those thought to be rich and invigorating, such as roast beef and mutton.<sup>433</sup> In 1823, Egan observed that strength was enhanced by a diet of animal food, preferably underdone lean beef, with mutton or the legs of fowls for variety. Meat should be broiled, while biscuits and stale bread were the only "vegetable matter" permitted. Eggs were forbidden, except a raw yolk in the morning, as were seasonings, apart from vinegar. In general, trainers left the quantity of food to the discretion of the athlete. As for liquids, coaches associated lung capacity with the size of the chest cavity and fluid was thought to distend the abdominal viscera into the chest cavity, thus affecting wind. Except for the gruel taken with purging agents, and the sweating liquor, other liquids were restricted. Up to three pints a day of home-brewed beer, old, but not bottled, was acceptable, with a little red wine as a substitute, but trainers permitted only small quantities of

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<sup>432</sup> Park, R. J. (2000). "Cells or Soaring?": Historical Reflections on "Visions" of the Body, Athletics, and Modern Olympism, *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* IX pp. 6-7; Whorton, J. C. (1981). Muscular Vegetarianism: The Debate over Diet and Athletic Performance in the Progressive Era, *Journal of Sport History* 8 (2) pp. 57-58.

<sup>433</sup> Sinclair, J. (1806). *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader p. 26; Porter, R. and Porter, D. (1988). *In Sickness and in Health: The British Experience, 1650-1850*, New York: Basil Blackwell note that reasoning by analogy suggested that red meat and wine built those substances they resembled, muscle and blood.

water.<sup>434</sup> In 1851, while advising amateur oarsmen to eat as simply as possible, Leathes was continuing to recommend beef at all meals. Although a "very small portion of vegetable" was allowed at dinner, effervescent drinks, fruit, and luxuries must be avoided. Tea with as little sugar and milk as possible could be drunk at breakfast and tea, with one pint of bitter ale at dinner. The athlete should not drink "to excess" during any meal and never eat between meals, except for a dry biscuit before training, after which a very small quantity of brandy could be taken.<sup>435</sup>

When Walsh wrote about training diets in 1857 his emphasis on meat and beer would have been recognisable to coaches of fifty years earlier. The "grand articles of diet" were beef and mutton, with bread or porridge, although, as an alternative, breakfast could consist of a pint of homemade beer, taken with a "larger allowance of bread". Meat should be broiled, to retain the nutrients, and Walsh disagreed with the prevailing notion that meat should be served very rare, because many athletes found "red rags" indigestible. While tea and coffee were unsuitable, coaches might allow them for athletes who disliked beer or porridge, but butter, sauces, and spices, should be excluded, with only salt and black pepper used as condiments. Dinner should consist of roast beef or mutton, with roast fowls as alternatives. Cauliflower, broccoli, and potatoes, restricted to one or two per meal, were allowed and bread could be taken liberally, together with a pint to a pint-and-a-half of homemade beer. Alternatively, a little diluted sherry or claret was allowed with the meal, followed by a glass or two of port. When the athlete had become accustomed to the training regime, the occasional use of white fish was appropriate and, since keeping to one diet "disorders the stomach", Walsh advocated introducing occasional puddings for variety. Although many coaches objected to supper, it was better to allow a pint of oatmeal porridge with some dry toast, unless the athlete had been conditioned to fasting from dinner to breakfast. No absolute rules could be established regarding diet and the coach required both experience and expertise to assess his athletes, some men requiring a more "generous" diet than others. It was not sensible to restrict the appetite "unless very enormous, or

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<sup>434</sup> It needs to be remembered, of course, that the availability of reliable water was a function of the Public Health Acts of the mid-1850s.

<sup>435</sup> Thom, W. (1813). *Pedestrianism, or an Account of the Performances of Celebrated Pedestrians during the Last and Present Century: With a Full Narrative of Captain Barclay's Public and Private Matches, and an Essay on Training*, Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Co. p. 234; Sinclair, J. (1807). *The Code of Health and Longevity; or, a Concise View of the Principles Calculated for the Preservation of Health and the Attainment of Long Life*, Edinburgh: Arch. Constable and Co. II p. 102; Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 pp. 94-97; Walker, D. (1836). *British Manly Exercises*, Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle pp. 280-282; H. M. L. (1851). *Aquatics, as Applied Chiefly to the Amateur Sculler. By a Rower of Thirty Matches*, London: Whittaker and Co. pp. 19-20.

unless there is a great super-abundance of fat." There was always a danger of diarrhoea, solved by drinking port and by having bread toasted, or constipation, relieved with coarse brown bread, made from undressed flour. Summarising his advice, Walsh emphasised that bread should be "two days old" and beef and mutton hung for as long as the weather permitted.<sup>436</sup>

In 1863, Westhall advised against malted beverages early in the morning and recommended for breakfast a mutton chop or cutlet, dry bread or toast, and a cup or two of tea with as little milk as possible. Dinner at one was to consist of a joint of beef or mutton, stale bread or toast, and "good sound old ale." Like Walsh, he noted that small portions of fresh vegetables or potatoes, and even a light pudding, had become acceptable in pedestrian diets. Archibald Maclaren, while acknowledging that the nutritional role of vegetables was still not understood, recommended that spinach, sea kale, asparagus, turnip tops, beetroot, and French beans, as well as meat, puddings, bread, plain jellies, biscuits, dried fruits, and beer or wine, should appear in athlete's diets. In winter, the diet should include more heat-producing foods, but fewer vegetables and less water.<sup>437</sup>

Gradually, further variety crept into training diets, particularly among University athletes. Maclaren argued that athletes should drink as much water as they pleased to replace fluid lost during training. Beer was a "wholesome beverage," but liable to put on fat if taken in large quantities, while port or sherry with high alcohol contents could be used sparingly. A glass of wine promoted sleep, and could be a "restorative from depression", while tea, coffee, and chocolate, were refreshing unless taken too strong, too hot, or in too great quantities. In 1869, "more latitude" was allowed at Christ Church Boat Club, when the regime included poached eggs, marmalade, fish, and roast fowls, together with porridge for supper or breakfast, in addition to traditional dietary components.<sup>438</sup> Woodgate advocated "greens", watercress and lettuce, peaches, gooseberries, strawberries, grapes, asparagus, kidney beans, cauliflower, and young green peas. He also considered it

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<sup>436</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 451-457.

<sup>437</sup> Hall, C. (1863). *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, and Boxing, Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers 7<sup>th</sup> Edition*, London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler pp. 21-43; Maclaren, A. (1866). *Training in Theory and Practice*, London: Macmillan and Co. pp. 63-66, 104-112.

<sup>438</sup> Maclaren, A. (1866). *Training in Theory and Practice*, London: Macmillan and Co. pp. 74-79, 87-101, 106-12; Christ Church Boat Club. *Captain's Private Log Book 1860-1909*. Christ Church Boat Club Society. The 1889 Captain noted a special dietary tip for races at Henley: "About half an hour before the race we used each to take a couple of teaspoonfuls of Brand's essence mixed with breadcrumbs."



a mistake to restrict liquid, although the stomach should not be distended with drink. Rather than have a man forced by some "relic of barbarism" to avoid a glass of water at bedtime, it was better that he took a half pint of water gruel to quench the thirst, soothe digestion, and prevent "coppers." Brickwood considered that restrictions on fluids in training were too severe, although "local thirst" could be alleviated without drinking, by "rinsing the mouth and gargling the throat, sucking the stone of stone fruit, or a pebble, or even by dipping the hands into cold water".<sup>439</sup>

As for race day diets, Walsh suggested that rowing coaches allow a normal breakfast and then keep the crew amused until about two hours before the race, when they should have roast leg of mutton and bread, with a pint of beer, or their accustomed beverage. The quantity should be "within the usual allowance". Just before the race, a wineglass of egged-sherry could be taken although Walsh was not convinced of its benefit. It might improve power, but it could "injure the wind" and produce nausea "in delicate stomachs". If a second heat was scheduled for the same day, an egged-sherry, or something similar, should be given about half an hour before the second race. With two hours or more between races, a light meal of mutton and bread, with half-a-pint of beer, could be consumed, as soon as the effects of the first race "are gone off", followed by a glass of egged-sherry on getting back into the boat.<sup>440</sup>

### *Medical criticism*

Despite gradual changes, many traditional dietary components remained unaltered in the latter stages of the century when doctors, armed with increased scientific knowledge and bolstered by a consolidation of their professional status, began to criticise existing training regimes. Hoole delivered a comprehensive attack on contemporary methods, especially the reluctance to allow fluids. Coaches were convinced, "by practice", that a combination of denying water and inducing perspiration decreased weight, but water deprivation had serious implications for health, especially when coaches compounded their mistakes by using steam baths and by insisting on severe exercise in flannels. The daily loss of water often increased by eighty per cent, the tissues became dry, and the blood "less fluid".

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<sup>439</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1890). Rowing and Sculling, In Bell, E. (1890). *Handbook of Athletic Sports Volume II Rowing and Sculling - Sailing - Swimming*, London: George Bell and Sons pp. 119-120. Revision, of work previously published as *Oars and Sculls* in 1875; Brickwood, E. D. (1876). *Boat Racing*, London: Horace Cox p. 201.

<sup>440</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. p. 486.

Bodily organs and muscles depended upon a degree of moisture and the blood could not circulate nutrients or remove waste unless it had the correct density. Hoole repeated advice to coaches that they give men half a pint of cold water, twice at intervals of half an hour, every fourth morning in order to facilitate the removal of "deleterious substances". He further criticised coaching theories related to the "mischief" produced by fat. Training regimes certainly removed fat and highlighted the body's musculature, but, because fat played an important part in the formation of nerve cells, and influenced the assimilation of albumen, it was "reprehensible" to deny it to athletes. "Equally absurd" were coaching ideas concerning the energy values of various foodstuffs, which were "emphatically disproved" on race day by the "fagged" appearance of the athlete and by physical collapse at the critical moment. For energy, athletes should rely on the saccharine group, including barley, oats, rice, maize, peas, lentils, potatoes, fruit, green vegetables, and sugar, combined with the oleaginous group. Wheat had the most nutritive properties and a loaf manufactured from good seconds was "better digested". Stale bread was more easily masticated than new.<sup>441</sup>

Meat, fish, cheese, and eggs, when combined with the saccharine class, formed a diet that developed "the largest amount of vital energy under every circumstance". Meat was extremely important for the "preservation of human tissue," especially muscle. Beef had a closer texture and more red juice than any other meat, and was easily reduced in the stomach, while mutton was more nutritious than lamb and pork. Poultry and game had less food value, as did fish, with the exception of red salmon. In cold weather, meat should be kept until the death stiffening had passed away, when it became "more tender, and the flavour more delicate."<sup>442</sup>

Hoole hoped that trainers would abandon the idea that certain foods had "exceptional properties" for forming muscle and creating muscular energy and thereby refrain from prohibiting "many dietary articles which are harmless to the constitution and grateful to the palate." In general, for athletes in training, the albuminous and saccharine constituents of diet, as well as fluid food, must be increased. When the meat consumed daily amounted to ten ounces or more, it should be divided into two equal portions, and taken at intervals of at least eight

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<sup>441</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 8-9, 33-39, 50-51. For "oleaginous" read "oily".

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32, 48, 55-56.

hours to avoid over taxing the digestive system. Perfect mastication was the first step towards good digestion.<sup>443</sup>

Hoole's daily dietary recommendations not only reflected his own preoccupations but also the class of person he was addressing. After a bath, the athlete should drink half a pint of milk, or weak tea and milk, with biscuit or bread and butter. For breakfast, coffee, tea, cocoa, or chocolate with milk and sugar should be followed by bacon, eggs, fish, or poultry with bread, butter, oatmeal porridge, watercress, lettuce, marmalade, or jam. Lunch consisted of meat or poultry, potatoes, green vegetables, bread or biscuit, butter and cheese, together with malt liquor or water. Dinner involved soup or fish, meat, game or poultry, vegetables and salad, followed by blancmange or another light milky pudding, bread or biscuits, cheese and butter, and then raw or stewed fruit, cream, malt liquors or wine. Coffee or tea could be taken one or two hours after dinner. Supper alternatives included sandwiches, oatmeal porridge or boiled barley, milk or light pudding, biscuit and cheese, cocoa or chocolate, and water. In addition, one or two pints of milk, a pint of beer, ale or stout, two ounces of spirit, or half a pint of wine, aerated water, and fruit may be taken. Water should be drunk "without stint."<sup>444</sup>

#### *Vegetarian Alternatives*

During the closing years of the century, some athletes challenged the enduring idea that exceptional performance was possible only for meat eaters. Vegetarian diets were founded upon the premise that flesh food was overly stimulating to physiological processes and thus eroded vital power. The 1900 annual meeting of the Vegetarian Society in Manchester considered two papers on the value of vegetarian diet for athletic training and vegetarian cyclists, pedestrians, swimmers, and tennis players, compiled impressive competitive records.<sup>445</sup> At the 1906 Blackheath Harriers' sports, for example, F. A. Knott, "who eschews all meat diet in favour of vegetables, nuts, and fruit", beat the Midland Counties champion, F. H. Hulford, over one mile.<sup>446</sup> However, when Wilhelm Caspari published studies of vegetarianism in 1905, he was reluctant to credit the diet, pointing instead to the disciplined lifestyles adopted by many vegetarians. Despite his scepticism, high carbohydrate diets assist endurance performance and it is probable that there were

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<sup>443</sup> Ibid., pp. 52-54, 56-62, 63-64.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid., pp. 112-113.

<sup>445</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 October 1900 p. 4.

<sup>446</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 14 May 1906 p. 14.

significant differences between the carbohydrate content of vegetarian training diets and those of conventional athletes.<sup>447</sup>

Vegetarian doctor Alexander Haig proposed an athletic diet limited to milk, cheese, some vegetables, fruits, nuts, and white bread. Vegetarians were superior in endurance to meat eaters but they would improve further if they avoided eggs, pulses, cashew nuts, asparagus, and mushrooms. Haig's "uric-acid-free diet" was promoted with special attention to athletic performance, but his basic principle, that energy for muscular motion was derived from the oxidation of protein to urea, had long since been discredited. Tennis champion Eustace Miles initially adopted the diet but later became a standard vegetarian, preferring to call his regime, which emphasised legumes, grains, milk products, and high protein meat substitutes, "Simpler Food." In *The Training of the Body*, Miles disagreed with original author Dr. F. A. Schmidt, pointing out that traditional athletic diets were expensive, costing "a pound or thirty shillings a week in England", mainly because of the price of fish, meat, and fowl, which Schmidt considered indispensable. Miles ate milk-proteid biscuits for breakfast, Hovis or Graham bread and plain cheese and fruit for lunch, gluten biscuits in the afternoon, and peas or lentils, stewed fruit, bread and cheese, and fresh fruit in the evening. The diet was cheap, and, if individuals chose what was best for them, ate slowly, and at the right times, then it would suit almost everyone. Miles also recommended that water should be taken in the form of fruit or unfermented and unsweetened fruit-juices.<sup>448</sup>

### *Coaching Advice*

Harry Andrews was unimpressed by the vegetarian argument and his "experience as a practical man" left him in no doubt that an ordinary meat diet was far superior to all "unproved systems" which could only do harm. He observed the "uncertain tone" with which Miles introduced some of his ideas and concluded that Miles was not thoroughly convinced by his own arguments. However, Andrews did agree with Miles, and C. B. Fry, in recommending Plasmon, a food-substance of milk in the form of granulated powder, prepared so that it was "the most easily assimilable form in which food can be taken into the human frame". Medical men supposedly

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<sup>447</sup> Whorton, J. C. (1981). Muscular Vegetarianism: The Debate over Diet and Athletic Performance in the Progressive Era, *Journal of Sport History* 8 (2) pp. 61-64; See also Ford, M. (1891-1892). Distance Running, *Outing* XVIII (3) June pp. 205-210; Training, *Outing* XIX (5) February pp. 421-424; Faries, R. (1897). On Training in General, *Outing* XXX (2) May pp. 177-182.

<sup>448</sup> Haig, A. (1906). *Diet and Food 6<sup>th</sup> Edition*, London: J. and A. Churchill pp. 38-39, 53, 101-107; Schmidt, F. A. (M. D.) and Miles, E. H. (1905). *The Training of the Body for Games, Athletics, Gymnastics, and other Forms of Exercise and for Health, Growth, and Development 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. pp. 484-495.

recognised its value and, being both odourless and tasteless, it could easily be added to almost every kind of food. Andrews compared Plasmon's effects on the diet of athletes to the effect of pneumatic tyres in cycling, although he emphasised that it should be treated not as a replacement for, but as an addition to, fresh meats, drinks, and other natural foods.<sup>449</sup>

Andrew's extensive coaching experience led him to suggest a simple diet, involving three meals a day. Breakfast at eight-thirty should include newly laid eggs and toast, or a half-pound of fresh fish with toast, followed by a little cress and/or marmalade. A steak or a chop might sometimes replace the eggs or fish but bacon and butter should be avoided. For dinner, at one, roast beef, mutton, poultry, game, milk puddings, stewed fruits, and plenty of green vegetables were the staple ingredients. Few men could digest very rare meat and all food should be cooked, "just as a good cook would serve it". As wide a variety as possible was advisable while avoiding pork, rabbit, hare, venison, boiled beef, potatoes, suet puddings or pastry, shellfish, or cheese. Tea, from five-thirty to six, consisted of eggs, fish or poultry, toast or crust of bread, with the crust eaten stale, and watercress but little, if any, butter. Andrews was happy to let athletes regulate their own intake and he sanctioned a "biscuit or two, or an apple after the morning exercise" and another biscuit about nine in the evening.<sup>450</sup>

Mussabini was reluctant to lay down fixed dietary rules since no two athletes thrived on exactly the same diet, and a coach should treat each man according to his needs.<sup>451</sup> The "discerning eye of the trainer" could assess the effectiveness of the diet by observing the athlete's "general bearing, appearance and spirits, and the way he does his work". Chops and steaks would generally form part of the diet for most runners, although too much meat was inappropriate. Mutton was better than beef, with fresh meat better than preserved, and a beef or mutton stew alleviated both lowered temperatures and "depressed nerves". Milk-porridge, made of oatmeal and cooked for over an hour, would build up the nervous system more effectively than anything else. The athlete in training needed variety, and poultry and game were acceptable as a change. The "old-fashioned notion" that only dry

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<sup>449</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 34-35.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-34.

<sup>451</sup> See Lovesey, P. (1971). *Wobble to Death*, London: Macmillan and Company 1970. Panther edition. Athletics historian and novelist Peter Lovesey highlights some differences in competition diets with his upper class competitor dining on "Champagne with the boiled fowl...and claret" together with broiled sole, while his more plebeian athletes relied on ripe cheese and bread or gruel with egg and port.

toast and raw steak, washed down with beer, was of any use to athletes, had been "exploded", and meat pies and puddings, along with potatoes, butter, cheese, and well-baked, stale bread with a crispy crust, were perfectly acceptable. Fresh eggs and fresh or dried fish were nourishing to most men, while milky puddings or bread and butter, and plain suet puddings, or those with sultanas or currants, were easily digested. Slowness and moderation in eating and in drinking, ranked "among the training virtues," and food should always be of the plainest and freshest kind. There should be no warmed-up dishes, no overeating, and a regular mealtime "to the tick of the clock". A rest after meals, allowing digestive organs time to perform their functions, was beneficial, and on no account should violent exercise be taken upon a full or a very empty stomach.<sup>452</sup> While the runner was on the road, training or racing, it was inadvisable to take solid food and, if a stimulant was necessary, it should be held back for the last few miles. On a "very long journey", concentrated beef tea, milk, or barley water, could be given in small quantities but athletes should avoid anything of an acid nature, such as champagne.<sup>453</sup>

Although Harvard trainer J. G. Lathrop recalled in 1894 that, even recently, the men training for the football team at one preparatory school had eaten raw meat because they thought it would give them "better wind",<sup>454</sup> there are signs that athletic diets in both Britain and America changed, albeit slowly, in the last years of the nineteenth century. By 1896, the American collegiate training table apparently included vegetables, fruits, rice, bread puddings, cereals, potatoes, roast beef, lamb chops, broiled chicken, and plenty of drinking water.<sup>455</sup> However, despite increasing scientific evidence about appropriate nutrition, the athletic community never abandoned its attachment to meat, beef in particular. Trainer Elmer Berry noted that Johnnie Hayes, 1908 Olympic marathon champion, consumed two meat meals daily, and that Hayes believed that meat such as steaks, chops and roast beef and lamb, was "beneficial while training."<sup>456</sup> Olympic athletes competing at Berlin in 1936 regularly dined on two steaks per meal and averaged nearly half-a-kilogram of meat daily. In a commitment to protein reminiscent of the previous

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<sup>452</sup> Haley, M. (2003). *Fistiana: Storm of Blows*, *Commonplace* 3 (2) [www.common-place.org](http://www.common-place.org) (accessed 3 June 2005) notes that a common observation following many boxing deaths in the nineteenth century was that the athlete had eaten at the wrong time.

<sup>453</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 78-79, 86, 107-108, 143-144, 257-258; Wilkinson, H. F. (1868). *Modern Athletics*, London: Warne p. 74 had advised amateur athletes that "Nothing is better for dinner than a pint of good dry champagne".

<sup>454</sup> Lathrop, J. G. (1894). *Training for Football*, *Outing* XXV (1) October p. 85.

<sup>455</sup> Camp, W. and Deland, L. (1896). *Football*, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. pp. 273, 308, 316.

<sup>456</sup> Berry, E. (1909). *The Effects of a High and Low Protein Diet on Physical Efficiency*, *American Physical Education Review* 14 pp. 288-297.

century, American Olympians consumed beefsteak, primarily rare or medium, Argentinean athletes ate near-bloody steaks, fried in oil beet extract, and the Chinese contingent devoured undefined quantities of beef.<sup>457</sup>

### *Stout*

There is no better tonic than a tankard of genuine ale and nothing more sustaining than a glass of stout.<sup>458</sup>

Medical authors and coaches broadly agreed on the deleterious effects of nicotine, tea, and coffee, but there were disagreements over the alcohol usage that was traditionally embedded into both training and competitive practices. Walsh criticised rowing crews who pulled into riverside taverns for beer or porter during practice because strength should never depend on "*immediate stimuli*" and it was better to shorten practice than to try to sustain it in this way. Whilst in training, few athletes required more than two quarts of beer per day, of "the strength of five bushels to the hogshead", although allowance should be made for individual constitutions and habits. In 1869, the Christ Church crew were less strict than usual about their diet and each man was allowed to drink as much wine as he needed after dinner. Alcohol was also part of the race day lunch when a mutton chop, "and not quite a tumbler full" of champagne were recommended. When Edward 'Ned' Hanlan, who dominated professional rowing between 1877 and 1884, was inexplicably beaten by William Beach in August 1884, criticism focussed on his diet, considered as "high living" for an athlete in training. His "dainty menu" consisted of two oranges, two chops, and stewed kidney with bread for breakfast. Dinner was roast mutton and roast turkey, carrots, turnips, cauliflower with butter sauce, a large slice of plum pudding, custard pudding with champagne sauce, washed down with a glass of stout, plus a glass of stout and champagne mixed.<sup>459</sup>

Hoole noted that alcohol decreased the loss of water from the system, gave tone to the muscles and nerves, and stimulated digestion. Alcohol was a perfect remedy for the muscular and nervous exhaustion resulting from "excessive exertion" and

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<sup>457</sup> Grivetti, L. E. and Applegate, E. A. (1997). From Olympia to Atlanta: A Cultural-Historical Perspective on Diet and Athletic Training, *The Journal of Nutrition* 127 pp. 860S-868S.

<sup>458</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 144, 257.

<sup>459</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 452-453; Christ Church Boat Club. *Captain's Private Log Book 1860-1909*, Christ Church Boat Club Society; Brown, A. (1980). Edward Hanlan, the World Sculling Champion visits Australia, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XI (2) pp. 23-25.

had no substitute if exhausted men were being required to continue.<sup>460</sup> Haig conceded that a stimulant at the point of collapse might draw out remaining reserves but athletes must not take stimulants until near the end of the race, because once their final reserves had been used, they collapsed. A teaspoonful of brandy, which had often sustained prizefighters, might keep a man with some reserves going but his reserves would be considerably reduced as a result.<sup>461</sup>

Miles drew on American research to argue that ale was a fatty and heating substance, which explained the "frequent occurrence of weak heart in beer-drinkers." For others involved in preparing athletes, however, beer was an essential part of the process. Tom Flanagan argued that beer was a "food upbuilder", prescribed by "nearly all trainers of note", which would "stand by a man and keep him from getting stale and tone him up".<sup>462</sup> Mussabini considered that there was no single rule as to what to drink and an expert coach could select from good ale or stout, preferably drawn from the wood, or wine, such as claret or burgundy, according to each athlete's tastes and physical requirements. Although large amounts were to be avoided, good beer, brewed of malt and hops, had nutritional value. If the athlete were teetotal then fresh milk, homemade ginger beer or drinking water were suitable liquids.<sup>463</sup> Despite being a teetotaller himself, Andrews was equally flexible in arguing that there was no advantage to athletes used to alcoholic drinks "in knocking them off entirely". Some of his best champions had been teetotallers, while others had drunk beer, and there had been no difference in their competitive longevity. What mattered was moderation. Moderate drinkers should take nothing before breakfast when they might have weak tea or cocoa followed, after the first exercise and massage, by half a pint of old ale or light Burton at eleven thirty to twelve. Dinner included another half-a-pint, although if the man needed "building up" this could be increased to a pint on two days a week. For tea, two teacupfuls of weak tea and a half-a-pint of ale before bed. If the athlete appeared to be going stale, half a tumbler of champagne,

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<sup>460</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 39-41.

<sup>461</sup> *The Sporting Magazine*, III N.S. XV December 1818 p.135...although...every round was expected to be the last...There was more punishment in these rounds than in all the rest, and strange to tell what the effects of brandy will do (Scroggins having had plenty of it); Haig, A. (1906). *Diet and Food 6<sup>th</sup> Edition*, London: J. and A. Churchill pp. 120-125.

<sup>462</sup> Schmidt, F. A. (M. D.) and Miles, E. H. (1905). *The Training of the Body for Games, Athletics, Gymnastics, and other Forms of Exercise and for Health, Growth, and Development 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. First Edition 1901 pp. 279-282; Kidd, B. (1983). In Defence of Tom Longboat, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XIV (1) p. 42.

<sup>463</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 144, 257.



"the only wine of genuine use to the athlete", could be taken in place of beer after one morning exercise. For abstainers, nothing before breakfast followed by a half to three-quarters of a pint of weak tea, cocoa, or chocolate at breakfast. At eleven-thirty to twelve, after exercise and massage, a glass of water or milk and soda, taken with a biscuit or apple. A half-a-pint of water or milk and soda water at dinner was followed, at tea, by two cupfuls of weak tea. In the evening, between eight and nine, a soda and milk, or cocoa (Plasmon), or chocolate and biscuit were acceptable. Ginger beer and other mineral waters sometimes replaced the milk and soda water but they added nothing extra and during training it was best to keep to the "actually useful in drink, diet, and habit."<sup>464</sup>

Vegetarians like Haig were concerned about the deleterious effects of tea and coffee and Miles cited experimental results to declare that the effect of tea upon digestion and the heart were "too serious to be passed over".<sup>465</sup> Hoole agreed that tea promoted a rapid wasting of the tissues, and, although a moderate intake could stimulate action and resist fatigue, it was of little use after severe muscular exertion because it "renders the prostration more profound". Milk diminished tea's ill effects, and it should be taken with solid food such as bread and butter two hours after a meal, late in the day. Excessive tea drinking would eventually destroy the appetite and "enfeeble the muscles". Coffee stimulated the nervous system less, but it affected the heart more, than tea. When diluted with milk, coffee was better for digestion and promoted tissue change less than tea so it was a more suitable breakfast drink in winter. However, very strong coffee, or too much of it, caused irregular pulsations of the heart, muscular tremors, indigestion, depression, and wakefulness.<sup>466</sup> Schmidt considered that reports of the ill effects of coffee were unjustified, and scientists were gradually becoming aware that caffeine could have competitive benefits.<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 35-38.

<sup>465</sup> Haig, A. (1906). *Diet and Food 6<sup>th</sup> Edition*, London: J. and A. Churchill pp. 120-125; Schmidt, F. A. (M. D.) and Miles, E. H. (1905). *The Training of the Body for Games, Athletics, Gymnastics, and other Forms of Exercise and for Health, Growth, and Development 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. First Edition 1901 pp. 46, 487, 493-494.

<sup>466</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 42-43.

<sup>467</sup> Schmidt, F. A. (M. D.) and Miles, E. H. (1905). *The Training of the Body for Games, Athletics, Gymnastics, and other Forms of Exercise and for Health, Growth, and Development 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. First Edition 1901 pp. 493-494; Weiss, B. and Laties V. G. (1962). Enhancement of Human Performance by Caffeine and the Amphetamines, *Pharmacological Review* 14 pp. 1-36. Rivers and Webber published the first major study in 1907; Benjamin, L. T. Jr., Rogers, A. M. and Rosenbaum, A. (1991). Coca-Cola, Caffeine, and Mental Deficiency: Harry Hollingworth and the Chattanooga Trial of 1911,

Smoking was universally condemned, although it was recognised that reduction rather than abstinence might sometimes be a more feasible solution. Professor Newton never attempted to deprive a confirmed smoker of his pipes after meals since training “never imposes severe hardships, a rule quite worth remembering”.<sup>468</sup> Andrews regarded smoking as a “great drawback to the man in training” since it was poisonous to an athlete and hardly any champions or record breakers smoked. He strongly advised smokers to reduce their indulgence gradually by a half, when they would see how much better they trained. For regular long-term smokers, a substantial reduction had to be made if they intended to achieve “first-rate feats”.<sup>469</sup> Miles agreed that tobacco affected the “wind” and, although the immediate effect was undoubtedly relaxing, its detrimental impact on respiration and circulation was incalculable. He noted that smoking was usually forbidden in training and that some rowing and athletic clubs had ruled that when club members were in training, no one was allowed to smoke in certain clubrooms.<sup>470</sup> Hoole, however, considered that tobacco, in moderation had a “salutary effect” because it promoted relaxation and deadened both hunger and fatigue.<sup>471</sup>

Andrews recognised that in all long endurance events there came to every competitor what experienced athletes and coaches referred to as a “bad time”. This was unavoidable, no matter how good a man was, or how well trained, and at these times it was essential that he be “quickly pulled together”. A variety of methods were utilised to defeat this “dead-beat feeling” which the coach knew would only disappear if the athlete was given the right stimulus and persuaded to persevere. The solution was to ensure that the man was “thoroughly fit and properly trained” and that he was fed little and often with beef tea, rice pudding, and fruit, such as bananas. When the moment arrived, a cup of hot tea or a very strong cup of Oxo, with the yolk of a new-laid egg, would generally get the athlete going again within ten to fifteen minutes. If the athlete was completely exhausted, half a tumbler of champagne, which avoided the damaging after effects of brandy,

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*Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 27 pp. 42–55. In 1911, psychologist Harry Hollingworth assessed caffeine’s effects on performance for Coca-Cola.

<sup>468</sup> Newton, A. J. (1910). *Boxing, with a Section on Single-stick*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 90.

<sup>469</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 38-39.

<sup>470</sup> Schmidt, F. A. (M. D.) and Miles, E. H. (1905). *The Training of the Body for Games, Athletics, Gymnastics, and other Forms of Exercise and for Health, Growth, and Development 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. First Edition 1901 pp. 278-279.

<sup>471</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. p. 109.

could be administered. Hot strong Oxo would be effective in most cases and Andrews used champagne only as a last resort. Many stimulants were utilised by coaches during the latter stages of endurance events to enable a strong finish. Andrews suggested half a sponge cake soaked in champagne, taken about twenty-five minutes before the end, followed five minutes later by a third of a tumbler of champagne. Some coaches preferred a new-laid egg beaten in brandy, but this was only effective within twenty minutes of the finish. With any stimulant, mistakes could be made since giving them too soon could lose an athlete "the successful result of a long training and an exhausting sustained effort". Andrews recognised that American athletes often used drugs for this purpose, but he regarded them as dangerous and damaging to health.<sup>472</sup>

### *Strychnine and Other Stimulants*

Not all coaches were as reserved about how they helped their man as was Andrews and the use of drugs to improve performance was prevalent during a period when several of today's banned substances were popular recreational drugs. Nor was it a new phenomenon. In Sinclair's work of 1806, one contributor had discussed giving drugs to fighting-cocks and soldiers, "to excite an unnatural and short-lived courage",<sup>473</sup> and prizefighters traditionally used strychnine, both in tablet form and mixed into an ointment as an anaesthetic, as well as cocaine and heroin. In the mid to late 1800s, stimulants were viewed positively, since they enabled athletes to make their bodies pinnacles of human achievement. Professional endurance sport during the latter decades of the nineteenth century was characterised by the use of strychnine, caffeine, cocaine, nitro-glycerine, alcohol, ethyl ether, and opium, often administered by the coaches. By 1894, cocaine appeared as a powder, a bonbon, and a lozenge. It was smoked as a coca-leaf cigarette, used as a painkilling gargle, a suppository, and as a beverage. The most widespread use was associated with cyclists, who were using "speed balls" of heroin and cocaine by 1869, while competitors in six-day races commonly used coffee boosted with extra caffeine and spiked with cocaine or strychnine. Trainers dropped cocaine flakes onto the cyclists' tongues as they rode past and massaged cocaine mixed with cocoa butter into their legs during breaks. French cyclists had a penchant for 'Vin Mariani', a combination of wine and coca leaf extract, while Belgian riders sucked sugar cubes soaked in ether. Nitro-glycerine was taken to help with breathing difficulties and

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<sup>472</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 54, 80-82.

<sup>473</sup> Sinclair, J. (1806). *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader p.22 also mentions the use of electricity as a tonic or stimulant therapy.

the trainers' black bottles contained preparations whose ingredients probably included camphor, atropine, and digitalis.<sup>474</sup>

Professional pedestrians also took stimulants, since vegetable alkaloids like atropine and strychnine, if taken in minute amounts, could revitalise flagging muscles. Six day "Go As You Please Contests" or "Wobbles", instituted by Sir John Astley in March 1878, stretched competitors to the limit and they inevitably sustained themselves with "bracers" or "pick-me-ups". Lovesey describes how coaches would mix a strychnine crystal with other components, such as sugar, brandy and liquorice, which "livens up a man wonderful" and allowed him to spurt for a couple of hours.<sup>475</sup> This was common practice and coaches were expected to know about "tonics", how to obtain supplies from doctors or chemists, and how to prepare them properly. In 1899, American Dr. Jay W. Seaver observed that ideas "derived largely from English pugilistic practices" were still widespread and he advocated replacing coaches who gave digitalis to athletes in the belief that an increased heartbeat would improve performance.<sup>476</sup>

Cycling witnessed continued stimulant use into the twentieth century. Arthur Linton won the 1896 Bordeaux to Paris race, despite falling off his bike three times, and his obituary in *Cyclers' News* later recalled that, after a rest, he had "had sufficient energy, heart, pluck, call it what you will" to gain eighteen minutes in the last fifteen miles. The "call it what you will" may have been either trimethyl or strychnine, both of which Linton supposedly took under the guidance of coach 'Choppy' Warburton. Between the Bordeaux-Paris race and Linton's death, the National Cycling Union (NCU) banned Warburton, and the *Athletic News* recalled that, during a previous separation, Linton had "groaned under a spell of ill-luck which, oddly enough, began to vanish as soon as the pair had buried the hatchet." Following Linton's death from typhoid, rumours circulated that he may have been regularly using arsenic and the *Athletic News* concluded that racing cyclists, particularly professionals, should be wary of "attempting feats for which they are

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<sup>474</sup> Hoberman, J. M. *History of the Science of Human Performance in Sport* [http://www.sportsci.org/encyc/drafts/History\\_sport\\_science.doc](http://www.sportsci.org/encyc/drafts/History_sport_science.doc) (accessed 8 August 2005); Donohoe, T. and Johnson, N. (1988). *Foul Play: Drug Abuse in Sports*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell pp. 2-4; Mottram, D. R. (1988). Introduction: Drugs and their Use in Sport, In Mottram D. R. (Ed.) *Drugs in Sport*, London: E. and F. N. Spon, pp. 1-2; Dimeo, P. (2007). *A History of Drug Use in Sport 1876-1976: Beyond Good and Evil*, London: Routledge pp. 9, 21-22; Craig, S. (2000). Riding High, *History Today* July pp. 18-19; Mortimer, G. (2004). Stronger, Higher, Faster, *BBC History* pp. 19-20.

<sup>475</sup> Lovesey, P. (1971). *Wobble to Death*, London: Macmillan and Co. 1970. Panther edition.

<sup>476</sup> Park, R. J. (1997). High-Protein Diets, "Damaged Hearts," and Rowing Men: Antecedents of Modern Sports Medicine and Exercise Science, 1867-1928, In Holloszy, J. O. (Ed.) *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews* 25 Baltimore, MD. London: Williams and Wilkins pp. 151-152.

not cut out". The warning was not heeded, especially in major events such as the Tour de France, where an entourage of soigneurs, masseurs, and doctors surrounded competitors, and drug taking remained common practice.<sup>477</sup>

Andrews, erroneously, attributed the practice of using drugs to enhance performance to American coaches. He had tried them on his athletes, and he had "no words of condemnation of their use strong enough". Those doctors whose opinions he had sought, "whilst not absolutely condemning, were yet adverse to their use", but, as he believed "in practical experience", and he had several athletes who wanted to try them, he had experimented with cocaine lozenges. The champion rider who took the drug made a "magnificent spurt", which died away in less than half-an-hour, when "he was clean played out". Andrews concluded that the Americans must be more skilled in administering these drugs since they avoided such breakdowns. However, because each time a drug was used, more was required next time, this could explain why American champions, "trained to perfection" and invincible at their best, rarely displayed the competitive longevity of British athletes. Andrews also experimented with strychnine lozenges on an athlete going through a bad time but it had had no effect and he resorted to hot beef tea. He did recall, however, that one athlete struggling to get fit for a long endurance event had taken a one-sixtieth grain of strychnine three times a day, under medical supervision, for the last six days of training "with most satisfactory results, and no traceable injurious after-effect".<sup>478</sup>

While the winner of the first modern Olympic marathon had relied on wine, subsequent Olympic competitors embraced the experience of professional coaches. The 1904 winner, Thomas Hicks, was struggling after fourteen miles, when his coach refused his request for water, and three miles later he was given one-sixtieth grain of sulphate of strychnine and the white of an egg by Charles Lucas, a doctor travelling in a car with coach Hugh C. McGrath. Hicks was later given another one-sixtieth grain strychnine tablet, with two more eggs and a sip of brandy, and, with a mile and a half still to run he stopped again for brandy and to be bathed in warm water. After the race a medical examination apparently found him to have no health problems except exhaustion. In 1908, Canadian team manager, J. H. Crocker,

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<sup>477</sup> Craig, S. (2000). Riding High, *History Today*, July pp. 18-19; Mortimer, G. (2004). Stronger, Higher, Faster, *BBC History* pp. 19-20; Mignon, P. (2003). The Tour de France and the Doping Issue, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20 (2) p. 228; *Olympic Review* (1954). Is the Oxygenation of Athletes a Form of "Doping"? April 45 p. 24 suggests that Warburton's bottles actually contained a placebo of sugar and water.

<sup>478</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 83-84, 86-88.

observed that Tom Longboat was running well at the twenty mile point when he collapsed complaining of a severe pain in the head. Crocker concluded that this, taken together with his condition on arrival at the Stadium, suggested that he had "received an overdose of some stimulant". Longboat's manager, Tom Flanagan, implied that stimulants had only been resorted to when Longboat was on the ground, "bleeding from nose and mouth", but someone, probably Lou Marsh, one of two official attendants allowed to accompany Longboat on bicycle, had apparently become over anxious and had given him too much. Also in 1908, Pietri, who fell four times in the final three hundred yards, required medical attention, on the track and in the dressing room, after taking strychnine and atropia.<sup>479</sup>

These types of drug use, in contrast to the systematic programmes employed today, were essentially "homemade" in nature, involving experimentation with the equivalent of kitchen recipes and with knowledge being transmitted from athlete to athlete, and from coach to athlete. In a period when rules were non-existent or vague, this was not a problem for competitors or sports organisations since everybody competed on an equal footing.<sup>480</sup> There was little regulation of narcotics and governments made large profits trading in these substances. Pressure for reform saw a demarcation between illegal and legal drugs after 1900, and the use of cocaine and opium as stimulants in sport declined after the Dangerous Drugs Act of 1920 made them available only on prescription.<sup>481</sup>

Late nineteenth century doctors and coaches appear to have agreed that diet was a cornerstone in athletic performance and that stimulants, whatever form they took, could boost a flagging athlete. Where they differed was in the detail. While doctors were concerned about long-term effects, coaches and their athletes were focussed on the next race. What critics consistently overlooked was that, even in the era of amateur dominated sport, ethical and philosophical considerations were often overridden by the desire for attainment. Money was not the only "dangerous"

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<sup>479</sup> Dimeo, P. (2007). *A History of Drug Use in Sport 1876-1976: Beyond Good and Evil*, London: Routledge pp. 25-28; Park, R. J. (1997). High-Protein Diets, "Damaged Hearts," and Rowing Men: Antecedents of Modern Sports Medicine and Exercise Science, 1867-1928, In Holloszy, J. O. (Ed.) *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews*, 25 Baltimore, MD. London: Williams and Wilkins p. 148; Biddiss, M. (1996). Faster, Higher, Stronger: The Birth of the Modern Olympics, *The Sports Historian* 17 (1) The SportsPages Lecture; Mortimer, G. (2004). Stronger, Higher, Faster, *BBC History* pp. 19-20; Wallechinsky, D. (1984). *The Complete Book of the Olympics*, New York: Penguin Books pp. 44-45; Kidd, B. (1983). In Defence of Tom Longboat, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* XIV (1) pp. 49-51.

<sup>480</sup> Mignon, P. (2003). The Tour de France and the Doping Issue, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 20 (2) pp. 231-232.

<sup>481</sup> Dingelstad, D., Gosden, R., Martin, B. and Vakas, N. (1996). The Social Construction of Drug Debates, *Social Science and Medicine* 43 (12) p. 1836.

incentive for athletes. For some, the symbolic capital and feelings of personal satisfaction they received from winning were sufficient to persuade them to accept the training advice proffered by professional coaches, many of whom continued to experiment, as Andrews did, with potentially dangerous supplements. Mussabini was probably in a minority when he made the following exhortations to both fellow coaches and competitors.

All such fads as many self-professed trainers are so lavish of recommending, notably mysterious pills, dopes and other spurious concoctions, and "springing" a man to the hour of his race, are the outcome of ignorance. Ask any ordinary medical man what he thinks of them. Apart from their uselessness for practical purposes, they are often harmful, when not positively dangerous. The athlete must either do his work out of his innate, trained abilities or be beaten by a better man. Also this: the more fitted he is for his effort by his term of training, the greater harm will come to him from the use of drugs. Nature will look after you more surely than all the compounds invented or believed in by the false theorists. If they have seen to your well-being, and told you how to carry yourself on the track (and how many can do this and afterwards explain the reason of their special recommendation?), observed the upward or downward tendency of your weight, kept you well fed, rested and worked, what more can they do for you?<sup>482</sup>

### *Measuring the Man*

Mussabini's comments need to be understood in the context of his time. During the 1870s and 1880s, a number of amateurs had elected to devote their time to preparing for sport. Hoole argued that competition was so intense that a young man could not achieve distinction in a sport unless he devoted the "whole of his leisure" to it. Consequently, he had "few opportunities of cultivating a brain,"<sup>483</sup> thus confirming the fears of a *Times* leader writer in 1870 who had been concerned about University athletes failing to train their minds because they had been encouraged by the prestige associated with sports to devote themselves solely "to the mere training of their muscles."<sup>484</sup>

Amateur values of moderation, together with broadening participation levels, gradually reduced the number of men prepared to commit themselves full time to athletics although, according to Mussabini, and in spite of international failures, Britain remained "rich in raw material". Coaches were working with bodies with greater athletic potential than previously but the average amateur could only train

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<sup>482</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 139-140.

<sup>483</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. p. 80.

<sup>484</sup> *The Times* 22 November 1870 p. 7.

for an hour or so a day, in contrast to the time devoted to training in other countries. Harold Wade considered that a gentleman amateur could no longer expect to be a champion unless he was "prepared to devote the whole of his leisure time to training."<sup>485</sup>

Heredity and breeding were familiar concepts in the early nineteenth century, when considerable care was devoted to the breeding of fighting cocks and dogs and when it was generally agreed that the breeding of thoroughbred racehorses had reached the "point of perfection".<sup>486</sup> During the century, nationwide surveys of human characteristics utilised physical measurements, anthropometry, alongside "political arithmetic" (statistics), in the belief that uncertainty was decreased as the number of observations increased. The Victorian obsession with measuring body parts and body type to determine aptitude, intelligence, and personality traits, was reflected in the application of anthropometric techniques to determine the "fitness for purpose" of the athletic body.<sup>487</sup> Maclaren gave advice on minimum chest sizes for rowers and Hoole considered that tall men were unsuited to "severe muscular exertions" because their heart size was often not in proportion to their frame, resulting in below average respiratory and circulatory systems. One *Times* correspondent, in 1865, recommended that in selecting a university crew, "as much attention should be paid to the length of reach as to the weight of each man being in proportion to his place in the boat".<sup>488</sup> There remained some scepticism in the athletic community, however, about the idea of standardised athletic shapes. Thomas Lee observed that nature, "selects no type, sets no standard, adopts no rule", and both Lee and Malcolm W. Ford noted that high jumper W. Byrd Page,

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<sup>485</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. v-viii; Wade, H. (1911). Cross-Country Running, In *The Encyclopaedia of Sports and Games*, The Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire (Ed.) Volume 1 New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. p. 98.

<sup>486</sup> Brailsford, D. (1999). *A Taste for Diversions: Sport in Georgian England*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press p. 184; Wymer, N. (1949). *Sport in England: A History of Two Thousand Years of Games and Pastimes*, London: George G. Harrap and Co. p. 211; Huggins, M. J. (1994). Thoroughbred Breeding in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire in the Nineteenth Century, *Agricultural Historical Review* 42 (2) pp. 115-125; Moore-Colyer, R. (1995). Aspects of Horse Breeding and the Supply of Horses in Victorian Britain, *Agricultural Historical Review* 43 (1) pp. 47-60.

<sup>487</sup> Vertinsky, P. (2002). Embodying Normalcy: Anthropometry and the Long Arm of William H. Sheldon's Somatotyping Project, *Journal of Sport History* 29 (1) pp. 94-133; Krakower, H. (1937). Anthropometry. A Brief Survey of the Measurement of Man from Ancient Civilization to 1932, *Research Quarterly* 19 p. 86.

<sup>488</sup> Maclaren, A. (1873). University Oars, *Nature*, 17 April, pp. 458-460; Hoole, H. (M.D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 25-26; *The Times*, 30 December 1865, p. 12. Letter from AN OLD STROKE, BUT NOT OF THE FIRST TRINITY (stroke to the University in days when it had not been degraded into that caddish abomination, the "Varsity".) *The Old Style of Rowing at Cambridge*.



despite a disabled foot that required support braces, "was able to will his 5 foot 6 inch frame to clear a height of 9.25 inches above his head".<sup>489</sup>

Identifying potential talent has always required extensive knowledge of the performance demands within a sport, an accurate assessment of athlete capabilities in relation to these demands, and the ability to predict future performance levels based on current characteristics. Even in contemporary sport, talent identification takes place both through both "scientific selection" and natural selection, whereby an athlete progresses through competition performance or through subjective identification by a coach. Highly skilled coaches maintain that they can "see" talent and some researchers argue that an expert coach's "eye" remains the crucial, initial stage of talent identification.<sup>490</sup> Andrews considered that a trainer could usually tell "at a glance" whether a prospective athlete was likely to be successful or not.<sup>491</sup> Craft coaches like Andrews possessed the experiential tools to be able to bypass "scientific" measures and employ their own judgement. In lawn tennis, for example, it was recognised that "bodily make" influenced style of play and that individuals should be coached accordingly.<sup>492</sup> Warburton, who stood five feet ten, weighed ten stones three pounds, and had a chest measurement of forty inches, believed that long distance runners should not exceed ten stone, and required a good chest and neck, square shoulders, light loins, a woman-like waist, long well coupled up thighs, a short fore-leg, sound feet, wide nostrils and good teeth.<sup>493</sup>

In his responses to Sinclair's 1806 survey, trainer John Jackson observed that pedestrians ranged from five feet to six feet tall, with long thighs and short legs, while a fighter was normally of "good size and weight". Ages might range from eighteen to forty and initial potential was assessed through trials such as short runs or sparring. Pedestrian trainer John Hall looked for "muscular made men, round in their chests, short in their waists, long in their thighs, from five feet seven, to five

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<sup>489</sup> Ford, M. W. (1897). Specialization in Athletics, *Outing* XXX (6) September, pp. 575-581; Lee, T. (1901). The Record Breakers, *Munsey's Magazine* 26, October, pp. 472-481, In King, D. B., Raymond, B. L. and Simon-Thomas, J. A. (1995). History of Sport Psychology in Cultural Magazines of the Victorian Era, *The Sport Psychologist* 9 pp. 378-379.

<sup>490</sup> Woodman, L. (1985). Talent Identification - is Competition Enough? *Sports Coach* 9 (1) pp. 49-57; Jarver, J. (1982). Do We Need Talent Identification? *Modern Athlete and Coach* 20 (1) pp. 7-8; Kozel, J. (1996). Talent Identification and Development in Germany, *Coaching Focus* 31 pp. 12-13.

<sup>491</sup> Andrews, H. (1903) *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 91-92.

<sup>492</sup> Watson, A. E. T. and Eighth Duke of Beaufort. (1903). *The Badminton Library: Tennis, Lawn Tennis, Rackets, Fives*, Republished 1987 Ashford Press Publishing. *Tennis* by J. M. Heathcote pp. 3-123; *Lawn Tennis* by C. G. Heathcote pp. 127-337.

<sup>493</sup> Watson, R. O. (2006). 'Choppy' Warburton: Long Distance Runner and Trainer of Cycling Champions. *Hero or Villain?* E Wileybooks p. 17.

feet ten, from twenty to twenty-six years of age".<sup>494</sup> In 1852, professional oarsman Robert Coombes described the ideal rower as one with "good loins, wide at the hips, and long arms." Average weight should be between nine stone to eleven-and-a-half, with not more than two inches' difference between loins and chest.<sup>495</sup> Hoole reported, with approval, some general principles suggested by "an old writer on this subject". An athlete should have "a small head, brawny arms and legs, a good wind and considerable strength". If a runner, "his thighs ought to be long and his arms short" and, if a wrestler, he should be "of middle height robust full breasted and broad shouldered."<sup>496</sup>

However, by Hoole's time, coaches were beginning to think they might be working with a different kind of man. Surveys of heights and weights conducted during the second half of the century led to the conclusion that a difference in class meant a corresponding difference in height.<sup>497</sup> The British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) anthropometric committee, established in 1875, compared American students with members of the English professional class, who were 0.63 of an inch taller and had a greater arm span. It was widely believed that lower class physiology, especially the nervous system, qualitatively differed from that of gentlemen.<sup>498</sup> A comparison of Galton's measurements taken at the South Kensington Health Exposition with those of the average Cambridge student revealed that the latter had better lung capacity, height, and other measurements, thereby verifying the higher "physical condition of the upper educated classes".<sup>499</sup> Hoole noted that social surroundings had a similar influence upon "bulk". He refuted a colleague's suggestion that an individual's weight in pounds should be equal to twice his height in inches, since this did not match the contemporary University Ideal of a perfect athlete as "70 inches high and 168 lbs. in weight".<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> Sinclair, J. (1806). *Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader pp. 15, 27.

<sup>495</sup> Member of C.U.B.C. (1852). *Aquatic Notes, or Sketches of the Rise and progress of Rowing at Cambridge, With a Letter Containing hints on Rowing and Training by Robert Coombes, Champion Sculler*, Cambridge: J. Deighton; London: G. Bell p. 107.

<sup>496</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. p. 21.

<sup>497</sup> Floud, R. (2002). The Dimensions of Inequality: Height and Weight Variation in Britain, 1700-2000, *Contemporary British History* 16 (3) pp. 13-24.

<sup>498</sup> Park, R. J. (1994). A Decade of the Body: Researching and Writing about the History of Health, Fitness, Exercise and Sport, 1983-1993, *Journal of Sport History* 21 (1) p. 59; Holt, R. (2008). The Appeal of Spectator Sport: Historical Reflections on Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's In Praise of Athletic Beauty, *Sport in History* 28 (1) p. 61. The amateur body was different from that of the corpulent pugilist. The "well-proportioned, multi-functional, aerobic figure of the amateur athlete" enabled him to run and row, play football and cricket.

<sup>499</sup> *The Lancet*, 8 May 1888. Anthropometry.

<sup>500</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 23-25. The rule was "even more faulty" when applied to

The majority of amateur athletes whose fame "still lingers at Lillie Bridge, Henley, and Lord's" were the sons of landowners, business, and professional men, who grew up in the country or at the seaside and then attended public school, where doctors and masters selected the recreation best suited to their age and physique. This naturally led to the development of the "large frames, powerful muscles, and exceptional vigour" observed in senior schoolboys and, subsequently, in undergraduates.<sup>501</sup>

Maclaren's *A System of Physical Education, Theoretical and Practical*, included appendices on height, weight, chest girth and other measurements and, in the latter stages of the century, symmetry of the body was thought to reflect both physiological and spiritual fitness.<sup>502</sup> The ideal of a symmetrically appropriate body was a feature of the middle class athlete and Holt has suggested that the aesthetics of amateurism revived a classical ideal of human proportion, "balancing height, weight, muscle development and mobility".<sup>503</sup> For Hoole, well formed and efficient organs should be encased in a symmetrically developed body which conformed to accepted standards of height and weight, and which could tolerate climate extremes, exposure to fatigue and disease, and "the friction of professional, commercial and domestic life".<sup>504</sup>

Similar bodies were emerging in America, where Walter Camp recognised that, while the term "training" had previously "acquired a bad name", modern training had a very different meaning, "thanks to the increased knowledge of what conduces to physical perfection" and because "there is, in the person of the average amateur athlete, a far cleaner and better system upon which to operate." In Britain, this perception that the middle class amateur provided ideal athletic material was accompanied by concern about the loss of professional coaching expertise. British dominance in the 1880s had been achieved through professional pedestrians like Walter George and George Littlewood, or by amateurs who had adopted

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professional athletes since pugilists Spring and Jackson were 71 inches tall, and 185 and 196 lbs. respectively, while wrestler Parkes was 72 inches and weighed "in training" 235 lbs..

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6. The 1867 Eton eight at Henley averaged 163lbs and four were over 168lbs.

<sup>502</sup> Maclaren, A. (1865). *A System of Physical Education, Theoretical and Practical*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press; See also Maclaren, A. (1874). *Training in Theory and Practice 2<sup>nd</sup> and Enlarged Edition*, London: Macmillan and Co.; Maclaren, A. (1873). *University Oars*, *Nature* 27 March pp. 397-99; 3 April pp. 418-21; 17 April pp. 458-60.

<sup>503</sup> Holt, R. (2006). The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain, *Sport in History* 26 (3) pp. 362-363.

<sup>504</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 20-26; Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 246-250 believed that with the extra attention bestowed upon the rearing of the better-class amateur athlete, his longer delay in entering the workaday world, and his presumably higher intelligence, he should prove to be the better man.

professional techniques, but, according to Mussabini, many coaches had since gone out of business, moved abroad, especially to America, or were being employed in professional football. Their training knowledge needed to be nurtured and sustained if future athletic success was to be secured.<sup>505</sup>

### *Mending the Man*

Despite Camp's confidence in "modern training", medical authorities remained concerned about the constitutional strain of physical training. In 1867, surgeon F. C. Skey warned that overexertion could lead to permanent injury. The culprit was competition, which led a man to expend "every inch of power inherent in his muscular system," while training was "an aggravation of the evil".<sup>506</sup> Robert Lee re-emphasised the medical risks of athletic stress in 1873, alleging that several professionals, especially long-distance pedestrians, had collapsed "at the very height of the strain." Doctors continued to blame a competitive environment, and the attendant publicity given to athleticism, which caused men seeking a "transient notoriety", to "strain every nerve and sinew, troubled by no scruple as to the mischief likely to ensue."<sup>507</sup> Training to achieve "vigour and moderate skill" was perfectly safe but athletic training to achieve records was dangerous to health.<sup>508</sup> This was especially applicable to adolescents, whose central nervous system was often permanently injured by overexertion in attempting to reproduce the feats achieved by "carefully trained and intelligent athletes".<sup>509</sup> When Arthur Linton died in 1896 one obituary suggested, "his physical strength had been much reduced by over-training",<sup>510</sup> and, four years later, similar conclusions were being drawn from reports that Harcourt Gold, the Etonian, Oxonian and Leander stroke, had strained his heart and been forbidden to row again. Considering the "large number of Old Etonians who have experienced the same fate of recent years, it is a moot point whether Eton does not over-do matters with their youthful oarsmen".<sup>511</sup>

The core of hygienic philosophy had always been "moderation," and the enthusiasm for athletics appeared to many doctors to be excessive, although a *Times* leader in

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<sup>505</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. v-viii; Camp, W. (1892). Training. Indoor Apparatus for Outdoor Sports, *Outing* XIX (4) January, p. 276.

<sup>506</sup> *The Times*, 10 October 1867 p. 9.

<sup>507</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 2-4, 18, 85-86.

<sup>508</sup> Lydston, Prof. (1903). *The Lancet* 11 April.

<sup>509</sup> Howard, W. L. (1898). The Physiology of Strength and Endurance, *Popular Science Monthly* 53 pp. 187-188.

<sup>510</sup> *The Times*, 24 July 1896 p. 11.

<sup>511</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, July 1900 LXXIV (485) p. 45.

1870 observed that objections based upon the strain put on competitors, which might easily lead to "fatal excess", had not been sustained.<sup>512</sup> Woodgate insisted that more men had been damaged by "overindulgence after competition" rather than by the severity of training.<sup>513</sup> A later author argued that to say that "bodily weakness or illness is commonly caused by bodily training" was like saying that "a man is generally made stupid by learning."<sup>514</sup>

Professional coaches were normally concerned much more about immediate medical problems than about long term training stresses. The demanding nature of many competitive events meant that even highly trained professional athletes were susceptible to illness and injury. Even among amateur coaches there was a view that doctors "hamper a trainer fearfully" since few of them appreciated training and their first resort was usually "to leave off work" no matter how serious the problem. In all cases of minor ailments, a trainer might "advantageously play the "quack," (except in case of using the lancet), unless he has a doctor who has no prejudice against training".<sup>515</sup>

Coaches invariably dealt with basic medical issues on a daily basis and, in common with all other areas of their coaching practice, they drew on a considerable body of existing traditional knowledge. Walsh recommended that blisters on the hands, for example, should be pricked with a fine needle, before they burst, and the watery fluid pressed out, two or three times. If, the blister was broken, collodion should be applied with a brush, although this was painful. Blisters on the feet should be dealt with in the same way, although Leathes suggested using tallow grease and spirits of wine, or Fullers earth rubbed in two or three times a day. If oarsmen suffered from blisters on the "seat of honour", the only solution was to wear tight wash-leather drawers, well oiled with neatsfoot-oil. Corns were a recurrent problem for pedestrians, as were bunions, which should have leeches applied to them every other day for a week. After the bites had healed, they were brushed

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<sup>512</sup> *The Times*, 22 November 1870 p. 7. Leader.

<sup>513</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1875). "Oars and Sculls," and How to Use Them, London: George Bell and Sons p. 148.

<sup>514</sup> Physical Training. (1884). *Saturday Review* 58 November p. 558.

<sup>515</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1890). Rowing and Sculling, In Bell, E. (1890). *Handbook of Athletic Sports Volume II Rowing and Sculling - Sailing - Swimming*, London: George Bell and Sons. Revision, of work previously published as *Oars and Sculls*. pp. 127-130; Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 103-148. The skilled trainer kept a careful note of the daily weights of his man, before he went onto the track and as he came off it, and the "warding-off of any chance of his catching a cold or a chill". He might use a clinical thermometer under the tongue, or the armpits, to get his temperature. In all respects, the work of the trainer required "a conscientious interest in the health and doings of his charges".

with tincture of iodine every third day. The only remedy for boils was either a linseed poultice, or the knife, which was inappropriate when "In training". To prevent boils Walsh recommended the use of a wash of nitrate of silver, "of the strength of 15 to 20 grains to the ounce", painted over the part every night. Woodgate considered that this needed to be supplemented by taking port wine, or a teaspoon of yeast or syrup of iodide of iron in a glass of water, after a meal. Diarrhoea could be checked by three or four tablespoonfuls of raw arrowroot in a tumbler of water, or by a "confection of opium, and brandy, and water." Walsh also dealt with hernias and haemorrhoids, which required an unloading of the liver and the alleviation of inflammation by applying various remedies, including using a dose or two of "blue pill". In cold weather, rowers' hands and arms become chapped, while pedestrians suffered in the same way about the hands, wrists, arms, and behind the knees. An ointment of nitrate of mercury, one drachm; zinc ointment, one ounce; essence of lemon, three drops; should be applied night and morning, when glycerine should also be freely smeared over the chapped surface by means of a brush or feather.<sup>516</sup>

Hoole proffered advice to coaches when a man was suffering from exhaustion, possibly caused by mistakes made in diet or training. Exhaustion quickly disappeared "if animal food be given more freely" and stimulants such as malt liquor or burgundy added to meals. If there was also "a sensible loss of weight", beef tea, champagne, and port wine should be given as well. In difficult cases, the work must be stopped and change made to "bracing sea air". Following temporary exhaustion and loss of appetite after severe exercise, or between heats and finals, the meal should be postponed and the system supported by combinations of sherry, brandy, egg, milk, sugar or Brand's essence of beef. Excessive thirst should be relieved by lemon squash, or lemonade, and a coated tongue by taking a tablespoonful of limejuice twice a day, for a week. A useful remedy for constipation was a tumbler of cold water in the early morning, and the substitution of brown bread for white, while German liquorice powder, Hunyadi or Frederichshall water were other suitable aperients. Diarrhoea "generally yields to" half a small teaspoonful each of bicarbonate of soda and carbonate of bismuth beaten up in a wine-glassful of sweetened water, and taken three or four times a day, half an hour

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<sup>516</sup> Stonehenge. (1857). *Manual of British Rural Sports Comprising, Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, Hawking, Racing, Boating, Pedestrianism and the Various Rural Games and Amusements of Great Britain 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: G. Routledge and Co. pp. 454-457; H. M. L. (1851). *Aquatics, as Applied Chiefly to the Amateur Sculler. By a Rower of Thirty Matches*, London: Whittaker and Co. p. 30; Woodgate, W. B. (1875). "Oars and Sculls," and *How to Use Them*, London: George Bell and Sons pp. 1-2, 124-140.

before food. Tender feet, resulting from undue perspiration or excessive walking, should be bathed at night in hot soap and water, dried, and rubbed with ointment containing belladonna or tannin.<sup>517</sup>

### *Craft and Continuity*

Professional coaches always prioritised dealing with the athlete rather than applying universal laws of nature and their practical understanding was rarely directly related to theoretical underpinning. Despite the increasing institutionalisation of science, coaching practice continued to use traditional knowledge at all stages of the training process, from the initial identification of talent, based on what a man could do, to the structuring of psychological support during training, and to dealing with injuries and discomfort through the dispensing of appropriate lotions and medicinal draughts. Not surprisingly, and not for the first time, this was viewed as an encroachment into their territory by a medical establishment attempting to establish its authority through pronouncements that denigrated experiential knowledge and marginalised professional trainers.

Coaches consistently described themselves, even in their written works, as "practical" men and, while this seems to have been interpreted by some as meaning "uneducated", it really represents the constant friction between theory and practice that affects almost every area of human endeavour. In part, it reflects the tension between empirical "scientific" knowledge and tacit "craft" knowledge. The demeaning of this as the basis for coaching practice by medical professionals was matched by an indifference to medical and experimental science among members of the coaching fraternity. Sport was not the only arena in which this tension occurred. Engineers in universities and colleges from the late 1830s reprised questions about the relationship between "cloistered collegiality and artisan craft". Mechanical artisans were unwilling to be dictated to by "suited Professors" and some decried formal education, declaring that workshops were "the true and only Colleges".<sup>518</sup> Even in the field of education, science was marginalised. Two committees in 1916 explored the compatibility of scientific training within a traditional liberal education and both, including the one established by BAAS, vetoed specialised or vocational scientific training. In medicine, The Royal College

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<sup>517</sup> Hoole, H. (M. D.) (1888). *The Science and Art of Training; A Handbook for Athletes*, London: Trübner and Co. pp. 110-111.

<sup>518</sup> Marsden, B. (2004). 'The progeny of these two "Fellows": Robert Willis, William Whewell and the Sciences of Mechanism, Mechanics and Machinery in Early Victorian Britain, *British Journal of the History of Science* 37 (4) p. 402.

of Physicians remained dominated by graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, Institutions predicated on a humanistic and classical tradition.<sup>519</sup>

It was in these institutions that the process of athletic training was being refined in the latter stages of the nineteenth century, driven by the amateur ethos of "moderation". Dr. H. Mayo had noted in 1838 that it was commonly believed that the effects of "high training" were achieved at the expense of constitution, although he cited Sinclair in observing that racehorses and gamecocks did not "wear out" earlier than other animals.<sup>520</sup> By the 1860s, however, critics were becoming more strident in insisting that exercise should be "pursued with moderation" because severe physical training resulted in the "ultimate debility of the muscular system, and of all the organs of vitality".<sup>521</sup> Traditional training diets had nothing to do with digestion but everything to do with "wind" and the prolonged exclusion of vegetables and fruit might even lead the man in training to suffer from scurvy. These training diets should resemble the normal diets of young men since the "horrible monotony of chops and steaks, steaks and chops, nauseates rather than nourishes". If a man wanted his steak very rare, "let him eat it blue, but do not enforce it". Professional trainers who restricted food intake while implementing "medicine" and sweating, certainly reduced weight but muscle was lost and the nervous system diminished, leading to the "low and prostrate condition," of "training off". Although coaches had "a morbid horror" of fatty food, "pluck" was dependent on conducting nerve fibres and central cells which required fat for their formation, and fat was also necessary for the assimilation of food. Athletes should "pay no attention to the old tradition that everything fat or greasy is to be shunned by men in training". Professional coaches also made men wear "sweating flannels" and then run until they lost "many pounds' weight of liquid", afterwards keeping them in a state of thirst while refusing water. There was actually no harm in drinking "wholesome fluids to allay the thirst produced by perspiration" but, because frequent drinking could increase thirst, a pebble held in the mouth, or something chewed to stimulate the salivary organs, might be more "efficacious".<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>519</sup> Mayer, A-K. (1997). Moralizing Science: The Uses of Science's Past in National Education in the 1920s, *British Journal of the History of Science* 30 pp. 52-53, 68; Park, R. J. (1997). High-Protein Diets, "Damaged Hearts," and Rowing Men: Antecedents of Modern Sports Medicine and Exercise Science, 1867-1928, In Holloszy, J. O. (Ed.) *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews*, 25 Baltimore, MD. London: Williams and Wilkins p. 140.

<sup>520</sup> Mayo, H. (F.R.S.) (1838). *The Philosophy of Living 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: John W. Parker pp. 104-126.

<sup>521</sup> *The St. James's Magazine*, February 1863 pp. 323-325.

<sup>522</sup> *Cornhill Magazine*, January 1867 XV pp. 98-101.



The 1867 debate in *The Times* over "athlete's heart", contained many assumptions about the nature of athletic training and selection. Following Skey's initial letter, the leader writer addressed the issues of stress and training. The members of a university eight were selected from men who had been practicing for some years and who had submitted to special training for several weeks. As long as the oarsman thrived in terms of "appetite, sleep, and spirits" it was assumed that he was the right material for the crew, although a medical examination might find that he was "spending out of the very capital of his health". However, since the process of getting "second wind" was enhanced by training and experience, and despite the fact that there might be risks associated with long-term training, it would be inappropriate to compete without training first. Defenders of the university boat race conceded that an "unsound man" might occasionally be selected and that this could be a problem, especially if not discovered until the last moment. Normally, however, only well-prepared men entered training and weak points were identified during the training process. Training for the race merely meant "living temperately and regularly, and taking plenty of good exercise" while "rowing the race means a good hard day's work."<sup>523</sup>

When Skey responded to his opponents, he agreed that men should be trained, although the muscles were better exercised by frequent repetition at less than maximum power rather than at maximum power. He questioned, however, the origins of a training system that picked men as "strong, skilful, and of good constitution" and then trained them for six weeks, pointing out that when pugilists went into training they devoted their whole time to it. He wondered how this applied to "Oxford and Cambridge gentlemen". He also pointed out that even if the whole day was taken up with training, and the training period extended over many months, no-one could be sure that the wrong man was not being trained, and he also queried the theory of "second wind". Skey noted, "I am not a trainer, nor the associate of trainers" but felt able to condemn subjecting eight immature young men "to a brief course of five or six weeks' training, on the nature of which we have no conclusive evidence that the best judgment is exercised".<sup>524</sup>

In defending contemporary training practices, the President of the Oxford Boat Club declared that training was, "better understood than in the days when there was such a "pigheaded" system", reiterating that it was the "process known as going

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<sup>523</sup> *The Times*, 15 October 1867 p. 6; 21 October 1867 p. 10; 29 October 1867 p. 9.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 October 1867 p. 10.

out of training" which deserved "suppression much more than the training itself."<sup>525</sup> Despite his optimism, traditional training methods that had been in vogue with early nineteenth century pugilists continued to enjoy popularity among coaches and athletes long after science, medicine, and gentlemen amateurs, had questioned training content. Even when it was made available to them, coaches were reluctant to utilise knowledge obtained by means of scientific research. *The Athletic Journal*, established in 1921, included articles on coaching techniques, and on injury prevention and recovery, but rarely included much information of the type that appeared in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and similar publications. The *New York Times*, in June 1924, commenting on recent research, emphasised that coaches and athletes were interested in practical suggestions for improving athletic performance.<sup>526</sup> Although Coubertin, speaking at the Prague Congress in 1925, observed that "scientific control" was becoming ever more a part of athletics, it was in fact another twenty-five years before coaching in many countries began to be significantly influenced by results derived from empirical science.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>525</sup> Ibid., 23 October 1867 p. 10.

<sup>526</sup> Wrynn, A. M. (1993). *The Scientific Study of American Athletic Performance, 1920-1932*, *North American Society for Sport History. Proceedings and Newsletter* pp. 42-43.

<sup>527</sup> Coubertin, P. (1966). *The Olympic Idea: Discourses and Essays*, Lausanne: Editions Internationales Olympic pp. 96-97; Phillips, M. (2000). *From Sidelines to Centre Field: A History of Sports Coaching in Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press p. 5.

## Chapter 5. "A Wonderfully Fast Stroke, No Doubt, But Too Exhausting, My Dear Sir".

Competitive swimming provides instructive exemplars of the relationships between professionals and amateurs, and the place of the professional coach within amateur sporting structures, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter uses contemporary sources to explore how participants viewed their sport and the practices they employed. The values attributed to swimming, the subordination of professional coaches, the reluctance of amateur swimmers to engage with emerging stroke developments, and the concurrent loss of international swimming status, are reflected within their pages and those of subsequent authors. The interpretation proposed here is that the formation and entrenchment of the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) led inexorably to a rapid decline in international swimming performances. Although English swimmers initially dominated the sport, overseas competitors, especially Americans and Australians, had superseded them by 1902 and the Olympic medals won in 1912 by John Hatfield and Percy Courtman were the last individual medals won by a British male until 1964.<sup>528</sup> At the heart of this demise was an amateur philosophy which marginalised professional coaches, promoted standard styles of swimming, with a focus on breaststroke and trudgen, and emphasised the values of life saving and hygiene. In contrast to their American counterparts, who had a career structure and who worked in a culture of competitive success, English professional coaches had few incentives to experiment with techniques or training methods.

### *The Organisation and Regulation of Competitive Swimming*

Early attempts to organise and regulate swimming included the establishment of the National Swimming Society (NSS) in 1836, to teach "the art of swimming". The NSS had instructors based on the Serpentine and the Thames, as well as a school, swimming professors, and "proper apparatus for the art" in the Surrey Canal. In 1837, the NSS conducted swimming races in the Serpentine and, in 1838, NSS pupils raced for silver cups and snuffboxes near Cremorne-house in Chelsea. The 1843 NSS races were scheduled for September in the Serpentine,<sup>529</sup> but the Society had disappeared by mid-century, as had the British Swimming Society (BSS),

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<sup>528</sup> Hatfield achieved silver in the 400 and 1500 metres. Courtman, bronze in the 400 metres breaststroke, was the first man to break three minutes for 200m breaststroke with 2:56.6 in 1913.

<sup>529</sup> *The Times*, 15 August 1837 p. 2; 21 September 1838 p. 6; *The Era*, 3 July 1842 p. 10; 14 August 1842 p. 10; 3 September 1843 p. 12; 25 August 1844, p. 9; *The Morning Chronicle*, 19 August 1843 p. 4; *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 8 September 1844 p. 10.

formed in 1841 to “promote health and cleanliness by encouraging swimming, and by gratuitously giving instructions in the art”.<sup>530</sup> In 1843, *The Times* reported that the BSS had organised four competitions since their last annual meeting, as well as a programme providing free swimming instruction. *The Era* recorded that the BSS races had been won by Robinson, “the same person, we believe, who won the first prize, given by the National Swimming Society”, but that medals supplied to Cambridge the previous year by the NSS “had not yet been forthcoming” this season.<sup>531</sup>

Captain William Stevens, swimming master at National Baths, Lambeth, emerged from debtors’ prison to create the ephemeral Royal Universal Swimming Society, which was operating in 1841.<sup>532</sup> The National Swimming Association (NSA), created in 1872 to improve and encourage the “much neglected art of swimming” by giving an annual exhibition or series of races “on a scale which has never before been attempted”, also failed to make a lasting impact. The committee wanted to demonstrate that “perfect mastery over the water”, could be achieved by practice and had engaged Professor Cavill to organise activities. They were planning to hold public races, wearing bathing costume, for cash prizes and prizes donated by leading London firms.<sup>533</sup> In August 1872, the NSA held its first meeting in the Serpentine with Cavill directing affairs and Professor Beckwith starting the races.<sup>534</sup>

A more lasting initiative was the formation of the Metropolitan Swimming Club Association on 7 January 1869 by London clubs Alliance, North London, Serpentine, National, West London, and St Pancras. A month later, the organisation formally defined amateurism, agreed on rules for swimming races, and adopted the name of Associated Metropolitan Swimming Clubs. On 11 March a committee was appointed to measure racing distances in the Thames and the secretary was instructed to

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<sup>530</sup> Terret, T. (1995). Professional Swimming in England before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1) pp. 18-32; Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878, *The Sports Historian* 21 pp. 54-67; Love, C. (2007). An Overview of the Development of Swimming in England, c.1750-1918, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) pp. 568-585.

<sup>531</sup> *The Times*, 6 September 1843 p. 3; *The Era*, 3 September 1843 p. 12. Love believes that the BSS may simply be the NSS and that press reports contributed to the confusion. Whether or not there were one or two organisations, these London based societies had little national impact.

<sup>532</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 26 May 1844 p. 10; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 3 October 1841 p. 4; 27 August 1843; 3 September 1843; 14 July 1844; 12 September 1847 p. 6. Stevens and his son were presenting medals on behalf of the Humane Swimming Society; 9 July 1848 p. 7. Humane Swimming Society medal won by Mr. Beckwith of Lambeth; 3 September 1848 p. 8. Now the Royal Humane Swimming Society.

<sup>533</sup> *The Daily News*, 1 June 1872 p. 6.

<sup>534</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 17 August 1872, p. 5.

print five hundred copies of the laws of Amateur Swimming to be circulated within the swimming community. It was agreed in April that notices of all meetings would appear in *Bell's Life*, *The Sportsman*, and *The Sporting Life*, and subscriptions were raised in May to provide for silver cups for open amateur competitions, the conditions for which were confirmed later in May. The first race, to be held in strict accordance with amateur rules, was scheduled for 21 August, when the winner would become the Amateur Champion. It was further agreed on 10 June that pilot boats would not be allowed. The constitution was formalised on 24 June, and the title changed to the London Swimming Association (LSA) and, by September, Regent, London Swimming Club (S.C.), and Nautilus Club, had been admitted.<sup>535</sup> The LSA became the Metropolitan Swimming Association (MSA) from the beginning of 1870 and by February, it was reported to be flourishing. Two years later, however, when Serpentine S.C. resigned and applied for the prize won by D. Ainsworth in the Amateur Champion race, the MSA had insufficient funds to provide the trophy and had to levy an additional charge on members to defray the costs of the Championships.<sup>536</sup>

The LSA concerned itself from the start with ensuring that clubs and swimmers adhered to the practice and principles of amateurism. In July 1869, J. Simpson was excluded for six months after entering falsely for a handicap race in the Serpentine. Following the championship race in August, London S.C. protested against the winner, Tom Morris, but, because the club had not received the authority of second placed Harry Parker for this action, the protest was rejected. H. Kent was written to about his conduct at this race and, in September, H. Grist was disqualified for six months for entering North London S.C.'s August entertainment illegally. The club were requested to explain why they had not raised a protest at the time. In October, G. Pettit and H. Brown were in trouble for entering an under sixteen race at C. Whyte's entertainment because both had won prizes previously. It was subsequently decided that the association should support only entertainments at which the laws of amateur swimming were in force and W. Ramsden and C. G. Powell were appointed to ensure that an association member attended all future

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<sup>535</sup> *Associated Metropolitan Swimming Clubs/London Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 1869. 11 February; 11 March; 8 April; 13 May; 27 May Extraordinary Meeting; 10 June; 24 June Extraordinary meeting; 12 August; 9 September.

<sup>536</sup> *Metropolitan Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 10 February 1870; 9 September 1872.

public swimming matches to protect the "interests of the association and its members".<sup>537</sup>

Monitoring continued under the MSA in the 1870s. In March 1870, George Ellis was reinstated after he handed over prize money to the association and, in April, West London S.C. was asked to justify why prizes for their November 1869 gala not yet been presented. In May and June, Tom Morris failed to satisfy the committee about his status and, on 14 July, the committee recorded a letter from National S.C. saying that Morris was no longer a member. In October, Morris claimed a five guinea silver cup but the committee refused, considering that he had not complied with amateur rules. In January 1871, the "committee of vigilance" was expanded from two officials to three and, in October, they placed before the main committee protests against G. Newberry, H. Morgan, G. Harrison, T. Braid, J. Moore and G. Price. In June, the expulsion of W. T. Smith was rescinded and his name erased from the "Black Book", which listed payment defaulters in all member clubs. September saw an "animated and protracted discussion" over a proposal that "an amateur be qualified to compete for money prizes offered to swimmers generally and to be allowed to accept prizes in money or otherwise, as they may think fit". Ultimately it was agreed that the matter would be decided at the AGM.<sup>538</sup>

### *The Amateur Swimmer*

On 8 December 1873 the MSA committee rejected a motion to rename the association "The National Swimming Association", deciding instead on "The Swimming Association of Great Britain" (SAGB).<sup>539</sup> From 1874, the nascent SAGB began a process that would eventually transform it into an all embracing governing body dedicated to the propagation of amateur sport, although the organisation initially had to overcome the fact that competitive swimming had never been fashionable. Swimming had little spectator appeal, many indoor baths lacked spectator facilities, and it lacked the cachet of other activities, especially in public schools, where there were always suspicions about the "selfishness" engendered by individual sports. There was also a negative association between swimming and the "Baths", although Pardon noted the efforts being made by London S.C. to

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<sup>537</sup> *London Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 1869. 22 July; 26 August Extraordinary Meeting; 9 September; 14 October.

<sup>538</sup> *Metropolitan Swimming Association Committee Minutes*. 1870. 10 March; 14 April; 12 May; 9 June; 14 July; 13 October; 1871. 12 January; 8 June; 14 September; 12 October.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 December 1873.

"disabuse the public mind" about some fallacies surrounding swimming by giving free instruction.<sup>540</sup>

In response to these difficulties, proponents of the sport credited swimming with laudatory values, some of which lay at the core of the broader amateur argument for the purity of sport and some of which were specific to the activity. In the forty-five years between the formation of the LSA in 1869 and the Great War the swimming community was clear about what type of man the amateur swimmer was, the value of the exercise he participated in, and what was required to protect his status. Swimming was portrayed as an art as well as an exercise. The average person could participate in most athletic sports but not everyone was fortunate enough to be able to swim. Character development was inherent in an art that imparted "greater confidence to oneself, a quickness of decision, and a self-reliance."<sup>541</sup> Recognising the difficulty in gaining parity in this respect with team games, swimming writers observed that such "ordinary" games were more of a recreation and developed only certain parts of the body while swimming utilised nearly every muscle, particularly the respiratory muscles.<sup>542</sup>

Although these comments expose the particular class attitudes adopted by an amateur swimming fraternity towards working class team sports, they were also a reflection of the specific type of middle class body and manliness that participants associated with swimming. Swimmers showed "none of the bulging, knotty muscles of the professional poser", but had instead smooth arms and legs blessed with "long, pliant, 'working' muscles, that never tire." Swimming was consistently portrayed as a useful adjunct to training for other sports, although coaches like Andrews thought swimming inadvisable for anyone training to become an athlete. Shrubbs agreed because, while it was "an excellent method of developing the chest and lungs", swimming made an athlete slow by stiffening his leg muscles.<sup>543</sup> Coaches like these were considered "crassly ignorant" by swimming aficionados since a brisk daily swim of three or four minutes, over two or three hundred yards, would increase a man's "snap and dash."<sup>544</sup> Hackenschmidt, the wrestler, and

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<sup>540</sup> Pardon, G. F. ("Captain Crawley") (1882). *Swimming, Skating, and Rinking*, London: Ward, Lock, and Co. pp. 9-10.

<sup>541</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 2.

<sup>542</sup> Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 2.

<sup>543</sup> Andrews, H. (1903). *Training for Athletics and General Health*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 27; Shrubbs, A. (1908). *Running and Cross-Country Running*, London: Health and Strength p. 65.

<sup>544</sup> Daniels, C. M., Johannson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding's Athletic Library Series British Sports Publishing Co. p. 11.

Tommy Burns, the boxer, "always included a short, sharp swim every day, as a means of bracing them up, and keeping them supple and active".<sup>545</sup>

Swimming books and pamphlets of the era reflected other important elements of the amateur ethos. There was an emphasis on style and elegance, discerned in the contrast between the "respective modes of progression of a good and an indifferent swimmer",<sup>546</sup> and a diffidence regarding competition since the work of the Royal Life Saving Society (RLSS) had demonstrated that there was "something far more noble in their art than mere competition for pots".<sup>547</sup> Not everyone could become a champion, nor was "the winning of races the highest distinction a swimmer can attain,"<sup>548</sup> although the RLSS, which had "done so much to raise the tone of the sport, make it popular in the public schools and induce gentlemen to take an interest in its promotion", did arrange annual foreign tours by English amateurs.<sup>549</sup>

Authors made assumptions about the time and resources available to their readers. Because most amateurs were "engaged in business during the day," they should walk to and from work, avoid late hours, and be out of bed by six. A cold tub, "followed by a severe rubbing with a rough Turkish towel, ought to be the first item of every swimmer's daily programme".<sup>550</sup> There was a clear vision of what characteristics epitomised the amateur swimmer and the necessity for balancing participation with a man's working life:

Unquestionably, the best time to enjoy a swim is between the hours of ten and two o'clock, some hour and a half after breakfast, or half-way between that meal and dinner...Opportunity, however, does not always serve, as the demands of "the mill, Mr. Jonas, the mill" are imperative, and to those whose time is occupied at this period of the day I would recommend the evening in preference to the early morn, a bathe before supper sending one home with a healthy appetite and a soothed nervous system, which predisposes to a sound night's rest.<sup>551</sup>

### *Enforcing Amateurism*

The 1878 Laws of Amateur Swimming produced by the SAGB excluded "A person who has competed for money for a wager, for public or admission money, or who

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<sup>545</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 3.

<sup>546</sup> Cobbett, M. (1907). *Swimming*, The All-England Series London: George Bell and Sons p. 2.

<sup>547</sup> Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 6.

<sup>548</sup> Austin, H. R. (1914). *How to Swim*, London: Methuen and Co. p. 6.

<sup>549</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, December 1901 LXXVI (502) p. 483.

<sup>550</sup> Holbein, M. A. (1905). *Swimming*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 58.

<sup>551</sup> Cobbett, M. (1907). *Swimming*, The All-England Series London: George Bell and Sons p. 3.



has otherwise made the art of swimming a means of pecuniary profit", although amateurs were allowed "to compete with a professional for a prize or honour only".<sup>552</sup> This latter rule did not survive much into the 1880s. A proposal that a man should lose his amateur status by competing against anyone who was not an amateur was considered at a special meeting on 30 May 1881 and a resolution that "no permission be given to amateurs to compete with professionals" was carried. The 1882 Annual Report noted that this ruling was fully supported by amateur clubs "even in the North of England, where formerly amateurs frequently competed with professionals".<sup>553</sup>

The committee were prepared to make an example of transgressors and their 1880 Report recorded the legal action taken against Larner and Binns, who had entered "an open handicap at an entertainment given by the Amateur club by means of forged letters" and won prizes. A special fund, "to which many clubs and private individuals subscribed most liberally" had covered the prosecution costs and Larner was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, while Binns returned the cup and publicly apologised.<sup>554</sup>

During 1878, the SAGB had received overtures from the Scottish Swimming Association about possible amalgamation and, although no decisions were made, there were signs that the organisation was looking beyond its London roots.<sup>555</sup> The SAGB report for 1880, however, was less than positive, despite the fact that by now there were more provincial clubs than London clubs in membership. So little interest had been taken in the association at the start of the year that a "quorum was not obtainable" and the Association had incurred liabilities it was unable to meet. Several clubs had seceded and it "appeared probable that the Association would be an Institution of the past." Efforts were made to revive the organisation and the list of affiliated clubs two years later indicates some success in this respect with fifteen metropolitan clubs and twenty-one provincial clubs in membership.<sup>556</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, 14 January 1878. The Laws of Amateur Swimming.

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 May 1881; *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Reports* 1881 and 1882.

<sup>554</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Report* 1880; For details of Larner's trial for deception and fraud see Old Bailey Proceedings Ref. T18801213-131 13 December 1880 available at [www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org) (accessed 8 May 2008).

<sup>555</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, 9 September 1878; 11 November 1878.

<sup>556</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Report*, 1880; 1882.

A motion in 1882 for a title change to the "Amateur Swimming Association" was defeated, although this was eventually adopted in 1886.<sup>557</sup>

The transformation of an essentially regional SAGB into a national body was not trouble free. As happened in both rowing and athletics, friction occurred between the virulently amateur southern counties and the north of England, although the difficulties were not restricted to this single dimension. During 1884, internal disagreements over issues of amateurism led to the establishment of the Amateur Swimming Union (ASU) by disaffected members of the SAGB. Because of the overlap in membership between amateur sporting bodies, this acrimonious debate spilled over into meetings of the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) and involved the National Cycling Union (NCU). At a Southern Counties AAA (SCAAA) meeting in February 1884, Otter S.C. requested the committee's opinion on the action of the SAGB concerning T. Cairns and an SAGB ruling that bath attendants were allowed to compete as amateurs. A letter from the SAGB, giving their version of the Cairn's case, was also considered. The committee unanimously agreed to write to Otter S.C. and the SAGB confirming that, under AAA laws, both bath attendants and watermen's apprentices would be considered professionals.<sup>558</sup> A year later, the AAA general committee empowered the SCAAA to elect delegates to meet with the NCU to discuss the quarrel between the SAGB and the ASU on the subject of the Scott-Hammond race.<sup>559</sup> In March 1885, the SCAAA allowed representatives from the SAGB and the ASU to attend the next general meeting of the AAA. Only after that meeting was the AAA prepared to discuss the dispute with the NCU.<sup>560</sup> At the AGM, in May 1885, ASU delegates Griffin, O'Malley, and Rope, outlined their objections to the decisions of the SAGB concerning Cairns, Blair, and Hammond, while Dr. Barron explained the SAGB's actions, reiterating that Hammond was adjudged a professional because he had apparently used a pseudonym to swim against a known professional. H. H. Griffin's proposals that the SAGB be struck out of all laws, rules, and official documents of the AAA, and that the ASU be recognised instead, were lost, although the motion that the ASU be recognised by the AAA was argued at length before being rejected.<sup>561</sup> Within a year, the SAGB and the ASU had settled their differences and amalgamated into the ASA. At the AGM of the AAA, in April 1887, the proposal that ASA be substituted throughout the rules for

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<sup>557</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, 12 June 1882.

<sup>558</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 11 February 1884 p. 21.

<sup>559</sup> *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 21 February 1885 p. 39.

<sup>560</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 13 March 1885 p. 40.

<sup>561</sup> *Minutes Amateur Athletic Association Annual General Meeting*, 21 March 1885 p. 41; *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 8 May 1885 p. 44.

SAGB was carried unanimously.<sup>562</sup> By this time, the ASA was already using the AAA offices in London for its committee meetings.<sup>563</sup>

Following its inception in 1886, the ASA concentrated on organising and regulating competition, encouraging participation, excluding professionals, and abolishing gambling. Representatives became preoccupied with establishing a prescriptive definition of an amateur and the conflictual nature of class relations that existed concurrent with this process may have encouraged a particularly vigorous application of the amateur code. Enforcing this nationally was difficult, however, especially as many local corporations still offered money and prizes at swimming entertainments. Initially, ASA officials relied primarily on persuasion to encourage individuals, organisations, and club administrators, to adopt their values and perspectives. Considerable negotiation was required in 1889 to prevent a rival Northern Association being created, the ASA representatives at a crucial meeting receiving a reception "not entirely of a satisfactory nature". However, a well-prepared ASA delegation circulated their "Proposed Scheme for the Better Management of Amateur Swimming", which gave a Northern ASA jurisdiction within their own territory, and, after considerable discussion, this was accepted as a basis of settlement, although only on the chairman's casting vote. Later that year, three ASA divisions were created, the Northern Counties, the Midland Counties, and the Southern Counties,<sup>564</sup> but this was not the end of the ASA's difficulties. Minutes from 1897 record a potentially serious split between the parent body and the Southern Counties ASA, although this appears to have resolved itself during 1898.<sup>565</sup>

Spats within the amateur swimming community, and amateur sports in general, were by no means exceptional. In 1911, *The Daily Mirror*, reporting on the suspension by the ASA of Australian swimmer Tartakover for giving an exhibition swim for charity, but at an unregistered meeting, commented that it was the "old story of over legislation in British sport". Problems originated in the council chambers of sport. The Football Association split had taken place there, and would have been resolved "but for certain councilors on both sides", while the AAA and

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<sup>562</sup> *Minutes Amateur Athletic Association Annual General Meeting*, 2 April 1887.

<sup>563</sup> *Southern Committee Amateur Athletic Association Minutes*, 24 September 1886 p. 72; *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 21 March 1887. Cost was 6s. per evening.

<sup>564</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. pp. 349-351.

<sup>565</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association "Emergency" Committee Minutes*, 4 September 1897; 8 January 1898.

NCU divide was almost entirely continued in the "legislative palaces of the pastimes". Similar splits had been going on for years, driven by people with "bees in their bonnets", and British sports suffered in consequence.<sup>566</sup>

Once ASA officials had established a secure position, they began to apply both economic sanctions, through the regulation and licensing of galas, and coercion, through the rigid application of laws relating to professionalism. One of the reasons for the amateur legislators' effectiveness in sport during this period was their social networking, which enabled close liaison between governing bodies.<sup>567</sup> As well as their connections within athletics and cycling, ASA officials formed alliances with skating, amateur wrestling, and other swimming associations, to ensure blanket exclusions of suspended athletes and coaches.<sup>568</sup> Formal reciprocal arrangements had initially been made by the SAGB with the Bicycle Union on 12 October 1882, and the AAA, on 10 March 1883, and regular, minuted meetings took place between these organisations. In January 1895, for example, representatives met to consider the amateur definition, the payments of expenses, suspensions, the status of professional promoters, amateur boxers, schoolmasters, and life saving instructors, and relationships with the Amateur Gymnastic Association (AGA) and the National Physical Recreation Society. A subsequent conference on 16 November formulated in some detail their agreed definitions of amateurs and professionals.<sup>569</sup> Also during 1895, the ASA recognised the AGA, subject to their accepting their amateur and professional definitions, and agreed to join the Sporting League.<sup>570</sup>

Continuing vigilance was required to marginalise and exclude professionals. The question of professionals being allowed permits to organise galas which included amateur races occupied committee time between 1894 and 1895, when an AGM proposal to refuse permits to professionals was passed by twenty-eight votes to fourteen. The Committee "desired to see a strong professional association formed,

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<sup>566</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 6 October 1911 p. 14; 1 May 1911 p. 14. At the AAA AGM the offer of the ASA to "assist in bringing about a settlement of the quarrel between the AAA and NCU was defeated".

<sup>567</sup> *Amateur Athletic Association General Committee Minutes*, 18 December 1886; 19 February 1887. These initiatives were not universally successful. Attempts by the AAA to establish reciprocal suspensions with the RFU were rebuffed.

<sup>568</sup> Daniels, C. M., Johansson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding's Athletic Library Series, British Sports Publishing Co. p. 116. The close association of the ASA with the AAA and the NCU owed much to their overlapping memberships since many swimming club members took a wide interest in sports and games.

<sup>569</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 12 January 1895; *AAA, ASA and NCU Conference Minutes*, 16 November 1895.

<sup>570</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 12 January 1895; 30 November 1895.

and was prepared to support it, but...were of the opinion that the present style of amateurs supporting professionals was undignified to the one, and unsatisfactory to the other".<sup>571</sup> It was also agreed in 1895 that "no professional shall be allowed to make an amateur handicap, or to represent or hold any office either in the A.S.A. or in any district thereof, or in any affiliated club".<sup>572</sup> The exclusion of professionals from holding office was reinforced in 1908 when the AGM confirmed that no professional "could hold any office whatever in the A.S.A. or any district thereof (official starter, timekeeper, judge, referee inclusive)", although a 1909 ruling allowed professionals to sit on Club Committees and officiate in club events.<sup>573</sup>

The governing body had total control by 1908, when the ASA laws included in the Olympic Report contained definitions of amateurs and professionals, plus a range of exclusions and explanatory notes. Swimmers would be deemed professional if they were personally teaching, training, or coaching, any other person for payment, or if they were employed for money or wages in a swimming bath or elsewhere as an attendant on swimmers. Reflecting the positive position adopted towards life saving, payment made to an instructor of lifesaving did not endanger his amateur status. In fact, none of "the standing laws of amateurism" were to be applied to life-saving, which the ASA regarded as "a higher and combined development of gymnastic exercise, swimming ability, and medical knowledge for the benefit of the race" rather than as a sport.<sup>574</sup>

#### *Professors, Coaches, and Teachers*

In 1875, during the first full year of the SAGB, two books appeared from swimming professionals Captain Matthew Webb and "Sergeant" Leahy. By becoming the first person to swim the English Channel, Webb had achieved popular status and "enthusiasm was so great that over £1,400 was subscribed for him".<sup>575</sup> Close friend and coach, A. G. Payne, edited *The Art of Swimming*, within which Webb, like his amateur counterparts, identified swimming as, "an art which every boy and every man should know in reference to the saving of human life". He hoped that, in time, no boy would say he could not swim without "the same blush of shame"

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<sup>571</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 21 September 1894; *Amateur Swimming Association Annual General Meeting Minutes*, 14 April 1894; 30 March 1895.

<sup>572</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 16 November 1895.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 April 1907; 5 March 1909; *Amateur Swimming Association Annual General Meeting Minutes*, 7 March 1908; 6 March 1909.

<sup>574</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 29 April 1899; *The Fourth Olympiad: The Official Report of The Olympic Games 1908*, Drawn up by Theodore Andrea Cooke, The British Olympic Association pp. 769-770.

<sup>575</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Company p. 332.

with which an English schoolboy might say he could not play cricket or he "dare not fight."<sup>576</sup>

Although they subscribed to a vision of the social benefits of swimming, professional swimmers like Webb were mainly concerned with speed and strokes, together with the need to keep themselves in the public eye, and it is in his discussion of times, distances, and swimming feats that Webb exposed these preoccupations. He considered that the new overhand stroke would be too exhausting to swim for more than half an hour and that, using a basic formula of one yard per second, a mile in little under thirty minutes was beyond everyone apart from E. P. Jones of Leeds and J. B. Johnson. He also highlighted a difference in standards between professionals and amateurs, noting that any amateur who could swim 500 yards in eight minutes would be regarded as a first-class swimmer. Twelve lengths of Lambeth Baths, 480 yards, had only been achieved in seven and a half minutes during the race for £25 a-side in 1873 between Tom Morris, by now a professional teacher of swimming, and sixteen year old Willie Beckwith, son of Professor Beckwith. *The Graphic* reported that this race came off "in the presence of a densely packed and enthusiastic assemblage" and that, although Morris won by thirteen yards in seven minutes seventeen seconds, Willie was by no means disgraced. The reporter had "every reason to believe that the match was fairly made and fairly contested, in fact, a gymnasium match, and not a mere "exhibition" contest, got up for the purpose of door-money, with the result arranged between the parties beforehand".<sup>577</sup>

The description of this match in *The Standard*, clarifies some of the problems facing professionals. In this instance, interest was heightened by the uncertainty of the outcome, reflected in the pre-race betting, and the age difference between the competitors, but swimming races, on their own, were not normally popular entertainment because the relative abilities of professionals were so well known that "few contests are really possible, except for prizes the result of which is generally a foregone conclusion."<sup>578</sup>

"Sergeant" Leahy represented a different type of swimming professional and *The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style*, was edited by two Etonians, although it later

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<sup>576</sup> Webb, M. (1875). *The Art of Swimming*, Payne, A. G. (Ed.) London: Ward, Lock and Tyler pp. 23, 36.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75; *The Graphic*, 4 October 1873 p. 327.

<sup>578</sup> *The Standard*, 30 September 1873.

attracted criticism over its technical content.<sup>579</sup> As a professional swimming master at Eton from 1868 to 1889, his duties included teaching swimming and being responsible for ensuring the safety of young gentlemen. College swimming teachers were engaged to prepare pupils to pass the swimming test, and they made sure that no-one attempted to pass unless properly taught. Leahy had strong views on the positive benefits of good teaching and, like Webb, he bemoaned the fact that swimming was not important for most pupils, who placed more value on making the "eight" or the "eleven" rather than on "attaining to perfection in the yearly swimming sports". Only increased financial incentives and prizes might tempt boys to become more involved.<sup>580</sup>

For Leahy, an Eton waterman needed to be "sober, strictly honest, and with good morals; ready to venture his life at any moment if required." Eton allowed retainers to supplement their salaries during the summer holidays, when college bathing places were opened to the public, and swimming teachers were "kindly allowed to take pupils, at the low sum of a guinea each. If we were not paid a yearly salary by the College we could not afford to teach a small number of pupils for a guinea each to swim fifty yards."<sup>581</sup> Leahy was clearly aware of his place in the existing social order and his work constantly reinforces the servant status of swimming masters employed within the public schools.<sup>582</sup>

Even though Leahy was a teaching professional, rather than an exhibitor or racing professional like Webb, both men acknowledged the primary purpose of learning swimming as helping to save life. In fact, Leahy considered it was more important for aristocrats to learn to swim than the lower classes since they had more

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<sup>579</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Company pp. 327-329.

<sup>580</sup> Leahy, "Sergeant" (1875). *The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style*, London: Macmillan and Co. pp. 82, 88.

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 78. Leahy was appointed master of swimming to the gentlemen cadets at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in 1868, during the Eton summer holidays.

<sup>582</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. p. 375. At Uppingham a bathing-place was initially made by the Stockerston brook and an instructor appointed. In 1883 the covered swimming bath, 90 feet long, 25 feet wide, with depths from 3 feet to 6 feet, was built. All boys, except those with medical exemption, were taught to swim; *The Times* 7 November 1866 p. 6. At Radley, there was a regular swimming master at the bathing-place during the summer. When any boy was certified by him as competent to "pass" he had to swim 100 yards with clothes on in presence of a master before he was allowed to "boat"; Love, C. (2007). State Schools, Swimming and Physical Training, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) p. 646. At Shrewsbury School, rowing was allowed to swimmers and swimming was taught by a 'bathing master'. There were bathing men (professional watermen) on the river at certain times, evidently to supervise the boys while swimming, and there was a bath where swimming could be learnt.

opportunity for travel and were likely to be in more danger from drowning.<sup>583</sup> While Webb discussed competitive performance, he was equally concerned about the health and physical development engendered by the activity. Pardon observed, "One great recommendation of Swimming is the cleanliness it enforces" and life saving, fitness, health, and hygiene, remained constant themes in swimming publications, reflecting values shared by both professionals and emerging amateur organisations.<sup>584</sup>

From the middle of the nineteenth century, specialist swimming teachers like Leahy worked in indoor and outdoor swimming establishments, as well as in schools, while a number of swimming professors coached and taught other swimmers, as well as competing in challenges and championships. Their protégés sometimes became coaches themselves, thus replicating the process of knowledge transfer detected in other communities of athletic practice, and contributing to the picture of coaching as craft. Leahy was explicit in viewing his own teaching in these terms:

If parents wish their children to learn any trade or profession, they generally look out for the best teachers of it. Why not in swimming as well as other things? If possible, get a teacher of the best style of swimming, who is master of the art in all its different stages, who has studied it...he ought to be as well acquainted with everything that pertains to swimming as other trade masters are with their respective trades.<sup>585</sup>

These "tradesmen" ranged from bath attendants to swimming teachers, to those who took on management responsibilities alongside their instructional duties. Thomas Frost, born in 1860, the son of a *furniture dealer*, made a career as a *bath attendant*, giving this as his occupation from 1881 to 1901, as did Thomas Curtis, son of a *sanitary inspector*, who was born in 1838 and gave his occupation as *bath attendant* for the 1871 to 1901 censuses. James Saul began his career as a *bath attendant* in Lambeth in 1871, aged twenty-six, and this remained his occupation for the 1881 and 1891 returns, when wife Sarah was also shown as a *bath attendant*. James Summers, son of a *labourer*, was a *bath attendant* in St. Giles, London, aged twenty-two, and this remained his occupation for at least the next twenty years.<sup>586</sup>

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<sup>583</sup> Leahy, "Sergeant" (1875). *The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style*, London: Macmillan and Co. p. 83.

<sup>584</sup> Pardon, G. F. ("Captain Crawley") (1882). *Swimming, Skating, and Rinking*, London: Ward, Lock, and Co. p. 50.

<sup>585</sup> Leahy, "Sergeant" (1875). *The Art of Swimming in the Eton Style*, London: Macmillan and Co. p. 21.

<sup>586</sup> Census Returns 1871 – 1901. Thomas Frost 1881 (115/123/25), 1891 (76/47/82), 1901 (88/47/15); Thomas Curtis 1871 (201/94/28), 1881 (206/13/19), 1891 (133/14/21), 1901



Richard T. Giles was a *teacher of swimming* in Holborn in 1881 and a *swimming instructor* in 1891, when living in Islington, at which stage his son, also Richard T., was working as a *bath attendant*. By 1901, the family had moved to Essex and Richard senior was a forty-eight year old *teacher of swimming, "own account"*. John Maxfield, born in Yorkshire in 1850, and John Grant, born in Gravesend in 1846, both made a career out of swimming. Maxfield was manager of the Montpellier baths in Cheltenham, where he was also *instructor of swimming*, in 1881. Although he had moved to Gloucester and was working as a *gymnastic instructor* by 1891, ten years later he was *superintendent of baths* and living on the premises. Grant was *superintendant (sic) of baths* at the Wenlock baths in Shoreditch in 1881, living at the baths, and he remained *bath manager* for the 1891 and 1901 censuses.<sup>587</sup>

Performers, ex-champions, and those who generally regarded themselves as experts in the field, often used the prefix "Professor". Marcus Bibbero, born circa 1837, was a *jeweller*, supposedly from Holland, living in Yorkshire in 1861, although he had moved to Manchester by 1871 where he was a *swimming master*, now apparently from Poland. Although he gave his occupation as a *traveller*, born in Germany, in 1881, he had resumed his role as a *professor of swimming*, from Russia, in 1891. By 1901, he had moved to Islington and was *living on his own means*. He died in 1910 in Hackney.<sup>588</sup>

Swimming professors like Bibbero generally relied on experiential knowledge gained through their own athletic experiences or through their family and community contacts. Sinclair noted that anybody could call himself a "Professor", and while some were good, others dropped out, primarily through a "lack of patience and ill-manners".<sup>589</sup> Subsequent generations of coaches certainly looked back on their practices with a jaundiced eye. Collins, who emphasised his own status as an "amateur coach", was typical of the writers of his era who were critical of the craft approach taken by the swimming professor.

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(147/96/42); James Saul 1871 (658/22/35), 1881 (119/85/18), 1891 (83/76/22); James Summers 1881 (322/67/34), 1891 (1085/94/19), 1901 (1268/23/35).

<sup>587</sup> Census Returns 1881–1901. Richard T. Giles 1881 (358/98/24), 1891 (164/136/28), 1901 (1681/37/20); John Maxfield 1881 (2577/15/23), 1891 (2017/32/14), 1901 (2429/66/5); John Grant 1881 (390/40/34), 1891 (245/111/23), 1901 (271/6/4).

<sup>588</sup> Census Returns 1851–1901. Marcus Bibbero 1851 Son of a Licensed Hawker from Germany (2362/110/44), 1861 (3584/18/29), 1871 (4061/37/68), 1881 (4021/31/55), 1891 (3262/19/36), 1901 (197/27/45). GRO (1910/death/March/Hackney/1b/286).

<sup>589</sup> Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 8.

He passed through a natural phase of obscurantism and quackery—even now, indeed, one still occasionally finds an ignorant and uncultured man of the obsolete “trainer” type proclaiming to all who will listen that he alone possesses the “tips” and “secrets” capable of producing champions; but this genus is happily fast disappearing, and...the best coaches of 1934 as far surpass their prototypes of the Nineteen-hundreds as the present Olympic champions surpass the reigning swimmers of that era.<sup>590</sup>

He would have been unhappy, no doubt, to find the efforts of his own generation being similarly disparaged forty years later.

...some four decades ago the process was set back by a coterie of well-meaning but uninformed well-known coaches...These “experts”...came out with all sorts of quaint notions about swimming methods...Most of their erroneous dogmatisms have now been discarded by those in the inner circle of serious, world-class coaching. But the damage was done: Armies of sincere “instructors” as well as the typical “go by the manual” learn-to-swim programmes still revere and teach many of the old misguided concepts.<sup>591</sup>

From the start, the precursors of the ASA classified as a professional anyone teaching, training, or coaching, for “pecuniary gain”, thus excluding professional swimmers, entertainers, professors, instructors, and swimming masters, from involvement within embryonic governing bodies and jeopardising their livelihoods. The experiences of professionals around Manchester, for example, suggested their opportunities to earn a comfortable living became “very precarious”.<sup>592</sup> The ASA subsequently clarified the status of potential professionals in more detail and pronounced regularly on the position of amateurs engaging in different teaching scenarios.<sup>593</sup> Schoolteachers giving instruction in swimming to their pupils, or at evening schools organised by the Education Authority, would not endanger their amateur status, nor would a baths manager who was not a “personal attendant on swimmers”.<sup>594</sup> Sinclair considered that such men could be useful since they were “capable of expounding to the teachers not only the theory of the art but its practice as well”. They should be able to “strip and show them in what respect they are wrong in their teaching.”<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>590</sup> Collins, G. (1934). *The New Magic of Swimming*, London: William Heinemann p. 8.

<sup>591</sup> Firby, H. (1975). *Howard Firby on Swimming*, London: Pelham Books. Introduction.

<sup>592</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 June 1895 p. 7.

<sup>593</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 16 November 1895; 16 March 1901; 18 May 1901; 24 August 1901; 31 May 1902.

<sup>594</sup> Daniels, C. M., Johannson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding’s Athletic Library Series, British Sports Publishing Co. p. 110.

<sup>595</sup> Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 6.

Sinclair had previously expressed concerns in *Swimming*, co-authored with William Henry,<sup>596</sup> about the standards of professional instruction, noting that those with appropriate technical knowledge and "practical proficiency" had failed to establish swimming teaching on a scientific basis. Although various systems had been proposed none had gained broad acceptance and, because paid instructors continued to teach by "rule of thumb", utilising their own theories and methods, no two men taught swimming movements in precisely the same way. The "absurd notions" which existed regarding the qualifications for a swimming master exacerbated the problem. Self-appointment as professor, or election by club committees and bath commissioners, was often based upon competitive achievements. Alternatively, ex-servicemen were appointed on the basis that they had acquired the habits of drill and discipline required by instructors. For Sinclair, a champion swimmer or a drill sergeant was not necessarily a good teacher, and Austin considered the drill sergeant "out of place in the swimming-bath".<sup>597</sup>

Despite these reservations, some ex-army personnel became successful swimming professionals. The career of "Sergeant" William Tuohy demonstrates both his own longevity and the evolution of a kinship-based community of practice. In 1841, already thirty-five years old, he was a *sergeant in the Royal Artillery* at Woolwich, where he was a *drill sergeant* ten years later, although he was also giving swimming exhibitions. In 1850, fancy swimming at Holborn included Sergeant Foohey (*sic*) with his "wonderful little boy", and a year later he was exhibiting with his two children, one two-and-a-half and the other four years old. These "little prodigies in the art of natation" were introduced "under a canopy of pink muslin, most tastefully arranged, and covering a cot formed on one of Silver's floating mattresses, towed in by the champion swimmers".<sup>598</sup> By 1861, William was *instructor of sword exercise* in the Royal Artillery College in Gosport, Hampshire, where he had been organising a swimming establishment since 1853. Much more

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<sup>596</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Company p. 395. *British Olympic Association Council Meeting Minutes*, 20 December 1906 p. 1; Census returns 1881-1901. William Nawrocki 1881 (191/26/46), 1891 (126/74/9), 1901 (239/73/34). GRO (1859/birth/September/St.Pancras/1b/159), (1883/marriage/March/St.Pancras/1b/121), (1928/death/March/St.Pancras/1b/79). William Henry Nawrocki son of Joseph Nawrocki, of Polish descent, married Elizabeth Spencer in St. Pancras in 1883 and was an upholsterer's foreman in 1891. He changed his name to William Henry in 1896 and by 1901, he was *Secretary of the Life Saving Society*, remaining so until his death in 1928. He won over 600 swimming prizes and he was a leading exponent of life-saving and 'scientific' swimming between 1891 and 1918. He remains the oldest ever swimming Olympic medal winner with a bronze in 4 x 250 relay in 1906, the same year he accepted a seat on the BOA Council.

<sup>597</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. p. 27; Austin, H. R. (1914). *How to Swim*, London: Methuen and Co. p. 14.

<sup>598</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 4 August 1850 p. 10; *The Times*, 6 August 1851 p. 6; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 10 August 1851 p. 10.

could be done if the facility was fitted out properly as the swimming school for the port and the garrison with "its master and staff officially appointed and paid for their duties".<sup>599</sup> William was living at Portsea in 1871, having retired from the army, hence his status as *Chelsea pensioner and fencing master*. Aged sixty-three he was living with thirty-six-year-old wife, Sarah, a *teacher of dancing*. By 1881, William had become a *swimming and fencing master* and fifteen-year-old daughter Sarah, was his *swimming and fencing master's assistant*. The whole family was involved in swimming by 1891. William was now calling himself a *swimming instructor* and wife Sarah, aged fifty-eight, was a *swimming instructress*, as were daughters Sarah and Mary, aged eighteen. William outlived his wife and was living in Portsmouth when he died, aged ninety-five, in 1902. In 1901, daughters Annie, thirty-four, and Ada, twenty-seven, were both *swimming instructress(es)* in Nottingham.<sup>600</sup>

Authors of this period, irrespective of their amateur or professional status, were unanimous about the need for competent instruction, because, in swimming, "the pupil cannot see what he is doing and often falls into serious faults without being aware of it." If not corrected immediately by an expert "coach" such faults could become chronic.<sup>601</sup> Availability of instruction appears to have been widespread. By 1907, a potential swimmer in London could choose between, "a dozen or more well-appointed establishments, within easy access, where competent professors may be found to put him through his facings."<sup>602</sup> However, Sinclair believed that many swimmers who called themselves "Professor" on the assumption that they were born teachers because they were successful champions, rarely, if ever, applied scientific principles and they were generally unfamiliar with the laws of propulsion and resistance. Their reliance on practical knowledge, rather than theory, was "antagonistic" to future developments. Theoretical knowledge was progressive, because it suggested new ideas along with "modifications and alterations of existing tenets", while practical knowledge was "obstructive", considering nothing possible that had not been actually demonstrated, and ignoring suggestions made for improvements. On the other hand, theoretical knowledge, unaided by practice and

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<sup>599</sup> *The Times*, 8 November 1865 p. 4.

<sup>600</sup> Census Returns 1841-1901. William Tuohy 1841 Scottish census 493/7/24/18. 1851 (1589/425/3), 1861 (648/65/30), 1871 (1131/45/10), 1881 (1150/52/24), 1891 (2689/62/7), 1901 (986/77/6). GRO (1902/death/Portsmouth/2b/348). Annie and Ada Tuohy 1901 (3184/46/29).

<sup>601</sup> Daniels, C. M., Johannson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding's Athletic Library Series, British Sports Publishing Co. p. 31. This appears to be the first use of the word "coach" in an English swimming publication.

<sup>602</sup> Cobbett, M. (1907). *Swimming*, The All-England Series London: George Bell and Sons p. 4.

experience, was equally dangerous to those who lacked the "steadying power" of experience. Either way, swimmers who wanted to become teachers should be conversant both with the details of technique and with the natural laws which governed swimming. Above all, they needed the ability to transmit this knowledge in an easily intelligible and attractive manner. They must be able not merely to *do* but to *teach*. To make swimming teaching more systematic, the title of "Professor" or "Instructor" should imply a different sort of individual and a proper system of "fixed principles" should be established to provide strong foundations for the "fabric of the profession". Developing this policy should have been undertaken by publicly acclaimed professors who wanted to elevate their "calling to the high position in which it deserves to be placed" but many of those capable of creating a scientific system of instruction were "subject to personal considerations which created powerful barriers to reform". Previous attempts to institute certificates had been "rendered futile by the very men who would chiefly benefit by them", primarily because they had wanted certificates to be awarded without examination since, "the ordeal would have been too much for some of their number". In the absence of a formal professional organisation, amateurs should take responsibility for developing a proper examination system which would enable those deterred from teaching for a living, mainly because of the poor reputation of professional swimming, to assume "their proper place among the teaching ranks".<sup>603</sup>

There were widespread concerns that the overall levels of swimming instruction were insufficient and when the Board of Education included swimming as part of the Code of Education, the ASA offered the free services of amateur teachers, which the London School Board accepted in 1891.<sup>604</sup> As local authorities began to encourage swimming, there was a feeling that "the examples in teaching set by public spirited amateur swimmers" should be adopted nationally. However, given the difficulty of supplying enough amateur coaches and of properly training schoolteachers, the ASA eventually conceded that professional teachers were essential for increasing participation. The key was to ensure that these professionals remained under ASA control and, as part of that process, the organisation instituted a Professional Certificate. The application form and the certificate format were agreed in April 1899 and the first "certificates of ability to

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<sup>603</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. pp. 27-31.

<sup>604</sup> Holbein, M. A. (1905). *Swimming*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 11; Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 7; Austin, H. R. (1914). *How to Swim*, London: Methuen and Co. p. 1; Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. p. 353.

teach the art of swimming" were awarded in September. The ASA report for 1899 drew attention to the "newly-instituted Certificates for Professional Teachers of Swimming which your Committee hope will be applied for in large numbers and be the means of raising the status of recipients in all parts of the country".<sup>605</sup> By 1902, sixty-seven certificates had been awarded to both male and female candidates, the ASA heralding this as an attempt to "raise the status of Professional Teachers and to bring under the notice of Schools, Institutions, and bathing Authorities the importance of having a properly qualified and properly paid teacher".<sup>606</sup> Factors other than the ability to teach swimming were considered when awarding the Certificate, suggesting an interest in extending ASA monopoly and control as much as an interest in accepting professional teachers. Certificates were granted, upon application, "to such as are desirous and deemed worthy of obtaining them" and District Executives had to be "satisfied as to the character and antecedents of an applicant as well as to his ability as a professional teacher" before making a recommendation. In 1910, the reference to antecedents was deleted and candidates were required to pass both a theoretical and a practical examination. Theory was tested by demonstrating how to teach breaststroke, backstroke, and breathing techniques, while the practical emphasised style rather than speed in a variety of strokes including, for men only, the trudgen. There was no reference to the crawl stroke, which was beginning to dominate competitive swimming. In addition, all candidates had to pass the bronze medallion of the RLSS. By 1913, the total number of Certificates awarded had risen to 383 and the scope was widened in 1919 to make it the Amateur or Professional Certificate.<sup>607</sup>

Despite this certification process, the amateur ethos remained the dominant creed among ASA officials, club committees, and club members. The amateur laws continued to exclude professional coaches from official positions and decision-making processes within the governing body, despite the fact that much of the progress in the competitive aspects of the sport had been directly attributable to their efforts. This marginalisation had a debilitating effect on the development of swimming in Britain, especially when compared with the advances made in

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<sup>605</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 29 April 1899; 2 September 1899; *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Report*, 1899. Considered 24 March 1899.

<sup>606</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 12 May 1900. Miss Muriel Austin, 23, Sheen Road, Richmond, was the first female recipient. Certificate number 15; Census Returns 1901. (674/89/20). Muriel Austin b. 1878 Ryde Isle of Wight. Daughter of Frederick Austin Watchmaker/Jeweller. Swimming Instructress; *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Report*, 1902.

<sup>607</sup> Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 8; Keil, I. and Wix, D. (1996). *In the Swim: The Amateur Swimming Association from 1869 to 1994*, Loughborough: Swimming Times p. 25.

America, where career coaches were recognised as an integral part of the swimming environment.

The increasing international successes of American swimmers were driven by the structures created to encourage competition, which not only served to develop the new crawl stroke but also generated public interest in swimming. This was reflected in the building of an increasing number of pools and in the hiring of professional coaches, who constantly evolved techniques to improve performance. Athletic clubs initially provided organised competition and supported the coaches, although swimming subsequently became an important sport in educational settings, increasing the employment possibilities for professionals like Matt Mann. Mann was born in Yorkshire in 1884, where he swam for Leeds Swimming Club until he was seventeen. After that, he competed for the Ravensbourne Club in London before emigrating to Canada, aged twenty-one, moving to America the following year to begin his coaching career in Buffalo. After coaching both the Central High School team and the Lafayette High School team, Mann went to the University of Syracuse to take charge of the new pool opened there in 1909. In 1910, he was appointed swimming instructor at the Brookline (Massachusetts) Municipal Pool, the first city-owned pool in America. In addition to his duties at Brookline, Mann coached Harvard University and the Naval Academy at Annapolis. In 1916, he went to the New York Athletic Club and taught the swimming teams of the Lawrenceville School, the Polytechnical School of Brooklyn, and the Berkeley Irving School of New City, as well as spending three nights a week coaching Yale. After coaching the Duluth Boat Club, he moved on to Detroit Athletic Club in 1919 and subsequently, in 1925, to the University of Michigan where the swimming team became National Collegiate Champions ten times in thirteen years. Many of Mann's swimmers and assistants became college swimming coaches, including Frank Wall at New York, Charles McCaffree at Iowa, Dick Papenguth at Purdue, Tex Robinson at Texas, Ben Grady at Pittsburgh, and Ed Slezak, coach at Notre Dame.<sup>608</sup>

Contrast Mann's coaching opportunities, experiences, and legacy, with those of leading English amateur coach, H. E. Annison.

As a schoolboy he became famous, and was almost at once among the national honours. He has represented Great England in two Olympic Games, has held every English championship title from 100 yards to one mile (inclusive); was Captain of the Otter S.C. water polo team; was a water polo international, and later took teams to Belgium, France, Italy, and Spain. His

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<sup>608</sup> Mann, M. and Fries, C. (1940). *Swimming: The Easy Way*, New York: Prentice-Hall pp. vii-xiii.

legislative work has revealed his thoughtfulness and experience, and he has been a member of the Southern Counties Amateur Swimming Association Executive since 1920, and a member of the Amateur Swimming Association Council since 1923. His genius as an amateur coach has brought out some remarkable results, and his aptitude for mass coaching is shown in the arrangement of the practice exercises that he has adopted, which will be invaluable to teachers of swimming in schools.<sup>609</sup>

For Annison, coaching swimming was a hobby that he indulged alongside his involvement as an ASA official and administrator. For Mann, coaching swimming was his chosen profession and there was every incentive, given the available career opportunities, for him to develop and perfect techniques and training methods.

### *Physical Training and Conditioning*

Pluck, I have found, does much, but training does a great deal more. It is impossible for a man to accomplish either a long or a short distance swim in good time without systematic training.<sup>610</sup>

Irrespective of background and situation, coaching concerns always revolved around the essential elements of swimming performance, namely physical conditioning, allied to racing strategy, and technical competence. Although amateur athletics and swimming competitions became structured contemporaneously, physical training methods evolved more slowly in swimming because swimmers found they could improve merely by refining their techniques. Swimmers often did very little training and practice swims were kept to moderate speeds so as not to interfere with maintaining good stroke mechanics and accurate timing. Training too hard might also cause "burn out", the symptoms of which were loss of weight, fatigue, extreme irritability, and drawn features. At the first sign of any of these a swimmer should "let up".<sup>611</sup>

Part of the amateur ideology was effortless achievement and hard physical training was considered more appropriate to a manual worker or to a professional than to a middle class sportsman, who would, ostensibly, be unwilling to spend hours in training. For ASA officials, the plebeian approach was best left to the Americans, particularly if it were to replicate traditional professional preparation methods. Duncan Billington, who had been excluded by the ASA, described the regimes of previous generations of trainers as "physical work and sweating, and vice-versa, until in almost every case the athlete was jaded to the extreme." When a swimmer

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<sup>609</sup> Annison, H. E. (1936). *Swimming*, London: Pitman and Sons. Preface.

<sup>610</sup> Holbein, M. A. (1905). *Swimming*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 57.

<sup>611</sup> Handley, L. De B. (1925). *Swimming and Watermanship*, New York: The Macmillan Company Handbooks pp. 55-57. First Published 1918.



agreed to a match he was "drenched with Glauber salts, in large doses, on alternate days, until the stomach was supposed to be sufficiently emptied". After this, "should there be any signs of feverishness or hardness about the region of the bowels, the additional misery of an emetic was forced upon him". At his training quarters he was supervised by a "severe trainer" who invariably,

...had a number of recipes by heart, to which he most religiously adhered, right or wrong, advancing as an unanswerable argument, that the man whom he had trained last had faithfully followed his instructions and won his race through this much-vaunted lasting power when the chances were, that had the learned empiric not been his attendant, the athlete would have won his race more easily.<sup>612</sup>

Webb's advice on training in 1875 reflected the gradually changing nature of physical preparation. While still believing in the concept of "internal fat" and recommending restraint on the drinking of fluids, an individual's training would be dictated by his particular constitution and much could be left to his "common sense".<sup>613</sup> According to Sinclair and Henry, traditional training methods had never been extensively employed by amateur swimmers, who generally eschewed the idea that race preparation necessarily relied on suffering a "fearful ordeal of almost prison work". They described the "common sense" rules that regulated amateur training now that the "system of wrecking and then rebuilding" had been abandoned by the more enlightened trainers, as a result of a better understanding of "natural laws". The main principles of training revolved around careful living, although "constitutional peculiarities" should be considered and attention paid to diet, where every man should suit his own tastes. Drugs should be avoided, unless medically prescribed, and the swimmer should "steadfastly set his face" against smoking, which affected the wind. "Grooming" was important and a rub down by an expert trainer was a key component of training.

At this stage, the training of the majority of swimmers consisted simply of a few ordinary practice swims before a race, although some men religiously trained through the season, "generally with marked improvement to their capabilities". Endurance needed to be developed first, then speed, and, with judicious training, a man could become a good all-rounder over distances from one hundred yards to a mile or more. The amount of water practice was regulated by "habits and social position" but men should be careful about practicing twice a day in case they got

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<sup>612</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 55.

<sup>613</sup> Webb, M. (1875). *The Art of Swimming*, Payne, A. G. (Ed.) London: Ward, Lock and Tyler pp. 55-58.

stale, in which case water sessions should be replaced with other forms of exercise. The swimmer should have some Indian club practice on rising, and then, after light refreshment, stroll gently to the baths for a swim of "a couple of hundred yards". A sharp walk home and a substantial breakfast would set the swimmer up for the day. In the evening, following a light tea and a walk to the baths, the swimmer was ready for a two or three hundred yards "spin" for endurance, then a rest, during which the body was well rubbed all over, and a fifty yards' sprint against the watch, the "most trustworthy critic of all". Speed training should not be overdone and amateurs preparing for a hundred yards race would find training "spins" of about thirty yards at top speed, a rub down, and then another sprint of fifty yards, to be quite sufficient. Occasionally the full distance should be swum against the watch, or two hundred yards covered at a moderate pace, but the main work should normally be restricted to swims under race distance.<sup>614</sup>

There was an increasing amount of advice available to amateurs at the turn of the century. In 1899, J. A. Jarvis, amateur champion from a quarter mile upwards, described his training as entering the water once or twice a day, going for long walks, and having plenty of massage treatment. He had always been a non-smoker, had never taken anything except port wine as a stimulant, and kept regular hours.<sup>615</sup> Holbein advised sprint swimmers not to cycle, and those under thirteen stone against distance swimming, advocated giving up alcohol and tobacco, eating "just what you require and know to be good for you", keeping hair short to avoid colds, and practicing in one's racing costume. He outlined his own training methods, starting in March with long walks interspersed with swims,

...three times a week. On Monday, say, I swim for three hours, on Wednesday four hours, and on Saturday six...At first long, steady swims should be indulged in every day. If, however, it is found by the individual that he is feeling "done up," the number of practices should be at once reduced to half...For contests that exceed a third of a mile, the swimmer should traverse quite double the distance at least twice a week before the race, and on one occasion, at least, the course should be covered at top speed.<sup>616</sup>

The amount of flesh often carried by a professional swimmer was considered "no hindrance to his swimming at a great speed".<sup>617</sup> Jabez Wolffe, one of Holbein's long distance rivals, regarded swimming training as significantly different from other

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<sup>614</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. pp. 399-411.

<sup>615</sup> Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 51.

<sup>616</sup> Holbein, M. A. (1905). *Swimming*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 57.

<sup>617</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 14 October 1895 p. 3.

forms of athletic training precisely because swimmers needed to retain "valuable bonecovering". Wolffe's patented "Jappy" Grips, together with regular brisk walks, an occasional hot bath and plenty of massage with a good embrocation, would keep muscles soft and pliable. Strict training should begin twelve weeks before a competition, starting with short distances and working up gradually to a little over the full course, swum at the same pace throughout, since "sprinting up", as in pedestrianism, was not feasible in swimming. Regularity of stroke, and strength of stroke, should be studied as much as speed. As the race drew near, practice should be taken twice a day, half the distance being covered in the morning and the whole course in the evening. Swimmers should engage a trainer, who would be in a better position to judge progress, would advise on the suitability of particular techniques, and would assess physical condition, "being able to detect any signs of staleness long before you realise their approach". As to diet, Wolffe ate little meat or vegetables but relied on eggs, fish, milk puddings, chicken, biscuits, and Oxo. Pastry and potatoes were best "left alone", and a man who confined himself to "honest roast...and plenty of green stuff won't go far wrong".<sup>618</sup> Wolffe attracted criticism in 1908 when, during a channel attempt, he was given doses of oxygen, which Holbein described as "unsportsmanlike".<sup>619</sup>

By the 1920s, coaches were confident that the "fallacies of old-fashioned training rules" had been "thoroughly exposed".<sup>620</sup> The "new mode of training" recognised that the same "class" of work would not suit everyone and that training should be "a process of building up, of general physical and moral edification, not a process of continuous exhaustion". The best years for training were between eighteen and twenty-four and the underpinning practice for both distance swimmers and sprinters was a combination of walking and deep breathing. Swimmers should begin with workloads that could be completed "with comfort and ease" and then gradually increase demands. Work should never be pushed to fatigue and there was no way of "hurrying training". If men wanted to swim well then they needed to swim in training, since no amount of "physical culture" would make a swimmer, and it was essential to acquire good style because swimmers would thereby learn to use their muscles appropriately and with minimum effort. Billington encouraged potential swimmers to evolve their own methods from observation and experimentation, extolling readers to "earn your own experience". Swimmers who

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<sup>618</sup> Wolffe, J. (1910). *The Text-Book of Swimming*, London: Ewart, Seymour and Co. pp. 52-59.

<sup>619</sup> Dimeo, P. (2007). *A History of Drug Use In Sport 1876-1976: Beyond Good and Evil*, London: Routledge p. 29.

<sup>620</sup> Barnes, G. (1922). *Swimming and Diving*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons p. 55.

thought for themselves, and relied on their own conclusions, were the ones who were most successful.<sup>621</sup>

### *Competition Advice*

Many authors shared their thoughts on other issues related to competitive swimming performance. There were always difficulties in judging what distance the swimmer was best suited for, and those without access to an experienced trainer were advised to swim alongside other swimmers and assess how they performed against those who seemed the best over each distance. They should also swim against the watch at the distances they believed to be their best. In assessing the ideal pace for racing, swimmers should remember to focus on acquiring style first and then pace would follow as a matter of course. Good pace judgment was "the most valuable asset of the fast swimmer" and a punishing sprint at any stage of a race was detrimental to overall performance. Many a good man had lost important events because he "cracked" after covering three-quarter distance and only experience would help eradicate this fault.<sup>622</sup>

Swimmers took little if any extra rest before a major competition, other than retiring earlier on the previous night, and training was often continued up to the day before a competition. Indeed, before a championship race, the swimmer was advised to arrange a special week of training. An early morning dip, breakfast, a walk, and then a swim, followed by dinner, a sleep, a special speed swim, tea, walk, and early bed, should be the programme each day, with a short speed swim taken on the morning of the race.<sup>623</sup> Other writers of this period assumed a similar class of readership and a concomitant lifestyle when discussing competition preparation.

If you are training for a short speed contest, do not tire yourself with work on the day of the race. For your training take gentle walks, never neglect your morning tub, and in addition take light dumb-bell exercise, an occasional hundred yards sprint each day, and, of course, the usual water practice...If you are going to race in a town a hundred miles from your home, get the train ride over a day prior to the contest. You will thus not be deprived of your sleep and consequent rest.<sup>624</sup>

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<sup>621</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 56.

<sup>622</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9; Holbein, M. A. (1905). *Swimming*, London: C. Arthur Pearson p. 13; Daniels, C. M., Johansson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding's Athletic Library Series, British Sports Publishing Co. p. 65; Sinclair, A. (1906). *Swimming and Life Saving*, London: Health and Strength p. 49.

<sup>623</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. p. 412.

<sup>624</sup> Holbein, M. A. (1905). *Swimming*, London: C. Arthur Pearson pp. 58-59.

For some amateurs, an excessive interest in competition was unhealthy. The real focus of amateur sport should be "healthy exercise for sport's sake", not "pot-hunting", which was "an outrage on our common sense as sportsmen". All "enthusiastic votaries of the art" should constantly remind new swimmers of the values of a pastime that, if properly indulged in, would make them "healthier, brighter, and better men".<sup>625</sup> Comment on competition values consistently emphasised fair play and sportsmanship. Apparently, some fast swimmers tended to "lay back...and do all sorts of jockeying" by sprinting away from an opponent and then slowing down. This playing to the gallery was in bad taste and a man confident of victory should be enough of a sportsman not to try to "ridicule" his opponent. Other unsportsmanlike practices were prevalent, such as trying to "steal on the starter, and not a few take pride in being experts at it". Authors also advised against entering into noisy arguments with officials or challenging decisions with the use of "unparliamentary language". A "quiet, gentlemanly remonstrance will always be listened to, and if fair, probably heeded".<sup>626</sup> It seems that twenty years after establishing control of the sport the ASA still had some way to go to instil the total discipline and adherence to amateur values that its officials might have wished.

### *Technique*

Technique was always recognised as the essential component in swimming and the proliferation of championships during the second half of the nineteenth century encouraged swimmers and coaches to experiment with improving stroke efficiency for greater speed. Although there were no specific stroke events at the 1896 Olympics, where competitors relied on variations of breaststroke or trudgen, the range of individual events had been expanded by 1908 to the 100, 400, and 1500 metres freestyle, the 100 metres backstroke, and the 200 metres breaststroke.<sup>627</sup>

The breaststroke was the most commonly used competitive stroke in the early nineteenth century, by which time it had evolved a distinct pattern and standardised teaching methods had been developed. The sidestroke subsequently became popular but was soon modified to become the overarm sidestroke, where one arm was recovered above the water for increased arm speed. Carlile claims

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<sup>625</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. pp. 399-411.

<sup>626</sup> Daniels, C. M., Johannson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding's Athletic Library Series, British Sports Publishing Co. p. 65.

<sup>627</sup> *The Fourth Olympiad: The Official Report of The Olympic Games 1908*, Drawn up by Theodore Andrea Cooke, The British Olympic Association.

that during a visit to London in 1855 Australian C. W. Wallis demonstrated the stroke to Professor Beckwith, who subsequently used it to become champion of England. In a classic example of the transfer of knowledge, typical of the communities of practice associated with the craft nature of professional coaching at that time, Beckwith then taught it to Harry Gardner of Woolwich, who succeeded him as champion. William Wilson attributed the stroke's development to both Harry Gurr and Gardner, who were the first "who, by means of lifting one hand out of the water, carrying it in the air beyond the head, won any races of importance". For Wilson, these "clever exponents of the art" deserved praise for their introduction of "a style peculiar to, and only used by themselves." He also suggested, "W. Woodridge, the swimming-master of the Victoria Park Lake, was...the first teacher of this mode of swimming." Swimmers continued to experiment with all aspects of the stroke. J. A. Jarvis won many English championships with the use of what came to be known as the "Jarvis kick," and Sachs described Jarvis as the "first to discover that certain movements of the feet themselves were of definite assistance in giving power to the English side-overarm stroke and of improving its speed".<sup>628</sup>

On 11 August 1873, John Trudgen won the English 160 yards handicap with an unusual stroke. He remained flat on his chest and alternately swung each arm forward over the water, making one breaststroke kick with each arm cycle. His head was kept clear of the water, and his body lifted with each kick, causing progress to be marked by a series of jerks. Trudgen "created quite a sensation," although Watson noted that W. Payton had swum this stroke in a breaststroke race at Lambeth Baths on 8 September 1859 and been disqualified.<sup>629</sup> The sporadic propulsion of the trudgen stroke proved strenuous, so swimmers developed a modified version that would permit them to swim on their sides, if only for part of the stroke cycle, by replacing the breaststroke kick with a side scissor kick. Because of the constant change in body position and the resultant lack of

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<sup>628</sup> Carlile, F. (1963). *Forbes Carlile on Swimming*, London: Pelham p. 127; Wilson, W. (1883). *The Swimming Instructor: A Treatise on the Arts of Swimming and Diving*, London: H. Cox pp. 51-52; Sachs, F. (1912). *The Complete Swimmer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 139-140.

<sup>629</sup> Sachs, F. (1912). *The Complete Swimmer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 144-145; Watson, R. (1899). *Comparative Generations*, In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 18 also observed that Trudgen had been one of the most perfect and at the same time one of the slowest breast stroke swimmers in England, as demonstrated in his race with Frederick Beckwith at the Westward Ho Baths; Census Returns 1881-1901. Robert Patrick Watson 1881 (338/17/11), 1891 (99/102/19), 1901 (493/74/8). GRO (1916/death/June/Lambeth/1d/245). Watson, born in Manchester, was a *journalist*, aged 30, in St. George the Martyr, London in 1881. In the 1891 census, Robert was shown as *teacher of swimming*, as was Amelia Watson. The 52-year-old Robert was living in Camberwell in 1901 and had returned to his occupation as *journalist*. He died in Lambeth in 1916, aged 68.

continuity, the stroke was not entirely successful but it provided, along with other antecedents, the foundations for the evolution of the crawl stroke.

The Cavill family developed the crawl in Australia and were responsible for its worldwide adoption. London-born Professor Frederick Cavill twice failed to swim the Channel and he emigrated to Australia in 1879, establishing baths at Lavender Bay in Sydney where he trained competitive swimmers, including his sons, three of whom, Sydney, Arthur, and Dick, were integral to the development of the crawl. Another son, Percy, broke a number of records in England during 1897 and conducted a long running dispute with fellow professional, Tyers, ostensibly over the Englishman's refusal to race him.<sup>630</sup> In the tradition of the sharing and developing of craft knowledge, the crawl stroke emerged from the observation of local practices and a willingness to experiment and innovate, driven by a desire for competitive success. The Cavills adopted a particular local kicking pattern and experimented with finding an arm action to accompany it. In his first public outing, Dick reached halfway five yards ahead of the field and, although he was subsequently overtaken, this performance gave coaches an insight into the stroke's value.<sup>631</sup> In 1902, Dick swam 58.6 seconds in a 100 yards handicap race at Hornsey Road Baths, London, although the ASA committee decided "with regret" that, since this was not a scratch race, a record could not be approved.<sup>632</sup>

The Australian crawl brought both increased speed and an improved understanding of the fundamentals underpinning stroke technique, although Australia rapidly lost its advantage as American coaches improved the stroke efficiency so that it could be used for longer distances with greater economy of effort.<sup>633</sup> According to Handley, Frank Sullivan, a Chicago coach, combined the crawl with some features of the trudgen to make it useful for distances over 100 yards.<sup>634</sup> Other reports credit Handley, an amateur coach who had been on the 1904 Olympic team, as having influenced the development of the stroke.<sup>635</sup> Either way, the leg action was increased from four to six beats to each arm cycle while a system of "underwater

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<sup>630</sup> *The Manchester Guardian* 27 September 1897 p. 3; Jack Tyers, of Manchester Osborne SC, won the 1896 ASA 100 yards in 1 minute 1.4 secs and then turned professional in 1897.

<sup>631</sup> Sullivan, F. J. (1927). *The Science of Swimming*, New York: American Sports Publishing pp. 37-38. Sydney St Leonards, the fifth Cavill son, became a swimming coach in the United States where for twenty-five years he trained numerous champions. He went to San Francisco, California, in 1903 to coach at the Olympic Club.

<sup>632</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 20 December 1902.

<sup>633</sup> Weissmuller, J. and Bush, C. A. (1930). *Swimming the American Crawl*, London: Putnam.

<sup>634</sup> Handley, L. deB. (1914). The Swimming Stroke of the Future, *Outing* LXIV (1) April pp. 99, 103.

<sup>635</sup> Costa, M. (2000). *Aileen Riggan: An Olympian's Oral History*, Ed. Carmen E. Rivera, The Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles July pp. 2-3.

breathing" was developed in which the swimmer raised his head forward for air which he trickled out underwater. Later it was found that breathing could be further improved by turning the face to the side for inhalation. A pigeon-toed position of the feet was introduced, to present a greater surface area to the water during the kick, and a brief relaxation period for the arms was incorporated during the recovery phase of the arm. This revised stroke was called the "American crawl" and its effectiveness soon became evident. In 1906, Charles M. Daniels lowered the 100 yards record to 55.4 seconds, "Duke" Kahanamoku reduced this to 54.6 in 1913 and, in 1923, Johnny Weissmuller swam 100 yards in 52.8 seconds. Between them, these men won the 100 metres freestyle at five consecutive Olympics.<sup>636</sup>

Although the crawl was recognised in America and Australia as being much faster than other strokes, it was certainly not accepted with acclaim in England where swimmers were "satisfied to carry on with the strokes that had held good for so long."<sup>637</sup> Experienced swimmers like Wolffe remained cautious since it was still possible that the trudgen might "undergo some other slight variation" which would make it faster than the crawl. Like many contemporaries, he thought that the rolling inherent in crawl strokes could not "fail to act as a check on any swimmer's movements", although the American crawl developed a quicker leg action and continual propulsion, which minimised vertical actions of the body, thereby reducing water resistance and the tendency to roll.<sup>638</sup>

Few English swimmers could use the crawl to complete a 100 yards race and those who employed the stroke normally swam trudgen for most of the distance, switching to the crawl only for the finish. Daniels and his colleagues argued that the trudgen was the least tiring stroke, "when its relative speed is considered", and that it was useful for any distance. They favoured "a judicious alternating of the breast and the trudgeon" which would cause less fatigue and "give better results than the use of the under- and over-arm side strokes."<sup>639</sup> The debate over fatigue

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<sup>636</sup> Cureton, T. K. (1934). *How to Teach Swimming and Diving, Volumes 1 and 2*, New York: Associated Press p. 98; Armbruster, D. A. (1941). *Competitive Swimming and Diving*, London: Nicholas Kaye Ltd; Gordon, I. (2003). *The Magic Minute, Swimming March*. Rob Derbyshire became the first Briton to break the one-minute barrier on 7 September 1907 at Victoria Baths, Manchester, but he was beaten by American Charlie Daniels, who swam a world record of 55.4sec using the crawl. In 1913 Englishman Harold Annison (coached by Walter Brickett) won the ASA title using the crawl but failed to break the minute.

<sup>637</sup> Annison, H. E. (1936). *Swimming*, London: Pitman and Sons p. 6.

<sup>638</sup> Wolffe, J. (1910). *The Text-Book of Swimming*, London: Ewart, Seymour and Co. pp. 32-38.

<sup>639</sup> Daniels, C. M., Johannson, H. and Sinclair, A. (1907). *How to Swim and Save Life*, Spalding's Athletic Library Series, British Sports Publishing Co. p. 31.



remained current in England, even after the rest of the swimming world had adopted the crawl unreservedly.

"Yes, yes," said the wiseacres—shaking their heads much as the previous generation of wiseacres had shaken their heads over the "Trudgen"—"a wonderfully fast stroke, no doubt, but too exhausting, my dear sir—too gruelling altogether for anything beyond the very short distances"<sup>640</sup>

There were also those who regretted that elegance was no longer considered in the development of new swimming strokes. Sachs had read that it was,

...considered incorrect to splash when executing the proper sidestroke, and I am wondering what its inventor would say today of the double over-arm and the crawl racers. Elegant? -No. Speedy? -Yes. Personally, I think that the splash and flurry that accompany the man who swims 100 yards in less than a minute are far more exhilarating than the undoubted attractions of a stately and polished sidestroke.<sup>641</sup>

These concerns about fatigue and elegance within the English swimming fraternity meant that, at a time when Weissmuller was establishing world records with the American crawl, many English swimmers, teachers, and administrators, were still firmly welded to the use of the trudgen for competitive performance. In reviewing the 1924 Olympics, where all the sprinters, and the first three in each of the distance events, utilised forms of the crawl, Billington recalled that swimmers using the trudgen "were left far in the rear". His solution was to scrap this stroke, which was "fast becoming obsolete", and he urged the swimming community to abandon "the conservative tradition which we as a nation look upon as our natural inheritance." He castigated swimming experts who "still worship at the shrine of, and advocate the use of the trudgeon stroke" as showing "a mind sadly lacking in progressive spirit".<sup>642</sup>

One Englishman who was adopting the crawl, in addition to Walter Brickett, was Bill Howcroft of the Garston club in Liverpool. Howcroft, originally an athletics coach, was one of the first twentieth century coaches to systematically train schoolchildren, his "nursery" providing four of the six ladies on the 1920 Olympic team. Howcroft visited America to acquire "a thorough knowledge of the American

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<sup>640</sup> Collins, G. (1934). *The New Magic of Swimming*, London: William Heinemann p. 3.

<sup>641</sup> Sachs, F. (1912). *The Complete Swimmer*, London: Methuen and Co. p. 144.

<sup>642</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 49.

crawl", but his curiosity was not replicated elsewhere.<sup>643</sup> While the competitive culture and coaching structure of American swimming drove the development and adoption of the crawl, the fastest stroke yet devised, the ASA insisted on retaining the trudgen, both within its teacher certification structure and in its educational material. Part of this intransigence was the traditionalism of officials proud of the English position as initiators of organised swimming and resentful of foreign developments, especially if they emanated from America. There remained a belief in elegance, success without trying, faith in the primacy of the English system, and a distrust of professional coaching. Amateur philosophy and values had underpinned the entrenchment of the ASA, still only forty years old at the time of Howcroft's initiatives, and the amateur ethos appears to have survived intact.

### *British International Swimming Performance*

When competitive swimming spread internationally, other countries generally adopted both the constitutional formula designed by English swimming officials and their definition of amateurism. With the rebirth of the Olympic movement, universally accepted rules became an imperative, and, on 19 July 1908, George Hearn, president of the ASA, used the opportunity afforded by the Games to form the Federation Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA), referred to in early ASA handbooks as the International Amateur Swimming Association. Based on the model of the English ASA, the objectives of the organisation were to establish rules for all international swimming, diving, and water polo competitions, to verify and publish World Records, and to direct Olympic swimming competitions. The eight national federations involved, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, and Sweden, each adopted FINA rules and in Paris on 1 August 1909, these laws were confirmed.<sup>644</sup>

Even before the creation of FINA, there was growing unease about the comparative state of English swimming. In 1902, Australian swimmers had competed successfully in the ASA Championships and competitors subsequently arrived from America, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, and France, all using the crawl stroke to great effect "whilst our swimmers still relied on the trudgen".<sup>645</sup> In the 1905 ASA 100 yards championship, Hungarian Zoltane Halmai beat Derbyshire from Manchester and Radmilovic from Cardiff in fifty-nine seconds, under the British Amateur

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<sup>643</sup> Gordon, I. (2003). How the First World War affected British Swimmers and their Sport, *Swimming* November p. 25.

<sup>644</sup> F.I.N.A. <http://fina.org/hist> (accessed 3 June 2005); *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 1908.

<sup>645</sup> Annison, H. E. (1936). *Swimming*, London: Pitman and Sons p. 7.

record.<sup>646</sup> As international competitions developed, concern over the state of English swimming escalated. Billington bemoaned the status of English swimming in the 1920s saying, "it is a matter of great regret to me to see the backward position we now hold in the swimming world of to-day."<sup>647</sup> This theme of international failure was picked up by a number of commentators during the 1930s. Shimmin pointed out that although English swimmers were swimming as fast as ever they were being left "hopelessly behind" because of advances being made in America, Europe, and Asia. English male swimmers no longer held any records and other nations were demonstrating "greater earnestness, determination and application." The chief reason for these failures was the continuing use of strokes "which our fathers developed" while overseas swimmers had experimented with technique and evolved strokes which resulted in "greater progress for less expenditure of energy."<sup>648</sup> For Collins, the level of technique in Britain was "a great deal farther below championship form in swimming than in other sports where coaching pertains" and, even in clubs where regular coaching was provided with the specific purpose of preparing swimmers for championships, there was "a general level of moderate performance." England had led the world before the days of the crawl but an English victory at the Olympics now "would set the eyebrows of the world lifting in surprise." Collins blamed the ASA, for their insistence on standardised stroke teaching, and the coaches, for following this lead.

Probably the arch-cause is the fallacy of the "standard style"...where swimmers vary so much at the outset, it seems improbable that the best results will be achieved by endeavouring to inculcate one uniform style into all...one finds the fallacy of standardisation exercising its vicious influence everywhere. Coaches—even men of experience and reputation—have virtually wasted years of their own and their pupils' time by endeavouring to force the "standard style."<sup>649</sup>

In his review of Olympic performances, Annison observed how quickly Britain had lost its status as a world leader. The London Games had given the first indication that "Britain's supremacy was in danger" while at Stockholm in 1912 Britain "met her Waterloo", being thoroughly beaten by those using the crawl strokes. Failures followed at Antwerp in 1920 and Paris in 1924 where, in relation to the breaststroke

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<sup>646</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 15 August 1905 p. 14.

<sup>647</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. p. 50.

<sup>648</sup> Shimmin, W. R. (1931). *Swimming for Schoolboys*, London: The National Association of Schoolmasters p. 7.

<sup>649</sup> Collins, G. (1934). *The New Magic of Swimming*, London: William Heinemann pp. 10-15.

events, "It was disappointing to realise that other nations could beat our men at this stroke, which has not changed since the days of our grandfathers".<sup>650</sup>

Along with breaststroke, water polo had been regarded, at least in England, as an English speciality. The development of water polo over the fifty years between 1880 and 1930 provides a cameo of how British sports in general were formulated, spread worldwide, and then suffered international defeats. In a small publication on the sport in 1930, contributors struggled to come to terms with the tension between wanting to succeed and retaining the amateur spirit. On the British origins of the game, they noted that the ASA had quickly claimed jurisdiction over the sport and appointed a committee in 1888 to revise the rules. Like others before it the game quickly spread abroad, to France, Germany, Hungary, Belgium, Sweden, and America, although British administrators retained a remarkable degree of hegemony. When the International Water Polo Board was formed in 1929, it consisted of four representatives from Britain and four from FINA and all subsequent international and other matches were played under the rules "as amended by that body" which came into force from 1 January 1930. This influence in the committee rooms did not reflect British performance levels in the pool. At Paris, in 1924, Britain had suffered her first Olympic defeat, by the Hungarians, and the Americans also beat the British at Harrow in 1924, by proving to be the "speedier team", although the authors emphasised that this did not rank as an international event. England "put up a much better show" in the 1928 Games by reaching the semi-final, where they were defeated by Germany, the eventual winners. In the European games at Budapest in 1929, involving Hungary, Sweden, Germany, Belgium, France, and England, "the last named occupied the sixth position, which, it is to be hoped, will be considerably improved in the series to be held at Nuremberg in 1930."<sup>651</sup>

The reasons offered for this rapid decline were twofold. At the Olympics, and in most international matches on the Continent, the game was played in "deep, open water, and consequently our British teams are handicapped by having to play under conditions in which they have not practised."<sup>652</sup> Secondly, foreign teams were "absolutely under the control of their managers, train strictly and take the game

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<sup>650</sup> Annison, H. E. (1936). *Swimming*, London: Pitman and Sons p. 9.

<sup>651</sup> Shephard, D. A. C. (1930). *Water Polo: The Game and the Rules Explained*, London: Chapman and Hall pp. 7-9.

<sup>652</sup> Fern, H. E. (1930). Introduction, In Shephard, D. A. C. (1930). *Water Polo: The Game and the Rules Explained*, London: Chapman and Hall.

seriously—we do not!”<sup>653</sup> The legacy of amateur values resonated in reminders to readers to remember that the losing side deserved as much applause as the winners, “if they have played a clean game-it being more satisfactory to lose to a better team than to win by foul tactics”.<sup>654</sup>

As English international swimming performance declined, American swimming continued in the ascendancy. By the third FINA conference in 1910, fifteen nations were affiliated and, although each country assimilated ASA practices and values, they altered them according to their own unique circumstances. America initially adopted the English model but the varying histories, societal contexts, and networks of social relationships in these disparate cultures resulted in differences in the way that model was interpreted. Organised swimming competitions started in 1876 at the New York Athletic Club and similar urban, private-membership clubs subsequently provided employment for professional swimming coaches, while college swimming, which began with a Yale, Pennsylvania, and Columbia meet in 1896, further expanded career opportunities. By 1905, the “winning at sports builds character” idea, which was widely accepted in American society, was inextricably linked to America’s domination of world swimming.

### *Exclusion and Decline*

It is tempting to view the development of organised swimming in this period from a perspective of cause and effect since there appears to be a linear connection between the growing regulation of the sport, directed by a hegemonic ASA, the resultant exclusion of professional swimmers and coaches, and the rapid decline in British international competitiveness. Although this appears a compelling argument, to restrict analysis in this way would be to ignore the diversity of the processes at work.

While the individuals concerned with the expansion of the ASA, and its predecessors, had a strong allegiance to the amateur ethos, and exploited their position to promote this perspective, this was not done in an exclusively one-dimensional manner. These organisations originally struggled to establish themselves and officials relied initially on persuasion to encourage individuals and clubs to adopt their philosophy. It has been argued that the notion of amateurism was created to exclude professionals, and thus avoid competitive comparison, but

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<sup>653</sup> Shephard, D. A. C. (1930). *Water Polo: The Game and the Rules Explained*, Chapman and Hall pp. 8-9.

<sup>654</sup> Emery, W. G. (1930). Foreword, In Shephard, D. A. C. (1930). *Water Polo: The Game and the Rules Explained*, London: Chapman and Hall.

this ignores the obligation felt by those in higher social positions to give leadership to the lower classes and the ASA was but one example of the organisations through which this was implemented. Without a broad consensus of agreement, resulting from shared values and practices, amateur officials would have been unable to develop the ASA to the extent that its power had become virtually unchallenged within twenty years. In this respect the professionals actually contributed to the process of centralisation and, thereby, to their own demise. There was ample opportunity, in the period between formation and entrenchment, for professional interests to reject the ethos of those associated with the ASA and establish a durable organisation of their own. Their failure, or unwillingness, to provide a viable alternative says much about the common values held by both amateurs and professionals, who, in their role as teachers, always supported arguments for swimming which centred on its contributions to life saving and to health. Swimming professors also lost credibility during these decades and, by moving towards entertainment in the form of swimming feats and exhibitions, they further distanced themselves from the main body of the sport.

This strengthening of the ASA position was marked by an increasing use of coercion and, by 1900, with the power balance firmly in their favour, officials were rigorously enforcing ASA laws. In this, they were applying the principles of their membership and reflecting the views of their social class with regard to the notion of amateurism. Sinclair and Henry had observed with satisfaction in 1893 that the interest increasingly being shown in swimming by public schoolboys had raised the tone of amateur organisations by introducing into the more prominent clubs men "fully imbued with the true principles of amateurism". Unlike the AAA, which had been started by university men, and afterwards admitted "all and sundry", the ASA had only recently "gained the adherence of the better-class clubs".<sup>655</sup>

As organisers had intended, the establishment of the ASA resulted in the standardisation of the sport and the purification of swimming into an amateur activity, although there were also unintended consequences, emanating from the ideological exclusion of professionals, which manifested themselves in the international arena. Although the purging of professionals from the amateur ranks was hailed as a victory, it seems that it had been at the cost of the international competitiveness of British swimming. Billington pointed out that, before he had been excluded from amateur swimming, "the mile swimming championship, the

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<sup>655</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. p. 355.

blue riband of the whole swimming world had never left the shores of Great Britain".<sup>656</sup> By 1912, the lead that England had held at the end of the nineteenth century had disappeared and, from that period of innovation, English swimming had moved into a period of conservatism and stagnation. Twenty-five years after the rest of the world had taken to the crawl stroke English swimmers were persevering with outdated swimming techniques. Professors of swimming had been marginalised and subordinated while their obsession with improving speed had been supplanted by amateur values of health, fitness, and participation. The emphasis now was on increasing participation, retaining the breaststroke, because of its lifesaving connotations, and protecting amateur ideals. Although one consequence of the amateur approach may have been a decline in international fortunes the main intention, which was to express a collective view of existing social norms and values within a well organised environment, had been achieved and within a relatively short period of time.

This is not to imply that ASA members were entirely unconcerned about international swimming. Indeed, their reaction to performances at Stockholm in 1912, where American, Canadian, and German men won the individual gold medals<sup>657</sup>, suggests that, like their colleagues in athletics, they were concerned enough to propose some remedial structures before 1916. The report of the selection committee praised the female swimmers and the water polo team but expressed reservations about some of the swimming team and proposed a later selection date for future games to ensure competitors were fully fit. At an ASA committee meeting in October, this report was rejected and it was resolved instead that a sub-committee be appointed to "report on causes of our failure and draw up a scheme by which we may...improve our chances in Berlin in 1916".<sup>658</sup> During 1913, the ASA planned how it might use any money raised from the ongoing Olympic Games appeal. The main points in the scheme, unanimously adopted at the AGM, were to carry out an audit of promising swimmers, who would be tested and "have particular attention paid to them", conduct time trials in each of the five ASA districts, and institute a series of Olympic Challenge cups over each Olympic distance. The cornerstone of the scheme was the proposed appointment of professional instructors for twenty-five weeks during the summer, three for the

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<sup>656</sup> Billington, D. (1926). *How to Become a Good Swimmer*, London: Hutchinson and Co. pp. 49-50.

<sup>657</sup> Swedish Olympic Committee. Bergvall, E. (Ed.) (1913). *The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, Trans. Adams-Ray, E. Stockholm Wahlstrom and Widstrand p. 750.

<sup>658</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 14 October 1912 p. 14; *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 13 October 1912.

crawl stroke, two for distance, and one each for breast and back, at an estimated cost of £1,000. The advisability of winter training for specially selected candidates was also considered.<sup>659</sup>

It might be thought that the ASA, as the first national swimming governing body, would have had an advantage over other countries, in terms of organisation and performance. In fact, the primacy of the ASA in this area probably militated against international success since it led to a degree of intransigence and arrogance among both officials and amateur participants. While the devastation of the Great War was a contributory factor to the subsequent failures of English swimmers, American coaches and swimmers had already signposted the future. In America, where a climate of competition was regarded positively, the framework around which the sport developed was radically different from the English original. American professional coaches were openly valued and encouraged to be creative and innovative in both stroke development and training. In contrast, the peculiarly English attitudes concerning professional coaching need to be understood in the context of the prevailing social climate and the social background of those individuals who established and sustained the ASA at the turn of the twentieth century. To these individuals the purification of the sport from the debilitating effects of professionalism was paramount. Their crusade against professionalism entrenched these administrators in a distrust of coaching, of training, and of new initiatives in stroke development. As the crawl eclipsed the trudge in swimming speed, ASA officials maintained a faith in the English stroke and regarded American and Australian developments with some disdain. A similar protectionism surrounded the breaststroke, considered as the most important stroke because it was critical for lifesaving. When the supremacy of the crawl over the trudge was finally conceded, ASA officials began to regard the breaststroke as their own. Unlike in America, Australia and Europe, where the crawl eventually became the first stroke taught to beginners, the ASA promoted breaststroke as the primary teaching stroke for the next sixty years. It is probably no coincidence that the isolated examples of British male swimming success during that period, David Wilkie, Duncan Goodhew, Adrian Morehouse, and Nick Gillingham, were all breaststroke swimmers.

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<sup>659</sup> *The Times*, 2 September 1913 p. 11; 27 September 1913 p. 10; 16 January 1914 p. 55. As the fund was wound down, £600 went to the ASA for training purposes; See also *Swimming*, November 2003. How the First World War Affected British Swimmers and their Sport. Similar initiatives followed the lack of British success at the 1920 Antwerp Olympics when a fund was launched to aid Olympic training and preparation with local organisers in each district. In 1922, some £300 was spent on specialist coaches notably R. A. Crawshaw for breaststroke and Fred Unwin for backstroke. Unwin taught Elizabeth II to swim.



## Chapter 6. The "Beckwith Frogs" – A Nineteenth Century Coaching Life.

Heroes at other sports have reigned and been duly deposed, chiefly by the grim usurper Death, but the star of the Beckwiths shines as brightly as ever. Through being connected with swimming the fame of the Beckwiths has gone far beyond the world of sport, for swimming is properly regarded by very many, and some day may be looked upon by all, as being as necessary an accomplishment as reading and writing.<sup>660</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, the habitus and experiences of professional coaches altered as the divide between their own versions of sport and those of amateur controlled national governing bodies became ever more accentuated. Sculling, pedestrianism, and swimming, had all developed practices of competition suited to the gambling and cash prizes associated with professionalism, but increasing structural exclusion forced artisan coaches to seek alternative ways of supplementing their income. As a result, some coaches chose to expand their activities into various aspects of the Victorian leisure milieu, especially those related to the entertainment industry. This was particularly true of professors of swimming, or natation, who rarely had the opportunities afforded to their counterparts in pedestrianism, prizefighting, and rowing, since the number of competitors and professional competitions were, in general, much more restricted. Professionals were "too seldom seen in our events and in fact we have hardly enough of them". An "infusion of the betting element" would improve the sport's status and ensure that "our professionals were better provided".<sup>661</sup> Compared to other career choices made during the Victorian period, professional swimming, and indeed professional sport in general, was essentially a minor and intermittent activity. It certainly did not have the career potential of music where the number of teachers in England and Wales almost doubled to 47,000 between 1881 and 1911.<sup>662</sup> Competition from a variety of urban entertainments led many professional swimmers throughout the century to leave the country, often for either America or

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<sup>660</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 15 March 1890 p. 7.

<sup>661</sup> *Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record*, 16 August 1873 1 (14) p. 1; 23 August 1873 1 (16) p. 2.

<sup>662</sup> Lowerson, J. (2004). Sport and British Middle-Class Culture: Some Issues of Representation and Identity before 1940, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21 (1) pp. 38-43; The 1881 census returns for Lambeth show over 200 music teachers and more than 160 professors of music. There were as many individuals giving their occupations as bird fanciers or dealers (6) as there were earning their living through sport. Leaving aside "billiard markers" there was one cricketer, one professional chess player, and one professor of billiards, plus Frederick, Charles and Agnes Beckwith.

Australia, an exodus which further reduced the number of professionals available for racing and exhibitions.<sup>663</sup>

Although it was often bracketed with rowing and sculling under "Aquatics", swimming never established the social cachet associated with rowing. In addition, unlike professional scullers, who generally earned their living as watermen, professional swimmers had to be taught techniques and were unable to earn a living and train simultaneously. On the other hand, this need for tuition meant that there were always opportunities to supplement incomes by teaching and training others, opportunities which amplified as the number of facilities expanded and the demand for swimming lessons increased. The widespread practice of only allowing bath supervisors to teach swimming meant that many professionals found employment in this role or as a swimming master. Harry Parker's appointment as swimming master at London Baths, Golden Lane, was "generally received with satisfaction and if he prospers in proportion to his ability he will ere long amass a little fortune."<sup>664</sup>

Such a career move would not normally result in a "fortune". In Liverpool, the weekly wage of a bath supervisor in 1856 was forty shillings and for a male bath attendant it was twenty-four shillings, although many were laid off during winter closures. In 1880, the Manchester Baths and Washhouses Committee appointed two swimming masters, for twenty shillings a week, to provide free instruction in the corporation baths from 1 p.m. to 8.30 p.m., although they were allowed to teach private pupils each morning. When the Portsmouth Club advertised in 1884

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<sup>663</sup> Perhaps the most well known permanent export was Frederick Cavill; see also *The Penny Illustrated*, 9 July 1870 p. 11. In September 1870 Harry Gurr, "the invincible river racer, the swiftest of British swimmers" was expected home from the America, when "the pretensions of other experts to any champion title will possibly be put to the proof by the "flying fish".

<sup>664</sup> *Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record*, 10 May 1873 1 (1) p. 2; Census Returns 1871-1901. Henry and Emily 1871 (393/11/16), 1881 (356/124/48). Harry 1891 (190/54/30), 1901 (2149/75/38). GRO (1849/birth/December/St.Lukes/2/303). Henry (Harry) Parker was born in 1849 and, by 1871, he was a *trunk maker* in Clerkenwell, living with ten year old sister, Emily, who subsequently performed in his aquatic entertainments when he became supervisor at the Barbican Baths in London. Ten years later Henry was a *professor of swimming* and Emily was a *teacher of swimming*. Aged 42, and living in West Hackney, Henry was a *professional (sic) swimmer* in 1891 but he had moved to Ilfracombe by 1901 where he was the *lessee and manager of a bathing establishment*. Writing in Newman's (1899) *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers' Album* pp. 22-25, Watson said that until J. B. Johnson beat him at the Welsh Harp, Hendon, 3 June 1871, Parker was "second to none". "Little Parker" swam against Harry Gurr in the Thames in 1865, and subsequently won boys' races. Races against Morris included the German Gymnastic Cup competitions, which became Parker's property in 1870. For several years, he won the Alliance Club's captaincy, and consistently swam second, to Johnson or E. T. Jones, for the championship. Parker won the Amateur Championship Cup outright in 1872. His first professional race for £50 resulted in a win over H. G. Dunlop, of Manchester, at Wenlock Baths, 28 October 1872.

for a female attendant who was able to swim and instruct they were offering fifteen shillings a week for 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. each day, 2 p.m. on Saturdays with Sundays free. Male and female attendants, like swimming instructors, normally attended bathers of their own sex although women employed as attendants at Dulwich Baths from June 1892 were paid less than men. Mrs Mary Anderson was hired for twenty shillings a week, while William Sanderson received twenty-five shillings per week.<sup>665</sup>

Professionals were often recruited as club coaches, and, by 1870, most swimming clubs had a professional swimmer attached to them, normally "one of the baths attendants who teaches swimming to beginners and coaches aspirants after prizes in that extraordinary mode of rapid swimming adapted by the London aquatic athletes".<sup>666</sup> The creation of clubs accelerated after the 1878 Public Baths and Washhouses Act, which encouraged Public Baths Committees to give assistance to clubs, and facilities often accommodated several clubs. In London, both Amateur and Serpentine Swimming Clubs met at the St. George's Baths and Washhouses, while the St. Pancras Public Baths and Washhouses hosted Camden, Regent, St. Pancras, West London, and Excelsior Swimming Clubs.<sup>667</sup>

Professional swimmers, having established their swimming prowess by attaining a "championship", often used their reputations to establish themselves as "Professors". What distinguished professors from other swimming teachers was the breadth and variety of their activities, which included teaching, competing, performing swimming feats and displays, as well as coaching promising individuals, recruited, in the tradition of craftsmen coaches, from within the family or from the locale of the baths. The trajectory of each professor's career was dictated not only by their abilities, as swimmer, coach, and publicist, but also by the accessibility of appropriate facilities and ambitious coaches moved to where they could find the crowds, the swimming baths, and the competition, to support them. After beating all the "cracks" in Southern England by 1840, Frederick Edward Beckwith, born in

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<sup>665</sup> Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878, *The Sports Historian* 21 pp. 58-72; Love, C. (2007). Holborn, Lambeth and Manchester: Three Case Studies in Municipal Swimming Pool Provision, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) p. 635; *Swimming Notes*, 10 May 1884 13 p. 8; Bird, P. (1995). The Origins of Victorian Public Baths, with Special Reference to Dulwich Baths, *Local Historian* 25 pp. 149-150. A married couple were often employed as baths' superintendent and matron and lived above the baths. Typically the man would hire the staff and run the baths while his wife acted as money-taker. For comparison, in 1865 a coachman was paid about £40 a year, a valet £60. Singers at the *Canterbury Music Hall* c.1850 might get £20 a week.

<sup>666</sup> Dudgon, R. E. (1870). *Swimming Baths of London*, Henry Turner p. 23.

<sup>667</sup> Dickens, C. Jr. (1879). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, London: Charles Dickens; (1881). *Dickens's Dictionary of the Thames*, London: Charles Dickens; (1888). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, Moretonhampstead: Old House. Reprint 1993. Membership fees were generally ten to twelve shillings per annum although Camden S.C. charged two shillings per month.

Ramsgate on 16 December 1821, relocated to London, where the major swimming matches of the period invariably took place.<sup>668</sup> His subsequent career as a swimming coach and entrepreneur is a good example of the role of the organic intellectual in stimulating and sustaining interest in his sport locally, in his case in Lambeth, and of the interactions that took place between coach, family, and other connected individuals. His ability to establish himself in the historical record is indicated by the prominence of his name in the few academic papers that have considered nineteenth century professional swimming.<sup>669</sup>

### *Lambeth*

Moving to Lambeth was an astute decision for anyone intent on selling his sporting or entertainment skills to the public from 1830 onwards. Lambeth formed a compact area of about one-and-a-half miles in length and half a mile in breadth and its population rose from 139,325 in 1851 to 301,895 by 1901. In 1863, there were 2,354 marriages, 6,472 births and 3,756 deaths, of which 1,745 were aged under five, and only 59 were over eighty-five. The parish was adjacent to the Thames, being linked to Westminster by Waterloo, Hungerford, Westminster, Lambeth, and Vauxhall bridges, and within its boundaries were the Waterloo Road terminus and Vauxhall Bridge station, together with abundant facilities for river traffic.<sup>670</sup> Lambeth had a long history of public entertainments and numerous theatres and music halls existed by the 1850s, mainly producing spectacular or "sensational" performances. At *The Royal Victoria Palace Theatre*, "The lower orders rush there in mobs, and in shirt-sleeves applaud frantically, drink gingerbeer, munch apples, crack nuts, call the actors by their Christian names, and throw them orangepeel and apples by way of bouquets." By 1872, the *Surrey Theatre*, *Canterbury Music Hall*, *South London Music Hall*, *Bower Music Hall*, and *Astley's Royal Amphitheatre*, renowned for equestrian and gymnastic performances, were all operating, like the "Vic", within half a mile of Lambeth Baths.<sup>671</sup>

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<sup>668</sup> *The Era*, 4 June 1898 p. 18.

<sup>669</sup> See Terret, T. (1995). Professional Swimming in England before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1) pp. 18-32; Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878, *The Sports Historian* 21 pp. 58-72; Hayes, W. (2002). The Professional Swimmer, *The Sports Historian* 22 (2) pp. 119-148; Love, C. (2007). Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) pp. 603-619.

<sup>670</sup> Wilson, J. M. (1870-72). *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*; Like many densely populated urban working class areas death from disease, especially cholera, remained a problem. See, for example, *The Times*, 10 November 1866 p. 12.

<sup>671</sup> Centre for Metropolitan History (2006). Lambeth: Introduction and the Transpontine Theatres, *Old and New London: Volume 6* (1878), pp. 383-407 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report> (accessed 27 September 2006); Census Returns for 1881 show nearly 300 actors, dancers, and comedians, as well as over 80 acrobats, equestrians and other artistes residing in Lambeth.

## Lambeth Baths

London had public bathing facilities before the Public Baths and Washhouses Acts of 1846 and 1847, many of which were owned by private companies, although bathing at even the cheapest baths before 1842 was a luxury for the working classes.<sup>672</sup> The site of major swimming events remained the river, or other open water, despite an increase in indoor facilities which were considered "very unsatisfactory waters for important contests".<sup>673</sup> Races for the amateur championship originally took place in the Thames, from Putney to Hammersmith, although the event moved to Hendon in 1874, and the traditional professional championship course was two miles in the Thames, from Putney Aqueduct.<sup>674</sup> The first Lambeth baths, the privately owned National Tepid and Cold Swimming Baths at Marsh Gate, Westminster Road, hosted swimming races during 1836, as well as accommodating a range of other activities.<sup>675</sup> Grimwood, the celebrated Brighton billiard marker, played Jabez Hare for £20 a side there in 1836. In 1839, the baths were converted into a shooting gallery during the winter and a programme of "Old English National Sports" was advertised for December 1839. When the *Astley Amphitheatre* burnt down in 1841, the baths were converted into a temporary circus, opening under the title of *The Olympic Arena*.<sup>676</sup> The Baths also provided an alternative public arena for the prize ring after the "Tennis-court" was closed. The Pugilistic Association, formed from celebrated fighters, including Tom Cribb and Tom Spring, was committed to appearing at each performance, thus "securing the certainty of

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<sup>672</sup> Campbell, A. (1918). *Report on Public Baths and Wash-Houses in the United Kingdom*, Edinburgh: The Carnegie Trust p. 3; Gibson, E. H. (1954). Baths and Washhouses in the English Public Health Agitation, 1839-48, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* pp. 392-404. The bathing fee at City Road, Holborn, was 6d, although one privately owned public bath in Westminster apparently had a rate of 3d for the humbler classes; Sheard, S. (2000). Profit is a Dirty Word: The Development of Public Baths and Wash-Houses in Britain 1847-1915, *Social History of Medicine*, pp. 66-67. The 1844 Royal Commission into the Sanitary State of Large Towns and Populous Districts found no public baths costing less than 6d.

<sup>673</sup> *The Graphic*, 31 October 1885 p. 486.

<sup>674</sup> Dickens, C. Jr. (1879). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, London: Charles Dickens; (1881). *Dickens's Dictionary of the Thames*, London: Charles Dickens; (1888). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, Moretonhampstead: Old House. Reprint 1993. The river based clubs Surbiton, Thames, and Whitehall, held their captaincy race in the Thames at the beginning of the 1880s, as did pool based clubs Amateur, Atlantic, Borough of Finsbury, Camden, Cygnus, East London, Oxford (University), Pacific, Sandringham, South-East London, West London, and Zephyr.

<sup>675</sup> *Lloyds Weekly London Newspaper*, 19 April 1846 p. 6. The Baths were fed by spring at 10,000 gallons per hour. A mechanics bath in Charles Street/Oakley Street cost 3d for tepid bathing.

<sup>676</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 31 July 1836 p. 7; *The Times*, 18 October 1839 p. 7; Poster in London Borough of Lambeth Archives; Frost, T. (1881). *Circus Life and Circus Celebrities*, London: Chatto and Windus.

scientific display". These fortnightly exhibitions attracted two to three thousand spectators, often including Barclay and Jackson.<sup>677</sup>

The Lambeth Baths, with which Beckwith was to become intimately associated, were privately developed by Lambeth Baths & Washhouses Company Limited behind 156 Westminster Bridge Road, with further entrances in Oakley Street and Lambeth Marsh.<sup>678</sup> At the opening in 1853, *The Times* described them as "the most extensive in England". There had been considerable local support, from the clergy and from local manufacturing and building firms, and an infant school had been created, where children were looked after while mothers were in the washhouses. At a half-yearly meeting of the company in 1859, the board reported a balance of £417, out of which the directors proposed to declare a dividend of six per cent per annum free of income tax. The season had opened well, with 12,449 bathers during one week in June, resulting in receipts of £200, the largest for any week since the Baths opened, but subsequent intemperate weather led to a decrease in numbers during July.<sup>679</sup>

Lambeth Baths were well used by the local population, not only for swimming but also for "Temperance Meetings and social assemblies of working people".<sup>680</sup> Victorian baths were often designed so that the main pool could be boarded over to make a municipal hall and an 1878 Act specifically provided for the building of covered baths which could be closed from November to March for "healthy recreation or exercise".<sup>681</sup> Lambeth Baths was used for indoor pedestrian events and the gymnasium which operated during the winter, managed variously by Beckwith, his son Willie, and son-in-law William Taylor, had a good track and "Every appliance for healthful and manly exercise of all kinds". Under Taylor's management, Herr Holtum (John Holtum, b.1845) displayed "unparalleled feats never before attempted by any other living athlete in the history of the universe".

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<sup>677</sup> Dowling, F. L. (1841). *Fistiana or, The Oracle of the Ring*, London: Wm. Clemen, Jun. pp. 68-69; *Victoria and Albert Museum* <http://images.vam.ac.uk/> (accessed 6 June 2006) has a watercolour by John Burley Waring of John Perry fighting Ben Caunt at Lambeth in 1846.

<sup>678</sup> An 1852 notice advertising the initial charges at the baths noted that the pools would be open on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays for first-class bathers at a cost of 4d, which included two clean towels and brushes. On Mondays, Fridays, Saturdays and Sunday morning second-class bathers were to be admitted for 2d, which included one clean towel. Costs rose in the 1870s to 6d for a first class swim and 3d for second class.

<sup>679</sup> *The Times*, 4 July 1853 p. 3; 14 January 1859 p. 5. The chairman noted that the same thing had occurred to other baths in London and other large towns.

<sup>680</sup> Fry, H. (1889). *London*, London Guidebook.

<sup>681</sup> Bird, P. (1995). The Origins of Victorian Public Baths, with Special Reference to Dulwich Baths, *Local Historian* 25 pp. 142-152. Sheffield Road Baths in Rotherham had a pool which could be converted to a hall holding 750 people for dancing or 1,200 seated for concerts.

In 1882, a great amateur sparring competition was advertised, while a roller skating rink was operating in 1891.<sup>682</sup>

The baths served a much wider audience than sportsmen, and working class groups made extensive use of the building. A large number of the "artisan class" in 1866 resolved that railway companies should be forced to find alternatives for those whose homes they pulled down. Another crowded public meeting later that year considered the pay and conditions of dock and wharf labourers, while excavators held their first annual meeting at the baths in January 1867.<sup>683</sup> Middle-class groups and specific interest groups also found the baths useful. Prince Albert attended an industrial exhibition there in 1865, a petition was raised at the baths in 1867 asking that the British Museum be opened three evenings a week, and, in 1869, a well-attended meeting protested against the "enormous taxation to which the householders of the metropolis are subject". The baths hosted a demonstration in favour of the Sons of Temperance in January 1882 and a "Grand Old Country Fair" in 1883, while a meeting of the Vegetarian Federal Union attracted seven hundred people in January 1891.<sup>684</sup>

#### *Frederick Beckwith*

Beckwith held the post of swimming master at Lambeth for more than twenty years, and reportedly originated the first amateur club, Leander S.C., at the facility. He also taught at a number of schools, including the Royal Wellington Military School, Royal Naval School, Christ Hospital, King's College, and Westminster School.<sup>685</sup> Census records show that in 1851 he was living, with wife Agnes, close to the National Baths, although swimming was yet to be his main source of income since his occupation was given as a *fancy willow seat maker*. By 1861, however, he could designate himself *professor of swimming*, having established his swimming credentials during the intervening ten years by winning and then defending the Championship of England. Daughter Frances, ("Jessie") aged eight, and son

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<sup>682</sup> Grose, T. (2003). *UK Running Track Directory* <http://www.runtrackdir.com/> (accessed 6 June 2006); British Library *Evan*. 1882 Poster (1881). The illustration shows athletes being cheered by a large crowd; See also *Evan*. 546 Poster; *Evan*. 1724 Notice; *Evan*. 3051 Poster.

<sup>683</sup> *The Times*, 10 February 1866 p. 12; 10 November 1866 p. 12; International Working Men's Association. The Minute Book of the General Council Meeting 8 January 1867 pp. 51-53. The report was published in *The Bee-Hive* 276, 26 January 1867 <http://www.marx.org/archive/> (accessed 6 June 2006).

<sup>684</sup> *The Times*, 7 March 1867 p. 9; 27 November 1869 p. 5; 30 November 1869 p. 4. Australian "colonists", intent on persuading the working classes to eat their meat, gave a dinner to selected working class men; British Library *Evan*. 1743, Notice; *Evan*. 4062 Notice; Poster in London Borough of Lambeth records; *The Vegetarian*, 23 May 1891. Vegetarian Federal Union 1889-1911 The Federal Union Report (Secretary's report read at Portsmouth May 1891).

<sup>685</sup> *The Era*, 4 June 1898 p. 18.

Frederick, aged six, both appeared as *scholars and public swimmers* on census returns.<sup>686</sup> In August 1862, the Beckwith family made their first appearance in Manchester at Belle Vue Gardens and a year later Jessie, aged nine, Frederick, aged seven, and Willie, aged five, were joining their father in an exhibition at Lambeth Baths. Bad weather meant that the occasion lost money so Beckwith's supporters booked a Metropolitan theatre for a benefit to make up for the financial deficit. In September 1865, another typical Beckwith performance involved Jessie, Frederick, swimming in a suit of clothes, Willie, and the professor's youngest daughter, Agnes, aged two.<sup>687</sup> This was common practice among swimming families. In 1883, Alfred Ward, swimming master at Hammersmith Baths, demonstrated his invention of waterproof covering for Channel swimmers by using nine-year-old son Alfred to paddle in one of the suits from Dover to Folkestone. Ward also gave swimming fetes with his daughter, Minnie, who was later to appear with Beckwith's troupe.<sup>688</sup> When the Leander S.C., whose patrons included Earl Suffolk and Berkshire, Earl Sheffield, Earl Burnley, Lord Rondlasham, Viscount Lewisham, and Lord G. Hamilton, announced a grand swimming gala in May 1886, they included Professor and Mrs. Beaumont, with their five-year-old daughter, performing "interesting feats".<sup>689</sup> Children also appeared in athletic contests throughout this period, a practice condemned by Shearman in 1889, although their careers were often short. In 1881, twelve-year-old Edgar Muddle, the son of a *licensed victualler* running *The Ship* in Bethnal Green, was already being described as a *champion walker*. By twenty-one he was *out of employ*, and by 1901 he was living in Wembley as a *house painter*.<sup>690</sup>

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<sup>686</sup> Census Returns 1851-1861. Frederick and Agnes Beckwith 1851 (1565/410/45). GRO (1858/marriage/September/Stepney/1c/865). Frederick, Agnes, Frances Ann Jessie, Frederick and William Henry Beckwith 1861 (350/93/11). GRO Frances (1852/December/Lambeth/1d/251), Frederick (1855/birth/March/Lambeth/1d/235), William (1857/birth/September/Southwark/1d/130).

<sup>687</sup> *The Era*, 24 August 1862 p. 11; 30 August, 1863 p. 13; *The Daily News*, 13 September 1865 p. 3; Agnes Alice Beckwith GRO (1861/birth/September/Lambeth/1d/319).

<sup>688</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 22 September 1883 p. 10; Census Returns 1881-1901. Alfred W. Ward, Minnie and Alfred 1881 (172/13/20). Alfred W., Alfred E., Florence, Ernest and Maud Ward 1891 (22/86/1). Minnie Ward 1891 (82/73/13). Alfred W. Ward, was an *agent, teacher of swimming and dancing* in Hampstead in 1881, accompanied by daughter Minnie, aged 10. By 1891, Alfred was referring to himself as a *professional swimmer and house decorator* in Kensington, and was living with Alfred E. (18) *professional swimmer and stationary assistant*, Florence A (17) *professional swimmer and upholsters helper*, Ernest A. (15) *professional swimmer and bookbinders assistant* as well as Maud E. (13) *professional swimmer*.

<sup>689</sup> *The News of the World*, 2 May 1886 p. 8.

<sup>690</sup> Shearman, M. (1889). *Athletics and Football 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London: Badminton Library pp. 213-14; Census Returns 1881-1901. Edgar Muddle 1881 (432/57/22), 1891 (264/29/18), 1901 (1208/116/41); *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 7 September 1851 p. 3. As a mid-century example, nine-year-old John Lowe of Birmingham walked one mile in under 10 minutes to win a £5 stake;



It was not only the Professor's immediate family who appeared in Beckwith's aquatic displays. David Pamplin exhibited with Frederick in 1858, aged ten, although his occupation in the 1861 census, when living in Shoreditch, was given as *working in a sawmill*. His father was a *waiter at metropolitan baths* until his death in 1883. Pamplin went to Australia in 1862 and returned in December 1863, eventually becoming swimming master at Camberwell and Dulwich Baths,<sup>691</sup> and he raced regularly throughout the 1860s. On 13 August 1867, for example, he was second to Henry Gurr, the Champion of England, in the annual 1,000 yards race at Plymouth for the All-Comers title. Watson noted that Pamplin, "The Scudding Seal", who swam with both arms under water, with "ease and elegance", had a style that had "never been surpassed", and census returns from 1871 to 1901 confirm that he consistently earned his living from teaching swimming.<sup>692</sup>

In the period between arriving in London and describing himself as "Professor" in 1861, Beckwith became established as a leading swimming professional. At that time, matches at Holborn Baths featured English experts such as George Pewters, C Lewis, J. Grant, Hounslow, Roberson, D. Young, W. H. Leverall, and William Steadman, the Brahmin champion Dwarika Nath Das Basue, two Ojibhenay Indians, "Flying Gull" and "Tobacco," plus Italian Antonia Maschetti. Beckwith beat Pewters and Roberson for the gold medal given by the Baths proprietor, and subsequently won the club champion belt of the professionals' Westminster Swimming Society. In 1850, he won the gold Leander medal at swimming master Harold Kenworthy's benefit and, at another benefit for Harold and Horace Kenworthy in 1851, he won the champion belt of the Surrey Swimming Club for the second time, having won it the previous year in Westminster Baths. He was less successful in contesting for the Leander medal that year when "from want of condition or from starting too freely" he swam a poor third behind amateur winner, Thomas Young. Beckwith was clearly absorbing professional racing strategies. When racing Crane for £5 in 1854,

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<sup>691</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming* London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Company p. 388.

<sup>692</sup> *The Times*, 14 August 1867 p. 9; Watson, R. (1899). Comparative Generations In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London, Henry Kemshead p. 18; Census Returns 1861-1901. David Pamplin 1861 (237/129/25), 1871 (289/70/52), 1881 (1320/60/43), 1891 (608/76/64), 1901 (666/35/37). Pamplin listed *teacher of swimming* as his occupation in 1871 when as a twenty-two-year old he was living with wife Elizabeth at 57 Arlington Street, Islington, Middlesex. In 1881, his occupational status was *teacher of the art of swimming* and Elizabeth was looking after him and their five children under ten at their home in High Street, Sandhurst, Berkshire. By 1891, the family had moved to 198 Kings Road, Kingston, Surrey, and expanded to nine children. Pamplin's occupation was shown as *swimming master at school* and that remained his occupation on the 1901 census, which also noted that this was under his "own account". The 52-year-old Pamplin and his wife had three children at home at 12 George Road, New Malden, Surrey. His children's occupations of clerk, drapers porter, domestic servant, groom, carrier, shop porter, and manservant, suggest a lower middle class lifestyle.

he cried "Enough!" twelve yards from home and retired, giving "great dissatisfaction" to some spectators who believed it was a "cross", although Beckwith and his backers insisted he "had done his utmost to win". When Steadman and Young left for Australia, Beckwith had an easy win for the Championship of England which he then defended successfully against T. Weston, in Wenlock Baths, and W. Walker, of Northumberland, from Hammersmith Pier to Putney-bridge.<sup>693</sup> Frederick beat Weston over a quarter of a mile for £20 a side after being trained by J. Walker at *The Feathers*, Wandsworth. For his second defence, Beckwith went into "active training" at the *Star and Garter*, Putney, and Walker at *The Feathers*.<sup>694</sup>

Frederick regularly issued challenges, for not less than £10 a side, over distances from one hundred yards to four miles although, in 1858, he announced his intention of retiring because teaching commitments meant that he could no longer sustain, "that condition fit to hold his title of champion, which he has maintained for six years against all comers". However, he left open a challenge to swim "any man breathing, from a quarter of a mile to four miles for, from £25 to £100 a side, in any fair piece of water". If no-one accepted then Beckwith and some gentlemen subscribers would offer a prize for the Championship of England.<sup>695</sup>

His position as swimming master at Lambeth enabled Beckwith to organise profitable galas and benefits. At his benefit in September 1857, there was a good attendance and his pupil, Escomb, won a handsome medal in the deciding heat of the programme. In August 1858, the benefit included a close race between two more of his pupils, both aged seven, for a silver medal, which was won by Master Pamphlin (sic). In October, Frederick concluded another benefit by combining with other swimmers in a display of ornamental swimming and floating. By now, his renown had spread to the extent that he was being engaged outside of London. At the Weston Shore Baths, Southampton, in June 1859, Frederick and "his talented

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<sup>693</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 4 August 1850 p. 10; 10 August 1851 p. 10; *The Era*, 31 August 1851 p. 6; 6 August 1854 p. 6; 4 June 1898 p. 18; Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co. p. 253.

<sup>694</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 27 Sept 1857 p. 7; 4 Sept 1859 p. 8; 5 March 1881 p. 3. When Walker died one *Bell's* writer remembered him as an ardent sportsman, a splendid swimmer and oarsman...a genial companion, a fairly all-round man, being able to hold his own well, in a boat, in the water, or with the gloves. His last swimming race in the Thames was against the elder Beckwith, but...He won prizes for sculling and single oared rowing at several...Tyne regattas, and in 1858 was one of the Wandsworth crew who finished second to the Claspers at the Thames National Regatta, while at the Antwerp Regatta he was one of Tom White's crew that suffered defeat on a foul.

<sup>695</sup> *The Era*, 22 July 1855 p. 14; 6 April 1856 p. 14; 18 July 1858 p. 14.

assistants" contributed to the entertainment while, back in Lambeth, another "annual benefit" for the Champion was advertised in August 1859.<sup>696</sup>

Beckwith was continuing to promote pedestrianism during the winter. In January 1859, in front of nine hundred people, William Priestley, who had accepted odds of £25 to £20, successfully cleared five hundred hurdles 3ft 6in high within forty minutes, and was presented with a gold medal, "by the proprietor, Mr. Beckwith". Sack-jumping and other amusements were followed by a 300 yards hurdle handicap, over thirty hurdles, three times around the arena.<sup>697</sup> The professor's coaching career also began during this period when he worked with H. Gardiner (Gardner), who later became English champion. In 1864, Beckwith and Gardiner were in Manchester, prior to Gardiner racing Meakin for the Manchester Champion Cup and £30 a side. They were staying at the *British Rolla Inn*, Collier Street, Salford, "where they will be happy to meet their friends" and the trophy was on show behind the bar.<sup>698</sup> In July 1867, when the London Swimming Club organised an amateur race in the Serpentine, D. J. Aviss won the event by "Cleaving along...at a spanking pace", urged on by Beckwith, who had taught him to swim.<sup>699</sup>

By 1857, Frederick was writing on swimming and *The Morning Chronicle* recorded that *The Whole Art of Swimming*, by F. E. Beckwith, had been forwarded to them for review.<sup>700</sup> He also established the National Philanthropic Swimming Society, the headquarters of which were at the Lambeth Baths, during May 1859, to diffuse among the working classes "a knowledge of the art of swimming", and promote proficiency in what was both a healthy exercise and a means of saving life. Part of the plan was to stimulate public competition, and the first event took place on Whit-Monday on the Serpentine, before about 2,000 spectators, with the Humane Society lending boats and men. Beckwith was supposed to have produced detailed accounts but the death of daughter Agnes Sarah was "a calamity which will furnish a sufficient excuse to the subscribers to the Society and the competitors for the non-appearance of a complete record of the race".<sup>701</sup> These swimming races continued under Beckwith's management, with prizes paid for by subscriptions. In

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<sup>696</sup> *The Era*, 13 September 1857 p. 14; 15 August 1858 p. 14; 3 October 1858 p. 13; 26 June 1859 p. 13; 28 August 1859 p. 14.

<sup>697</sup> *The Era*, 23 January 1859 p. 4. Pedestrianism at Beckwith's Gymnasium, Westminster-road.

<sup>698</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1864 p. 1.

<sup>699</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 7 July 1867 p. 6.

<sup>700</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, 29 May 1857 p. 7.

<sup>701</sup> *The Era*, 19 June 1859 p. 14; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 1 May 1859 p. 6; GRO Agnes Sarah (1859/birth/June/Lambeth/1d/286) (1859/death/June/Lambeth1d/182) Agnes Sarah, aged 4 months, *Accidental asphyxia in bed*.

1861, they took place "before an immense concourse of spectators" and "too much praise cannot be given to the Professor for his energy and perseverance".<sup>702</sup>

A second aim of the National Philanthropic Swimming Society had been to encourage individuals to subscribe from 10s 6d to £10 10s yearly which gave them the right to send a number of pupils for free instruction. In August 1865, all the entrants for one gala at Poplar Baths had been taught by Beckwith in twelve Wednesday lessons, at the expense of A. Carrie, who not only paid for about a hundred boys to be taught but also hired the baths. The entertainment was patronised principally by their fathers, who had tickets sent them by Carrie, who also gave the prizes.<sup>703</sup>

It appears that "No one in the Kingdom" had as much experience in teaching swimming as Beckwith, whose method of teaching was similar to the Prussian system, in which a swimming-girdle or rope was used initially until the pupil acquired confidence. After that, the pupil was encouraged to dive into the water and then "the movement of the limbs is attended to". For Beckwith and other professional teachers the priority was "to accustom the learner to believe that he cannot sink". Reliance upon the teacher formed "the first practical lesson" and Pardon recalled asking "one of the little Beckwiths if he wasn't afraid when his father threw him into the water: "Oh, no," replied the little chap; "not at all: father would jump in after me if I didn't come up at the right time!"<sup>704</sup>

Despite his threats to retire, Beckwith's competitive appearances continued throughout the 1860s and he took advantage of the popularity of pedestrianism to advertise a match with Deerfoot, the American pedestrian, in October 1861. The race was scheduled over twenty lengths of Lambeth Baths, with Beckwith allowing his opponent fifteen seconds start, but Deerfoot eventually forfeited.<sup>705</sup> Beckwith was more cautious about responding positively to a challenge from Mr. Donovan, the amateur champion, emphasising that it was not appropriate to swim at that stage of the year, that the time specified would not allow for sufficient training, and that he would not swim for less than £100 a side.<sup>706</sup>

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<sup>702</sup> *The Era*, 25 August 1861 p. 5; 1 September 1861 p. 14.

<sup>703</sup> *The Era*, 6 August 1865 p. 5.

<sup>704</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 19 July 1884 p. 2; Pardon, G. F. ("Captain Crawley") (1882). *Swimming, Skating, and Rinking*, London: Ward, Lock, and Co. pp. 48-50.

<sup>705</sup> *The Times*, 18 October 1861 p. 10; 21 October 1861 p. 7.

<sup>706</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 18 January 1862 p. 14.

Beckwith used the symbolic capital associated with his status as Champion to expand his commercial concerns. Between 1859 and 1860 he ran *The Leander*, an alehouse in Westminster Road, and issued regular challenges from there, declaring in April 1860 that he would swim "any American" from one to five miles, for £100 a side or upwards. Also in April, Frederick, having been requested "by a number of gentlemen" to form an amateur swimming club, held a meeting at *The Leander*, for interested "patrons of this useful art".<sup>707</sup>

In September 1861, Frederick took over *The Good Intent* in Lucretia-street, within one hundred yards of Lambeth Baths, where facilities included a good bar, with a comfortable parlour for members of Parliament and their friends, a large clubroom, a taproom, and a covered skittle ground. Harmonic meetings were held every Saturday, "select" sparring was conducted by "clever professors" Bill Thorpe and Dooney Harris, glove bouts for a purse were held regularly, and there were plenty of rats and every "convenience for gentlemen trying their dogs". There was a large collection of sporting pictures, including portraits of all the celebrated pugilists, pedestrians, rowers, and swimmers, while *Fistiana* and other sporting books were kept behind the bar. Beckwith continued to issue challenges, "by the wish of his backers", and his racing colours were available at the bar. When Deerfoot forfeited, Beckwith substituted with a swimming entertainment at Lambeth Baths, including a handicap, open to the world, for money prizes. He was "bitterly disappointed at not being enabled to meet the Indian, as he has expended a good deal in training for the event, and hopes, therefore, his friends will rally round him".<sup>708</sup>

By February 1862, *The Good Intent* had become the most celebrated sporting resort on the Surrey side of the water and was "nightly patronised by crowds of the right sort", including leading sporting professionals, while accurate news of every sporting event of the day could "be constantly gleaned at the house of the Champion Swimmer of England".<sup>709</sup> The professor may also have been running *The Perseverance* in New Cut, near the baths and, by 1863, when articles for the Cook versus Stanley and the Harris versus Hatton fights were sent to Mr. Beckwith, his address was Post Office Stores, Kennington Road.<sup>710</sup> During 1877, he was host of

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<sup>707</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 4 December 1859 p. 7; 29 April 1860 p. 7.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 September 1861 p. 6; 29 September 1861 p. 3; 6 October 1861 p. 6; 13 October 1861 p. 3; 20 October 1861 p. 6; 1 December 1861 p. 7; 22 December 1861 p. 6.

<sup>709</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 February 1862 p. 6; 9 February 1862 p. 6.

<sup>710</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 December 1861 p. 6; 29 December 1861 p. 3. Boxers Crutchley and Harris staked their purse money "at Mr Beckwith's establishment." *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 August 1863 p. 6.

the *King's Head* in Westminster Bridge Road,<sup>711</sup> while an 1884 *Business Directory* listed him as both "teacher of swimming 156 Westminster Bdge rd SE. Agent for aquatic galas with his family" and "tobacconist 142 Westminster Bridge rd SE".<sup>712</sup> During the 1880s he apparently ran a hotel, with attached wash baths and a billiards room.<sup>713</sup>

While the publicity generated from the Deerfoot challenge was probably a motivating factor in its organisation, serious competitive swimming continued. In August 1863, Beckwith and E. B. Mather, of Manchester, raced from Hammersmith to Putney, for the Champion Cup and £200. The match caused considerable interest because Beckwith had not competed in a championship match since he defeated Walker, while Mather had held the title since the previous August. Mather prepared at Putney, while Beckwith trained at Moulsey under Dooney Harris. The race was organised by London S.C. and on race day, the bridge and banks were crowded by spectators who had an opportunity to assess each man's condition when they stripped for the start.<sup>714</sup> Beckwith, the favourite in the betting, was thirty-nine, stood five feet four inches and weighed eight stone six pounds, and he won comfortably after Mather retired before the finish. Although fatigued, Beckwith "speedily became himself again after being rubbed down by his attendants".<sup>715</sup>

The Professor was a better winner than loser. He was the favourite again in a water steeplechase, where swimmers jumped over or dived under a number of poles, at Belle Vue Gardens, Manchester, in 1864, but, "much to the chagrin of Beckwith, who had booked the event as a certainty", he lost by about three inches in front of a crowd of nearly 5,000.<sup>716</sup>

Beckwith was refining his aquatic exhibitions as his racing career ended. A "display of feats of natation" at Lambeth in 1863, included a two lengths race for youths under sixteen, won by Attwood, a four lengths race between fourteen amateurs in

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<sup>711</sup> *The Era*, 8 July 1877 p. 4; British Library *Evan*. 1605 Poster. When entrance fees for races at the Lambeth Baths were required in October 1877, they could be handed in "At Beckwith's House, "Kings Head," Westminster Bridge Road, Lambeth, or the Baths".

<sup>712</sup> *The Business Directory of London and Provincial and Foreign Trade Guide* (1884). Twenty-Second Annual edition, London: J. S. C. Morris, Hop Exchange Buildings, London, S.E. p. 47.

<sup>713</sup> *Notes* 1 March 1884 3 (7); *Swimming Notes and Record*, 10 May 1884 13 (2).

<sup>714</sup> This process of stripping off has been noted elsewhere, in relation to professional prizefighters, and was an essential part of the judging of potential for the betting fraternity. Other aspects of prizefighting and pedestrianism, particularly the preference for Mondays as the day for professional events, continued to exert their influence in swimming throughout the century, and emphasise the congruence between professional sports.

<sup>715</sup> *The Times*, 12 August 1863 p. 9; *The Daily News*, 18 August 1863 p. 2; *The Era*, 23 August 1863 p. 14.

<sup>716</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 27 August 1864 p. 11.

three heats, and Beckwith displaying his swimming prowess.<sup>717</sup> After admitting female spectators, Beckwith introduced eight-year-old Jessie and her two brothers, five-year-old Willie proving "a perfect marvel". The ladies then left, and Gardner, the 500 yards champion of England, then raced Mr. Carbonell, the amateur champion, over ten lengths, Gardner winning by an arm's length. An eight length handicap race was won by Harry Gurr, with Harry Parker a length behind, and a number of swimmers exhibited their skills including Woodbridge, a professional, and George Moore, an amateur, both of whom were one-legged.<sup>718</sup> Amateurs and professionals mixed easily at this stage, and when amateurs raced for a silver cup and silver Leander and Victoria medals on the Serpentine in June 1867, Professors Beckwith and Ramage, Pamplin, and Mr. R. M. McKerrell, captain of Cambridge University S.C., were all in attendance.<sup>719</sup>

By 1871, the Professor was living at 3 Princes Terrace, within half a mile of the Baths, with Agnes, now forty-two, daughter Agnes Alice, aged ten, Charles, seven, Frederick, sixteen, and William, thirteen.<sup>720</sup> Beckwith continued organising pedestrian events in winter, as well as diversifying his aquatic activities in the summers.<sup>721</sup> In July 1870, a large crowd was attracted to Lambeth by a Beckwith entertainment in which the chief race was a 480 yards open handicap won by Harry Parker off scratch. In addition to officiating, Beckwith, along with Willie and Thomas Attwood, gave a display of ornamental swimming. There were some complaints to the Metropolitan Swimming Association in 1872 that Beckwith was slow in producing the prizes for amateur races,<sup>722</sup> but his aquatic entertainments, "at which every good town swimmer graduates" continued into the 1870s. In June 1874, for example, the professor gave £17 in prizes for an all-England handicap, an amateur race, and a youth's race, as well as exhibiting with his family.<sup>723</sup>

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<sup>717</sup> Census Returns 1851-1891. Thomas Attwood 1851 (1566/274/53), 1861 (336/59/23), 1871 (611/86/17), 1881 (534/40/24), 1891 (352/70/8). Thomas Attwood, son of James, a bricklayer, lived in Devonshire Street, Newington all his life. Swam 1,000 yards in the Serpentine, against 16 other young men, 7 August 1865, came in third. First listed as *teacher of swimming* in 1871, aged 23, and he assisted Beckwith as Lambeth Baths. He was a *swimming master* in 1881, aged 32, and *teacher of swimming*, in 1891. See also *Modern English Biography, Netherton and Worth, Truro, 1908*; *London Illustrated News*, 12 August 1865 p. 147; *The Era* 24 June 1893; A tank performer known as the man-fish, Attwood appeared on the continent and he died in Newington Infirmary 17 June 1893.

<sup>718</sup> *The Times*, 7 October 1863 p. 12. It was common practice for professionals to compete without drawers so ladies did not generally attend baths matches between these men.

<sup>719</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 29 June 1867 p. 7.

<sup>720</sup> Census returns 1871. Frederick, Agnes, Frederick, William, Agnes and Charles Beckwith 1871 (609/3/1). Charles Beckwith GRO (1865/birth/June/Lambeth/1d/314).

<sup>721</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 21 December 1872 p. 8.

<sup>722</sup> *Metropolitan Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 8 February 1872; 9 September 1872.

<sup>723</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 9 July 1870 p. 11; 19 October 1872 p. 7; 13 June 1874 p. 15.

### *Willie and Charles*

Willie, "the most graceful, as well as the most perfect, over-arm stroke swimmer the world has yet seen",<sup>724</sup> was widely regarded as the most promising swimmer of his age. He was certainly among the most active during the 1870s and 1880s, winning many championships, notably, the 500 yards in 1876, 1879, 1880, and 1881. The 1872 handicaps for Mr. Tom Senn's silver cup and £11 in prize money at the Wenlock Baths attracted all the leading professionals and amateurs, including J. B. Johnson, E. T. Jones, Peter Johnson, Tom Morris, Harry Parker (amateur champion), D. Ainsworth, and both Willie and Frederick.<sup>725</sup> In 1873, aged fifteen, Willie was matched against Stanley "for £5 a side and Mr Senn's 40 Guinea Cup" and he challenged Peter Johnson, H. Coulter, or J. Collard, over a quarter of a mile to a mile for £25 a side.<sup>726</sup> He was at the Zoological Gardens, Belle Vue, Manchester on 26 July 1875 for the annual gala organised by Professor Poulton,<sup>727</sup> and, in October 1877, Willie, "Champion of London and the fastest Swimmer of his age ever known", swam J. B. Johnson for £50 over 1,000 yards at Lambeth.<sup>728</sup> In July 1879, Willie swam in a 160 yards handicap at Lambeth, giving E. T. Jones three seconds start, and F. Jager, thirty-five seconds. Swimming "in fine form", Beckwith beat Jager by a yard-and-a-half, with Jones another yard behind. Willie issued further challenges to swim any man in the world any fair distance for £100 a side and in October, he completed three races over 480, 1,000, and 100 yards against "record" time. The first two distances were swum "off the reel," and he beat Johnson's 480 yards time by five and 2-5ths seconds, and Jones's 1,000 yards time by three and 3-5ths seconds. He was unsuccessful in the 100 yards, swimming 2-5ths seconds outside Jones's one minute nine and 2-5ths seconds.<sup>729</sup>

Willie received a "complimentary and farewell benefit" at Lambeth in April 1880, as a prelude to a planned departure for America,<sup>730</sup> but he was around to win the 1880 Amateur-Professional 500 Yards' championship, although all the starters were professional, and the one mile Professional Championship in 1881. In 1881, he also

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<sup>724</sup> Watson, R. (1899). Comparative Generations, In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers or Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 18.

<sup>725</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 21 September 1872 p. 10. The handicap was "carried out in strict accordance with the laws of amateur swimming". If an amateur won, he could opt to accept a piece of plate.

<sup>726</sup> *Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record*, 12 July 1873 1 (10) p. 4.

<sup>727</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 July 1875 p. 1.

<sup>728</sup> British Library Evan. 1605 Poster.

<sup>729</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 5 July 1879 p. 11; *The Graphic*, 26 July 1879 p. 83; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 19 October 1879 p. 8.

<sup>730</sup> British Library Evan. 1233 Lambeth Baths. Another man off to America. Great gathering and contests of all the champions of England on 5 April 1880, as farewell benefit to Willie Beckwith.



won the 1,000 yards, besides beating Webb in a six days' swim of ten hours a day. In an All-Comers' Match in Plymouth in 1882 Willie comfortably beat a field which included brother Charles, and then, within a fortnight, beat James Finney for £50 a side over a mile in Hollingworth Lake, Rochdale.<sup>731</sup> He continued to issue challenges from 100 yards to twenty miles for sums from £100 to £500 a side in an effort to attract a major opponent but there were no acceptances.<sup>732</sup>

A benefit entertainment for Willie took place in 1892 only a week before his death on 12 December, aged thirty-six, from a long-standing chest infection. Willie had been invincible at his best, although he had also always been "agreeable and by no means boastful of his undoubted ability".<sup>733</sup> However, Willie was not the only progeny of the Professor to make his mark and reports of his death recalled that, because "the swimming gift runs in families", the name of Beckwith had long been associated with swimming supremacy. Nearly five hundred spectators at Lambeth in June 1877 watched Charles Beckwith win the boys' race by two yards and Willie win the all-England 200 yard handicap.<sup>734</sup> The Professor had been ably succeeded by Willie "who has so fully kept pace with the wonderful march of improvement" but, if he should fail, then Charles, several inches taller than Willie, and billed in 1883 as "The Present Champion Swimmer of England of his Age", could take over. When Charles swam E. J. Kirk for £50 over 500 yards at Lambeth in 1886, the race was "witnessed by a capital muster", but there was little speculation at 3-to-1 on Beckwith who won by twenty yards, having sprinted the last half-length using the trudgen.<sup>735</sup> In 1887, Charles won the second and third of his swimming races with J. Haggerty, over one mile and half a mile,<sup>736</sup> and, in 1889, he participated in a six-day backstroke match at the Westminster Aquarium for £100 against American Davis Dalton. When Dalton withdrew after complaining about the water temperature he was already well behind.<sup>737</sup>

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<sup>731</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 3 October 1880 p. 12; *The Penny Illustrated*, 6 August 1881 p. 7; *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 August 1881 p. 7; *The Leeds Mercury*, 17 August 1882 p. 3; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 27 August 1882 p. 8.

<sup>732</sup> *The Graphic*, 24 September 1881 p. 323; 25 March 1882 p. 295; 27 June 1885 p. 655.

<sup>733</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 December 1892 p. 7; *The Graphic*, 17 December 1892 p. 738; *The Era*, 17 December 1892 p. 17. Willie Beckwith (1892/death/December/Lambeth/1d/234) Acute bronchitis and emphysema.

<sup>734</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 17 June 1877 p. 8.

<sup>735</sup> *British Library Evan. 983 Poster* 1883; *The Penny Illustrated*, 15 March 1890 p. 7; *Ashore and Afloat*, 2 November 1883; *News of the World*, 24 October 1886 p. 8.

<sup>736</sup> *The Graphic*, 4 June 1887 p. 591.

<sup>737</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 December 1889 p. 8; *Daily News*, 20 December 1889 p. 3; *Glasgow Herald*, 21 December 1889 p. 11.

In the 1890s, Charles continued his aquatic career although, in common with the rest of his family, this became more theatrical in nature. He appeared in his sister's entertainments across the country from Birmingham to Nottingham, from Morecombe to Sadler's Wells in London, where the siblings were "such adepts in the water that it seems superfluous to say how graceful is everything they do".<sup>738</sup> He also became closely associated with the "Water Rats", a group of sportsmen and entertainers, which included music hall impresario George Adney Payne. A smoking concert at the *White Horse*, Brixton-road, on Monday 7 March 1898 as a benefit for Charles attracted "a great number of popular favourites". When Charles died on 2 July 1898, aged thirty-three, he had not long survived his father. Like Willie and Frederick he was buried at Nunhead Cemetery, the mourners including his widow and children, Agnes and her husband William Taylor, and Lizzie Beckwith. The Water Rats sent a wreath and filled two coaches.<sup>739</sup> Daughter Aggie continued the family tradition, appearing at a swimming carnival in 1899 alongside Millie Cranwell, Professor Juffs, Professor France, and Professor Gautier.<sup>740</sup>

#### *Coach and Entrepreneur*

Had Beckwith confined his swimming activities to Lambeth Baths he would probably never have established either his contemporary reputation or his place in the historical record. Over the course of his lifetime, however, he utilised every facility at his disposal to display both his entrepreneurial and aquatic skills. Cremorne Gardens, for example, on the river in Chelsea attracted between fifteen hundred and two thousand customers each evening by 1867 when "Natator", twenty-year-old Thomas Attwood, was exhibiting through the plate-glass front of a large water filled tank.<sup>741</sup> Attwood was Beckwith's assistant swimming teacher by 1869 when the Beckwith family appeared at Cremorne. The "Beckwith Frogs", dressed "in fleshings and drawers...flash about the aquarium with a fishlike facility that is extraordinary". These "marine acrobats" could be seen again at Lambeth Baths where the "natatory skill" of the Professor and his family, "together with the keen

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<sup>738</sup> *The Era*, 27 October 1894 p. 18; 8 December 1894 p. 18; 9 February 1895 p. 16; 31 August 1895 p. 19.

<sup>739</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 October 1892 p. 19; 28 December 1895 p. 16; 26 February 1898 p. 19; 9 July 1898 p. 19; GRO Charles Beckwith (1898/death/September/Epsom/2a/1) aged 33. GRO Agnes Harriett Beckwith (1884/birth/December/Lambeth/1d/367).

<sup>740</sup> *The Era*, 10 June 1899 p. 19.

<sup>741</sup> See Acton, W. (1870). *Prostitution, Considered in its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, London: J. Churchill and Sons; Shaw, D. (1908). *London in the Sixties, 'One of the Old Brigade'*, London: Everett; Cruchley, G. F. (1865). *Cruchley's London in 1865: A Handbook for Strangers*, London: G. F. Cruchley; Yates, E. (1885). *Edmund Yates: His Recollections and Experiences*; Cremorne Gardens [www.victorianlondon.org](http://www.victorianlondon.org) (accessed 3 June 2005); *Illustrated Times*, July 1858; Wroth, W. (1907). *Cremorne and the Later London Gardens*, London: Elliot Stock.

racing which his prizes always call forth, causes his swimming fetes to be deservedly popular".<sup>742</sup>

The Professor clearly recognised the need for self-publicity and knew how to "get himself puffed".<sup>743</sup> In one advert, he reminded "the nobility and gentry" that he had given over three hundred prizes to encourage swimming and the quality of his teaching and coaching could be seen in "the many celebrated swimmers, both amateur and professional, brought out by him".<sup>744</sup> Beckwith associated with swimmers, gymnasts, writers, sporting baronets, and men like Frank Buckland, owner and editor of *Land and Water*, Arthur Payne, a Cambridge man, rower, skilled billiards player, and an excellent cook, Charles "Boy" Baker, a renowned diver, and Henry Wilkinson, a member of Ilex Swimming Club.<sup>745</sup> Like elsewhere in London, Lambeth Baths hosted swimming clubs, which received coaching from resident staff. South London S.C. met there on Wednesdays and Ilex S.C. on Mondays. Both clubs continued to swim their captaincy race in the Thames into the 1880s and neither were early members of SAGB, despite having impeccable amateur credentials. Ilex was founded in 1861, its members being drawn from the ranks of amateur rowing, yachting, canoe, cruising, athletic, and football clubs. It was managed by a president, vice-president, captain, secretary, and twelve committeemen, who were all elected, with the exception of the captaincy, which was swum for annually. Members were elected by ballot, one black ball in five excluding, and the subscription for active members was ten shillings per annum.<sup>746</sup>

The premier swimmers of the day, especially the London-based professionals, invariably had an association with Beckwith and Lambeth Baths and, in June 1875, Webb began to train for his Channel swim under the Professor, although he was later coached by Payne.<sup>747</sup> Following his success, endurance events became

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<sup>742</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 19 June 1869 p. 7.

<sup>743</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co.

<sup>744</sup> *The Swimming Record and Chronicle of Sporting Events*, 20 September 1873 1 (20) p. 1.

<sup>745</sup> Watson, K. (2000). *The Crossing*, London: Headline p. 73.

<sup>746</sup> Dickens, C. Jr. (1879). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, London: Charles Dickens; (1881). *Dickens's Dictionary of the Thames*, London: Charles Dickens; (1888). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, Moretonhampstead: Old House. Reprint 1993. At this stage, the SAGB, headquarters at Goswell Hall, Goswell-road, London, E.C., comprised the following clubs: Alliance, Amateur, Bangor (Co. Down, Ireland), Burton-on-Trent, North London, Regent, South-East London, West London, Birmingham, Brighton, Dewsbury, Eastbourne, Huddersfield, Jersey, Newcastle, Otter, Portsmouth, Surrey, Tyldesley; *Swimming*, October 2001 p. 52 notes that Ilex was the first club to admit female spectators to a gala in 1861 at Lambeth Baths. Club colours were black and crimson.

<sup>747</sup> Watson, R. (1899). Comparative Generations, In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 21 recorded that Beckwith was not initially "impressed with the man or his project. However, the same day we gave

popular and, in 1879, Beckwith announced a six-day swimming race for £70. There was to be a maximum of fourteen hours swimming a day and the pool was divided into lanes with string. Large crowds attended the first day, at the end of which Willie had swum seventeen miles twelve lengths to Webb's seventeen miles eight lengths. However, Webb was the only man to start on time the following day and by the fifth day, competitors were so exhausted that none of them could swim. Webb eventually won with seventy-four miles, against Fearn's sixty-two miles thirty lengths for second place. In 1883, Webb lost a twenty-mile match against Willie at Lambeth after retiring spitting blood, apparently suffering from pneumonia. Frederick used his association with Webb and popular interest in the Channel swim to enhance his own publicity, announcing on posters that he had been "the first to introduce Captain Webb as a Long Distance Swimmer, in a Swim from Blackwall to Gravesend, July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1875", and inviting Webb to present prizes at his promotions. Following Webb's death, Beckwith and a committee comprising both professional and amateur swimmers, promoted a well-attended swimming entertainment at Lambeth for the benefit of Webb's widow. A model of Webb from Madame Tussaud's was on view and professionals, "among them the Misses Brown and Wilson", exhibited aquatic feats. Other participants included Charles, Professor Bibbero, the Ward family, Mrs and Miss Whitehead of Manchester, Mrs. Easton, Thomas Attwood, W. Loscombe, and Laura Saigeman. Frederick, in full dress suit and opera hat, gave a short display, showing the "ease, grace and composure, which mark his swimming".<sup>748</sup>

By 1881, Beckwith was still living close to the baths, with daughter Agnes and son Charles, and the family, along with long-term associates, such as Attwood, were appearing regularly in aquatic shows inside and outside of London.<sup>749</sup> His wife, Agnes, had died in 1875 and the Professor had married Elizabeth, although they were now separated and two-year-old Lizzie, who later appeared with the Beckwith

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him a trial, starting from Westminster Bridge, and Webb swam until we were tired of looking at him. He proposed to go seaward, turn with the tide, and swim back. This amazed Beckwith, who remarked, "If you do, you'll not have me for a companion. I'm off." Whereupon Webb was hauled into the boat. We were satisfied that he was then a very marvellous man, and after the swim from Blackwall to Gravesend he accomplished the greatest feat on record".

<sup>748</sup> [www.victorianlondon.org](http://www.victorianlondon.org) (accessed 3 June 2005); British Library *Evan*. 983; *Evan*. 1605 Poster; *Evening Standard*, 3 September 1883; *The Manchester Guardian*, 26 July 1883 p. 5; 4 September 1883 p. 7; *The Era*, 8 September 1883 p. 4.

<sup>749</sup> Census Returns 1881. Frederick, daughter Agnes and Charles 1881 (589/64/4). Living at 74 Kennington Road, Lambeth. Frederick Beckwith *professor of swimming (performer)* 58, Agnes 19 (*performer*), Charles 17 *swimmer (performer)*.

troupe, was residing with her mother.<sup>750</sup> In 1889, the couple divorced, and the "Mrs. Beckwith" referred to in subsequent advertisements was probably Willie's wife, Emma, an accomplished "ornamental" swimmer.<sup>751</sup>

Willie was at *The Feathers* in 1881 which, given its association with the Claspers, the renowned professional rowing and boat building family, is another glimpse of the traditional connections between professional sportsmen.<sup>752</sup> Ilex Swimming Club met at Kelly's, *The Bells*, Putney, in July 1861 and, at a benefit for Frederick in Lambeth later that month, "all the best swimmers of the day" were joined by professional oarsmen including R. Chambers (Champion), H. Clasper, and H. Kelly. Professor Harrison went through "several of his astonishing feats with clubs" and James Pudney, the champion ten-mile runner, exhibited his belt. In November 1873, the gymnasium winter season commenced with an exhibition of manly exercises. Wrestlers Tomlinson, Beevy, Graham, and Hunter, displayed great skill and the Brothers Harrison performed their "Herculean feats". Willie and Agnes then staged an aquatic entertainment in a large glass fronted tank and they were followed by Attwood, who remained underwater for a long time, being "greatly cheered" on surfacing. McCormack and Jem Cody boxed each other in a vigorous manner, the Brothers Welch displayed "considerable science", while Professor Hawkes and Dan Hawkes proved themselves masters of the noble art.<sup>753</sup> A six-day pedestrian match at the Agricultural Hall, Wolverhampton, in November 1879 included Richardson, "winner of the Beckwith and Taylor's belt", and a week later, W. Beckwith and W. Taylor, the "popular managers of the Lambeth Baths Gymnasium" promoted a pedestrian event for music hall artistes. In between these events, Willie was acting as judge for pedestrian matches in Balham.<sup>754</sup> There was

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<sup>750</sup> GRO Agnes Beckwith (1875/death/September/St.Saviour/1d/55) aged 45. GRO Elizabeth Emily Ainley Burgess Osland (1876/marriage/December/Lambeth/1d/748). GRO Elizabeth Anne Beckwith (1878/birth/September/Lambeth/1d/377). Census Returns 1881. (586/36/2). 192 Westminster Road, Elizabeth, 31, *separated from husband*. Daughter Elizabeth Anne, 2.

<sup>751</sup> 1889 Divorce Records and Matrimonial Causes Case 3043 Frederick Edward Beckwith petitioner versus respondent Elizabeth Emily Ainley Burgess; Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers or Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead.

<sup>752</sup> Census Returns 1881. William Beckwith 1881 (657/111/22). "Feathers Tavern" in Wandsworth, Church Walk, 23 *professional swimmer*; British Library *Evan*. 872 Poster. At the *Canterbury Theatre of Varieties*, Westminster Bridge Road, in 1888, a testimonial assault-at-arms held for Jem Carney, champion lightweight of the world, brought together Champion Boxers, Pedestrians, Swimmers, Rowers, and Jumpers, including Darby, Champion Jumper of the World, who performed "some of his Marvellous Feats"; Lucas, J. (1977). Anomalies of Human Physical Achievement, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education*, VIII (2) pp. 1-9, notes that Joseph Darby of Dumley, England, earned his living with his skill and managed a 14' 9" standing broad jump. Darby, 5' 8½" and 169 pounds, carried weights and executed 41' 7" in three consecutive standing jumps, 61' 5½" in five standing jumps. He did 130' 8" for ten standing jumps with weights and 12' 11" backwards with weights.

<sup>753</sup> *The Era*, 7 July 1861 p. 14; 9 November 1873 p. 3.

<sup>754</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 11 November 1879 p. 6; *The Era*, 16 November 1879 p. 4.

some crossover in training as well. Jones, of Leeds, kept himself in condition for his match with Willie in 1881 by bouts of sculling with oarsman R. W. Boyd.<sup>755</sup>

Beckwith never restricted his activities to the metropolis and one 1868 notice, targeted at theatrical proprietors and agents, describing his Amphibious Family as the "Greatest Novelty of the Age", recorded that they had completed an engagement in Manchester in a glass fronted aquarium and were opening at the *New Star Music Hall* in Liverpool from 3 February. Later that year, the family appeared at Birmingham Concert Hall, and, in 1872, Les Enfants Polissons, two of Beckwith's children, made their debut at the *Porcherons Music Hall* in Paris. During August 1872, the Beckwith Family were among the main attractions at the new aquarium in Brighton where the locals, who had "tank fever, and have gone into this watery entertainment a buster", crowded the hall every evening. Agnes and Willie also appeared alongside other tank exhibitors such as Peter Johnson and J. Thompson.<sup>756</sup> As for outdoor exhibitions, the professor was in Devon in 1875, with Agnes and Willie, to provide the entertainment for the opening of the Great Nassau Bath, and at the Hastings Baths in Sussex with Bobby, Lizzie, Agnes, and Charles, on more than one occasion, giving a farewell benefit there on Monday 3 September in 1888.<sup>757</sup> These shows continued into the 1890s, with different members of the family and their connections appearing at different times. The 1891 summer season was spent at Morecombe People's Palace and Aquarium where they gave a "most refined performance".<sup>758</sup> In the 1892 and 1893 summer seasons, the Beckwiths appeared twice daily in Hastings, combining a comic aquatic farce with an exhibition of the natatory art, and the Professor distinguished himself by saving a lady from drowning, having jumped in fully dressed, a "plucky deed for a man nearing the age of three score and ten".<sup>759</sup> Later in 1893, the family were at the *Manchester Grand Theatre of Varieties* and performing with Boswell's Grand Circus in Chesterfield and Leeds in January 1894.<sup>760</sup> In the Brock Street Baths, Professor Beckwith, Lizzie, and Amy L'Estrange, appeared in two "grand aquatic entertainments", while Beckwith's "world renowned water show & sports" played at Camberwell Baths on 16 June 1894. Beckwith's "celebrated troupe of swimmers

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<sup>755</sup> *The Leeds Mercury*, 13 September 1881 p. 8.

<sup>756</sup> *The Era*, 26 January 1868 p. 16; *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 February 1868 p. 6; *The Era*, 29 March 1868 p. 11; 4 February 1872 p. 10; 18 August 1872 p. 5; 9 April 1876 p. 6.

<sup>757</sup> Robert Frederick Beckwith GRO (1883/birth/June/Lambeth/1d/495).

<sup>758</sup> *The Era*, 20 June p. 16; 18 July 1891 p. 17; 1 August 1891 p. 16; 22 August 1891 p. 16.

<sup>759</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 April 1892 p. 16; 25 June 1892 p. 15; 16 July 1892 p. 16; 23 July 1892 p. 16; 17 September 1892 p. 7; 27 May 1893 p. 17; 8 July 1893 p. 16; 2 September 1893 p. 6; 11 November 1893 p. 7.

<sup>760</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 October 1893 p. 7; 4 November 1893 p. 17; 13 January 1894 p. 7; 20 January 1894 p. 12.

and performers" appeared at the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington, in the Grand Chinese Water Carnival on Saturday 15 September 1894, alongside the Whimsical Walker, Clotilde Conrad, Queen of the Silver Wire, Chair Pyramid Performers Charles and Fedora James, and Pantomimist Charles Perks.<sup>761</sup> They introduced a new comic sketch entitled "An Aquatic Elopement" alongside swimming handicaps open to all England and walking the greasy pole. The World's Fair at the Royal Agricultural Hall, Islington, opened in December, featuring the troupe's "clever and graceful feats of natation", and 1895 saw the family perform at both Sunderland Corporation Baths and Ramsgate Promenade Pier.<sup>762</sup>

By 1891, both Willie and Charles were still living in Lambeth,<sup>763</sup> but their father had moved just across the river, with daughter Lizzie (12) and son Robert (7), to opposite the venue of his long-standing engagement at the Royal Aquarium. He had also recruited further professional swimmers, notably Olivette Flower (16) and Minnie Ward (20), and other professional swimmers living in the vicinity were almost certainly involved in his aquatic entertainments at the Aquarium.<sup>764</sup>

### *The "Aq"*

Early public aquaria were built for the purpose of education and scientific study but, by the 1870s, private companies were building them for amusement and, between 1871 and 1877, aquaria were opened at Crystal Palace, Brighton, Manchester, Southport, Blackpool, Yarmouth, and Scarborough. The Royal Aquarium and Summer and Winter Gardens, opposite Westminster Abbey and the Houses of

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<sup>761</sup> *Bideford Gazette*, 29 June 1875; British Library *Evan*. 1566 Notice; *Evan*. 1667; *Evan*. 984; *Evan*. 161 Programme; *Evan*. 869 Notice; *Evan*. 1138, *Evan*. 966.

<sup>762</sup> *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 8 July 1894 p. 6; 16 December 1894 p. 6; *The Era*, 29 December 1894 p. 16; 26 January 1895 p. 18; 31 August 1895 p. 19; 14 September 1895 p. 7; 21 September 1895 p. 19; 28 September 1895 p. 12.

<sup>763</sup> Census Returns 1891. Willie and Emma Beckwith 1891 (391/132/7). GRO (1877/marriage/December/Lambeth/1d/688). Lambeth, Princes Kennington, 281 Kennington Road, William H. Beckwith, 33, *professional swimmer*, Emma Beckwith Wife, 33, Frederick E. Beckwith Son, 4. The other families living in the house were *living on their own means*; Lambeth Charles Beckwith 1891 (393/58/37). GRO (1884/marriage/June/Chelsea/1a/579). Bishops North Lambeth, 25 Oakden Street, Charles Beckwith, 23, *teacher of swimming*, Emily Beckwith, Wife 24 b. Marylebone, Agnes Beckwith daughter 6, Charles Beckwith son 4.

<sup>764</sup> Census Returns 1891. Frederick, Lizzie and Bobby 1891 (82/72/12). St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, 2 and 3 Tothill Street. Frederick Edward Beckwith, Married, 66, *professor of swimming*, Lizzie Beckwith, Daughter, 12; Robert Beckwith, Son, 7; Olivette Flower, Single, 16, *professional swimmer*, b. Kent, Canterbury; Minnie Ward, 20, *professional swimmer*, b. Gateshead on Tyne; Ada Beckett 1891 (348/92/18). St George the Martyr West Southwark, 38 Gladstone Road, Visitor, Widowed, 25, *professional swimmer* b. Pimlico; Alice Mary and Frank Randall 1891 (82/75/18). St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist Westminster - 15 Dacre Street, Alice Mary Randall, Married, 22, *professional swimmer* b. London Mayfair; Frank Randall, Single, 22, *professional swimmer*, b. London, Mayfair, Employed, Exhibitor; Frank J. Ives 1891 (79/209/64). St. John the Evangelist Westminster, St. Mary, Frederick Street, Son, 16, *professional swimmer* b. Pimlico.

Parliament, were opened on 22 January 1876. It was a six-hundred-foot long redbrick building, costing £200,000, with a glass roof, which was intended to be a cultural institution with libraries, exhibitions, concerts, and scientific lectures. However, after mounting losses, the directors hired an ex-trapeze artist, "The Great Farini", as entertainment manager and he made "The Aq" a place of popular entertainment, with the first human cannonball act, "Pongo the Gorilla," human freak shows, and gymnastic displays. The aquarium tanks were used to display manatee 'mermaids' and beluga whales and, in March 1880, Webb bet £100 to £20 that he could spend sixty hours in the forty-foot long glass tank, although the feat attracted few spectators.<sup>765</sup>

Aquatic events held in tanks in aquaria and theatres extended the earning possibilities for swimming professionals. Professor Cottrell, "champion swimmer & diver", appeared at the World's Fair in Islington, on Christmas Eve 1881, alongside Mr. Sedgewick's Royal collection of moving wax works and Chittock's dog and monkey show, while at the Assembly Rooms in Folkestone, Kent, in 1891, Professor Taylor, the "great man fish" gave his "grand swimming entertainment".<sup>766</sup> Professional swimmer and tank exhibitor James Finney's attempt on the underwater record at the *Canterbury Music Hall* in April 1886 attracted a large audience, including "sporting people of all descriptions." Just before the watch registered four minutes thirty seconds he returned to the surface to be met with "round after round of applause". Finney, billed as having "won more Championship Races than any other Swimmer in existence", subsequently appeared in an extended run at the *Middlesex Music Hall* in Holborn in October 1888, assisted by Mdlle. La Grand, and alongside acts such as Dan Leno "London's favourite vocal comedian and champion dancer". He also performed at the *South London Palace*, again accompanied by Mdlle La Grand, and at the *Trocadero Music Hall* in Piccadilly, assisted by sister Marie.<sup>767</sup> Finney took a benefit at the *Trocadero* in 1889 when the hall was crowded

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<sup>765</sup> Norfolk, H. (2004). *Aquariums and Public Aquariums in Mid-Victorian Times* citing *The Aquarium. Its Inhabitants, Structure and Management*, by J. E. Taylor, <http://www.aquarticles.com> Date accessed 29 May 2007; Guillermo Antonio Farini was a pseudonym for William Leonard Hunt, 1838-1929.

<sup>766</sup> British Library *Evan.* 2768 Poster; *Evan.* 1245 Notice; *Swimming Notes*, 23 February 1891 p. 7.

<sup>767</sup> *Swimming Notes*, 22 March 1884 p. 4; *The Swimmer: A Journal Devoted to Natation*, 10 April 1886 1 (6) p. 58; British Library *Evan.* 1876 Poster; *Evan.* 843 Notice; *Evan.* 1081 Notice; Census Returns 1871-1901; Love, C. (2007). Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) pp. 605-607. Census returns 1881-1901. James and sister Mary Rhodes Finney 1881 (4066/37/22), 1891 (433/100/35). 1901 Wife Mary and children (369/94/3). William 1901 (455/39/23). Stockport born James Finney, son of a warehouseman, was only eighteen in 1881 but already a teacher of swimming in Oldham. Like other examples in this work this contradicts Love's assertion that the role of swimming master was commonly reserved for older



with "gentlemen intimately associated with various phases of sport". In a special entertainment, "some fifty or sixty favourites were announced to take part", including James and Marie in their tank exhibition, prior to which Marie was presented with a gold medal in recognition of her "clever and plucky dive" from London-bridge.<sup>768</sup> Finney continued his competitive swimming career alongside exhibitions. His endurance race against Willie Beckwith at Lambeth in 1887, "came to an abrupt conclusion, owing to the indisposition of Willie Beckwith", with Finney already leading by four miles.<sup>769</sup>

Frederick Beckwith claimed credit for the introduction and development of tank performances. In an acrimonious public exchange of letters, the Professor argued that he had been the first to travel with a tank and that he had performed in Paris just six months after the conclusion of "the Franco-German war". At the time of this engagement, he had been teaching the Rothschild family, and "Mr. Leopold kindly translated the French agreement, and gave his opinion as to its not being a very good engagement, as everything was so dear in Paris, and I found it so to my cost".<sup>770</sup> Beckwith took full advantage of the tank facility at the Westminster Aquarium where his "amphibious family" was advertised in their "swimming, diving and boating entertainment" throughout the 1880s. The professor displayed "Feats of Natation" including the sidestroke, the over-hand stroke, the chest stroke, swimming feet first, and methods of lifesaving. Spectators could watch the family demonstrating undressing, smoking, and "eating two sponge cakes under water". Other ornamental and "scientific" elements included the double hoop trick, drinking a bottle of milk underwater, somersaults, swimming with the hoop, imitating a porpoise, swimming with one leg out of the water, waltzing, and swimming with hands and legs tied.<sup>771</sup> In 1882, after a hundred weeks of performances Agnes and Willie took a farewell benefit in order to have a rest before fulfilling engagements abroad. Willie performed his daring dive from a bar high above the tank, and Agnes waltzed in the water and gave a representation of a well-known picture, "The Christian Martyr." Captain Webb and the Misses Johnson assisted and were loudly

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professionals who were no longer competitive swimmers; *The Graphic*, 29 October 1887 p. 482. Finney won 1,000 yards champ of PSA in best time on record. He was in Battersea in 1891, again as a *teacher of swimming*, as was his sister Mary Rhodes Finney, then nineteen. In 1901, wife Mary and their four children were living at 89 Kennington Road, Lambeth. Brother William, *high diver and swimmer*, was lodging in Battersea.

<sup>768</sup> *The Daily News*, 20 December 1889 p. 3.

<sup>769</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 12 November 1887 p. 7.

<sup>770</sup> *The Era*, 11 April 1891 p. 17; 18 April 1891 p. 16; 25 April 1891 p. 12.

<sup>771</sup> British Library *Evan*. 814; *Evan*. 2756; *Evan*. 1798 Notice; *Evan*. 1150 Notice; *Evan*. 1408; *Evan*. 1395 Notice; *Evan*. 983 1883.

applauded.<sup>772</sup> An 1886 Aquarium advert noted that the tepid swimming bath was open daily from 7 a.m. as a School of Swimming under Professor Beckwith. The Beckwith entertainments were now in their sixth year and the new boating sketch was proving very popular.<sup>773</sup> The family took another benefit in March 1890 when Agnes, Willie, and Charles gave an aquatic display, a race for amateurs was closely contested, and several well-known music hall artistes contributed their services.<sup>774</sup>

Advertising material for the "Aq" throughout the 1880s consistently included references to the Professor's entertainments alongside notices for attractions such as Nat Emmett's performing goats, Madame Paula, "fighting and conquering alligators", and Little Lu Lu "on the wire ten foot high and two hundred feet". Professor Beckwith was joined, at various times, by Professor Smith ("Royal Punch & Judy"), Professor Lorenzo ("troupe of performing dogs, ponies, goats and monkeys"), and Professor Willis ("comical conjuror"), while "Grand Billiard Matches" and Zulima, the strongest woman in the world, competed for attention with the swimming entertainments. Frederick was fully aware of the value of the female performer in helping sustain his audience and, in 1885, he introduced Alice Sinclair, "the Lady Godiva, and champion ornamental swimmer of the world". His Christmas advert emphasised the female champions on view, including Alice, Minnie Ward, and Alice May.<sup>775</sup>

### *Agnes Beckwith*

The public acclaim accorded to female swimming professionals reflects their relative societal acceptance. Women runners in the late 1700s, turn-of-the-century strongwomen, and pedestriennes who completed six-day matches in the 1870s and 1880s, trained for their events as much as their swimming counterparts but their activities were less feminine appropriate.<sup>776</sup> Swimming was considered a good form

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<sup>772</sup> *The Era*, 20 May 1882 p. 4.

<sup>773</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 April 1886 p. 10; *Bell's Life in London*, 25 May 1886 p. 1.

<sup>774</sup> *The Era*, 8 March 1890 p. 17; 15 March 1890 p. 14.

<sup>775</sup> *The News of the World*, 26 December 1886 p. 4. Advert; British Library *Evan*. 487 Poster; *Evan*. 500 Poster; *Evan*. 996 programme.

<sup>776</sup> See Park, J. (1989). Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women in Victorian England: A Reappraisal, *The International Journal of the History Sport* 6 (1) pp. 10-30; McCrone, K. E. (1988). *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, London: Routledge; McCrone, K. E. (1991). Class, Gender, and English Women's Sport, c. 1890-1914, *Journal of Sports History* 18 (1) pp. 159-182; Radford, P. F. (1993). *Women's Foot-Races in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, paper presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport, Berlin; Todd, J. (1989). *The Strong Lady in America: Professional Athletes in the Police Gazette*, paper presented at the 17<sup>th</sup> Convention of the North American Society for Sport History; Park, R. J. (1993). *Strong and Thick-Set Heroines: The Other Side of Women's Sports, 1750-1900*, paper presented at the 21<sup>st</sup> Convention of the North American Society

of physical activity for women's delicate constitutions and the grace, poise, and cleanliness, inherent in the sport avoided concerns about women acting improperly by straining, sweating, and getting dirty. The lack of sanitary protection made it unlikely that women swam while menstruating, which further appeased the medical community. On the other hand, the bathing suits worn by female professionals were quite risqué for the 1880s and portraits of female swimmers in 1899 suggest a style of public dress that may not have been universally acceptable.<sup>777</sup> The ASA asked a conference of lady swimmers to determine an appropriate amateur costume in 1898.<sup>778</sup>

The acceptance of women into swimming extended to involvement as teachers and coaches. Some women established separate swimming clubs, as at Rochester, Kent, where the first AGM, in June 1884, reported that one club employee would assist members who needed advice on swimming techniques. In 1885, Portsmouth S.C. employed Helga Lassen of Copenhagen as its "lady instructress". In addition to teaching, she gave displays of ornamental swimming. At London University, the Royal Holloway College built a heated pool in 1894 and the staff included a teacher for swimming and life saving. Girton College, Cambridge, soon followed suit. Cadburys recruited full-time female instructors from the physical training colleges, on regular contracts and at competitive wages, to teach gymnastics, swimming, and games, at their factory in Birmingham, where around two thousand girls were taught to swim in the first five years.<sup>779</sup>

Agnes Beckwith had a lifetime's association with swimming, as teacher, competitor, and performer. Consistently referred to as the "Premier Lady Swimmer of the

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for Sport History; *The Bicycle Journal, Swimming and General Athletic & Pedestrian Recorder*, 21 August 1878 1 (106) p. 7 lists English professionals for 1878, including seven women.

<sup>777</sup> Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming, 1840 to 1878, *The Sports Historian* 21 pp. 58-72; Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead includes portraits of all the swimmers of the period.

<sup>778</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 24 September 1898. Ladies conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel to consider the question of a regulation Swimming Costume.

<sup>779</sup> McCrone, K. E. (1991). Class, Gender, and English Women's Sport, c. 1890-1914, *Journal of Sport History* 18 (1) pp. 159-182; Bromhead, J. (2000). George Cadbury's Contribution to Sport, *The Sports Historian* 20 (1) pp. 97-117; Swedish Olympic Committee. Bergvall, E. (Ed.) (1913). *The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, Trans. Adams-Ray, E. Stockholm Wahlstrom and Widstrand. In 1910, FINA agreed to allow women's events in their competitions and when two women's swimming events and a diving contest were included in the 1912 Stockholm Olympic programme, the British team were accompanied by Mesdames Holmes and Jarvis, who acted as chaperones as well as coaches; *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes* 1912 p. 150 Report of Selection Committee – Olympic Games 1912 recorded that the ladies were assiduous in their training and that their visit was rendered as pleasant as possible by the remaining members of the party.

World", she was as well known as any of the Beckwiths, having started her public swimming career at a very young age, when her father was criticised for "bringing her out", even by his friends. However, it was gradually recognised that "her graceful feats" encouraged women into the water and the increasing numbers of women swimming by the end of the century were generally ascribed, at least in part, to the popularity of the Beckwith entertainments. The press repeatedly styled Agnes "the pioneer of lady swimmers" since "it cannot be denied that to her may be assigned the great popularity of swimming by ladies of the present day".<sup>780</sup>

Agnes was already teaching others in the London Schools classes for girls, when, aged fourteen, she swam five miles from London Bridge to Greenwich in one hour seven minutes. On 6 July 1876, she completed ten miles from Battersea Bridge to Greenwich, entering the water "amidst hearty cheers from the assembled crowd". Starting with a "graceful and resolute stroke" she arrived at Chelsea new bridge "in excellent form", where she donned a straw hat, and, at Vauxhall Bridge, she performed her "celebrated hoop trick". By Westminster Bridge, the crowds were three or four deep and the water was "studded with small craft, the occupants of which were at times unpleasantly demonstrative". Two hours from the start, Agnes arrived opposite the Horsferry Dry Dock, Limehouse Reach, where she was greeted with a two-gun salute. Ultimately, she arrived at Greenwich Hospital, "without the slightest vestige of fatigue" in two hours forty-five minutes, "the best performance of the kind to which any credence can be given on record". Two years later, on 17 July 1878, Agnes swam twenty miles in the Thames, in six hours twenty-five minutes.<sup>781</sup>

If suitable competition was difficult to find for male swimmers then it was that much harder for the very small group of lady professionals. Swimming contests on 17 May 1875 in the Brill's Baths, Eastbourne, featured the Beckwiths and Miss Saigeman, teacher of swimming at the Baths, who appeared in another Beckwith entertainment in August, alongside Agnes and Miss Martyr.<sup>782</sup> Agnes competed directly against Laura Saigeman, for a silver cup at Lambeth Baths on 25 August 1879. Both were well known as "very clever" ornamental swimmers, but whereas Agnes was renowned for her distance swims, Laura was better known from her

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<sup>780</sup> *The Manchester Times*, 21 September 1900 p. 8; Poster in British Library 1890.

<sup>781</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 27 May 1876 p. 10; *Dramatic and Sporting News*, 16 July 1876; British Library *Evan*. 1605 Poster describing a "Grand Swimming gala Under Distinguished Patronage" being held on Monday, 8 October 1877, at the Lambeth Baths, as a "Complimentary Benefit To Miss Beckwith", refers to Agnes as "The heroine of the Thames and Tyne" although records of her Tyneside performances are vague.

<sup>782</sup> *The Era*, 23 May 1875 p. 5; 22 August 1875 p. 3.

exploits around the seacoast and for her reputation as a "very clever teacher".<sup>783</sup> Three matches were made, the first of which was over two miles at Lambeth. Saigeman maintained an advantage during the first half-mile although Agnes, swimming "with a great deal of finish and confidence", took the lead just before halfway, performing the mile in forty-eight minutes twelve-and-a-half seconds, and despite stopping to speak to her brother, she swam away from her rival, using the sidestroke, to win by forty yards. The three match series concluded with a win for Laura Saigeman in Hastings.<sup>784</sup> In 1883, there was an "immense amount of interest" in the Ladies Mile Championship in Eastbourne when Laura lost to Theresa Johnson of Leeds, who had already accepted Agnes's challenge to swim a mile for £100 or £200 a side.<sup>785</sup>

Agnes was closely associated with the "Aq", where "the perpetual ablutions of Miss Beckwith have sought to enliven the depressing gloom," and she was recorded as having had a hundred and fifty-one weeks of continuous engagement at the facility.<sup>786</sup> In May 1880, she completed a thirty-hour swim, "continuously pleasing an immense audience by her well-known graceful feats of natation", taking all her meals in the water and occasionally reading daily accounts of her swim, while still swimming. Later that year, she swam one hundred hours in six days, starting at six o'clock and finishing at eleven o'clock each night, and subsequent advertisements described Agnes as "Heroine of the 100 hours' swim". This performance was visited by the Princess of Wales, the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of York, and the Professor made the most of this, and other royal visits, by subsequently advertising his promotions as being patronised by "T.R.H. the Prince and Princess of Wales and Royal Family". When the Beckwiths took a third benefit at the Aquarium on 10 March 1890, Beckwith promoted it on the "Anniversary of

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<sup>783</sup> Census Returns 1881-1901. Laura Saigeman 1881 (1038/36/18). GRO (1857/birth/June/Worthing/2b/266), (1882/marriage/December/EastPreston/2b/657). Laura and George Tait 1891 (772/30/52), 1901 (871/17/25). Laura Saigeman, born in Worthing in 1857, was lodging with *baths manager* Henry Harriott and his wife in Park Cottage, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne, Sussex and working at the Devonshire Baths as a *swimming instructor* in 1881. She married Edward George Tait, *engineer*, in 1882 and the 1891 census shows them still living at Park Cottage with Edward as the *manager of swimming baths*. By 1901, they had moved to Bexhill Road and Edward was now a *bathing machine owner*.

<sup>784</sup> *The Times*, 26 August 1879 p. 9; Watson, R. (1899). *Comparative Generations*, In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 21.

<sup>785</sup> *The Graphic*, 3 November 1883 p. 435.

<sup>786</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, April 1884 XLII (290) p. 183; *Swimming Notes*, 3 May 1884 12 p. 8.

the Marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales who have several times honoured the Beckwiths with their Royal Patronage".<sup>787</sup>

Agnes married William Taylor in 1882 but kept the Beckwith name, at least for public performances.<sup>788</sup> Taylor, a theatrical agent was an integral part of the Beckwith community. He ran the baths gymnasium with Frederick in the 1870s, and was managing the Beckwith family in their swimming engagements at the time of his marriage. In Hastings in 1889, Mr. William Taylor, "Miss Beckwith's courteous and able manager", received a benefit, which featured Charles Beckwith, and when Agnes appeared in Bournemouth in 1892, William, her "business-manager", was given two galas as a benefit.<sup>789</sup>

Agnes and Willie exhibited in America and Canada in 1883 when Toronto papers reported that their aquatic displays near professional rower Edward Hanlan's hotel had been witnessed by thousands of enthusiastic spectators and that their engagement had been extended by over a week.<sup>790</sup> The ability of Frederick to place his own interpretation on events is shown by his publicity literature declaring that Agnes had successfully completed a twenty-five mile swim from Sandy Hook N.Y. to Rockaway Pier during her time in America, which is at odds with American newspaper reports.<sup>791</sup> Agnes also swam in France and Belgium as well as having an engagement, in conjunction with her brother, with the Great Barnum, and she appeared with Hengler's Cirque in Liverpool in February 1887 and, with Willie

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<sup>787</sup> Poster in British Library 1890; Watson, R. (1899). *Comparative Generations* In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 21; British Library *Evan.* 983 Poster 1883; *Evan.* 339 Poster.

<sup>788</sup> Agnes Alice Beckwith GRO (1882/marriage/March/Lambeth/1d/520). William Taylor. Census Returns 1891-1901. Agnes Alice and William Taylor 1891 (394/27/12), 1901 (383/89/3). In 1891 they were at 130 Kennington Road, Lambeth. William Taylor, 40, was a *general agent*, born Surrey, Rotherhithe. In 1901 they were in Newington at 20 Crampton Street and William was a *theatrical agent*. At one stage, William Taylor managed and promoted the gymnasium at Lambeth Baths by himself.

<sup>789</sup> *The Era*, 9 November 1879 p. 4; 9 September 1882 p. 8; 27 July 1889 p. 18; 25 June 1892 p. 17; 9 July 1892 p. 17; 24 September 1892 p. 18.

<sup>790</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 18 August 1883 p. 10; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 May 1883 p. 8. Willie, his wife, Agnes and William Taylor left on Thursday 17 May 1883 on the *City of Berlin*.

<sup>791</sup> *The Atlanta Constitution*, 1 July 1883, noted that "Miss Agnes Beckwith, the champion English swimmer, is daily taking a ten mile swim in the ocean, starting from Rockaway pier on Saturday next she will blurt from Sandy Hook, and expects to reach Rockaway at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the distance being twenty miles. Her brother and Captain Munly, the swimming pilot, will accompany her."; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 14 July 1883 p. 337. Aquatic Sports. - The Attempt Of Miss Agnes Beckwith To Swim From Sandy Hook To Coney Island, June 30th. Described as a "champion" English swimmer who used the "chest-stroke," Agnes swam about fifteen miles before a storm forced her out of the water "much against her will".

alongside, in Glasgow a month later.<sup>792</sup> Her popularity in Liverpool was reflected in a Mr. Moore naming his coursing greyhound "Miss Beckwith".<sup>793</sup>

On their return from North America in October 1883, Willie and Agnes resumed their exhibitions in the tank at the "Aq", which had been "kept warm by Beckwith père, assisted by the Misses Brown and Wilson" during their absence. The pair looked "exceedingly well" and their display was "even better and more interesting than ever". Agnes displayed a "line of beauty and the poetry of motion in such a graceful manner as to call forth repeated applause from the large company...and near the finish a bouquet was thrown to her, which, after inhaling, she placed in the sanctity of her somewhat *décolléte* costume".<sup>794</sup>

From the mid 1880s, Agnes and her father used her substantial reputation in their adverts for exhibitions and teaching classes. In 1885, Agnes was billed as "the greatest lady swimmer in the world" and the swimming feats of Agnes and Willie ensured that the "Aq" remained "the most entertaining Variety Show in London". In 1874 the introduction of lady swimmers had been regarded as a "novelty" when swimmers like Miss Martyr had been introduced for the first time.<sup>795</sup> Now, Agnes was managing her own "talented troupe of lady swimmers" and having little trouble finding engagements. The City Dolphin Swimming Club annual entertainment at the Queen's-road, Bayswater, Bath, was a great success in October 1886, partly due to the display of ornamental and other swimming by Agnes, Lizzie, aged six, and Olivette Flower.<sup>796</sup> When George A. Payne secured Agnes for the *Canterbury Music Hall*, one critic observed that the restricted facilities of the stage meant that the tank in which "she and Miss Nellie now disport" had insufficient space to enable Agnes to fully display her grace and beauty of style. Considering the size of the tank, Miss Beckwith did wonders and, from the moment the two performers took to the water, their every movement was watched with evident interest through the glass front of the tank, which was elegantly built up between scenery depicting foliage.<sup>797</sup> In 1888, Agnes's swimming entertainment appeared alongside Baldwin's "sensational daring and graceful drop from the clouds" at Alexandra Palace, Muswell

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<sup>792</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 8 February 1887 p. 5.; *The Era*, 5 March 1887 p. 16.

<sup>793</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 October 1887 p. 7. Coursing. Sir R. Jardine's *Estelle* agst Mr. Moore's *Miss Beckwith*; *Glasgow Herald*, 7 December 1887 p. 11. Coursing. Lichfield Club and Open Meeting 6 December *Miss Beckwith* ran a nice course against *Wild Bushman*.

<sup>794</sup> *The Graphic*, 13 October 1883 p. 370. Swimming. William and Agnes Beckwith have arrived home from their natatorial tour in America; *Ashore and Afloat*, 2 November 1883.

<sup>795</sup> *The Era*, 30 August 1874 p. 3; 11 October 1874 p. 3.

<sup>796</sup> *The News of the World*, 24 October 1886 p. 8.

<sup>797</sup> *The Era*, 8 October 1887 p. 10.

Hill.<sup>798</sup> The troupe was in Hastings for the 1889 summer season, where they gave exhibitions twice daily from May to September,<sup>799</sup> while the 1895 and 1896 seasons were spent in Scarborough.<sup>800</sup> These summer engagements were interspersed with appearances in music halls, circuses, and at the World's Fair,<sup>801</sup> and involved other participants such as Miss Wilson, Milly Cranwell, "pretty and plump", and the "pretty and lissom" Miss Clifton.<sup>802</sup>

The identity of troupe members becomes somewhat confused because it seems that individuals often adopted the Beckwith surname. Ethel Beckwith was invariably in attendance,<sup>803</sup> but other "Beckwiths" included Dora and Nellie at Hastings in 1889, May and Mabel at Bournemouth in 1891, and Mabel again at Scarborough in 1896.<sup>804</sup> At Leeds Albert Hall in 1895, artists included Edith Beckwith.<sup>805</sup> Perhaps the most intriguing "Beckwith" was Clara "the champion lady swimmer of the world", who achieved success in America in the 1890s with her "natatorial" act. She claimed to be the daughter of Frederick but there is no trace of her in the records.<sup>806</sup>

Lizzie Beckwith, the professor's youngest daughter, used her genuine entitlement to the name and her own swimming ability to carve out an entertainment career. She regularly appeared with her father, brother Bobbie, and half brother Charles, as well as Minnie Ward and Olivette Flower, at the Aquarium and across the country.<sup>807</sup>

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<sup>798</sup> British Library *Evan*. 339 Poster; *The Penny Illustrated*, 6 January 1883 p. 14; British Library *Evan*. 2694 Poster; Poster in British Library 1890.

<sup>799</sup> *The Era*, 25 May 1889 p. 20; 22 June 1889 p. 16; 6 July 1889 p. 17; 13 July 1889 p. 17; 3 August 1889 p. 13; 17 August 1889 p. 17; 24 August 1889 p. 16; 31 August 1889 p. 16; 7 September 1889 p. 17.

<sup>800</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 June 1895 p. 20; 13 July 1895 p. 16; 27 July 1895 p. 16; 17 August 1895 p. 10; 31 August 1895 p. 7; 30 May 1896 p. 18; 13 June 1896 p. 21; 11 July 1896 p. 11; 25 July 1896 p. 17; 1 August 1896 p. 20; 8 August 1896 p. 20; 29 August 1896 p. 23; 19 September 1896 p. 22; 26 September 1896 p. 21.

<sup>801</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 December 1891 p. 16; 15 May 1897 p. 21; 1 January 1898 p. 22; 29 January 1898 p. 20; 21 January 1899 p. 20; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 24 December 1899 p. 13.

<sup>802</sup> *The Era*, 5 January 1884 p. 20; *The Penny Illustrated*, 9 August 1884 p. 11; 19 May 1888 p. 7; 28 May 1887 p. 6.

<sup>803</sup> *The Era*, 5 October 1895 p. 12; 29 February 1896 p. 8; 7 March 1896 p. 21; 9 May 1896 p. 23; 10 October 1896 p. 22; 8 May 1897 p. 20; 27 February 1897 p. 23.

<sup>804</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 May 1889 p. 20; 4 July 1891 p. 16; 26 September 1896 p. 21.

<sup>805</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 October 1895 p. 7.

<sup>806</sup> *Wheeling Register*, published as *Wheeling Sunday Register*, 23 July 1893 p. 10; *The Era*, 30 November 1895 p. 19; 15 April 1899 p. 19; *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 18 November 1893 p. 11. The Art Of Beauty. Measurements of a Swimming Girl. Miss Clara Beckwith's measurements were "perfect, and, besides, she has development of muscle, with no superfluous flesh. Her head in length measures 9½ in., so does her foot; her chest measures 39in., and she can easily expand it 3in. more; her hip measures 40in., upper arm 12½in. and her lower arm 10 1-8in. The measurement of the neck should equal that of the calf, but my model's neck is 13½ in whereas the measurement of the calf is 14½in".

<sup>807</sup> *The Era*, 15 June 1889 p. 15; 29 August 1891 p. 15; 5 September 1891 p. 8.



At Captain Boyton's Water Show at Earls Court in 1893, where Agnes appeared as "Queen of the Waves", Lizzie won a 220 yards race, which encouraged a number of subsequent challenges, the professor being prepared to match Lizzie, "one of the most graceful tank performers in the music halls", for £25 a-side.<sup>808</sup> Lizzie formed one half the "Sisters Beckwith" who performed in Ramsgate and Dover during 1896, "winning all hearts with their cleverly-rendered Pierrot and coon songs". With her fellow "sister" Florrie Newton she danced, as well as "gracefully illustrating some remarkable feats in natation", and, along with the Cinematograph, the amphibious Beckwiths continued to draw large audiences.<sup>809</sup> After her father's death, Lizzie completed a season at Ramsgate in 1898, where she performed with Mr. W. Austin in a Monte Cristo feat, and again in 1899, when she appeared with Miss Mary Cochrane. She was also performing natatory feats at the Leicester Tivoli in 1898 and 1899, although by late 1899 and into 1900 she was being variously billed as a serio and dancer, or a soubrette.<sup>810</sup>

At the turn of the twentieth century Agnes remained the most prominent female swimmer in the public imagination, at home and abroad.<sup>811</sup> The death of her father and bothers during the 1890s and the closure of the "Aq", combined with increasing maturity of years, may have affected her earning potential but she carried on exhibitions and teaching. Adverts for the forthcoming "Wonderful "Mirror" Gala Day" at Crystal Palace in 1904 offered "Miss Agnes Beckwith's Grand Swimming Entertainment" at reduced prices, while visitors to the Manchester Industrial

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<sup>808</sup> British Library. *Evan* 1273 plus *Evan* 1886. Captain Boyton's Water Show Saturday May 20<sup>th</sup> Earls Court London. Wallace Ross and George Bubear Champion Scullers of America and England. Miss Agnes Beckwith, Queen of the waves; *The Leeds Mercury*, 25 September 1893 p. 5; *Glasgow Herald*, 25 September 1893 p. 9; *The Illustrated Police News*, 30 September 1893 p. 4; *The Era*, 7 October 1893 p. 17.

<sup>809</sup> *The Era*, 12 September 1896 p. 21; 19 September 1896 p. 19; 26 September 1896 p. 20; 3 October 1896 p. 22; 14 November 1896 p. 23. After 1897, when she married George Bland, one half of Blarney and Bland, Florrie appeared as a serio and burlesque actress on bills with her husband.

<sup>810</sup> *The Era*, 2 July 1898 p. 19; 16 July 1898 p. 20; 30 July 1898 p. 20; 6 August 1898 pp. 21, 22; 13 August 1898 p. 13; 3 September 1898 p. 21; 12 November 1898 p. 24; 17 June 1899 p. 21; 29 July 1899 p. 19; 5 August 1899 p. 19; 18 November 1899 p. 23; 10 February 1900 p. 21; 17 February 1900 p. 7; 22 September 1900 p. 20. A soubrette sang light songs or played comedy routines in the role of a maidservant. A serio would come on the stage walking as if a puppet hung on wires and with a fixed smile to deliver a ditty.

<sup>811</sup> De Saint-Clair, G. (1921). *Natation*, Quatrieme Edition Petite Bibliotheque Athletique Librairie Paris: Armand Colin. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition was in Janvier 1907 p. 8. Miss Agnès Beckwith, fille du professeur de natation, âgée seulement de quatorze ans, par-courut la distance qui sépare Greenwich du pont de Londres, soit 12463 mètres; en juillet 1878, elle fit sur la Tamise 16 kilomètres en six heures. Je ne crois pas que ce record ait jamais été battu par une femme.

Exhibition during June 1910 were encouraged to visit Miss Agnes Beckwith's Swimming Performances in "Old Manchester".<sup>812</sup>

### *Competitive Events*

The Professor's shows at the Aquarium ran for more than ten years and had become so much of an established fixture by 1886 that advertisements for other entertainments were referenced to the annexe occupied by the swimming tank. The "mysterious fortune-telling hand as performed by Dr. Jennings" was to be found "Adjoining Professor Beckwith's" in 1886 and "In the Reception Room next to Professor Beckwith's" in 1889.<sup>813</sup> One observer noted in 1890 that: -

The favour with which the Beckwiths are held in the public estimation is testified to by the fact that...I can see no signs of any abatement in the interest taken in the performance. It is a very well-arranged and pretty performance, and it is easy to understand what an inducement it has been for ladies to learn swimming when they see what the lady members of the company accomplish...The Beckwiths have found many imitators, who, while earning an honourable and, I hope, adequate living, have helped to popularise swimming. A benefit was accorded the Beckwiths on Monday, at the Aquarium, and I hope it was the bumper it deserved to be.<sup>814</sup>

In addition to shows and teaching classes, both Beckwith and the "Aq" promoted serious competitive events and some "excellent swimming races" were witnessed there in 1883.<sup>815</sup> A six-day pedestrian event for Sir John D. Astley's Belt started on Monday 24 November 1884, when Charles Rowell, George Littlewood, and "all the Champions" competed. Between Monday 27 April and Saturday 2 May 1885, the Aquarium hosted another "International Pedestrian Tournament". In 1889, Frank Hindes' boxing tournament, featuring Jem Mace in a sparring exhibition, started on Monday 2 December, a month after Sandow had beaten Charles A. Sampson to assume the title of the strongest man in the world.<sup>816</sup> Beckwith organised a tournament on the "American principle" in May 1885, including Charles, alongside

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<sup>812</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 21 September 1904 p. 10; 23 September 1904 p. 10; *The Manchester Guardian*, 20 June 1910 p. 1; 23 June 1910 p. 1; 24 June 1910 p. 1; 25 June 1910 p. 1; 27 June 1910 p. 1; 28 June 1910 p. 1.

<sup>813</sup> British Library Poster. *Evan.* 1240. Royal Aquarium London Westminster International Cookery and Food Exhibition, Monday December 7th to Saturday December 18th 1885; *Evan.* 2496 Admission ticket; *Evan.* 2974 Notice; *Evan.* 1536 Notice (1883). In the Reception Room next to Beckwith's, Mary Anderson as a marble statue endowed with life.

<sup>814</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 15 March 1890 p. 7.

<sup>815</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 October 1883 p. 7; *The Penny Illustrated*, 22 September 1883 p. 10.

<sup>816</sup> Chapman, D. (1994). Sandow's First Triumph, *Iron Game History* 3 (3) pp. 5-8; Buck J. (1998). Sandow: No Folly With Ziegfeld's First Glorification, *Iron Game History* 5 (1) p. 30. Tickets cost between £1 to £5 and demand was such that only the turnstile system prevented major problems. Sandow was immediately offered a contract to appear at the Alhambra Music Hall for £150 per week.

William Beaumont and J. J. Collier, and in 1886 the Professor promoted a twenty hours race, swimming ten hours each day, between Collier, whose refreshments included a cup of beef tea at four miles and tapioca pudding with a glass of port at five miles, J. Haggerty, and Willie, for prizes valued £70. Eventually, the two north-countrymen retired "being totally unaccustomed to this class of swimming" and Willie was declared the winner, with twenty-four miles and twenty-nine laps.<sup>817</sup>

Lambeth Baths remained a major site of professional contests throughout the late 1880s. In 1888, Willie and Charles swam a "smart exhibition race" there in aid of Joe Lavender's benefit, and the 1,000 yards professional championship was decided there in 1890 in front of a "large company", J. Nuttall, the titleholder, winning easily and beating the previous record by twenty-four seconds.<sup>818</sup> Amateur events also had a long tradition at the baths. The London S.C., established about 1859, had held "an animated fete" there in 1866, the main event of the programme being the ten lengths race for the captaincy of the Club.<sup>819</sup> Twenty years later, in September 1886, South-East London S.C. were organising their annual competition for the 100 yards amateur Sprint Championship of England "under association laws" for a £25 silver challenge cup.<sup>820</sup> Even Frederick competed occasionally, the sixty-four-year-old beating fifty-nine-year-old Bibbero, over 100 yards in 1887.<sup>821</sup>

#### *Professional Swimming Association*

Before the 1880s, professionals and amateurs, even after the formation of amateur organisations, continued to mix socially. Swimming could easily be continued without a controlling body and, because their numbers were small, professional swimmers had always recruited amateurs to compete in races and galas. It was generally believed that amateurs and professionals should work together for the benefit of swimming. One proposal was that leading swimmers should combine to organise a Grand National Swimming Festival in London in 1885.

Were the swift and zealous Leanders of the Swimming Association, of the Serpentine Swimming Club (with Dave Ainsworth at its head), of the Otter and Ilex swimming clubs, with Mr. Horace Davenport, and Mr. Bell, of the Sandringham, to combine with Professor Beckwith, the champion Collier, and Messrs. Finney & Fearn, no doubt such a committee would be formed as

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<sup>817</sup> British Library Notice. *Evan.* 1789; Notice. *Evan.* 1149; Notice. *Evan.* 1304; Notice. *Evan.* 1151; *Evan.* 661 Notice; Programme; *The News of the World*, 7 November 1886 p. 5.

<sup>818</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 6 October 1888 p. 14; *The Times*, 17 October 1890 p. 8.

<sup>819</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 29 September 1866 p. 3.

<sup>820</sup> British Library *Evan.* 2504 Advertisement; *Evan.* 1723 Notice. The tenth annual gala took place at the Lambeth Baths on Monday, 26 September 1887.

<sup>821</sup> *The Graphic*, 19 November 1887 p. 555.

would command the support of all interested in swimming. The help of the Sporting Press should also be forthcoming. So that abundant funds ought to be subscribed to provide for the Champion Prizes the Committee might decide to offer either for a whole week of morning swims in the Serpentine, or for a series of champion swims in the morning, concluding with evening exhibitions of swift swimming in the Lambeth Baths, where this style of swimming can best be scrutinised. Many an old swimmer, as well as shoals of younger ones, would be certain to be attracted to this National Swimming Festival.<sup>822</sup>

This suggestion went somewhat against the trends of the time since the SAGB had resolved on 30 May 1881 that "no permission be given to amateurs to compete with professionals".<sup>823</sup> In order to look after their own interests, the Professional Swimming Association (PSA) was formed on 6 July 1881, to organise professional competitions and promote professional activity.<sup>824</sup> The headquarters was the *Northumberland Arms*, Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, and the first rules of the organisation provided for members to meet for practice and racing every Wednesday evening at the Lambeth Baths, when the club colours of blue with a white border must be worn.<sup>825</sup> The July meeting of the SAGB expressed their wish to support the PSA and passed a resolution declaring that an amateur would not lose his status by becoming an honorary member.<sup>826</sup> The PSA also received the support of *The Swimming, Rowing and Athletic Record* and other publications produced by Robert Watson, the first treasurer of the PSA, and their first "annual entertainment" on 24 October 1881 was held at the floating bath near Charing Cross.<sup>827</sup> The Beckwiths were connected with the Association from its inception, at which point Frederick was vice-president and Willie was a committee member. Willie was elected captain of the PSA, "which is rapidly progressing in importance, and likely to be a useful institution", in 1881, and Charles won the 880 yards captaincy race at Hendon in 1882. The annual half-mile contest there in August 1883 resulted in another victory for Charles, in fifteen minutes two seconds, "very creditable under the circumstances, the water being somewhat lumpy".<sup>828</sup>

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<sup>822</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 6 September 1884 p. 10.

<sup>823</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, 30 May 1881; *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Reports* 1881 and 1882.

<sup>824</sup> *The Sporting Life*, 9 July p. 4; Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. p. 357.

<sup>825</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, August 1881, include a circular from the PSA detailing their officers and rules, which had been received by the SAGB Hon. Sec. on 8 August.

<sup>826</sup> *Swimming Association of Great Britain Committee Minutes*, 11 July 1881; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 16 July 1881 p. 9.

<sup>827</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 29 October 1881 p. 3.

<sup>828</sup> *The Graphic*, 24 September 1881 p. 323; *The Penny Illustrated*, 29 July 1882 p. 10; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 18 August 1883 p. 8.

The PSA was regular in its meetings and careful about its business, as some examples demonstrate. The first meeting of the 1882 season took place at the *Northumberland Arms* with Watson in the chair. After the honorary secretary T. C. Easton had read the minutes, the President of the Serpentine Club's five guinea Challenge Prize was presented to W. Holmes. W. E. Wookey (Bristol) and G. Thomas (late Zephyr Club) were elected and it was agreed that a meeting for the revision of rules and election of officers would be held on 1 March. The March meeting, again with Watson in the chair, confirmed the rules and J. Dooling was elected. Following discussion it was agreed to swim for Miss Beckwith's prize on the third Wednesday in April, over four lengths of Lambeth Baths.<sup>829</sup> A special meeting in June 1885, with Easton in the chair, elected J. J. Collier (one mile Champion of England), R. Hicks, A. Willis (Metropolitan Baths), A. Atkin (Birkenhead), J. Hague and A. H. Wynne (Dalston) as members and agreed the racing fixtures, the first of which was to be an 880 yards handicap at Islington Baths. After agreeing to donate 10s 6d to the Daniels Memorial Fund, the meeting adjourned until 17 June, when the balance sheet was to be presented.<sup>830</sup>

A snapshot of the PSA taken in 1886, five years into its operation, suggests an organisation that was thriving. E. J. Kirk, captain for that year, presided over the Association dinner in February at the Holborn Restaurant, attended by a large number of amateurs and professionals, including Fred and Willie, and Horace Davenport, Amateur Champion of England, who was deeply involved with the SAGB and the ASA during the 1880s.<sup>831</sup> Like all swimmers of the time, his networks consisted of all branches of the sport. When he competed in the 1879 Lords and Commons Race, he had been piloted by Willie. He "first acquired proficiency in the art" at the Endell-street Baths, where Harry Gurr had been taught by baths superintendent, Mr. Durham. Subsequently, as was the custom with many London swimmers, he had "graduated in swimming at one or two of Beckwith's aquatic fetes, which are really stiff competitive examinations in natation, and he duly

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<sup>829</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 4 February 1882 p. 4; 18 March 1882 p. 10.

<sup>830</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 June 1885 p. 1.

<sup>831</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 20 February 1886 p. 7; Sachs, F. (1912). *The Complete Swimmer*, London: Methuen p. 232.; Dickens, C. Jr. (1879). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, London: Charles Dickens; (1881). *Dickens's Dictionary of the Thames*, London: Charles Dickens; (1888). *Dickens's Dictionary of London*, Moretonhampstead: Old House. Reprint 1993. Davenport, Horace. Surbiton and Ilex. Became President Amateur Swimming Association. Winner Mile Amateur Championship, 1874-5-6-7-8-9; Long Distance Championship, 1877-8-9; Plunging Championship, 1884-5-6; The Lords and Commons' Cup, annually swum for in the Thames, from Westminster to Putney, value £30 was won outright by Davenport.

received from the veteran ex-champion the coveted medal, which was the forerunner of countless prizes".<sup>832</sup>

At a smoking concert at *The Earl of Durham*, Kings Cross, in April, A. Clark, Esq. (President Amateur S.C.) took the chair, faced by James Finney.<sup>833</sup> The evening was "ably promoted" by Easton, and among the crowd were professionals Beaumont, Holmes, Reddish, Ward, Kirk, Joe Lavender, and C. Whyte. Also present were several "amateur natationists" including G. Bell (long distance champion) and representatives from Sandringham, Amateur, Zephyr, Grosvenor, Dreadnought, and North London swimming clubs. The writer noted that a second Association "smoker" would take place on 7 June, at the Welsh Harp, "after Finney and Beckwith's 500 yards race for £200".<sup>834</sup>

The 1886 AGM, held at the *Northumberland Arms*, elected W. J. Innes as president, with R. Topping as vice-president, Watson as treasurer, Easton as honorary secretary, and E. J. Kirk as captain. Among the new committee members were J. Finney, F. Beckwith, A. Ward, J. Lavender, and W. Loscombe. Association rules were discussed, and generally adopted, with an addition under Rule 3 where the objects of the Association were expanded "to assist members in needy circumstances, and give encouragement generally in other ways foreign to swimming".<sup>835</sup>

As to the competitive side of the Association's activities in 1886, the PSA's handicaps were decided over 500 and 100 yards at a crowded Lambeth Baths. The first prize in each race was £10, the second £5, and third £2, donated by the president, vice-president, and honorary members. R. Topping offered a special prize of £10 in each race to Collier, Haggerty, or whoever beat the existing records. A gold medal, value three guineas, gold centre medal, and two silver medals were also given by the President for an 80 yards amateur handicap, under Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) rules, for which fifty seven started, in twelve heats. Neither Haggerty nor Collier succeeded in beating records. Haggerty, who had been in training for this event, caught a severe cold a fortnight before and when

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<sup>832</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 4 September 1875 p. 13; *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 29 July 1879 p. 6.

<sup>833</sup> Huggins, M. J. (1999). More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England, *Journal of Social History* 33 pp. 585-600. Smoking clubs were a social excuse for a male night out and smoking concerts were a common feature of sporting club dinners by late 1870s.

<sup>834</sup> *The News of the World*, 25 April 1886 p. 8.

<sup>835</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 May 1886 p. 8.

Collier stripped for the start one commentator "failed to discover any appearances of good exercise, careful diet, or "hand rubbing," so necessary for the accomplishment of the task he had in hand". Twelve started for the professional 500 yards handicap, in three heats. The final was easily won by five yards by Robinson of Leeds, off 45 seconds start, with Charles Beckwith (40 seconds) fourth. Collier (from scratch) declined to start the final, judging that he would have had to swim at least seven minutes six seconds, and possibly six minutes fifty seconds, to win. The 100 yards professional handicap attracted twenty-eight starters from all parts of England in six heats. Haggerty declined to start the final from scratch, and Professor Beaumont (12 seconds) won it easily. Later in 1886, the Association dinner took place on 1 December, at the Holborn Restaurant.<sup>836</sup>

For a while the PSA seemed likely to succeed but "although it held a few promising meetings when Mr. Tom Easton was secretary", it collapsed within ten years. According to Watson, the PSA "prospered until it became the wealthiest swimming institution in England" and it might "have gone on prospering if its financial stability had not been wrecked" but "ultimately the members killed it".<sup>837</sup> It was always going to be difficult for professionals in an individual sport to organise an effective collective. Following J. B. Johnson's publicity stunt of diving from London Bridge, *Land and Water* observed, "A certain amount of consideration is due to other professionals, and Mr. Johnson's attitude towards them is that of "Everyone for himself, as the elephant said to the chickens.""<sup>838</sup> Things started to go wrong during October 1890 when Easton resigned, after having been honorary secretary for nine years. A resolution of regret was passed, and ordered to be engrossed on vellum, "a testimonial which the retiring one has fairly earned".<sup>839</sup>

Within six months the PSA was in turmoil. Judged by the numerous resignations tendered at their meeting in April 1891 "one is inclined to think that matters are not as they should be". The postponement of the handicap fixed for the previous Saturday was discussed, and "verbosity flew around to an alarming extent. Filthy lucre, too, obtruded itself on the attention of members present". No-one attempted to "pour oil on the troubled waters" and PSA members clearly needed to "settle

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<sup>836</sup> Ibid., 24 October 1886 p. 8.

<sup>837</sup> *Memoirs of R. P. Watson*, p. 119 and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1887, 22, p. 772 cited in Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. p. 357. Thomas also records that he had only seen one report of the Association entitled *The Professional Swimming Association: Season 1887*, London: W. W. Ramsden which was a handbook of officers, origin and progress, captaincy races since 1881, and rules.

<sup>838</sup> *Land and Water*, 31 August 1872.

<sup>839</sup> *The Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, 7 October 1890 p. 474; 28 October 1890 p. 510; *The Graphic*, 30 August 1890 p. 237. The 1890 captaincy race was won by J. F. Standing.

their differences". Later in the month the PSA had another meeting when J. G. Jarrad presided but when he was elected hon. secretary, C. Newman, resigned. A week later, with Mr. A. Ward presiding, the members met to examine the books and balance sheet but these were not forthcoming. Once again "the verbosity flew around" and it was resolved that Messrs. Kirk and Jarrad should meet the secretary to collect relevant documents for consideration at a meeting the following day.<sup>840</sup>

There seems to have been an attempt to revive the association later in the year when H. R. Taylor won the first captaincy race of the "newly formed" Professional Swimming Association from four others at the Welsh Harp on 15 August. In October, Joey Nuttall won with "consummate ease" the Professional Swimming Association's handicap over a hundred and sixty yards at Lambeth Baths, with Charles Beckwith (18 seconds start) third.<sup>841</sup> After that the PSA fades into obscurity and even advocates of amateur swimming regretted that "the honest attempt which was made by the promoters to raise the status of professional instructors of the art has resulted in failure".<sup>842</sup>

Even after the collapse of the PSA, and during a time when amateur administrators were trying to exert control over the sport, amateurs and professionals continued to socialise. In 1892, a seventy-five-man committee was convened to organise a benefit at the *Canterbury Theatre of Varieties* for Willie, who had "a severe and serious illness". Committee members included representatives from professional swimming, such as Charles Whyte, amateur swimming, Horace Davenport, other professional sports, J. H. Clasper, and from the music hall, Dan Leno. The artistes who appeared reflected the cream of music hall talent, and included Marie Lloyd, Lu Lu, "America's gymnastic marvel", and Professor Thornbury.<sup>843</sup>

### *Sport and Entertainment*

In the second half of the nineteenth century the music hall acted as an alternative to the pub as a focus for popular culture and in places like Lambeth, music-hall proprietors became centres of local patronage networks. Gymnasts made an early appearance on music-hall bills, but from the 1860s there are increasing references

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<sup>840</sup> *The Licensed Victuallers' Mirror*, 7 April 1891 p. 162; 21 April 1891 p. 186; 28 April 1891 p. 198.

<sup>841</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 August 1891 p. 390; 27 October 1891 p. 509.

<sup>842</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. p. 341; *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 1 March 1912. Minute 75 (c) p. 146 recorded correspondence from a Professional Swimming Association re "Souvenirs" and the "Teaching of Swimming at Evening Classes by School Teachers." Since these subjects were already on the Agenda of the AGM, the letter was referred to be dealt with later.

<sup>843</sup> British Library *Evan*. 1034.



to rowers, jockeys, swimmers and other professional sportsmen. When pedestrian R. Brown took a benefit on 6 December at the *Raglan Music Hall*, Holborn, the "elite of the fleet of foot" put in an appearance. During the evening F. Beckwith and Willie, the "Champion Boy Swimmer", appeared on stage.<sup>844</sup> At a benefit for Australian oarsman R. A. W. Green at the *Royal Surrey Theatre*, the programme included a farce on a boating theme in which a number of real-life scullers appeared wearing their coats and badges. Twelve prominent English cricketers were present, including the captain of the 1861-62 touring side, H. H. Stephenson, who recalled the hospitality his team had received in Australia. At the *South London Palace* in 1884, "Daltry, Higgins & Seaforth, champion boxers" demonstrated their skills alongside comics, aerial bars performers, and musicians. At the same venue, in July 1894, Newcastle boxer Dick Burge, the undefeated 10-stone champion of the world, whose training routine was a well-booked act on the music hall circuit, appeared in a "scientific boxing exhibition with Harry Nickless of Lambeth".<sup>845</sup>

Lowerson has associated "elite", "popular", and "mass", with the broad categories of "Highbrow" and "Lowbrow" activities, and suggested that "Middlebrow" has the potential to describe cultural developments from the 1880s.<sup>846</sup> When applied to swimming these descriptors can be useful in categorising the variety of activities engaged in by swimmers, both professional and amateur. The lowbrow tank displays at entertainment venues, contrasted with those middle and highbrow perspectives of the sport which were particularly prevalent among the growing number of amateur swimming clubs, their members and administrators. For these individuals, the purity of the sport was related to its value as a life skill rather than its earning potential. However, the close relationship between entertainment and sport, established and encouraged by swimming professors, was not unique either to the sport or to the age. In many ways, it was a thoroughly post-modern approach. Professional athletes, aware of the transitory nature of their earning potential from sport, explore every potential avenue to capitalise on their reputation. For those unable to establish a sufficiently powerful public presence

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<sup>844</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 9 December 1871 p. 2.

<sup>845</sup> Gregson, K. and Huggins, M. (1999). Sport, Music-hall Culture and Popular Song in Nineteenth-century England, *Sport in Society* 2 (2) pp. 83-97; Thompson, F. M. L. (1981). Social Control in Victorian Britain, *The Economic History Review New Series* 34 (2) p. 203; Shipley, S. (1983). Tom Causer of Bermondsey: a Boxer Hero of the 1890s, *History Workshop Journal* 15 p. 56; Fotheringham, R. (1989). Early Sporting Diplomacy: The Case of R. A. W. Green, *Sporting Traditions* 5 (2) pp. 179-180; British Library *Evan. 16 Theatre Programme 1884; Evan. 1004; Evan. 1021 Poster South London Palace, Lambeth S.E. Managing director, Mrs. Ellen Poole 16 July 1894.*

<sup>846</sup> Lowerson, J. (2004). Sport and British Middle-class Culture: Some Issues of Representation and Identity before 1940, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21 (1) p. 40.

their engagement with sport can be brief and that was certainly the experience of a number of late nineteenth century coaches. For others, such as Beckwith, who had the acumen to develop his public persona by utilising all available facilities and methods, long-term survival depended on judicious presentation of themselves to a broad a church as possible, including music hall audiences. The *South London* held "a foremost position in the list of London places of amusement" when the Beckwiths performed there in 1873, and, five years later, Willie and Agnes exhibited their swimming medals at the *Royal Music Hall*, together with the champion swimmer of England belt presented to Frederick, who gave a short address. In the year before his death, the Professor attended the opening of the *Washington Music Hall*.<sup>847</sup>

### *Honouring Beckwith*

In discussing the progress of swimming Carlile suggested that "the power of circumstance, the influence of climate, the availability of suitable water, and dependence on social attitudes" have all influenced the sport's development.<sup>848</sup> It is also the case that individuals can make an impact, whether they are driven by altruism or by more economic motives. While it may be true that those earning their living by swimming-related activity, such as the Beckwiths, were few in number, their contributions, collectively and individually, underpinned the structures and attitudes of modern swimming.

Frederick Edward Beckwith, and the Lambeth Baths, were prominent in the swimming psyche of the late nineteenth century, and no other swimming professor was as well regarded by the contemporary swimming community, both as teacher and exponent of the art, as Beckwith, "without exception, the most graceful and accomplished swimmer we ever witnessed".<sup>849</sup> When Webb described sidestroke as the most elegant form of swimming, he considered that the two ideal models were "Beckwith, senior, and David Pamplin". For Webb, Beckwith was, "the best judge of swimming living", and Payne recorded that Beckwith was the first to advise Webb that, "when the hands are used as Propellers the fingers may be kept open, thereby avoiding the risk of cramp". It was improbable that Webb had spent time under "probably the ablest swimming master in the world without learning much

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<sup>847</sup> *The Era*, 4 May 1873 p. 7; 29 September 1878 p. 4; 27 February 1897 p. 18.

<sup>848</sup> Carlile, F. (2004). *A History Of Australian Swimming Training*, 9 October. A presentation at the World Swimming Coaches Clinic in Indianapolis, Indiana, under the auspices of the American Swimming Coaches Association.

<sup>849</sup> *The Era*, 15 May 1864 p. 14.

that some swimmers would be surprised to hear".<sup>850</sup> Wilson described Beckwith as "the father of present-day swimming",<sup>851</sup> which Thomas agreed was the consensus at the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>852</sup> and his hereditary skill had also revealed itself in the persons of both Willie and Agnes.<sup>853</sup> In a retrospective on swimmers, Newman observed that Willie Beckwith and David Pamplin, both protégés of Frederick, had achieved success with the ordinary over-arm, in which "nearly as much swimming takes place below as upon the surface", and the "perfect manner with which they could use it". Even Archibald Sinclair recognised that "such men as the Beckwiths" had been "very prominent" in the speed side of the sport.<sup>854</sup> Writing in 1882 one commentator noted that Beckwith had been "untiring in his zeal and energy" for the past forty years in highlighting to the British public the necessity of teaching swimming to children and that the family displays at the Aquarium had provided a major stimulus.<sup>855</sup>

Beckwith's last years were not easy. Because of a series of misfortunes, including a burglary at his house when he lost many valuable and irreplaceable prizes, including the £200 silver champion belt, presented to him in 1860 by patrons, pupils, and presidents of the Royal Lifeboat and Humane Societies, he ended his days in "straitened circumstances". Several prominent patrons of sport, "in all its branches", including Leopold de Rothschild and G. A. Payne, joined a committee to promote a testimonial to Frederick,<sup>856</sup> and a special matinee was given at the *Canterbury Music Hall* on Monday 10 February 1896 in front of a "large number of the sporting fraternity". During the afternoon "professors of the noble art" boxed

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<sup>850</sup> Webb, M. (1875). *The Art of Swimming*, Payne, A. G. (Ed.) London: Ward, Lock and Tyler pp. 44, 76; *The Editor of the Book* Webb, M. (1875). *The Art of Swimming*, *Bell's Life*, September, 1875.

<sup>851</sup> Wilson, W. (1883). *The Swimming Instructor: A Treatise on the Arts of Swimming and Diving*, London: H. Cox; *Glasgow Weekly Mail* 13 July 1895. William Wilson was born in London on 13 November 1844, but moved back to Glasgow when a child. He became a swimmer, a swimming instructor, and a swimming journalist. He stressed the need for scientific study of swimming, saying that a successful teacher ought to devote 'as much thought, application and constant practice as almost any branch of education or science'. He was the first to describe and illustrate racing starts and turns and the first in literature to advocate an over arm recovery for the sidestroke. Wilson elaborated on training methods, including dry land training. Strokes were leg-dominated and a skipping rope could strengthen the lower body. Training should be related to race distance. For a 100-yard race, it was not impossible to swim the distance twice a day but, for one or two miles, three times a week would be enough. In a reference to tapering, Wilson thought that the last week of training should be greatly reduced and the last two days should see no hard work at all.

<sup>852</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co. p. 295.

<sup>853</sup> *The Penny Illustrated*, 10 September 1887 p. 6; 5 May 1883 p. 7.

<sup>854</sup> Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead pp. 2, 29; Pardon, G. F. ("Captain Crawley") (1882). *Swimming, Skating, and Rinking*, London: Ward, Lock and Co. pp. 33-34.

<sup>855</sup> *The Era*, 20 May 1882 p. 4.

<sup>856</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 November 1895 p. 16; 4 June 1898 p. 18.

before a committee including well-known celebrities in the sporting world, and Beckwith publicly thanked the audience, all those who had assisted in securing the success of the benefit, and the numerous variety artistes who volunteered.<sup>857</sup>

F. E. Beckwith, "the doyen of English swimmers", who had "of late been rarely seen in public", died at Uppingham on Sunday 29 May 1898, aged seventy-seven, "in much distress".<sup>858</sup> In reviewing his career one obituary writer recalled how the swimming art had declined during mid-century but Beckwith had "revived its drooping energies, and his races and displays were productive of great excitement", while press cuttings of that era showed that Beckwith was regarded as "the fastest and best swimmer ever known". He had subsequently devoted his time and attention to teaching and training swimmers, and his appointments as instructor to the leading schools and colleges, had brought him into contact with many of the nobility and gentry. The success of his swimming family was "indisputable proof of Mr Beckwith's power of teaching and imparting such valuable instruction". The "father of English swimmers", was laid to rest in the family grave at Nunhead Cemetery on Monday 6 June, although, other than members of his family, few people attended "the last obsequies of one who has been before the public for half a century".<sup>859</sup>

Academic assessments of Beckwith have consistently repeated Thomas's comment in his 1904 *Swimming* that Frederick was not a particularly good swimmer and concluded that his success in the swimming world was due to his entrepreneurial skills and his capacity for self-publication.<sup>860</sup> In some cases, there is even a hint of criticism of his employment of what were, for his time, normal professional practices.<sup>861</sup> Such censure fails to appreciate the true nature of his contribution to

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<sup>857</sup> Ibid., 15 February 1896 p. 18; *Horse and Hound*, 8 February 1896 p. 83.

<sup>858</sup> Thomas, R. (1904). *Swimming*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co. p. 295; Frederick Edward Beckwith GRO (1898/deaths/June/Uppingham/7a/199); Watson, R. (1899) *Comparative Generations*, In Newman, C. (1899). *Swimmers and Swimming or, The Swimmers Album*, London: Henry Kemshead p. 18 said, "Poor old Beckwith's championship races with Bill Walker (September 16th, 1859) and E. B. Mather (August 17th, 1863, and June 6th, 1864) are not forgotten. They will live many, very many years in the memory of those who were intimate with the veteran's melancholy life and still more melancholy death".

<sup>859</sup> *The Era*, 4 June, 1898. p. 18; 11 June 1898 p. 19.

<sup>860</sup> See Parker, C. (2001). The Rise of Competitive Swimming 1840 to 1878, *The Sports Historian*, 21, pp. 58-72; Terret, T. (1995). Professional Swimming in England Before the Rise of Amateurism, 1837-75, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1), pp. 18-32; Hayes, W. (2002). The Professional Swimmer, *The Sports Historian* 22 (2) pp. 119-148.

<sup>861</sup> Love, C. (2007). Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) pp. 603-619; See, for example, *The Leeds Mercury*, 12 September 1881 p. 7; *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 September 1881 p. 7; *The Graphic*, 17 September 1881 p. 295. When Willie beat Jones at Lambeth for the 1,000 yards Championship in 1881 Jones gave up before the end and was loudly hissed and hooted. This was "the style of thing which generally discredits the professional element and estranges it

the sport through his teaching and coaching, his capacity to keep the activity, both high and low brow versions of it, in the public domain, and the legacy that he left to swimming through those he influenced. Even as early as 1859 he was being described as one who had "striven hard, both by precept and example, to cultivate and uphold this noble and useful art" by "his unwearied exertions to promote and extend among all classes a practical acquaintance with the art of swimming".<sup>862</sup> Thirty years later, Sinclair recalled that the conditions under which older swimmers raced, and "the opportunities afforded to them for displaying their ability, have nothing in common with the great advantages possessed by the swimmers of to-day". It was "all the more creditable", therefore, that men like Beckwith "should have risen above the common herd of bathers".<sup>863</sup> The Professor sustained swimming through his presentation of prizes, many raised by subscription, and he continued this into the 1890s when Colonel North, for example, contributed to a prize fund commenced by Frederick to support a forthcoming race.<sup>864</sup> In 1884, Watson, wrote that Beckwith "has given about 4,999 prizes, including a stop watch, for the promotion of swimming...may you live to give another 4,999 prizes...minus that bit of string at the end of them," which has again been interpreted negatively by at least one academic.<sup>865</sup> Inevitably, professionals looked after their own interests when raising prize money but, without the incentives engendered through this process, swimming would have lacked any public profile.

The esteem in which Beckwith was held is reinforced by his continuing involvement in all things aquatic during the later stages of his life. The new baths constructed at the Marine Palace, Margate in 1884, were placed "under the direction" of Professor Beckwith and his talented family, who gave entertainments and taught swimming every day.<sup>866</sup> When large swimming baths, "lit be electricity and with a well-appointed cafe," were built on the Thames Embankment in 1891, Beckwith was engaged as swimming master.<sup>867</sup> The Glasgow Industrial Exhibition in 1895 included parachuting by the Spencers and aquatic displays by Professor Beckwith

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from the support of those on whom it mainly lives" although there was "no reflection on Beckwith" who "swam splendidly and beat the best record for 500 yards in still water".

<sup>862</sup> *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 4 December 1859 p. 7.

<sup>863</sup> Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. (1893). *Swimming*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. pp. 23-25.

<sup>864</sup> *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 20 January 1890 p. 7.

<sup>865</sup> *Swimming Notes and Record*, 10 May 1884; Love, C. (2007). Social Class and the Swimming World: Amateurs and Professionals, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (5) pp. 603-619.

<sup>866</sup> *The Era*, 14 June 1884 p. 5.

<sup>867</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 2 Sep 1891 p. 5.

and family.<sup>868</sup> When the Corporation Baths in Kennington Road in Lambeth were opened on Friday 9 July 1897, the arrangements for the entertainments on the day were “entrusted by the Bath Committee to the veteran Professor Beckwith”.<sup>869</sup>

Commenting on professional swimmers in 1892, one writer observed, “With the notable exception of the Beckwiths who, father and sons, are a credit to themselves and their sport...professional swimmers are, as a rule, the dirtiest dogs in the world...and as for their behaviour, mud-larks aren’t in it for blackguardism”.<sup>870</sup> These key family members died in the same decade as Beckwith, which limited the long-term impact of his approaches and ideas, while the decline in the influence of professional swimming in general meant that subsequent generations of swimmers lost the creativity encouraged by professors like Frederick. Professional swimming cultures in the late nineteenth century generally acted through tightly connected communities of practice, focussed around individuals like Beckwith, who clearly had multiple roles as trainers, technicians, managers, publicity agents, and entrepreneurs. Operating mainly, but not exclusively, at a local level, he not only had responsibility for the performance his athlete but also for the progress of the sport, since he depended on both for economic gain and social status. His intimate circle contained his family, involved from an early age, and others, like Attwood and Pamplin, drawn into his “stable” either as an athlete who could be trained for competition or as someone who could contribute to entertainments. Both family and other athletes went on to develop the sport further, locally, nationally and internationally, using the tried and tested methods of the Professor but with their own approaches and innovations. Beckwith may not have been the greatest swimmer of his generation but, through his coaching and teaching, demonstrations and exhibitions, his exploitation of the potential of female swimmers, and through his entrepreneurial skills, he was as responsible for the growing appreciation of swimming at the end of the nineteenth century as any other individual or organisation. Unfortunately, it was the amateur governing body that ultimately wrote the history of the sport.

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<sup>868</sup> *The Era*, 15 June 1895 p. 17.

<sup>869</sup> *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 June 1897 p. 10.

<sup>870</sup> *The Sporting Times*, 21 May 1892 p. 2.

## Coaching Lives: Continuity and Change.

Every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society...he lives out a biography...within some historical sequence. By the fact of his living he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of his society and to the course of its history, even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove.<sup>871</sup>

In 1913, Sam Mussabini declared that he was not a trainer, a man with "a bag and a little sponge", but a coach. For Mussabini, the experienced, intelligent coach was part practitioner, part doctor, and part student of nature. An ideal man would be middle aged, have "gone through the mill himself", and his aptitude would be backed by a commonsense that came with years of practice in his craft. Such a coach would be able to select the right raw material and properly train it, grafting his own theories onto the man in training while subsuming personal motives in the interests of his athlete.<sup>872</sup> A century before these comments were made, both the structure of sport and the status of the coach were somewhat different but the intervening years witnessed a degree of continuity, as well as change, in coaching roles and regimes, although this has largely gone unrecorded until now. Through its exploration of the lives and methods of its practitioners during this period, this thesis contributes to the narratives surrounding nineteenth and early twentieth century English sport and provides a platform for further work on coaching history.

Bourdieu regarded biographies as illusions, arguing that the straightforward, one-dimensional life story could not exist and that lived lives were chaos, but individual lives, such as that of Robert Barclay, can reveal much about the context in which they are lived.<sup>873</sup> Barclay's training under Jacky Smith, and his own coaching of Tom Cribb, illuminates not only the accepted training and competition formats but also emphasises the widespread recognition afforded coaches. A typical report of the time, concerning a race between Hardy and Davis, noted that their respective trainers, Robinson (known as Maw's Harry) and Horton, as well as another well-known trainer, Walkington, were in attendance.<sup>874</sup> Woodgate recalled that patrons of watermen preparing for a match during this period often placed them with experienced prizefighters, well known for their training expertise. When watermen assumed responsibility for their own training they persevered with traditional

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<sup>871</sup> Mills, C. W. (1970). *The Sociological Imagination*, London: Harmondsworth Penguin p. 12.

<sup>872</sup> Moon, G. (1992). *Albert Hill: A Proper Perspective*, Gloucestershire: Greg Moon pp. 14-22; Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 103-148.

<sup>873</sup> Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Polity Press; Radford, P. (2001). *The Celebrated Captain Barclay: Sport, Money and Fame in Regency Britain*, London: Headline pp. 84-108, 165-181.

<sup>874</sup> *The Sporting Magazine*, January 1819 III N. S. XVI p. 158.

practices and, as professional trainers, they subsequently treated university crews in the same way, physicing them and “sweating them down to fiddle-strings”, thereby failing to account for the age difference between these men and the “ordinary classes” of professional athletes. Eventually, crews agreed to restrict the employment of professionals and amateurs subsequently relied on “themselves and their *confreres* for tuition in oarsmanship and training”.<sup>875</sup> By the 1860s, working class coaches were attracting criticism for their lack of theoretical underpinning. Training knowledge was,

...traditional and oral, handed down in college legend and precept, or imparted by mystery-men, adept professional trainers—cunning pedestrians and ancient mariners who derive their maxims from their predecessors, and polishing them by their own experience, duly instil them into the minds of admiring pupils, while they scorn to profane them by printing them for the benefit of a reading world.<sup>876</sup>

In addition, Westhall suggested that, while professional athletes were unlikely to reject training restrictions, because a substantial daily meal of beef and mutton was “not to be lightly disregarded”, upper class athletes were more likely to resent strict discipline. One newspaper report, for example, about an amateur miler who often held himself back and then put in “an electrical finish”, observed it was not “a system that a professional trainer would allow him to follow”. The social distance between themselves and amateurs presented problems for some coaches and Mewett argues that gentleman amateurs rejected professional advice partly because they believed that working class trainers could not properly shape superior upper class bodies. Led by the medical establishment, traditional coaching skills and knowledge were publicly discredited by men who embraced “scientific” and “moderate” approaches to training.<sup>877</sup>

The changing nature of the social context in the late nineteenth century is demonstrated by the significantly different coaching experiences of Frederick Beckwith, whose own coaching life overlapped that of Barclay, and Walter Brickett, whose coaching career intersected with Beckwith’s, spatially and temporally.

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<sup>875</sup> Woodgate, W. B. (1891). *Boating*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. pp. 153-156.

<sup>876</sup> *Cornhill Magazine* 1864 IX (50) pp. 220-229; January 1867 XV pp. 92-94.

<sup>877</sup> Hall, C. (1890). *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, Boxing, Football, Lawn-Tennis, etc., including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing and Advice to Trainers*, new edition, revised by E. Sachs, London: Ward Lock and Co. pp. 23-25; *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 May 1898 p. 8; Mewett, P. (1995). “Nothing Is Better for Dinner than a Pint of Good Dry Champagne”: The ‘Gentleman’ Amateur and Sports Training in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, in *Proceedings of the Second Australian and New Zealand Leisure Studies Association Conference*, Simpson, C. and Gidlow, R. (Eds.) Canterbury: ANZALS pp. 206-212.



Beckwith's biography in chapter six highlights his entrepreneurial activities and his sense of coaching community, established and maintained through family and colleagues and organisations such as the Professional Swimming Association (PSA). Craft and innovation were constantly engaged through the continuous refinement of traditional swimming techniques and the chapter reinforces the importance of appropriate facilities and spaces in the development of a coaching biography, particularly one so closely connected to entertainment.

Walter Brickett emerged onto the swimming scene a generation later than Frederick and, although his swimming activities overlapped with those of the Beckwiths,<sup>878</sup> he encountered a completely different environment to that faced by Frederick in the 1840s. As chapter five demonstrates, competitive swimming was now an amateur controlled activity, which tolerated professionals as teachers, simply because there were not enough amateurs available, but excluded them from the organisation of the sport.<sup>879</sup> Brickett's involvement with life saving, and the social networks that he created with leading amateurs like Sinclair and Henry, confirmed him as a respectable artisan, rather than the entrepreneurial figure portrayed by Frederick, and, as a result, Walter could be more easily assimilated into the amateur system. His social contacts and his symbolic capital, generated through establishing medley event records, allowed him to fulfil a role as a professional but one with a degree of subservience amenable to amateur administrators.

Brickett and Beckwith encountered different swimming worlds, which required different solutions. Beckwith was essentially an entrepreneur, admired by contemporaries for his aquatic expertise, but not always for his values and behaviour, while Walter's appointment as trainer to the Olympic teams in 1908 and 1912 emphasises his acceptance to the amateur establishment and highlights the opportunities afforded to coaches by the creation of formal international competitions. Inevitably, these different coaching climates had an impact on creativity, intuition, and innovation. The acceptance of a subservient position within amateur controlled organisations by professional coaches introduced new constraints and, once a man became dependent on patronage from Amateur

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<sup>878</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 25 September 1893 p. 7. At the "World's Water Show" in London the ladies 220 yards race was won by Miss Lizzie Beckwith. In the 440 yards amateur race for the *Sportsman* cup Walter, representing Unity S.C., was second to J. H. Tyers, amateur champion of England.

<sup>879</sup> *The Times*, 17 August 1906 p. 9. Professional swimming now moved to the Continent. The 500 metres professional swimming championships took place in Paris at Joinville le Pont on 15 August and was won by Billington with Nuttall second; *The Times*, 24 September 1906 p. 5 notes that the Billington against Greasley professional match in the sea off Blackpool was the first important professional championship race for ten years.

Swimming Association (ASA) officials, then the incentives for experimentation were diminished. Both men recognised their own strengths, took the opportunities that were open to them, and, in different ways, achieved a measure of recognition. In this respect, there is a degree of continuity in their coaching lives and the legacy to the sport that they left through their children is typical of kinship practices in coaching communities. However, the considerable variation in their coaching biographies, despite their temporal proximity, is also lasting testimony to the power of sporting bodies such as the ASA to structurally determine the nature of the coaching environment.<sup>880</sup>

### *Communities, Craft, Innovation, and Experience.*

The introduction to this thesis explored the origins and etymology of “coaching”, a term that appeared in sporting contexts much earlier than previously assumed, and well before the professional-amateur dichotomy was apparent. Coaching scenarios stretching back to the Ancients confirm that the centrality of the coaching role is dictated by the social framework surrounding physical activities and that changes in sporting context have consistently witnessed stability as well as novelty in coaching practice. The notion that classical traditions had no relevance to nineteenth century training practices was refuted at this stage and again in chapter three, which documented the resilience of classical beliefs such as humoral theory.

The coaching continuities highlighted in the introduction, namely, oral tradition linked to personal experience, an ability to innovate and apply entrepreneurial skills, and the existence of a body of craft knowledge operating within communities of practice, were maintained during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Coaches shared information with trusted confidantes and, when athletes became coaches, they perpetuated traditional practices, drawing on the knowledge and social networks developed while in training. Credibility was afforded to coaches based on their personal achievements, their age and experience, the competitive success of their athletes, and the respect given them by other leading trainers. Coaches operated as social beings within a social milieu and successful practitioners, like Barclay, Beckwith, and Brickett, were those who proved capable of adapting their behaviours to meet the unique demands of their environment.

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<sup>880</sup> For more discussion of this see Day, D. (2008). Professors Beckwith and Brickett: From the “Aq” to the Olympics. *Sports Coaching and the Sociological Imagination Conference*, 19 March Manchester Metropolitan University.

Coaching craft requires flexible adaptation to constraints and it is impossible to guarantee the outcome of particular strategies, even if they worked in the past. Ideas are cultivated through trial and error leading to tacit knowledge being developed and subsequent coaching actions are taken without conscious reasoning.<sup>881</sup> Chapter two emphasised a continuing reliance on experiential knowledge and transferable skills despite structural exclusions, although there was a growing divide between amateur coaches and the professionals, whose practices were continually reinforced by the close relationships that existed across sports. While the transitory nature of coaching was demonstrated by some census returns, reflecting the shifting opportunity costs for coaches, there was also evidence of long term involvement, particularly in skill based sports, by craftsmen coaches, who passed on knowledge through coaching communities of practice. This chapter also challenged the preconception that literacy levels were inevitably low, noting that authors like Mewett base their own judgements on those of medical writers, whose denigration of working class trainers reflected the need of the medical community to establish its own credentials.

While the longevity of training practices such as purging and sweating, together with an adherence to steak and stout, reinforces the potency of oral systems of knowledge transfer to encourage traditionalism, generations of coaches also used their intuition in the implementation of innovative training practice. Chapter three explored the coaching methods employed by men who drew on their experiential knowledge to apply the psychological, physical, and technical, components of training, and emphasised the passing on of coaching knowledge through tight communities such as that represented by Smith, Barclay, and Cribb. Barclay's training practices were highly regarded, one doctor citing them as the "rules which constitute the theory of the training process",<sup>882</sup> but his training regime was not

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<sup>881</sup> See Lyle, J. W. B. (2002). *Sports Coaching Concepts: A Framework for Coaches' Behaviour*, London: Routledge; Woodman, L. (1993). Coaching: A Science, an Art, an Emerging Profession, *Sports Science Reviews* 2 pp. 1-13; Brown, S. and McIntyre, D. (1986). The Professional Craft Knowledge of Teachers, *Scottish Educational Review* February pp. 39-47; Salmela, J. H. (1995). Learning from the Development of Expert Coaches, *Coaching and Sport Science Journal* 2 pp. 3-13; Saury, J. and Durand, M. (1998). Practical Knowledge in Expert Coaches: On-site Study of Coaching in Sailing, *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 69 pp. 254-266; Cushion, C. J., Armour, K. M. and Jones, R. L. (2003). Coach Education and Continuing Professional Development: Experience and Learning to Coach, *Quest* 55 pp. 215-230.

<sup>882</sup> Egan, P. (1823). *Sporting Anecdotes, Original and Selected*, New York: Johnstone and Van Norden Preface dated 1 January 1820 London p. 92; Maxwell, W. H. (1833). *The Field Book of Sports and Pastimes of the United Kingdom*, London: Effingham Wilson pp. 546-548; A Physician. (1827). *Sure Methods of Improving Health, and Prolonging Life; Or a Treatise on the Art of Living Long and Comfortably, By Regulating Diet and Regimen 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, London: The Author p. 379.

accepted uncritically and other coaches recommended different types and amounts of physic, the substitution of wine and water for beer, and eating rather than fasting between breakfast and dinner. For these men, violent exercise was to be avoided straight after meals and running, which Barclay prescribed at the start and the end of exercise, should be preceded and followed by walking. Alternatives were suggested for the sweating liquor suggested by Barclay, and tepid bathing recommended in all regimes.<sup>883</sup>

Park and Mewett both credit emergent amateur values for a change in coaching methods during the nineteenth century,<sup>884</sup> but, clearly, there existed a degree of variety in training approaches during the early decades. In addition, professionals such as Clasper and Coombes were already moderating their programmes by the early 1850s, probably to help prevent staleness, well before university amateurs developed their own training philosophy.<sup>885</sup> Coombes omitted references to purging in his advice to Cambridge men, for whom the day should start with a cold bath and a good rubbing, followed by a mile run wearing thick flannel and a greatcoat or two, then another rub down and breakfast an hour later. Athletes should live regularly, on a meat diet, avoiding pastry, rich soups, malt liquor, wine, and “such like vanities”, and the crew should not row until five hours after a hearty meal. It was a good idea to get into the habit of rowing hard in practice at the same time of the day as the match was fixed for.<sup>886</sup> In 1863, it was another professional, Charles Westhall, who anticipated modern views regarding specificity in training, maintaining that trainers should adjust the intensity and the duration of the exercise bout for the distance to be run. He also recommended skipping, dumbbell work, and the use of gymnasium equipment, as adjuncts to track work, as well as stressing the importance of individualising training regimes according to body shape and constitution. Westhall noted that professionals had moved away from the harsh restrictions of previous decades and that performances had improved.

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<sup>883</sup> Maret, G. (1818) Remarks on Training, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* IV (XXI) pp. 317-318.

<sup>884</sup> Park, R. J. (1992). Athletes and their Training in Britain and America, 1800-1914, In Berryman, J. W. and Park, R. J. (Eds.) (1992). *Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press pp. 57-107; Mewett, P. G. (2002). From Horses to Humans: Species Crossovers in the Origin of Modern Sports Training, *Sport History Review* 33 pp. 95-120.

<sup>885</sup> This could also be traced back to Sinclair, J. (1806). *A Collection of Papers, on the Subject of Athletic Exercises*, London: Blackader who published suggestions by Jackson that gentlemen in training could take wine and water instead of malt liquor and that trainers might allow them to read instead of playing cricket or quoits pp. 18, 25. Coaches in all eras, irrespective of coaching ideology have emphasised the individualised nature of training.

<sup>886</sup> Member of C.U.B.C. (1852). *Aquatic Notes, or Sketches of the Rise and progress of Rowing at Cambridge, With a Letter Containing hints on Rowing and Training by Robert Coombes, Champion Sculler*, Cambridge: J. Deighton; London: G. Bell pp. 105-107.

Although he adhered to the internal fat theory, the initial purging of the system, and the necessity of a 'dry diet', he did allow poultry, game, vegetables, puddings, and water instead of beer.<sup>887</sup>

Coaches saw themselves as practical rather than theoretical men and in the debates over the long-term effects of training they continued to emphasise their experiential knowledge. An 1889 training guide reinforced the value of purging to enable a "good scouring", the benefits of sweating to reduce fat, and the need to reduce fluids, since "potions" led to "pounds", restrictions which persisted into the twentieth century.<sup>888</sup> Chapters three and four reinforce the longevity of traditional training components and emphasise the range of skills and knowledge, generic and event specific, that a coach was expected to have at his command. The ability to control diet and develop "wind", the application of psychological techniques, the preparation of stimulants, massaging skills, medical treatments, talent identification through knowledge of body shapes and types, and the individualisation of training programmes, were all critical components in the coaching "toolbox".

#### *Amateurism and Structural Exclusion*

The coaching biographies considered in this work indicate that, while there was a degree of continuity in coaching methods, the social constraints that surrounded coaching lives altered during the period under review. Some of this change was the result of an emergent amateur ideology and the articulation of amateur values by sporting bodies that used their increasing regulatory power to marginalise professionals. Throughout the latter stages of the nineteenth century, the most fervent exponents of amateurism, the professional middle classes, rejected professional coaching in favour of voluntarism and this had long term consequences, not only in restricting innovation in techniques and training practices, but also in a declining international competitiveness. Archival material in chapter one reinforces the amount of time and energy spent by emergent governing bodies on clarifying their vision of amateurism, and demonstrates how the servant status of professional trainers was established and maintained through exclusionary regulations. Although the life of Walter Brickett reveals the flexibility of boundaries and reinforces the possibility that suitable workingmen could bridge

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<sup>887</sup> Hall, C. (1863). *The Modern Method of Training for Running, Walking, Rowing, and Boxing, Including Hints on Exercise, Diet, Clothing, and Advice to Trainers* 7<sup>th</sup> edition, London: Ward Lock pp. 21-43; (1890). New edition, revised by E. Sachs, London: Ward Lock and Co. p. 46.

<sup>888</sup> The Sportsman. (1889). *The Training Instructor for Aquatics, Pedestrianism, Swimming, Athletics, Bicycling, etc.*, London: The Sportsman pp. 27, 54; Nelson, A. (1924). *Practical Athletics and How to Train*, London: Pearson pp. 25-26.

the divide there were constant subtle reminders of the inferior position accorded professional coaches. One review of Mussabini's *The Complete Athletic Trainer* described the work as a "useful volume" only spoilt by an "occasional split infinitive".<sup>889</sup>

The first regulations devised by amateur governing bodies excluded men paid for teaching and coaching, and the structural constraints subsequently engineered by officials systematically marginalised experienced professional coaches. Theoretically, coaches were supposedly peripheral to a gentleman's hobby, which was to be indulged in with grace and style and independent of disciplining influences, but the practice often differed from the rhetoric. James Edgar, Amateur Athletic Club four miles champion in 1872, was trained by William Lang, the professional one mile record holder in 1863, while John (Jack) McDonald, a former Scottish professional runner, trained some of the first amateurs at Cambridge University and was influential in starting the Oxford against Cambridge matches. Jack White, "The Gateshead Clipper", coached several amateur champions becoming trainer to London Athletic Club (LAC) during 1889 and to Cambridge University in 1893. William Cummings, professional record holder at one, four, and ten miles, trained Fred Bacon, amateur record breaker at one mile and champion at four miles in 1894, while pedestrian Charles ("Nat") Perry (c1838-1899) became trainer at LAC and advised many amateurs, including E. C. Bredin. Alfred Shrubb (1879-1964), whose ideas on training were developed under Harry Andrews, "the only trainer I have ever had, and one who, in my opinion, seeks his equal in that capacity", became coach to Harvard University in 1908 and Oxford University from 1919 to 1927.<sup>890</sup>

There has been a tendency to devalue the work of many craft coaches. Bill Thomas, who succeeded Shrubb at Oxford, was described, somewhat disparagingly, by Roger Bannister as belonging to a school of athletic coaches, "developed from the old handyman-masseur trainer at the end of last century", one of the "bath attendant coaches who gradually picked up "tips" by their acute observation".<sup>891</sup> In chapter six, Love ignores the realities of the professional swimming world with his veiled criticisms of Beckwith. Nietzsche was particularly scathing of those "who

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<sup>889</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 17 October 1913 p. 3.

<sup>890</sup> Scambler, G. (2005). *Sport and Society: History, Power and Culture*, Open University Press McGraw-Hill Education p. 36; Shrubb, A. (1908). *Running and Cross-Country Running*, London: Health and Strength; Lovesey, P. (2007). *E-mail correspondence* 9 September; Moon, G. (1992). *Albert Hill: A Proper Perspective*, Gloucestershire: Greg Moon p. 29.

<sup>891</sup> Bryant, J. (2005). *3:59.4: The Quest to Break the 4 Minute Mile*, London: Arrow p. 227; Bannister, R. (1955). *First Four Minutes*, London: Putnam p. 58.

write history in the naive faith that justice resides in the popular view of their time",<sup>892</sup> and retrospectives generally fail to reflect the achievements of these coaches and the body of knowledge that they commanded.

Despite their structural exclusion from regulated sport, the absence of formal qualifications, and their reliance on traditional methodology, professional coaches assisted athletes to performances that resisted emulation for decades. George Seward was credited with 9.25 seconds for the 100 yards in 1844, while Henry Reed registered 48.5 seconds for the 400 yards in 1849, and William Jackson, the 'American Deer', ran eleven miles forty yards in one hour in 1845. Jack White ran six miles at Hackney Wick in 1863 in twenty-nine minutes fifty seconds, a record that lasted until 1921, while Walter George ran four minutes 12.4 seconds for the mile in 1885, which went unmatched until 1915, and the professional ten-mile mark of 1899 stood until 1945. J. H. Fitzpatrick cleared six foot six inches in the high jump in 1889, twenty-three years before the first amateur. Harry Hutchins set sprint marks in non-standard distances that have never been broken and H. Johnson lowered the professional 100 yards time to 9.6 seconds in 1886, twenty years before any amateur. In a 1906 table of professional and amateur world records, professional times were faster in all recorded walking distances from one mile to a hundred miles, and in all running events from one mile upwards, with the exception of the twenty and twenty-five mile records.<sup>893</sup>

English professionals generally engaged a coach before a major contest to supervise both training and diet and, as a result, amateurs who became professionals generally improved their times.<sup>894</sup> For Mussabini, every amateur would benefit by adopting professional techniques and he cited the example of W. R. Applegarth, who had improved considerably after Mussabini had identified his faults, "the smoothing down of which has meant so much to him".<sup>895</sup> In swimming, Jarvis, ASA champion at 500 yards, half-mile, mile, and long distance, trained for

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<sup>892</sup> Nietzsche, F. (1957). *The Use and Abuse of History*, (tr. Adrian Collins) New York: Bobbs-Merrill p. 38.

<sup>893</sup> Lovesey, P. (1979). *The Official Centenary History of the AAA*, London: Guinness Superlatives; Roe, W. (2002/2003). The Athletic Capital of England: The White Lion, Hackney Wick 1857-1875, *British Society of Sports History Bulletin* 16/17 p. 41; Lucas, J. (1977). Anomalies of Human Physical Achievement, *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* VIII (2) pp. 1-9; Vincent, T. (1981). *The Rise and Fall of American Sport: Mudville's Revenge*, Bison Books Revised edition 1994, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press pp. 82-83; *Chambers Encyclopaedia*. (1906). A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge, New edition, Volume 1 London: William and Robert Chambers p. 541.

<sup>894</sup> *The Observer*, 4 August 1901 p. 6.

<sup>895</sup> Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 246-250.

several seasons with J. Nuttall, the world's professional champion, whose advice had been invaluable in "the improvement of the amateur".<sup>896</sup>

### *Home and Abroad*

The exclusion of professional coaches in England resulted in the loss of a substantial body of craft knowledge as elite trainers were recruited abroad, especially to America where this process paralleled an increasing focus on victory. Professional coaches such as Matt Mann, discussed in chapter five, were found to produce winners and coaching emerged as a specialised, technical profession. The control of sport moved from players to coaches, managers, and owners, and principles of scientific management were used to teach strategies and train athletes.<sup>897</sup> Subsequent ideological clashes between English and American sportsmen revolved partly around these diametrically opposed perceptions of coaching. English commentators became defensive over competitive failures and withdrew further from professional coaching, continuing to emphasise the volunteer as coach, although, in the Empire as well as in Europe, the American perspective gradually gained the ascendancy.

In 1883, Willie Beckwith described swimming in America as being "in its infancy" and declared he had not seen a single swimmer who would stand a chance against any ordinary English professional or amateur, partly because Americans stuck to the breaststroke rather than learning the overhand stroke, while Agnes was "very merry" when asked her opinion of American lady swimmers.<sup>898</sup> The case study presented in chapter five documents how the exclusion of swimming professors left English swimming in the hands of those whose values and principles revolved around life saving, breaststroke, trudgen, and hygiene. Led by a relatively small group of amateur officials, who were suspicious of both competitive swimming and Americans, swimming moved from co-operation between amateurs and

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<sup>896</sup> *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*, December 1901 LXXVI (502) p. 484. Although ASA rules prevented amateurs competing against professionals, mixed meetings were allowed, and at a Nuttall benefit both men swam against time over 1000 yards. The amateur recorded thirteen minutes thirty-two seconds, the professional thirteen minutes thirty-six seconds.

<sup>897</sup> See Fidler, D. K. (1977). *The First Big Upset: American Culture and the Regatta of 1871*, *The New England Quarterly* 50 (1) pp. 68-82; Smith, R. A. (1993). *History of Amateurism in Men's Intercollegiate Athletics: The Continuance of a 19th-century Anachronism in America*, *Quest* 45 pp. 431-434; Coakley, J. J. (1994). *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*, St. Louis: Mosby.

<sup>898</sup> *Macon Weekly Telegraph, published as The Telegraph and Messenger*, 30 September 1883 p. 6. Two Champion Swimmers. What Willie and Agnes Beckwith Say of the National Art.



professionals to a policy of separation through enforcement.<sup>899</sup> This interpretation contrasts with previous work, which has been generally uncritical of the governing body, such as the ASA sponsored history by Keil and Wix.<sup>900</sup> Chapters five and six highlighted the importance of technique, "science", in swimming but technical developments were discouraged by amateur traditionalism, something of a paradox given the widespread perception of craft conservatism as holding back innovation, and it was innovative English craft coaches, working overseas, who created new swimming strokes.

English discourses commonly implied that if an English team lost, this was because it was more "sporting" and less "professional" than its opposition. English amateurs trained in an amateur manner, "by the help chiefly of the light of nature" but American amateurs were trained even more strictly than English professionals and their specially retained trainers were "more autocratic than the German Emperor". The admiration accorded some of these coaches was "ludicrous" and led to teams being referred to as "Mr. So-and-so's men". To "our ears there is a certain lack of dignity in this manner of appellation",<sup>901</sup> and many Englishmen were wary of professionalised sport "run" by specialised trainers in order to win international victories. Paid coaching initiatives led to fears that a horde of Americanised trainers, employing their purely empiric craft, "based upon a smattering of physiology and a vast self-assurance, will march onward through many failures to some rare success".<sup>902</sup> More comforting were continuing amateur attempts to improve performance. On 12 January 1905, Dr. A. Roscoe Badger, President of Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association (MCAAA), gave an hour-and-a-half lecture to athletes, illustrated with lime-light views, which proved invaluable in giving "useful hints" as what to do and what not to do in training, and there were some thoughts as to making this an annual event.<sup>903</sup>

There were those who favoured a system of professional trainers and even Montagu Shearman, who was critical of the "training table" system that operated in America, argued that Englishmen would be "very foolish" if they neglected to engage competent scientific instructors to teach the arts of athletics. Sport should not become a business but "what is worth doing is worth doing well", and efforts should

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<sup>899</sup> *Amateur Swimming Association Committee Minutes*, 24 September 1898. A typical meeting consisted of seven representatives including the President and Secretary.

<sup>900</sup> Keil, I. and Wix, D. (1996). *In the Swim: The Amateur Swimming Association from 1869 to 1994*, Loughborough: Swimming Times.

<sup>901</sup> *The Observer*, 4 August 1901 p. 6.

<sup>902</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 1 August 1912 p. 7; *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 August 1913 p. 7.

<sup>903</sup> *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Committee Minutes*, 1 December 1904.

certainly be made to disseminate "those principles which are well enough known to English professionals" but which were not systematically taught. The Universities and the leading clubs should be supplied with professional instructors who could both supervise the practice of the athletes and give advice as to diet and regimen.<sup>904</sup>

Mussabini believed that the growth of Olympic International rivalry had the potential to re-ignite the "old ways of the old days".<sup>905</sup> It was certainly the catalyst for a number of amateurs to take their sport more seriously. In 1908, amateur sculler H. T. Blackstaffe, went into training for some weeks before Henley and the Olympics, prefacing his programme by contending the Senior Sculls at Amsterdam, where he could race some of the best Continental oarsmen.<sup>906</sup> Amateur athletes formed an Athletes' Advisory Club in 1911 to discover new athletic talent, hold meetings for the purpose of discussing judgment, diet, breathing, arm action, body carriage, and indoor training, and to appoint experienced amateur athletes to act as coaches and advisers. A club circular observed that the failure of,

...the Empire's representatives to hold their own in many branches of track and field athletics is mainly due to the want of scientific training and coaching, and not because we lack good material. As the financial position of the average English athletic club does not permit of the permanent employment of a professional coach, it is proposed to make use of amateur coaches and advisers. Besides seeking *new* talent and coaching our athletes it is the intention of the executive of the Athletes Advisory Club to make a scientific study of athletic training. It is confidently expected that this will lead to a great improvement in the national physique, thus enabling us to regain and keep our supremacy in the athletic world.<sup>907</sup>

Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) officials were equally concerned about organising training support prior to Stockholm. In November 1911, a letter from the editor of *The Sportsman*, soliciting the support of the MCAA for a scheme to provide free training schedules for prospective Olympic athletes, was referred back to the AAA Committee.<sup>908</sup> Another letter, dated 5 December 1911, was sent to prospective athletes from P. L. Fisher, Honorary Secretary, emphasising that the AAA sought to send their best team to Stockholm and wanted to arrange special training for potential candidates. So that coaching and training arrangements could

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<sup>904</sup> Shearman, M. (1895). International Athletics, *The Badminton Magazine* December pp. 585-590.

<sup>905</sup> *The Observer*, 11 August 1912 p. 10; Mussabini, S. A. (1913). *The Complete Athletic Trainer*, London: Methuen and Co. pp. 238-240.

<sup>906</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 15 May 1908 p. 14.

<sup>907</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 23 December 1911 p. 14.

<sup>908</sup> *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Committee Minutes*, 2 November 1911.

be made, athletes were requested to reply by 15 December 1911, giving information about profession or occupation and business address, the time available for training, arrangements already being made for special training, and any potential difficulties about getting time off for the competition.

In January 1912, F. W. Parker, of the LAC, agreed to act as chief adviser to possible Olympians, and he contacted everyone who had been asked to train for the trials. He proposed to visit all the principal training centres in England, to advise athletes on their preparation, and additional trainers were engaged at these centres to assist in training and coaching.<sup>909</sup> In March 1912, the MCAA granted an honorarium of £5 to each of five "under-trainers" appointed for the Midlands. R. Turner of Cambridge observed that prospective athletes from his district had their own trainers, while trainers for Derby and Notts were appointed in May.<sup>910</sup>

Despite these arrangements, Stockholm was not a success. *The Daily Mirror* believed that athletes had lacked sufficiently specialised training and not been prepared long enough in advance. There was no finer all-round athlete in the world than "the lithe, clean-limbed, and alert Britisher" and there were English boys who would win "glorious laurels" at Berlin with proper training.<sup>911</sup> Part of the AAA response was to establish training sites in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Cardiff, and Newcastle, where official trainers would be available at a set hour to advise approved athletes.<sup>912</sup> MCAA made arrangements for training to take place in Cannon Hill and Small Heath Parks in Birmingham and J. Duggan and F. Wright were appointed as trainers at Birmingham F.C. and Birmingham Post Office grounds respectively.<sup>913</sup> In Northamptonshire, the training fees allowed by the Olympic Committee were divided between three districts, each receiving £1 13s 4d for five weeks, and W. Mackness at Thrapston, Mitchell at Kettering, and W. Hartill at Northampton were appointed as trainers. Elsewhere, the South Derby and South Notts Branch noted that an application had been received from W. D. Clarke for appointment as Olympic trainer and coach.<sup>914</sup> At least one commentator foresaw

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<sup>909</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 20 January 1912 p. 14.

<sup>910</sup> *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Committee Minutes*, 28 March 1912; 2 May 1912.

<sup>911</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 18 August 1913 p. 7; 27 August 1913 p. 5; 9 September 1913 p. 13.

<sup>912</sup> *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 August 1913 p. 8.

<sup>913</sup> *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Committee Minutes*, 3 July 1913; 7 August 1913; *The Daily Mirror*, 23 July 1913 p. 14.

<sup>914</sup> *Midland Counties Amateur Athletic Association Committee Minutes*, 14 August 1913; 27 August 1913.

"an army of professional coaches" over-running the country but supporters of the programme believed that this "army of coaches does not and never will exist".<sup>915</sup>

When the AAA finally appointed a national coach they turned to Canadian W. R. Knox (1878-1951), who was given a three year contract in 1914 at an annual salary of £400, the same as a Member of Parliament, with £150 travelling expenses. Nine supplementary trainers were to be employed for twenty-six weeks of the year over two years, at an estimated cost of £700 per annum, two each for Scotland, Ireland, the North of England, the South and West of England, and one for the Midlands.<sup>916</sup> By April 1914, these trainers were still to get started, although a preview of the Manchester Athletic Club Olympic trials in May anticipated that Knox would be giving a demonstration of the powers that made him "the world's all-round athletic champion".<sup>917</sup> Following the termination of his contract in 1914, Knox went back to Canada, and English amateurs returned to prevaricating over the employment of professional coaches. In 1924, more than eighty years before the concerns voiced at the start of this thesis, it was being argued that England needed, "a man of good education and social position", to supervise coaching nationally and that, if Englishmen were unable to fulfil subsidiary coaching roles satisfactorily, foreigners should be imported.<sup>918</sup>

### *Concluding Comments*

As the nature of British society changed during the course of the nineteenth century, localised coaching communities came under threat from an expansion of information outlets and increased travel opportunities, while industrialisation and the rationalisation of working practices, together with the elevation of the status of the professions, especially science and medicine, eroded the craft context of the coaching workplace. Mounting class differentiation within British sport led to a rejection of professional coaches by elite sections of the middle class who employed structural definitions to exclude men like Beckwith when formulating rules for their

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<sup>915</sup> *The Times*, 27 August 1913 p. 3.

<sup>916</sup> Lovesey, P. (1979). *The Official Centenary History of the AAA*, Enfield: Guinness Superlatives p. 119; Moon, G. (1992). *Albert Hill: A Proper Perspective*, Gloucestershire: Greg Moon p. 22; *The Manchester Guardian*, 16 January 1914 p. 9; *The Times*, 16 January 1914 p. 55. Knox was Canadian coach for the 1912 Olympics and well known on the Highland Games circuit. His personal bests were, Pole vault 12ft 6in; running broad jump 23ft. 8½in; putting the 16lb shot 46ft 5in; discus 122ft.; standing high jump 5ft.; hop, step and jump 47ft 4in. In 1913, at Inverness, he made a new Scottish "record" of 11ft 8in in the pole vault. On 25 June 1913 he won the All-round Professional Championship of America:- Running high jump 5ft 4½in; 56lb weight 22ft 4in; pole vault 11ft 3in; hammer 102ft 3in; 100 yards 10 3-5sec; three standing jumps 31ft 5½in; discus 100 ft; 120 yards hurdles 19 secs; 16lb shot 41ft 9½in; running long jump 20ft 10in.

<sup>917</sup> *The Daily Mirror*, 8 April 1914 p. 14; *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 May 1914 p. 3.

<sup>918</sup> *The Observer*, 27 April 1924 p. 22.

sporting associations. These restrictions were lasting in their effects on the status of coaching and on the competitiveness of the sports themselves, since they prevented athletes, amateur and professional, from accessing a corpus of knowledge, and a philosophy of success, established by generations of coaches. For professional oarsmen it was the result that mattered and this influenced their development of equipment and technique. For amateur grandees of the sport, style was the guideline, not effectiveness, which explains their opposition to sliding seats and shorter boats. In this resistance lay the seeds of inferior international performance, not only through a failure to use technology but also through a refusal to engage in constructive dialogue with craft coaches who made intuitive use of a rudimentary scientific knowledge, based on their experience and on traditional authorities rather than on experimental science.<sup>919</sup> The subjective experiential knowledge of these Victorian and Edwardian coaches mattered little, however, when measured against an increasingly powerful medical profession, which denigrated traditional methodology and supplanted the trainer as the expert. Faced with this deskilling, with structural exclusion, and with the hostile values of amateurism, coaches like Beckwith utilised their entrepreneurial skills to ensure that they could make a living from their knowledge and expertise, while some later coaches, like Brickett, found ways to work within, and alongside, the dominant amateur structures.

Nevertheless, the extent of the impact of the amateur professional dichotomy in sport needs to be viewed as something other than a sudden fault in the timeline of coaching. Despite structural constraints, professional coaches continued to find work. The Beckwith family were operating at a time when the ASA was attempting to establish amateur control from its London base, while Brickett and Mussabini were building their coaching reputations during the 1890s and into the first decades of the twentieth century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Harry Andrews and "Choppy" Warburton were gainfully employed, while others coached at the major tennis and racquet courts. The craftsmanship, entrepreneurship, and innovative contributions of all these men may have been diluted but, clearly, the late nineteenth century amateur hegemony in sport did not immediately lead to the extinction of professional coaching cultures.

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<sup>919</sup> See Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and Monopoly Capital. The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, New York: Monthly Review Press pp. 131-133; Atkin, I., Hassard, J. and Day, D. (2006). The Emergence of the Sports Coach during the Long Nineteenth Century. An Exploration of Labour Processes of Organised Sport in Britain and America, 24<sup>th</sup> *International Labour Process Conference*, London 10-12 April.

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