Author manuscript / Accepted Version.

Accepted author manuscript of a peer reviewed article accepted for publication by Taylor & Francis in Sport in history. 25/08/2015. Available online: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17460263.2015.1067250

Published version should be used for citation purposes.

‘That Excellent Sample of a Professional’: Dan Maskell and the Contradictions of British Amateurism in Twentieth-Century Lawn Tennis

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Published as:

Lake, R. J. (2016). ‘That excellent sample of a professional’: Dan Maskell and the Contradictions of British Amateurism in Twentieth-Century Lawn Tennis. *Sport in History*, *36*(1) 1-25.

Abstract

This paper critically examines the life and career of Daniel “Dan” Maskell OBE CBE (1908-92), the much-loved British professional coach and BBC commentator for Wimbledon, and position his social ascendancy during the inter-war and post-war periods within the contexts of shifting class relations in British society, and the professionalisation of tennis and growing performance orientation of amateur tennis authorities in Britain. Given his working-class origins, Maskell’s gradual acceptance into the British lawn tennis fraternity and rise to become “the voice of Wimbledon” and, for some, the personification of traditional British sporting amateur values, was something of an enigma, and reflected key contradictions in what amateurism constituted in the twentieth century. Despite enduring systematic discrimination in clubs and exclusion from amateur competitions, as a consequence of him being a “professional”, he remained a chief proponent of the amateur ideology throughout his lifetime and exhibited numerous personal qualities that endeared him to the upper-middle-class establishment: modesty, loyalty, integrity, conservative views on player behaviour, deference to authority, strong work-ethic, and good-humoured nature. Once tennis went “open” in 1968, and throughout a period when professionalism and commercialism threatened to undermine the sports’ core ideals, Maskell continued to represent and promote amateur ideals through his broadcasting ethics and values.

Key words

Coaching, talent development, social mobility, LTA, Wimbledon

Introduction

Dan Maskell achieved notable successes throughout his career: he was employed in 1929 as the first coaching-professional at the All England Lawn Tennis Club (AELTC); he became the first coach to work and travel with the British Davis Cup team, helping it win four consecutive titles from 1933-36; he became in 1953 the first professional to be made an honorary member of the AELTC; he instructed numerous members of the royal family, politicians, and other prominent members of "elite" society; he developed into a prominent authority on, and leading Lawn Tennis Association (LTA) representative for, coaching and talent development matters; and, he worked with the BBC's commentary team for over forty years, becoming the much-loved "voice of Wimbledon". His achievements in British tennis earned him an honorary MA degree from Loughborough University and a CBE honour from the Queen in 1982, and a prime-time spot on the popular ITV television programme *This is your Life* in 1985.

These accolades aside, Maskell can be considered overall an unsung figure in tennis history, principally because, as a professional coach (or coaching-professional) before tennis went "open" in 1968, he was not allowed to compete at Wimbledon, in the Davis Cup, or any other amateur competitions. Arguably, outside of Wimbledon broadcasting, his most notable achievements were in coaching and talent development, helping to: increase the number of trained coaches in Britain, particularly those working in clubs/schools; improve the status afforded to tennis coaches and of tennis coaching as a career; advance the working conditions of, and financial remuneration and benefits afforded to, coaches and to coach-development schemes in general; and, promote the talent development of children, through more dedicated and specialised training.

Typical of some inter-war and early post-war professionals in other sports, like cricket's Jack Hobbs, Maskell's character reflected that of a respectable working-class gentleman, or a member of what Bédarida termed the 'labour aristocracy'.[1] Initially excluded from amateur privileges, many of his personal qualities endeared him to his social superiors and afforded him access to numerous privileges. As class distinctions gradually weakened, Maskell's affable nature and rising stock as a coaching-professional – at a time when British amateur tennis authorities felt greater pressure to achieve elite-level successes for their players – eased his acceptance into this distinguished group. Then later, as he turned his attention to broadcasting during a phase when the professionalisation and commercialisation of tennis challenged the sport's customs and core values, Maskell came to personify traditional British sporting amateurism. His predictable commentating style, steady and unflappable demeanour, conservative attitudes to player behaviour, strong work ethic, and unfaltering loyalty to British tennis, struck a chord with Wimbledon's established middle-class viewers, who yearned for a return to the halcyon days of British on-court supremacy and unquestionable amateurism and sportsmanship. They also appreciated his immense knowledge and profound understanding of tennis, at a time when the application of science and technical expertise were becoming increasingly valued qualities in sport alongside the spheres of industry, economics, and politics. Thus, he cleverly espoused and conveyed both tradition and progress, simultaneously.

Maskell's social mobility, as a working-class man who excelled within the socially-exclusive upper-middle-class tennis culture, reflected not only pertinent aspects of his character that demonstrated an ability to negotiate cultural mores and social structures to achieve a better life and social standing for himself, but also important shifts in broader class values during the inter-war and post-war periods and changes in tennis more specifically, that made more readily available such opportunities. The main objectives of this paper are to critically analyse key aspects of Maskell's upbringing, achievements and ostensible character

within broader socio-historical contexts, to consider: what role Maskell played in, and what overall influences he had upon, developments in Britain's coaching and talent-development programmes in tennis during the twentieth century; and, what Maskell's rising social status reveals about shifts in Britain's class structures in wider society. Overall, tennis is positioned as an interesting platform from which to examine broad shifts in Britain's class relations, and the inherent contradictions of amateurism in British tennis during a period of marked change.

Maskell's Rise as a Professional Coach

While much of the historiography of tennis has focused on the sport's upper-middle-class roots, recently some studies have considered more working-class involvement within, and influences upon, the sport.[2] Lake found that some of the largest and wealthiest clubs from the 1880s offered employment to working-class males as ball-boys, trainers, racket-stringers, and groundsmen. Their work was often laborious and poorly paid, and though these boys/men served important club roles, they were demeaned often like servants, and denied access to certain entrances, rooms or privileges in the club deemed exclusive to "regular" (i.e. amateur) members.[3] Clubs before the war were much like country houses, with clearly articulated structures of class exclusivity.[4]

Evidence suggests the first known club "pros" were often well-liked and well-respected among members, but only in so far as they were deferential and offered no serious challenge to club rules or established hierarchical power structures. George Kerr was the first known lawn tennis professional, working at the Fitzwilliam Club in Dublin from the early-1880s, and his genial and generous character was not uncommon among working-class professionals in cricket, golf and other amateur and middle-class-dominated sport-clubs at the time.[5] Kay remarked that working-class involvement in lawn tennis also stretched to participation, seen in early works' clubs and parks' associations, some of which emerged before the First World War.[6]

During the inter-war period working-class involvement became more commonplace in lawn tennis, but remained nevertheless marginal. As Ross McKibbin noted, the established middle class of the early 1920s 'continued to reflect the social structure of the Edwardian years', particularly so in their 'active fear' and 'embittered attitude' toward the working class.[7] Indeed, while new tennis clubs formed and many existing ones loosened restrictions on membership to satisfy the sport's burgeoning popularity, the boom period between 1920 and 1939 that saw numbers of LTA-affiliated clubs more than triple (from just over 1,000 to 3,200) and also witnessed the relative cost of equipment fall. This largely benefitted the lower-middle class rather than the working class, who continued to be "blackballed" in many clubs because of well-established prejudices linked to educational attainment or employment.[8]

It is undoubted that as the inter-war period progressed, middle-class sympathies developed. The war had brought together men of all social backgrounds, who were united around a common objective, and many developed greater respect, admiration, understanding, and feelings of commonality and empathy for their working-class comrades. The rise of leftist political parties/factions that represented working-class interests was another important development. Labour succeeded the Liberals as the "second" party in the state, briefly coming to power in 1924, and the 1926 TUC General Strike highlighted the poor working conditions of, and compensation for, manual workers, which again invited middle-class sympathies.[9] Not only did shifting economic patterns facilitate some social mobility for the working classes into middle-class professions, but Tory counter efforts to 'demonize' the industrial working-classes and their trade-union activities failed to sufficiently and

comprehensively galvanise the middle class. Consequently, class distinctions weakened throughout the inter-war period as traditional models of deference were collapsing, and ‘in housing, transport, morals, leisure, and dress, society [had] become more equal and more homogenous’.[10] The combined fears of both Far Left and Far Right politics ensured that neither achieved a strong foothold in Britain during this period, and more moderate social/political ideologies gained greater traction.

Alongside the growth of working-class interests and influences, the middle class were continuing to expand with a professional/managerial class at its, and increasingly Britain’s, helm.[11] As a reflection of declining imperial dominance, and the perceived need to respond to a changing competitive world through developing greater technical expertise and the application of scientific enquiry, businessmen and highly-skilled professionals not only increased numerically but also came to comprise the two largest categories of MPs during the inter-war period.[12] Middle-class values of diligence and shrewdness combined with ‘scientific and technical skills’ to ‘bring new expertise and techniques to industry and government administration’, and as Tony Collins astutely pointed out, sport was not spared the effects of these influences that centred on the emergence of a new and more modern middle class in the late inter-war period.[13] Thus, it is likely that Maskell’s ascendency in tennis reflected these combined trends, toward the blurring of class distinctions to allow greater working-class access and influence, growing middle-class respect for technical expertise and, what Collins termed, ‘the change from a culture based on status to one based on success’.[14]

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Dan Maskell was born in Fulham, west London, in 1908. The Maskell’s were a numerically large working-class family – Dan was one of eight children – and they lived in modest accommodations. Dan’s mother Emma Pearce died when he was aged just fourteen. His father Harry was an engineer-turned-publican, and elected to give cycling lessons to the gentry at Queen’s Club to boost the family’s modest income.[15] Included among the demographic taking advantage of new opportunities in tennis were grammar-school-educated working-class children. Had his father been able to afford the tuition, Maskell would have joined this group, after having been accepted to the well-respected Upper Latymer School in Hammersmith at age eleven. Instead, he attended the local Everington Street School, and excelled at football. Nevertheless, his close proximity to Queen’s Club ensured his early exposure to tennis.

Maskell’s first introduction was during school holidays, working as a part-time ball-boy for 10 shillings a week. He recalled being immediately charmed by the ‘beautifully dressed devotes of this glorious game, who swept to and from their courtly pursuits in highly polished limousines’.[16] He left school at fourteen and in 1923 fulfilled his early ambition to become a full-time ball-boy, working under the tutelage of the respected coaching-professional Charles Hierons, who began his apprenticeship at Queen’s before establishing himself as head professional in the late-1890s. Maskell’s employment, in itself, reflected new efforts made by some though certainly not all clubs to improve accessibility. Queen’s were concerned to position themselves among the elite rank of clubs in terms of prestige and increasingly performance, so recognised the benefits of employing ball-boys and other manual labourers. Not only did they provide an important service for members, but their presence conveyed elite status in much the same way as country houses, based upon the size of their servant workforce.

Despite the obvious playing talent that Maskell came to demonstrate as a young player, there was never any consideration of him competing in the Davis Cup, or at

Wimbledon or other amateur tournaments, or even of representing Queen's in local inter-club competitions. Once employed as a "professional", whether as ball-boy, trainer or coach, there remained little recourse. His exclusion from virtually all amateur competitions reflected the dogmatic viewpoints of tennis authorities like the LTA and the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF), which alongside the most prestigious clubs remained populated with exclusive "old-boy" networks and dominated by well-established, elitist ideologies. Amateur competitions were considered privileges for those who could devote their energies to sport without financial remuneration and who, apparently, played the game more for love than pecuniary reward.[17] Any working-class involvement that did exist was tightly controlled and closely monitored, to ensure class distinctions remained and traditions upheld.

The low status of professionals in many clubs, and the persistent abhorrence of "working-class attitudes" to competition, was indicative of the general disdain for working-class involvement.[18] To receive coaching, undergo training, and specialise within a specific sport/event was to take its practice to an unhealthy level of seriousness, as Day remarked:

> An emphasis on moderation ... reflected amateur assumptions that "staleness" and overtraining were the inevitable outcomes of an obsession with sport, as exemplified by those athletes who prepared with professional coaches. This aversion to coaches was part of the amateur ideology.[19]

Maskell's meteoric rise to prominence as a coach, therefore, hinged upon changing attitudes to competition and training/coaching methods among sport's amateur establishment – part of what Beamish and Ritchie referred to as a 'paradigm shift' in the "science" of training[20] – and the rising national importance of pursuing elite-level success to restore British prestige.[21] Maskell was a notable beneficiary of these gradual developments, as his talents afforded him a "back-door" opportunity to establish himself within this exclusive sphere.

Within a year at Queen's, Maskell had progressed to become a junior coaching-professional, but in 1929 was offered the full-time job of AELTC head professional, a move which offered numerous opportunities to coach the nations' top players. There he began assisting Henry Wilfred "Bunny" Austin and Fred Perry. The latter shared a similar "outsider" status to Maskell, given his lower-middle-class upbringing and his father's involvement in trade unionism before becoming a Labour MP for Kettering.[22] Recognising the improvement he was having on their games, Maskell was invited by Davis Cup captain Herbert Roper Barrett to travel with the team to Paris for the 1933 Challenge Round. Two years earlier, Britain had narrowly lost to the dominant French team, comprising the famously successful "Four Musketeers": Reni Lacoste, Jacques Brugnon, Jean Borotra, and Henri Cochet. Maskell had helped train that team prior to their match, but did not travel with them, though with Maskell's on-site assistance in 1933, the team triumphed 3-2 and returned the Cup to Britain for the first time since 1912. This feat was widely celebrated among the British media, public and officialdom, and Perry among others spoke very favourably of Maskell's influence. The decision to take Maskell,

> repaid us over and over again. ... He was of immense service to our team, for, apart from his great merits as a coach, he is a fine player – able to play serious sets, on equal terms, or to serve up the stuff one wants for stroke practice.[23]

Later, Perry claimed that Maskell 'was the only player at home who could ever beat me'.[24] Indeed, Maskell triumphed in the professional championships of Britain – one of only a handful of regularly-staged professional tournaments held during the inter-war period – on sixteen occasions from 1928-50. Perry's estimation of Maskell as a talented player of near-equal ability was shared by others, who argued that his professional status alone prevented him from competing in amateur competitions. Maskell recalled an unsuccessful "move" to have him represent Britain in the Davis Cup: 'Had I the opportunity of a little more match experience I think I would have contested the No. 2 singles spot on the team with Bunny

Austin. ... Nothing ever came of it despite some agitation in the press'.[25] As it was, under Maskell's guidance, Britain won three more times in succession before Perry signed a professional contract with Bill Tilden's touring troupe, and Britain lost 5-0 to the Americans in 1937.

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Throughout the inter-war period, alongside his obvious talent and skill as an elite-level tennis player and coach/trainer, Maskell demonstrated numerous personal qualities that endeared him to the upper/upper-middle-class tennis establishment. As a ball-boy and later club professional, his work ethic was exemplary; he alluded to his undertaking of all manner of club tasks, regardless of how menial, with keenness.[26] His employers felt similarly, as adjudged by his rapid progress through the ranks to become the AELTC's head professional at just 21 years-of-age.

Some conservative traditionalists remained sceptical of the professional's place in amateur sports like tennis, couching their negativity in a staunch abhorrence to money-making, and apparent connection with the loss of 'intrinsic value' as well as 'greed and cheating ... gross ambition, gambling and moral laxity'.[27] In golf, America's Walter Hagen had endured criticism from amateur officials and some sections of the press for his 'flamboyant displays of wealth',[28] but Maskell always dressed conservatively, carried himself with ostensible modesty, and showed a distinct lack of concern for money. In 1936, Roper Barrett described Maskell as 'that excellent sample of a professional who ... learns to impart his knowledge to the team rather than fill his own pockets'.[29] Recently, his daughter Robin recalled how her father's work ethic was matched by his stubborn refusal to request a salary raise throughout his commentating career, which was testament also to his supreme loyalty to the BBC:

> He was never given any help, financially or otherwise – everything he did was off his own bat through sheer hard work. ... [My husband] was horrified to see how little Dad was paid. ... ITV wanted him several times but he was very loyal and wouldn't have dreamt of leaving the BBC. ... Bargaining with them for a rise ... just wasn't his nature at all. He just didn't think about the money side at all, which was one of the likeable aspects of him. I'm quite sure the younger ones earned more.[30]

His abhorrence to conspicuous displays of wealth did not necessarily prevent him seeking to capitalise financially on his fame. Like other well-known professional sportsmen at the time, numerous companies employed Maskell to endorse their products, such as Slazengers sportswear, Robinson's Barley Water, Gutta Percha Garagard men's tennis shoes, and Dextrosol glucose tablets. With a family to support, Maskell was in no position to reject such offers, and amateur officials did not begrudge Maskell capitalising in such ways, as he did so openly and without pretence, and always made himself available to them as his first priority.

Other endearing features of Maskell's character were his deference to figures of authority and his idealisation of the amateur philosophy, despite being excluded from the privileges that befell only amateur players or those individuals from wealthier backgrounds. This is not to say that Maskell was ignorant of class inequalities. Indeed, he developed an acute sense of social hierarchy and class privilege, as reflected in his close bond with Fred Perry throughout their lives, and in his admission to Robin that 'he regretted not going to university. He'd left school at 14 and always felt he wasn't quite as well-educated as a lot of other people'.[31] Further, in his autobiography, Maskell recalled his poor wages at Queen's – seven shillings and sixpence for a 75-minute lesson – and the 'upstairs, downstairs days', when the professionals were barred from mixing socially with members on clubhouse premises, and were relegated to sharing a drink on the steps outside the bar or in their own

less commodious basement recreation-room.[32] However, he chose to work alongside rather than against such structural inequalities, and rather than publicly challenge the system he seemed to cheerfully accept his social subordination, recalling: ‘it was simply the way things were in those days’.[33] Instead of feeling envy or jealousy, he remarked being ‘fascinated’ by the ‘good breeding and orderly management that pervaded’ Queen’s and the ‘charmed world of privilege’ from where its member’s came.[34] Moreover, despite the public agitation of his exclusion from amateur competitions like Wimbledon, Maskell outwardly at least remained unmoved. Later, he recalled: ‘Oh no, there was never any question that I could compete there. A professional was a professional’. In fact, he considered the move ‘a bit stupid’, and claimed he had ‘the next best thing’: ‘I coached a winning team through all those years ... when we won the [Davis] Cup. That gave me far more satisfaction than playing at Wimbledon would have. I’m a team man’.[35]

Though some could question the genuineness of these statements, his ostensible “stiff upper lip” in the face of such discrimination was commendable in itself. Ambitious working-class men were right to develop a keen sense of protocol and behavioural restraint when among their socially-superior gatekeepers; they should learn what types of actions or statements of ambition were acceptable and those that were not. Maskell recalled as a young boy believing ‘there could be no finer achievement’ than to become the head professional of a prestigious club.[36] Such a public statement of ambition would have been perfectly acceptable because it did not encroach on amateur privilege; had he voiced an ambition to compete at Wimbledon or even to become a fully-fledged club member, he probably would have met at least some establishment opposition.

Exactly how far Maskell internalised his lower status in unclear, but regardless it seems he was able to navigate the boundaries of acceptable behaviour fairly successfully. Such was Maskell’s modesty and integrity, the amateur authorities comfortably extended him several privileges, including international travel and opportunities to work alongside high-profile people, safe in the knowledge he was unlikely to take undue advantage or seek out more than what his “station” allowed. That said, the authorities had the power to reign in their generosity or put Maskell “in his place” at any time. During his successful tenure as Davis Cup coach in the 1930s, for example, not only was Maskell not invited to pose in official team photographs, but the LTA also arranged for him to stay in a different and, naturally, inferior hotel for his inaugural trip to Paris. He recalled the team’s collective embarrassment at the Association’s need to preserve ‘social differences’.[37]

For sure, Maskell’s rising prominence as a professional during a period of amateur hegemony came as a consequence of the rising importance attached to British success, but for any professional to succeed under such well-articulated class snobbery and social exclusion, he/she would have needed to present themselves publicly as a non-threatening proponent of amateurism, and a true believer of amateur privilege. Only a certain type of professional would have garnered such respect: one who blended cleverly working-class thrift, diligence, perseverance, artisanship and deference, with middle-class modesty, integrity, behavioural restraint, and respectability. In this respect, a useful comparison can be made with Jack Hobbs, who also shared an “amateur in all but name” persona. Holt described Hobbs as:

> the authentic English hero of the inter-war years [who] ... had a kind of grace and power, an elegance in his play that moved the most knowledgeable of critics to marvel. ... It was the reserve, the modesty, the shy humour, the very “gentlemanliness” of this professional that won the heart of the nation. Hobbs combined the effortless superiority of the amateur with the respectability and perseverance of the artisan. He was a true aristocrat of labour; he drank very little and was never known to swear or behave in an unseemly manner. He was immaculately turned out and a regular church-goer. He accepted the division between amateur and

professional without complaint, retaining the habit of calling amateur players "Mr" and never strove for the captaincy of either Surrey or England. Hobbs did not offer any challenge to the system.[38]

Huggins and Williams suggested that Hobbs' humble origins 'showed that English people of any background could display the characteristics expected of English sporting heroes'.[39] Throughout the inter-war period, this was certainly so, as the definition of "gentlemanly" status continued to broaden, and class distinctions weakened to allow those without the requisite educational or employment standards at least some opportunities to gain respect and status through the exhibition of technical expertise, matched with the "right" character traits, most notably: honesty, integrity, courage, modesty, self-restraint, and chivalry. Sports like cricket and tennis afforded some men of modest means opportunities to demonstrate these qualities on the field/court of play, and arguably both Hobbs and Maskell benefited from the gradual relaxation of restrictions, but only because they developed an acute consciousness of middle-class habitus, and exhibited the necessary cultural capital to fit in.

While Huggins and Williams noted that the representation of sporting heroes during the inter-war period as 'modest men who respected their opponents and practised sportsmanship' was a reflection of how the 'English national character' was generally understood, the pressure for players to 'present themselves as unassuming and gracious to their opponents' was at odds with the self-confidence and single-mindedness also often expected of them in international competition.[40] This was a reflection of the growing professionalism toward which many players were orienting themselves. Maskell's endeavours to enhance coaching standards reflected the emergence of a new attitude toward professionalism in sport generally, as being the widely-anticipated answer to the failings of amateurism that were becoming apparent to many in the inter-war period.

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Since the mid-1920s, Maskell worked diligently to advance the professional standards and working conditions of coaching-professionals, principally to develop their craft and raise the status of coaching as a profession. Among the British workforce more generally, not only did the distinction between the skilled craftsman and the unskilled labourer correspond to differences in opportunities to unionise, but also bred social and psychological divides between upper ("respectable") and lower tiers of the working-class.[41] Therefore, Maskell considered it important to ensure that tennis coaches were recognised as highly-skilled professionals and as craftsman, as other skilled working-class professionals were coming also to garner greater respect and achieve a higher status. This he sought to achieve on two fronts: by standardising coaching practises along more efficient and scientific lines; and, by organising coaching-professionals into unions/professional associations.

Carter considered the inter-war period as a turning-point in British coaching/training philosophies and associated methods. While members of the elite classes continued to pursue "pure" amateurism as a combined philosophy of mind, body, and spirit, the more progressive administrators in British sport, as they were influenced by American and continental developments, became more concerned with efficiency and learnt to appreciate the performance benefits of applied sciences, such as exercise physiology. As exposed in their technical training manuals, however, the "Oxbridge elite" particularly in athletics continued to value "style" over expediency, and they expressed their abhorrence to specialised and systematic training regimes, despite the successes that came as a consequence.[42] As another sport characterised at this time by a mix of class values, tennis was similarly caught in competition between amateurism and professionalism, particularly in terms of how the sport should be played and how the pursuit of success should be approached.

Early in his career, after studying several players with unorthodox but efficient techniques, Maskell came to question the commonly-held belief that ‘you had to be a good stylist to be a winner’, and considered that ‘this overemphasis on style could be positively harmful if, as often, it meant that a pupil was asked to sacrifice an efficient but ungainly way of hitting the ball for a more elegant stroke that was unreliable’.[43] In defiance of amateur conservativism, Maskell began to campaign for the creation of a more comprehensive coach education structure and a register of LTA coaching-professionals. He felt this would help to standardise coaching practices around five key fundamentals: watching the ball, sound footwork, balance, racket head control, and swing control.[44] It would also ensure that clubs and individual players would get the best possible services from a suitably trained coach. When approached at a 1934 meeting, however, the LTA’s initial response was to claim, rather weakly, that ‘there could be no stereotyped method of coaching’.[45] This was to deny altogether the usefulness of a structured coaching programme, as correspondents in other sports had noted.[46] Maskell reflected that his struggles to ‘unify’ national coaching methods had its ‘detractors’, yet beyond what his efforts to standardise coaching achieved for the talent development of British players, they represented an important step in a professional sense.[47] With well-established, consistent and agreed-upon practices, coaches were a step closer to proper unionisation, and slowly progressing toward garnering greater public support for tennis coaching as a legitimate and, crucially, skilled profession.[48]

During this period, it is possible that middle-class prejudice against the working classes, and/or a more general fear of trade unions, underpinned the LTA’s reluctance to wholeheartedly support the unionisation of tennis coaching-professionals. Maskell’s efforts to organise coaches into a more efficient and cohesive group were repeatedly thwarted, as the LTA systematically denied them the right to govern themselves, and kept coaches at arms length by making decisions related to their profession often without their consultation. In 1931, the LTA agreed to form a ‘Contact Committee’ for the purposes of discussing relevant issues with coaching-professionals, but denied them voting rights; the committee was comprised entirely of LTA representatives who merely referred issues arising to the LTA Council for consideration. That same year, the LTA also proposed that ‘certain types of people’, naming professional coaches, referees, journalists and ‘salaried members of trade concerns’ among them, were to be barred from Council positions.[49] Utterly dissatisfied with their systematic marginalisation, a group of coaches convened a secret meeting whereupon they decided to sever relations with the Contact Committee. Covering the story, *The Evening News* headline ran: ‘Lawn Tennis Professionals May Break Away From LTA’.[50] This bold move, and Maskell’s further demands for more LTA funding for coaches, reflected an enhanced collective confidence of coaching-professionals’. Just a few months earlier, Maskell helped Perry and Austin reach the Davis Cup Challenge Round for the first time since 1919. Sensing his growing leverage as an important component within the LTA’s future agenda for talent development, Maskell sat tight and waited for them to come around.

Alongside wanting to improve coaching standards, Maskell admitted his ambition to ‘gain greater recognition for the role of the individual professional tennis coach’ and for a coaching association ‘to become affiliated to the LTA like the two great universities of Oxford and Cambridge’.[51] In hindsight, Maskell’s aim for coaching-professionals to be considered equal to the ‘great universities’ was perhaps naive, given the LTA’s growing concerns of encroaching working-class influences and professional impulses more generally. Indeed, it was not until after the war when Maskell was afforded any real influence within LTA Council corridors, or extended creative control to institute a formal coaching classification system, and design and lead coach education and general talent development programmes. This development reflected external pressures on the LTA to develop British talent, alongside shifting values of the British middle-classes more broadly.

Maskell's Post-War Acceptance in Administration and Broadcasting

It was in the post-war period when Maskell went from an acceptable outsider to an integral part of the establishment itself, as a combined outcome of his own efforts and wider societal developments. During the Second World War, Maskell became more than just a "gentleman in all but name" to reach the rank of Squadron Leader with the RAF, and he received an OBE for his bravery in 1945. That summer, he participated in a British Empire vs. United States exhibition match for charity, staged at the AELTC. Covering the event, *The Observer* referred to "Sqdn.-Ldr. Dan Maskell" (not "Dan" or "Mr. Maskell") as 'the first professional to appear at Wimbledon'.[52] Clearly, Maskell benefited from the more relaxed amateur rules in place during the war, but the LTA's general attitude toward coaching-professionals in the early post-war period was still far from universally supportive.

In 1945, the LTA agreed to reinstitute the Professional Contact Committee (PCC) within the LTA, and sought Maskell to lead. They also offered a group insurance package and an allocation of Wimbledon tickets. This demonstrated greater support of coaching-professionals, and the growing respect that coaches now commanded generally, yet from some corners coaches were still marginalised as "professionals". Despite relaxed attitudes during the war, in 1946 the LTA re-enacted the ban on professionals competing with amateurs, and also declined to reintroduce the amateur vs. professional exhibition matches that were popular between the wars. Tarnished with the same brush as ex-amateur touring-professionals who competed for money on separate circuits, coaching-professionals were still subject to class prejudice, and stigmatised as "money-grabbing" en masse.[53] Such characterisations hurt Maskell, and forced one PCC member to respond firmly: 'the vast majority ... had a more genuine interest in the game's welfare than in mere pecuniary reward'.[54]

Luckily for Maskell and his colleagues, the shifting social and political landscape of the early post-war period helped expose the need to focus on long-term progress, with children as the key beneficiaries. Shortly after the cessation of war, Clement Attlee's Labour government replaced the war-time coalition led by the Conservative Winston Churchill, and ushered in high-minded and more socialist-inspired policies that were aimed at improving the lives and working conditions of the nation's poorest people; inspired by the perceived economic, political, and cultural necessity for nationalised industry; and, underpinned by the philosophy of welfarism.[55] Interventions included the creation of the NHS and the expansion of the National Insurance scheme, a stronger commitment to state pensions, urban slum clearance, and expanded free secondary education. Following the 1944 Butler Act, children were at the heart of many of these measures, as opportunities for working-class social mobility improved.[56]

That these broad socio-cultural shifts had an impact on sports development is undoubted.[57] The legitimacy of amateur players adopting a more professional outlook – utilising specialised training and coaching – was becoming more established, as administrators across a number of sports pushed for a return to the time of unquestioned British sporting supremacy, and governing bodies like the LTA also began to target children of an increasingly younger age to develop their talents.[58] Maskell's task to enhance the professional standards of coaches and the craft's overall reputation were certainly simplified due to the increasing centrality of coaching-professionals within the LTA's plans for long-term player development, and of the increasingly "scientific" outlook, emphasis and underpinning of coaching that lent it credibility and prestige among a class now more openly accepting of leadership from professional experts.[59] Maskell was a natural choice to

champion the LTA's drive to develop talent, and was hired in 1947 as Training Manager. Within his first year – he held this position for twenty-six years – he designed and led a nationwide teacher-training scheme for tennis, which by 1952 had attracted the partnership of the Ministry of Education and the Central Council of Physical Recreation to oversee the qualification of over 4,000 new school tennis coaches. In 1947, Maskell also teamed-up with Fred Perry to lead a mass-coaching tour in schools, which introduced tennis to an estimated 30,000 children by 1949.[60] The formation of boys/girls tennis associations and inter-school competitions soon followed, with the leading players selected for special training by Maskell at the LTA's newly established residential training schools. The first in 1949 was heralded as 'a landmark in lawn tennis history', and considered 'the most important cog in the wheel of [the LTA's] long-term training plans'.[61] In 1955, Maskell relinquished his role as Davis Cup coach and AELTC head-professional to concentrate on his work with the LTA and the BBC. By this stage he had established an unparalleled reputation as an expert in tennis, and in Viscount Templewood's (Sir Samuel Hoare) final speech after twenty-four years as LTA President, Maskell was singularly praised for having 'done so much during these years to raise the general standard of tennis in the country'.[62]

Into the early 1960s, Maskell's reputation withstood the growing public disenchantment with British tennis standards that followed several embarrassing performances in the Davis Cup and Wimbledon. When on occasion he was brought back to coach Britain's players, he was heralded as a reminder of past glories and a shining beacon of hope. After poor performances during the pre-Wimbledon European tour in 1965, for example, David Gray from *The Guardian* questioned why Maskell was not sent with the team, given he was 'such a conspicuous success' when he accompanied them in 1963: 'On that trip, and with his advice, the British men did better in Paris and Rome than they had done since the war, and later they went on to win the European zone [of the Davis Cup]'.[63] Without Maskell's help in 1965, however, the result was 'disastrous' according to Gray: 'Most of those who are closely associated with the game would like to see Maskell given more power to deal with Britain's international lawn tennis commitments'.[64] The overall narrative was that British success hinged on Maskell's input; he remained the "potential saviour" of British tennis.

It is suggested that Maskell's rising status among the British tennis establishment in fact masked the dearth of quality coaching in British tennis, and the continued low status of many club coaches. Alan Mills, the esteemed Wimbledon referee in the 1980s/90s, recalled an incident in the early-1970s from St. George's Club in Weybridge, when the resident coaching-professional was invited for a drink, but 'was asked to leave [the bar] and finish his drink outside in the hallway ... as if he were a leper or had a personal hygiene problem'.[65] Such anecdotes were all too common, and indicated the slow progress being made to underlying cultures of coaching and talent development in British tennis throughout the 1950s-70s, despite the LTA insisting that progress was being made in numerical terms, i.e. numbers of qualified/trained coaches, and children introduced to tennis.[66] Christopher Brasher of *The Observer* was one of a number of sports journalists whose criticism of the LTA as an organisation itself was cutting and direct, describing in 1962 the 'state of stagnation' in talent identification and development.[67] It is likely that Maskell was fully aware of these problems but strong public criticism from him came only later, in his autobiography, when he reflected on the LTA's empty rhetoric during this period:

> It was quite apparent ... that people felt the LTA were not terribly concerned with the development of the game. Park superintendents felt that they were being neglected, some schools felt much the same and all too often some of the counties were not really trying to spread the game to a new generation of players.[68]

With regards to the ingenuity and foresight shown in his coaching/talent identification and development work with the LTA during this time, it can be posited that he was often working against a system of lukewarm support and deeply-entrenched prejudice toward coaching-professionals.

Overall, Maskell's rise to a position of great respect within the middle-class amateur establishment had much to do with growing external pressure to produce champions, but also gradual shifting values within the British middle classes in general. As success came to be valued above character, and as the middle class itself continued to expand in size, the influence of those who supported or were educated in traditional gentlemanly norms (i.e. amateurism) was diluted, as Collins noted in rugby union:

> Two factors – the heightened importance of competition and the rise of what could be termed technocratic and managerial approaches to rugby – came together ... and made traditional attitudes appear increasingly anachronistic. ... "amateur" had become one of the words that symbolized the problems of post-war British society.[69]

Moreover, the 'professional society' as historian Harold Perkin called it, had in the early post-war period reached a 'plateau of attainment', whereby society in a collective sense 'accepted in principle that ability and expertise were the only respectable justification for recruitment to positions of authority and responsibility'.[70] While it failed in key areas to entirely live up to its democratic ideals, nevertheless Maskell's off-court ascendency in technical/administrative roles certainly indicated the weakening of rigid class distinctions and the softening of negative attitudes toward "professionalism" as a societal ideal. However, his gradual shifting public image from highly-esteemed professional coach to "the voice of Wimbledon" throughout the post-war period – which saw his position within the British tennis establishment solidified – also highlighted the contradictory nature of how "amateurism" was supposed to function or what it should represent during this period. Maskell was influential as a commentator/broadcaster in reinforcing the traditional values and ideals of British amateurism during a period of marked change.

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Maskell's work with the BBC commenced in 1949 when he was invited to assist Max Robertson as a summariser for radio at Wimbledon, but after showing promise was invited to lead their television commentary team in 1951. He held this position for forty years, and his broadcasting talents were acknowledged early on. Shortly after his second Championships in 1952, *The Observer* remarked that Maskell was a 'privilege' to listen to; he 'knows a commentator's place' and provides 'just the right amount of informed and constructive commentary'.[71] Richard Evans from *The Times* eulogized, similarly:

> His understated reaction to moments of crisis is renowned. ... Maskell's economy of words is testament to his discipline; ... he adheres strictly to the BBC code of conduct for commentators that insists you do not talk during rallies; you do not talk over the umpire and you remember at all times "If it's not worth saying, don't say it".[72]

It was during intense matches, in particular, when Maskell demonstrated his steady and unflappable style, which became highly regarded in Britain and abroad. Maskell's 'gentle, unhurried, non-panicky commentaries' made him 'one of the BBC's most respected commentators on any sport'.[73] He was often mentioned alongside the legendary cricket and golf commentators, John Arlott and Peter Alliss respectively, as leading sports broadcasters of the time.[74]

In the foreword to his 1988 autobiography, the much-decorated RAF pilot and philanthropist Group Captain Leonard Cheshire referred to Maskell as an 'institution', which aptly summarised his position among the British public. It seemed that what British tennis

fans of the "open era" likely found most endearing about Maskell were the traditional amateur values he espoused through is commentary style, demeanour, and expressed attitudes, and the ways he seemed to reflect, embody, and personify an era of great nostalgia when Britain "ruled the waves" and British players ruled the tennis court. Looking back, Maskell recalled the inter-war period was a time when 'the world seemed a much more wholesome place'.[75] During the 1960s and thereafter, however, as Britain entered a period of marked change both in tennis and in wider society, Maskell's steady calm, 'gentlemanly manner and quaint turns of phrase' were simultaneously disarming and reassuring.[76] He represented continuity and stability throughout the period of the sport's marked professionalisation, commercialisation, and globalisation, and when class lines of demarcation in wider society blurred together with what some social commentators considered to be a general loosening of morals, the rise of consumer culture, and the emergence of a more "permissive" society.[77] His position of cultural influence as Wimbledon commentator provided him a platform to project his views on behaviour/attitudinal standards in tennis; i.e. how the sport should be played. Maskell was portrayed as an absolute figure of integrity, who adopted a wise and trusted grandfather-type persona among the tennis public because of what he seemed to represent.

Maskell's growing persona as a "working-class boy done good" was deeply embedded in the constructed narrative of him as, in effect, a relic of a bygone era when young players were deferent and uncomplaining, and seemed to play according to more "wholesome" sportsmanlike values. The fun atmosphere of tennis events and the concomitant carefree attitudes of the competitors reflected the facts of social and economic life for most amateur players in the inter-war period, but contrasted starkly with the win-at-all-costs attitudes of Ilie Năstase, Jimmy Connors, John McEnroe, and others whose play seemed, at least ostensibly, less firmly rooted in the values of honesty, integrity, and sportsmanship.[78] In his obituary, *The Times* offered an explanation of Maskell's enduring popularity, and rise to become 'as much a part of Wimbledon as its strawberries-and-cream' throughout this period of marked change, with reference to his grace and restraint:

> His unique species of enthusiasm under restraint harked back to an English moral climate that had well and truly disappeared by the latter part of his commentating life. Yet even in the raucous Eighties, with dissent from umpiring decisions, foul language and unbridled tantrums on the court the norm rather than the exception, his calm, gentle tones did not seem inappropriate.[79]

Through other personal qualities, Maskell continued to represent the most celebrated facets of amateurism and "gentlemanly" behaviour. Firstly, his work ethic remained exemplary. It was said that he did not miss a single day of the Championships throughout his entire commentary career, and consequently his daughter Robin acknowledged his absenteeism growing up: 'Dad was away a lot, either playing, coaching or commentating. Like a lot of successful men, the job came first'.[80]

Secondly, alongside his supreme loyalty to the BBC, Maskell was known for being very patriotic. The *Daily Mail* commented: 'It meant a lot to him to be British. He was proud of the fact that he taught tennis to members of the Royal Family'.[81] Robin recalled: 'He was emotional about some things, like the Queen's speech on Christmas Day – we'd have to stop dinner to watch. He was very traditional'.[82]

Thirdly, in his role as Wimbledon commentator, Maskell closely followed BBC protocol for impartiality and conservatism. He was known to hold conservative views on player behaviour; his daughter Robin admitted that her father 'didn't like bad behaviour or swearing. He admired McEnroe's tennis tremendously but hated his bad manners'.[83] *The Times* recorded similarly of his 'care for civilised standards' that extended to his deploring the 'exhibitionist behaviour of so many members of the new generation of rising stars'.[84]

However, despite having unprecedented access to the competitors, being an AELTC member himself, he was very careful about not overstepping the mark by taking advantage of his position, and in this he demonstrated his integrity; again, Robin commented:

> He rarely said anything about it [bad behaviour] publicly because he always wanted to keep the peace. ... Dad tried to be fair to all the players and not make derogatory comments. As well as being a BBC commentator, he was a member of the AEC and was allowed in the locker-room and felt he couldn't abuse that by being rude about the players.[85]

Certainly, the idea expressed by John Barrett that 'Dan wrote the book' on tennis commentary was widely held, but arguably what was more impactful historically than his commentary skill was the ways he was able to represent the institution of Wimbledon through his commentary style and demeanour, and in his personification of the British tennis establishment as a class.[86] Richard Evans wrote:

> He is, in his way, a unique spokesman for the very best of games and if the name of Wimbledon has come to stand for order and excellence in far off places over the past two decades, it is due in no small measure to the way this man has presented it.[87]

David Miller added:

> Extremes of behaviour have never brought from him anything more censorious than "Oh dear". This English reluctance to advocate punitive measures is perhaps a characteristic of those establishment figures whom, by social metamorphosis, he has come to be seen to represent.[88]

Overall, Maskell seemed to epitomise 'what so many of the English believe they would like to be. Courteous, modest, understated'.[89] This is how he is best remembered.

Conclusion

Dan Maskell's impact on the historical development of tennis in Britain was immense. His work as a coach helped bring four Davis Cup victories in the 1930s, and his efforts toward unionisation enhanced the status of coaches and the profession of coaching itself, brought better working conditions and pay, greater standardisation of methods, and helped raise overall standards. Maskell was pivotal in helping to significantly reduce the "professional" stigma in British tennis, as the public perception and concomitant treatment of coaching-professionals gradually departed from its "servant" roots toward the designation of coaches as "skilled artisans". Maskell's work in designing and leading coach education and children's talent development programmes helped kick-start the more technically-minded, scientific, and systematic structures now standard practice in contemporary sports development – a process also seen in cricket, athletics and rugby union – and, his BBC broadcasting work complemented the conservative style and culture of post-war British sports commentary. Despite being a "professional" throughout his life/career, his commitment to amateur sporting ideals was communicated constantly through his actions, particularly as a television commentator when his overall approach and expressed attitudes somewhat countered what some recognised as a weakening of sportsmanship brought about by the sport's rampant commercialisation.

Maskell would have been duly proud of having helped initiate the profound changes in the spheres of coaching and talent development that unfolded toward the end of his life. After a massive organisational restructure and personnel overhaul in the early 1980s, and thanks to greater funding as an outcome of burgeoning Wimbledon profits, the LTA's efforts to identify and develop talent were more concerted.[90] They better utilised sport science research and expertise, creatively employed models of best practice from other nations, and

instituted a more professional approach to the management of tennis development at both local and national levels.[91] Over the coming years/decades, coaches became increasingly central to the LTA's talent development plans, and the social status (and wealth) of the most elite coaches rose noticeably, if one goes by the greater amounts of funding directed toward elite-level coaching, coach development, facility provision, and nationwide talent development schemes. To take 2006 as an example, that year over £4 million was directed toward coaching/coach development, which equated to approximately 10% of the LTA's annual expenditure.[92] Part of this included a £1 million fee paid to Brad Gilbert as Andy Murray's coach for sixteen months of service in 2006-7, the highest fee ever paid by the LTA to a coach.[93] In 2007, the LTA also opened its £40 million National Tennis Centre in Roehampton, which was designed to be 'the research and development hub for British tennis [to] support all our players, coaches and colleagues'.[94] While the legacies of amateurism and class snobbery still remain in contemporary tennis coaching and talent development structures,[95] it is certainly the case that they have come a long way since the "upstairs-downstairs" days that Maskell recalled at Queen's Club in the 1920s.

Given his working-class roots, Maskell's tumultuous and somewhat ironic rise to public prominence does represent an interesting lens through which to view the shifting and contradictory nature of amateurism as a dominant sporting ethos throughout this period. Alongside his obvious capacity to develop the practical skills of his trade, which he managed to promote as a respectable skilled profession, and effectively apply his talents as a player, coach, administrator, and broadcaster, a key reason for Maskell's prolonged success was his ability to recognize and accrue the cultural capital necessary to mix with the highly-placed people he was surrounded by: the required deference, tone, language, posture, and attitude to impress social superiors. That he exhibited the "right sort" of attitude, and came to be rewarded for it by his promotion into positions of influence and acceptance within the bosom of the amateur tennis fraternity, also indicated the weakening of class distinctions and the gradual democratisation of tennis that unfolded alongside the sport's post-war professionalisation, commercialisation and globalisation. It seems the sport's amateur authorities, alongside the British public and press, were happy to accept Maskell for his personal qualities and expertise alone and overlook his lack of high-class pedigree and formal education. Certainly, Maskell's coaching talent and overall ambitions to "serve" British tennis continued to match the requirements of the upper-middle-class tennis establishment. The two key institutions of British tennis (the AELTC and LTA) successfully used Maskell's character and talents to serve their own interests: the AELTC to "sell" Wimbledon, and the LTA to develop British talent.

Notes

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[1] Francois Bédarida. *A Social History of England 1851-1975* (London: Methuen, 1979), 61.
[2] See, for example, Joyce Kay. 'Grass Roots: The Development of Tennis in Britain, 1918-1978'. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 18 (2012): 2532-2550; Robert J. Lake. 'Stigmatised, Marginalised, Celebrated: Developments in Lawn Tennis Coaching 1870-1939'. *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010): 82-103; Robert J. Lake. *A Social History of Tennis in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2015a).
[3] Lake, *Social History*.
[4] Robert J. Lake. *Social Exclusion in British Tennis: A History of Privilege and Prejudice.* (London: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Brunel University, 2008); Robert J. Lake.

"Discourses of Social Exclusion in British Tennis: Historical Changes and Continuities." *International Journal of Sport and Society* 4, no. 2 (2014): 1-11.
[5] See Richard Holt. *Sport and the British* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); Rob Light. 'A 'Strange ... Absurd ... and Somewhat Injurious Influence'? Cricket, Professional Coaching in the Public Schools and the 'Gentleman Amateur' Ethos'. *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010): 8-31; Dilwyn Porter and Adrian Smith. 'Introduction'. In *Amateurs and Professionals in Post-War British Sport*, by Adrian Smith and Dilwyn Porter, vii-xvi. (London: Frank Cass, 2000); Jack Williams. ''The Really Good Professional Captain Has Never Been Seen!': Perceptions of the Amateur/Professional Divide in County Cricket, 1900-39'. *Sport in History* 26, no. 3 (2006): 429-449.
[6] Kay, 'Grass Roots'
[7] Ross McKibbin. *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), 67-8.
[8] Peter Bailey. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Holt, *Sport and the British*; Lake, *Social History*; Neil Wigglesworth. *The Story of Sport in England* (London: Routledge, 2007).
[9] David Cannadine. *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
[10] Cannadine, *The Rise*, 139, 132.
[11] McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*; Harold Perkin. *The Rise of the Professional Society: England since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1989).
[12] Cannadine, *The Rise*, 133.
[13] Tony Collins. 'Amateurism and the Rise of Managerialism: The Case of Rugby Union, 1871-1995'. *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010): 112.
[14] Collins, 'Amateurism', 105.
[15] *The Times*, 23 June, 1988, 45.
[16] Dan Maskell. *From Where I Sit* (London: Willow, 1988), xiii.
[17] Lincoln Allison. *Amateurism in Sport: An Analysis and a Defence* (London: Frank Cass, 2001); Holt, *Sport and the British*.
[18] Neil Carter. 'From Knox to Dyson: Coaching, Amateurism and British Athletics, 1912-1947'. *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010b): 55-81; Robert J. Lake. 'Social Class, Etiquette and Behavioural Restraint in British Lawn Tennis: 1870-1939'. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 6 (2011): 876-894.
[19] Dave Day. 'Craft Coaching and the 'Discerning Eye' of the Coach'. *International Journal of Sport Science and Coaching* 6, no. 1 (2011): 188.
[20] Rob Beamish and Ian Ritchie. 'From Fixed Capacities to Performance-Enhancement: The Paradigm Shift in the Science of 'Training' and the Use of Performance-Enhancing Substances'. *Sport in History* 25, no. 3 (2005): 418.
[21] Carter, 'From Knox'; Arnd Krüger. ''Buying Victories is Positively Degrading': European Origins of Government Pursuit of National Prestige through Sport'. In *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, by J.A. Mangan, 183-200. (London: Cass, 1996).
[22] See Kevin Jefferys. "Fred Perry and British Tennis: 'Fifty Years to Honor a Winner'." *Sport in History* 29, no. 1 (2009a): 1-24.
[23] Fred Perry. *Perry Wins! Expert Advice for All on Lawn Tennis* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1935), 49, 85.
[24] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 1 April, 1948, 206.
[25] *The Times*, 24 June, 1985, 11.
[26] Maskell, *From Where*, 45-6.
[27] Rick Gruneau. ''Amateurism' as a Sociological Problem: Some Reflections Inspired by Eric Dunning'. *Sport in Society* 9, no. 4 (2006): 572.

[28] John Huggins and Jack Williams. *Sport and the English: 1918-1939* (London: Routledge, 2005), 61.
[29] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 8 August, 1936, 463
[30] *Ace* July 2006, 64.
[31] *Ace* July 2006, 62.
[32] Maskell, *From Where*, 45.
[33] Maskell, *From Where*, 46.
[34] Maskell, *From Where*, 31, 29, 39.
[35] *The Times*, 24 June, 1985, 11.
[36] Maskell, *From Where*, 42.
[37] Maskell, *From Where* 1988, 113.
[38] Holt, *Sport and the British*, 266-7.
[39] Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 157.
[40] Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 157.
[41] Cannadine, *The Rise*.
[42] Carter 2010b, 'From Knox'.
[43] Maskell, *From Where*, 47.
[44] Maskell, *From Where*, 187. These key elements were also reinforced throughout his coaching manual published in 1963: Lawn Tennis Association. *Start Lawn Tennis with Dan Maskell: The L.T.A. Book for the Young Player* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963).
[45] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 8 December, 1934, 860.
[46] Day, 'Craft Coaching'.
[47] Maskell, *From Where*, 187.
[48] Lake 'Stigmatised'.
[49] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 5 December, 1931, 955.
[50] *Evening News*, 13 November, 1931.
[51] Maskell, *From Where*, 186.
[52] *Observer*, 1 July, 1945, 8.
[53] Kevin Jefferys. "The Triumph of Professionalism: The Road to 1968." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 15 (2009b): 2253-69; Lake, *Social History*.
[54] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 1 February, 1946, 415.
[55] Bédarida, *Social History*; David Kynaston. *Austerity Britain 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).
[56] McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 260.
[57] Richard Holt and Tony Mason. *Sport in Britain: 1945-2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Martin Polley. *Moving the Goalposts: A History of Sport and Society Since 1945* (London: Routledge, 1998).
[58] Holt, *Sport and the British*; Lake, *Social History*; Porter and Smith 'Introduction'.
[59] Neil Carter. "Introduction: Coaching Cultres." *Sport in History* 30, no. 1 (2010a): 1-7; Day, 'Craft Coaching'; Lake, 'Stigmatised'.
[60] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 1 August, 1949, 463.
[61] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 15 January, 1950, 35-6.
[62] *Lawn Tennis & Badminton*, 1 January, 1957, 12.
[63] *Guardian*, 1 May, 1965, 12.
[64] *Guardian*, 20 September, 1965, 11.
[65] Alan Mills. *Lifting the Covers: Allan Mills, the Autobiography* (London: Headline, 2005), 72.
[66] Lake, *Social Exclusion*; Lake, 'Stigmatised'.
[67] *Observer*, 8 April, 1962, 18.
[68] Maskell, *From Where*, 192.

[69] Collins, 'Amateurism', 115.
[70] Perkin, *The Rise*, 405.
[71] *Observer*, 13 July, 1952, 6.
[72] *Times*, 24 June, 1985, 11.
[73] *Independent*, 11 December, 1992.
[74] *The Times*, 7 February, 1992, 32; *The Times* 11 December, 1992, 21
[75] Maskell, *From Where*, xv.
[76] *Daily Mail*, 28 June, 2011.
[77] Tim Milburn. *Permission and Regulation: Morals in Postwar Britain* (London: Routledge, 1992); Alan Petigny. *The Permissive Society: America, 1941–1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[78] Robert J. Lake. "The 'Bad Boys' of Tennis: Shifting Gender and Social Class Relations in the Era of Nastase, Connors and McEnroe." *Journal of Sport History* 42, no. 2 (2015b).
[79] *The Times*, 11 December, 1992, 21.
[80] *Telegraph*, 11 December, 1992; *Ace*, July 2006, 62.
[81] *Daily Mail*, 28 June, 2011.
[82] *Ace*, July 2006, 62.
[83] *Ace*, July 2006, 64.
[84] *The Times*, 11 December, 1992, 21.
[85] *Ace*, July 2006, 64.
[86] Cited in: *The Times*, 24 June, 1985, 11.
[87] *The Times*, 24 June, 1985, 11.
[88] *The Times*, 23 June, 1988, 45.
[89] David Miller, *The Times*, 23 June, 1988, 45
[90] Between 1981 and 1997, the annual profits from the Wimbledon Championships, which are directed to the LTA to develop tennis in Britain, grew from £1 million to £30 million.
[91] Barrie Houlihan and Anita White. *The Politics of Sports Development* (London: Routledge, 2002), 197-99.
[92] Lawn Tennis Association, *2006 Annual Report* (London: LTA, 2006), 9.
[93] Lake, *Social History*, 291.
[94] Lawn Tennis Association, *2006 Annual Report*, 5.
[95] Robert J. Lake "'Managing Change' in British Tennis 1990-2006: Unintended Outcomes of LTA Talent Development Policies." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 45, no. 4 (2010): 474-490; Robert J Lake. "'They Treat Me like I'm Scum': Social Exclusion and Established-Outsider Relations in a British Tennis Club." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 48, no. 1 (2013): 112-128.